The Memorialisation of theGreat War in Folkestone, Canterbury and Dover, 1918-24

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Abstract

The aim of the thesis is to explore the spate of memorial construction that took place at civic and local level in the immediate aftermath of the Great War. At the heart of the study lies an examination of the layering of memory in this commemorative activity as the war dead were remembered in their various different roles, as citizens, work colleagues, school alumni, club members, parishioners, regimental comrades and, of course, fathers, husbands and sons. The study concentrates on the major urban centres of Canterbury, Folkestone and Dover, each of which experienced something of a revival during the war years, Canterbury as the spiritual home of the nation and Folkestone and Dover as key military sites acting as lifelines between England and the Western Front. Thus, from a civic perspective, remembrance of the war dead was as much about the collective as the individual, about pride rather than loss. Yet, at sub-civic level, local communities and organisations, with their own agendas to pursue, were also recalling the fallen from a more intimate viewpoint. It is the impact of these conflicting claims, the tension that existed within this complex matrix of remembrance and the extent to which the memory of the fallen was shaped by the demands of competing schemes that forms the basis of this study. In particular the focus falls on the memorialisation process itself, the debates over form and style, the rituals of naming and financing and the ceremonies for unveiling and dedication, for it was in this often lengthy and convoluted process that those in authority could assume control over the rites of mourning and transform private grief into a public narrative.

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Abbreviations

Archives

CCA	Canterbury Cathedral Archives
EKA	East Kent Archives
NA	National Archives

Newspapers

DE	*Dover Express*
FE	*Folkestone Express*
FH	*Folkestone Herald*
KGCP	*Kent Gazette and Canterbury Press*
KO	*Kentish Observer*

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Plate 1 from *Black's Guide Book to East Kent, 1915*, London: Adam and Charles Black, 1915; Plate 2 by permission of Folkestone Library Local Studies Room; Plates 3 and 4 by permission of Canterbury Library Local Studies Room; Plate 5 by permission of Dover Library Local Studies Room; Plate 6 author's own; Plates 7, 8 and 9 from *Black's Guide to the County of Kent, 1909,* London, Adam and Charles Black, 1909.

Chapter 1 Introduction

From the early stages of the Great War it became all too apparent to many that such was the nature and scale of the conflict that it would require a hitherto unequalled effort to preserve the memory of the fallen. This sentiment was clearly articulated by the Earl of Plymouth, the chairman of the Local War Museum Association, when, in a circular urging local mayors to adopt his Association's guidelines on remembrance, he stated that, "war on such an unprecedented scale has evoked such an outpouring of patriotism and self-sacrifice throughout the country that it is obviously necessary it should be commemorated in a special manner."[1] Indeed, although Plymouth's appeal was issued in 1917, it was, in fact, almost from the outset of the war that a range of interested parties formed pressure groups to coordinate the memorialisation of the dead. Thus, the Church Crafts League, in its annual report for 1915, declared that one of its primary aims would be "to direct the pious intentions of the bereaved relatives into the proper channels".[2] Coeval with these attempts by national bodies to shape the official commemoration of the war was the appearance of street shrines, with their roots firmly fixed in the more intimate and heartfelt responses of tight-knit communities to the loss of loved ones.[3] Hence, at both national and local levels, the debate on the style and form that the memorialisation process should take was well advanced by the end of the hostilities.

With the onset of peace a frantic bout of memorial construction took place as every stratum of society made a concerted effort to ensure that the war dead were not forgotten. While the state directed the nation in mourning with the rituals of Armistice Day at the Cenotaph from 1919 and the burial of the Unknown Warrior in

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[1] Dover, EKA, Fo/CM/5/1, Earl of Plymouth to Mayor of Folkestone, 10 May 1917. In the same year the War Cabinet agreed to Sir Alfred Mond's proposal for the establishment of a national War Museum. See G. Kavanagh, 'Museum as Memorial: The Origins of the Imperial War Museum', *Journal of Contemporary History* 23 (1988), pp.77-97.

[2] Quoted in C. Moriarty, 'Christian Iconography and First World War Memorials', *Imperial War Museum Review* vi (1991), p67. See also Alex King, *Memorials of the Great War in Britain: The Symbolism and Politics of Remembrance*, (Oxford, 1998), ch.3 for more on these early discussions and the organisations involved.

[3] See M. Connelly, *The Great War: Memory and Ritual: Commemoration in the City and East London 1916-1939*, (Bury St.Edmunds, 2002), ch.2.

Westminster Abbey in 1920, local communities looked to establish their own sites of memory in order to express their feelings of loss and pride.[4] Although efforts were still made to direct the construction of monuments, with the Victoria and Albert Museum holding a 'War Memorial Exhibition' in the summer of 1919 and the Royal Academy of Arts offering advice on style and form, there was no compulsion for local committees to follow such guidance. Indeed, in attempting to mitigate their anguish, and in the absence of a body to act as a focus for their grief, Keith Grieves has argued that the bereaved frequently eschewed national ties and looked instead to the more immediate bonds of family and neighbourhood, to the comfort of the familiar, to make sense of the dislocation that had resulted from the war.[5] Similarly, Catherine Moriarty has stressed the impact individual needs had on the memorialisation process, arguing that the construction of remembrance sites acted as a substitute for actual burial.[6] However, by way of contrast, for Alex King the multi-layering of commemoration at civic and local level, what he has termed the 'fragmentation' of the memory of the fallen into their various different roles, has cast doubts on the validity of viewing the memorials as traditional mourning sites and instead highlighted how the focus of memorialisation had shifted from the personal and familial to the institutional.[7] It is in these competing interpretations that the heart of this thesis lies, for a war memorial was a complex composite site at which the conflicting claims of various social structures met and around which an intricate interplay of rival forces operated.

Indeed, the tensions that underpinned this highly texturised model of commemoration were clearly illustrated in Folkestone following the failure of the civic authorities to expedite the completion of the town's remembrance plans. Employing the innocence of childhood as a cipher for genuine grassroots feeling unadulterated by ulterior motive, the editor of the *Folkestone Express* went to great lengths to contrast the diffidence of the controlling elite with the keenness of the public at large:

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[4] See A. Gregory, *The Silence of Memory: Armistice Day 1919-1946*, (Oxford, 1994), ch.1 for more on the establishment of these state-sponsored traditions.

[5] K. Grieves, 'Imagining a County Identity: Rural Sussex in the First World War', Paper presented at University of Kent, 2002.

[6] C. Moriarty, 'The Absent Dead and Figurative First World War Memorials', *Transactions of the Ancient Monuments Society*, i (1995), pp.3-39.

[7] King, *Memorials of the Great War in Britain*, ch. 9.

> Master Tim Alsop of the Bayle, who is only ten years old, has been thinking that the memorial is a long time coming. He has accordingly taken the matter in hand and provided the residents of the Bayle with their own memorial. Last week he obtained the lid of a box on which he carved with his pocket knife, 'In Memory of the Men who fell in the Great War 1914-18'. This was nailed up to the wall in a public part of the Bayle and around it the mortar was carefully scraped to make it clean. On Friday when our reporter saw the crude symbol of a child's love for our fallen heroes it was reverently draped with the Union Jack. On Saturday there was a notice nailed to the wall beside the Memorial intimating that the unveiling would take place at 3:30pm. For some time Master Tim and his young friend, Jack Horton, had been saving their pocket money and this was spent on flowers to decorate the Memorial. On each side of the Memorial there was a small fern, immediately below there were vases of cut flowers and on the ground there was a small amount of pansies, surrounded by a mass of flowers contributed by the playmates of the two lads.
> Perhaps the residents of the Bayle as they gazed on the children's work thought it true that, "a little child shall lead them".[8]

It is, then, the extent to which the commemoration of the Great War in Folkestone, Dover and Canterbury was led by 'a little child', the extent to which it adhered to the principal purpose of a memory site as put forward by Bernard Barber after the next great conflagration, namely that it should "express the attitudes and values of a community toward those persons and deeds that are memorialised", that will be examined in the following chapters.[9]

ii. Historiography

Over the past two decades there has been a dramatic growth in the literature dealing with the commemoration of the Great War. In particular the memorials to the fallen themselves have, with increasing frequency, become the focus of attention. Although these monuments existed alongside other 'lieux de memoire', such as art, literature, films and private mementoes, and hence formed part of the wider cultural context of remembrance, they were, nonetheless, the key composite sites at which both private

[8] *FE*, 21 May 1921.

[9] B. Barber, 'Symbol and Utilitarian Function in War Memorials', *Social Forces* 28 (1949), pp.65-68.

and public memory fused.[10] Bob Bushaway has argued that the intensive memorialisation process in the immediate aftermath of the First World War amounted to a "deliberate construction of remembrance"[11] that effectively resulted in "the denial of any political critique of the Great War or of post-war society from the perspective of popular aspiration or expectation".[12] Alastair Thomson, in his study of commemoration and the rituals of remembrance in Australia, has adopted a similar line, suggesting that the memorialisation of the war was a powerful way for the Establishment to disseminate ideas about warfare and nation.[13] Central to his thesis are the commemorative sites themselves which, by acting as focal points for the emotions of the bereaved, were deemed able to "transform personal mourning and sadness and justify death and sacrifice for the causes of freedom and the nation, thus binding the bereaved into the imagined community of the nation".[14]

The Establishment's attempt to nationalise commemoration of the war and create an official memory of the conflict also lies at the heart of Kurt Piehler's study of the Gold Star movement and remembrance in America.[15] Highlighting the dislocation and disillusionment caused by the fighting, Piehler has tracked the state's desire to portray the dead as bulwarks of stability who transcended class and political divisions. However, whereas Bushaway assumed that it was possible to analyse society as a monolithic entity where there was little room left for individual responses, Piehler has emphasised the need for the authorities to have obtained, at the very least, the tacit agreement of the bereaved if the dead were to be used to further its ends. This is the stance that has also been adopted by Catherine Moriarty who, though prepared to concede that public sites of mourning and communal acts of

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[10] The term lieux de memoire has been used by Pierre Nora to define a site where an intentional effort has been made to invest it with a symbolic meaning encapsulating memory. Pierre Nora, 'Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Memoire', *Representations* 26 (1989), pp.7-25.

[11] B. Bushaway, 'Name upon Name: The Great War and Remembrance' in R. Porter, *The Myths of the English*, (London, 1992), p.155.

[12] Ibid., p.145.

[13] A. Thomson, *ANZAC Memories: Living with the Legend*, (Oxford, 1994).

[14] Ibid., p.129.

[15] Piehler, G. Kurt, 'The War Dead and the Gold Star: American Commemoration of the First World War' in J. Gillis, *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity*, (Princeton, 1994), pp.168-185.

remembrance recalled the dead as a collective with the focus being on general principles rather than individual acts, has, nonetheless, stressed that such an appropriation of remembrance by the Establishment was underpinned by the interaction between public and private memories.[16] Adrian Gregory, in his work on the development of the Armistice Day ceremony in the interwar years, has developed this point further emphasising the dialogue that existed between the official agencies and the public at large.[17] Although the Armistice Day rituals were inherently conservative and did appear to legitimise and defend the existing order, for Gregory this did not necessarily represent a manipulation of remembrance but could instead have been the product of a widely felt desire for unity in the aftermath of immense upheaval. Thus, the traditional nature of the memorialisation of the war reflected the public's wish to find solace in the familiar, to come to terms with the dislocation of post-war society by a return to pre-war values.

Similar findings have been reached by approaching the subject from an art historical perspective. Alan Borg, whose work concentrates exclusively on war memorials and the deconstruction of monumental iconography, while acknowledging the lack of central direction in the commemorative process, has still viewed the results as largely mirroring the Establishment's traditionalism.[18] In noting that the majority of the artists commissioned to design local war memorials chose to reject the dominant contemporary themes, Borg has seen the origins of this return to traditionalism as lying with the public at large, there being a generally held view that the best way to invest the memory of fallen loved ones with a fitting sense of gravitas was by recourse to the imagery of time-honoured heroic icons. The traditionalism of commemorative sculpture has been further examined by George Mosse who has viewed the memorialisation process as part of the deliberate construction of a 'cult of the fallen' whereby the authorities attempted to propagate their own political

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[16] Catherine Moriarty, 'Private Grief and Public Remembrance: British First World War Memorials' in M. Evans and K. Lunn (eds) *War and Memory in the Twentieth Century*, (Oxford, 1997)

[17] Gregory, *The Silence of Memory*.

[18] Borg, *War Memorials: from Antiquity to the Present*, ch.5.

agendas.[19] Investigations into the link between traditionalism and Establishment direction have also been carried out by James Young and James Mayo. For Young the authorities' desire to control the messages which they felt were encoded within the iconography of a war memorial resulted in a predisposition for figurative imagery, while for Mayo the construction of monuments to the fallen helped to sanction the sacrifice that had been made on behalf of the state and assure the public that war had been both necessary and honourable.[20]

The duality of the role of memory sites in the rites of remembrance, acting simultaneously as symbols of national pride and places of individual and communal mourning, is one of the themes examined in Jay Winter's broad study of the cultural impact of the Great War on interwar Europe.[21] Viewing the sites of mourning as first and foremost the product of an almost overpowering sense of grief, Winter has, nevertheless, stressed that they invariably legitimised warfare depicting it as a noble undertaking. To further underline the fluidity in meaning surrounding the rituals of commemoration Winter has gone on to note that as the initial searing pain of the bereaved abated so the sites managed to accommodate a number of different interpretations. This was the theme pursued by Adrian Gregory in his work on Armistice Day.[22] Charting the changing attitudes towards the celebration between 1919 and 1946 he demonstrated that though the form of the ceremony remained the same its meaning could be transformed, with triumphalism and patriotism giving way to pacifism. In a similar vein Alex King, in his overview of the memorialisation process in the immediate aftermath of the Great War, has warned against assuming that war memorials contained meaning independently.[23] For King, notwithstanding the contemporary civic leaders' insistence that a memorial should and did have a

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[19] G. Mosse, *Fallen Soldiers: Reshaping the Memory of the World Wars*, (Oxford, 1990). For more on the state sponsored creation of a 'cult of the fallen' see particularly chapter 5 and G. Mosse, 'National Cemeteries and National Revival: The Cult of the Fallen Soldier in Germany', *Journal of Contemporary History* 14 (1979), pp.1-20.

[20] J. Young, *Holocaust Memorials and Meaning: The Texture of Memory*, (Yale, 1993); J. Mayo, *War Memorials as Political Landscape: The American Experience and Beyond*, (New York, 1988).

[21] J. Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History*, (Cambridge, 1995).

[22] Gregory, *The Silence of Memory*.

[23] King, *Memorials of the Great War in Britain*, p.3.

specific meaning, a full understanding of a commemorative site can only be attained through the examination of the relationship between the symbol and the community it served. This texturising of memory, the nexus between collective ownership and Establishment control, is central to an understanding of the rituals of remembrance. Yet, the majority of studies in this area have adopted a broad brush approach and, hence, the intricacies of community relationships which helped to shape and colour the memorialisation of the war dead have, by necessity, been glossed over. By resiting the commemorative process in its local context it will, it is hoped, be possible to obtain a fuller appreciation of the dynamic that existed between the individual and the collective, between the public and the authorities, and so reveal the underlying sense of communal identity which played such a formative role in imbuing a memory site with meaning.

The strength and persistence of the debate surrounding the impact of the memorialisation of the Great War, and the role it played in the development of a collective memory, is partly predicated on the belief that the conflict was a turning point in history, not only politically and socially but also culturally. There have been a number of studies on the impact of the Great War on British culture generally, within which investigations of the rituals of remembrance have been undertaken. Leading the way is Paul Fussell who has placed the war in a static world where values seemed stable.[24] Thus, for Fussell the horrors of the mechanised slaughter of the Western Front became a cultural divide with old traditions and meanings, undermined by a new sense of irony, being altered for ever. Although this contention still has a strong hold on the popular view of the Great War,[25] it has increasingly been open to revision by more recent studies.[26] A more balanced approach by Samuel Hynes,

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[24] P. Fussell, *The Great War and Modern Memory*, (Oxford, 1975)

[25] Indeed, in secondary schools much of the teaching of the literature of the Great War remains firmly in the Fussell camp. Thus, in a schools' edition of R. C. Sherriff's *Journey's End*, which along with the poetry of Sassoon and Owen continues to be a mainstay of the English Key Stages 3 and 4 curriculum, the editor concludes her introduction with the observation; "It seems inevitable that Osborne, the richest character culturally, and Raleigh, the boy with everything to live for, should be doomed. Their deaths emphasise...the irony of death." M. Blakesley, introduction to R. C. Sherriff's *Journey's End*, (Oxford, 1993), p.x.

[26] Hand in hand with this revision of the cultural impact of the Great War is an ongoing reworking of the traditionally held view of the military history of the conflict. See especially B. Bond, *The Unquiet Western Front*, (Cambridge, 2002), G. Sheffield, *Forgotten Victory:*

although agreeing with Fussell that war monuments, as the embodiment of conventional values, belonged to the Establishment and acted as "official acts of closure", has questioned the contention that post war disillusionment replaced Edwardian standards and traditional enthusiasm for the war claiming instead that both cultures existed simultaneously.[27] Martin Stephen, by contrast, has been much more vitriolic in his criticism, querying the whole basis upon which Fussell's theories are founded.[28] Prepared to accept that there is some validity in Fussell's treatment of language, Stephen has, nonetheless, not fought shy of twisting the knife stating that the book's "weakness is to assume that because [the war] changed so much it changed everything, and that the literature of the war can also serve as its history. It is in danger of creating its own false myths in areas that are too important to be part of a falsehood".[29]

Central to this debate on the extent to which the war was a cultural divide is the question of the war's effects on attitudes to death and mourning. Thomas Lacqueur has highlighted the relative lack of importance the working-class attached to permanent commemoration in the pre-war period.[30] Although the ritual of a decent funeral was considered to be very important, individual memorialisation was not; the majority of people being buried in shaft graves with a single tombstone listing the occupants in order of internment. Pat Jalland, while conceding that the war altered the public's attitude towards permanent commemorative sites by encouraging the introduction of individually marked plots, has, nonetheless, argued that the Victorian preoccupation with death had finally been forsaken.[31] In this she is supported by Julian Litten who, in citing the war as "The greatest influence on the simplification of the English funeral", has argued that, "there was a particular undercurrent of public

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The First World War: Myths and Realities, (London, 2001) and R. Holmes, *Tommy*, (London, 2004).

[27] S. Hynes, *A War Imagined: The First World War and English Culture*, (London, 1990), p.270.

[28] M. Stephen, *The Price of Pity: Poetry, History and Myth in the Great War*, (London, 1996).

[29] Ibid., p.235.

[30] T. Lacqueur, 'Memory and Naming in the Great War' in J. Gillis (ed), *Commemorations: The Poltics of National Identity*, (Princeton, 1994), pp.168-185.

[31] P. Jalland, *Death in the Victorian Family*, (Oxford, 1996).

opinion to contend with: the morality of staging a grandiose funeral when those who had died for King and Country on foreign fields were unable to be repatriated. At such a time of great national suffering and sorrow, individual displays of funerary pomp and panoply did not sit comfortably on the conscience."[32] By contrast David Cannadine has insisted that "interwar Britain was more obsessed with death than any other period in modern history".[33] This apparent impasse can be crossed by making a distinction between civilian death and death on the battlefield. Thus, although the Victorian preoccupation with funerary rites may have been declining from the 1880s onwards, the glorification of death on active service was becoming ever more prevalent. This trend was accentuated by the massive death toll of British and Irish soldiers in the First World War and the government's decision in 1915 not to repatriate the dead.[34] Hence, in the immediate aftermath of the war public manifestations of grief and the need for collective forms of commemoration dominated people's lives. It is the structure and shape of these communal rites, the interaction between the public and the private, and the impact they had on moulding and directing the memory of the fallen that will form one of the main threads of this investigation.

For the bereaved, especially for those with no body to mourn over, traditional religion offered some consolation and provided ready made rituals which assisted in the process of coming to terms with the overwhelming sense of loss. This is a point that has been articulated by Catherine Moriarty who underlined the critical role Christian symbolism played in the mitigation of grief as it "provided an accessible and palliative language".[35] However, Jay Winter, while accepting the essentially religious character of much of the official memorialisation of the war, has also put emphasis on the grey area that existed at the periphery of this Christian interpretation. Thus, although prepared to accept that the traditional teachings of the Church offered some

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[32] J. Litten, *The English Way of Death: The Common Funeral Since 1450*, (London, 1991), p.171.

[33] D. Cannadine, 'War and Death, Grief and Mortality in Modern Britain' in J. Whaley (ed) *Mirrors of Mortality: Studies in the Social History of Death*, (London, 1981), p.195.

[34] Jay Winter has put the figure for British and Irish dead at 673,375. J. Winter, 'Some Aspects of the Demographic Consequences of the First World War in Britain', *Population Studies* XXX (1976), pp.539-541.

[35] Moriarty, 'Christian Iconography and First World War Memorials', p.74.

solace, for Winter the sudden and traumatic nature of deaths in battle resulted in a parallel growth in quasi-religious practices, the not least of which was spiritualism.[36] The religious overtones of much of the rites of remembrance have also been investigated by George Mosse.[37] In pointing to a duality of function in the memorialisation process he has questioned the extent to which the Christian message truly lay at the heart of commemoration. Although a belief in self-sacrifice and Resurrection undoubtedly offered some comfort to the bereaved, in Mosse's view it also helped to legitimise the enormous losses and provided justification for the nation in whose name the war had been fought. Thus, the commemorative rituals are seen as representing an expropriation of the central teachings of the Church by the state; in effect the creation of a civic religion.

This appropriation of the sacred by the secular authorities has also been examined by Ken Inglis and Antoine Prost.[38] For Prost, the ceremonies of remembrance in France, with their cultural reference points firmly rooted in the foundations of the Republic and the Revolutionary Wars at the end of the eighteenth century, were transformed into a celebration of citizenship providing a moral lesson in the duties of maintaining the existing status-quo. Similarly Inglis, focusing on ANZAC Day in Australia and New Zealand, has found in the liturgical nature of the observance the beginnings of a civic religion. In contrast, David Lloyd, in his work covering the interaction between commemoration and battlefield tourism in the interwar years, has maintained that religion remained a central element of the mourning process, insisting that, "the use of the sacred did not reflect the existence of a cult of the fallen soldier or a civil religion."[39] It is this appropriation by the civil authorities of the received language of remembrance that forms one of the main themes of this thesis. Yet, rather than concentrating solely on the deconstruction of the rituals themselves, it is hoped that it will be possible to arrive at a more detailed understanding of the Establishment's

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[36] See Winter, *Sites of Memory*, Ch.3

[37] Mosse, *Fallen Soldiers*.

[38] A. Prost, *In the Wake of War: 'Les Anciens Combattants and French Society*, (Oxford, 1992); K. Inglis, 'War Memorials in Australia and New Zealand: A Comparative Survey', *Australian Historical Studies* 24 (1991), pp.179-91, and 'A Sacred Place: the Making of the Australian war Memorial', *War and Society* 3,2 (1985), pp.99-125.

[39] D. Lloyd, *Battlefield Tourism: Pilgrimage and the Commemoration of the Great War in Britain, Australia and Canada, 1919-39*, (Oxford, 1998), p.6.

attempts to manipulate and direct the memory of the fallen by examining in detail the memorialisation process as a whole, from the first soundings in the press or discussions in the council chamber to the eventual unveiling of the site.

In analysing the boom in memory and history in the 1990s Geoff Eley has stated that memory sites generally "spell the desire for holding onto the familiar, for fixing and retaining the lineaments of worlds in motion, of landmarks that are disappearing and securities that are unsettled".[40] Thus, many of the sites and rituals of commemoration established after the Great War fall within Eric Hobsbawm's definition of 'invented traditions'.[41] These are practices which are ritualistic and symbolic in nature, which frequently seek to inculcate certain values and which "normally attempt to establish continuity with a suitable historic past".[42] In seeking to forge this sense of permanence, of an uninterrupted connection with pre-war values and standards, it is the contention of this thesis that remembrance of the war dead was counterpoised by selective forgetting in an attempt to buttress the existing status-quo. Daniel Sherman, in his wide-ranging examination of the memorialisation process in interwar France, has claimed that, "commemoration seeks to reinforce the solidarity of a particular community....by forging a consensus version of an event or connected series of events that has either disrupted the stability of the community or threatened to do so."[43] He has gone on to assert that, "This narrative of the past usually...reflects the interests of the community's leading social and political groups"[44] It is the, often tortuous, route by which communities in Folkestone, Dover and Canterbury attempted to arrive at just such a consensus version of the past and the extent to which the process was manipulated by the local elite that will lie at the heart of this thesis.

iii. Methodology

In the introduction to his seminal work on war memorials from an art historical perspective, Alan Borg noted that there was "a treasure trove of virtually unexplored

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[40] G. Eley in Evans and Lunn, *War and Memory*, pviii

[41] E. Hobsbawm and T. Ranger (eds), *The Invention of Tradition*, (Cambridge, 1983)

[42] Ibid., p.7.

[43] D.Sherman, *The Construction of Memory in Interwar France*, (Chicago, 1999), p.7.

[44] Ibid.

documentary material in local libraries and County Record Offices describing the ways in which Memorial Committees were established and how they set about their work".[45] It was, indeed, fortuitous that this held true in the cases of Dover, Folkestone and Canterbury. In all three boroughs not only have detailed records of the deliberations of the civic War Memorial Committees survived in the form of minute books, but there is also a range of supplementary miscellaneous material such as income and expenditure accounts, communications with sculptors, builders and other interested parties and letters to and from the bereaved concerning the inclusion of their lost loved ones on the lists of the fallen.

At the more intimate level of parish, club, school and workplace, the Cathedral Archives in Canterbury proved to be a particularly rich source of evidence. In 1988, in partnership with Canterbury City Council and Kent County Council, the Dean and Chapter of the Cathedral made a concerted effort to centralise the Anglican Church records for the Archdeaconry of Canterbury, an administration which covers most of Eastern Kent including the boroughs of Folkestone and Dover.[46] In addition to this the Archive has, either on microfilm or in original format, a substantial proportion of the Non-Conformist records for the region as well as a range of material relating to a variety of local organisations, businesses and individuals. This evidence, supplemented by some material found in situ such as school and parish magazines, helped to uncover how local communities dealt with the logistics of constructing a war memorial, from the formation of an executive committee to the collection of subscriptions and the decisions as to form.

Yet, for the most part, these are official records and as such they tend to present a rather sanitised view of proceedings. In seeking to put some flesh on the bones of the parochial debates which they cover, a search through the pages of the local newspapers proved invaluable. The abolition of stamp duty in 1855 resulted in the rapid expansion of the provincial press in the second half of the nineteenth and early

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[45] Borg, *War Memorials*, p.xii.

[46] To ensure the Archive's holdings are as comprehensive as possible, inspections are undertaken every five years.

part of the twentieth centuries.[47] Thus, throughout the 1920s Folkestone, with the *Folkestone Express* and the *Folkestone Herald*, and Canterbury, with the *Kent Gazette and Canterbury Press* and the *Kentish Observer*, were each served by two dedicated local newspapers and Dover, with the *Dover Express*, by one. These newspapers acted as a conduit for local organisations and individual members of the community to air their views on the memorialisation process and, simultaneously, played a significant role in informing and directing public opinion in their own right. The almost verbatim reporting of the Committee meetings of the Borough Councils and local trade and charitable organisations presented the public with unslanted accounts of the activities of the civic elite, a regular feature of such coverage being, not surprisingly, the progress of community commemorative projects. In addition to this, the editors of local newspapers invariably viewed themselves as the guardians of community values and the columns of their papers are redolent with the sense of local identity and municipal pride that frequently informed the debates surrounding memorialisation.

Although care, undoubtedly, has to be taken when using the press as a window on civic life, with sight not being lost of the fact that newspapers are an intentional record in which editors and journalists select and reorganise information to serve their own purposes, press coverage can, nevertheless, be a valuable tool in fixing, in both time and place, the concerns which activated communities as they went about the business of commemorating their war dead. This particularly holds true when one considers the weight newspapers carried in the days before TV journalism. If, notwithstanding the fact that precise statistics are few and far between for any period after the abolition of the stamp duty, circulation figures are taken as an, albeit crude, estimate of a paper's influence, a readership of 4,660 for the *Kent Gazette* and 9,000 for the *Dover Express* in the mid-1920s points towards a not insignificant level of authority.[48] Thus, it is possible through the formal pronouncements of the editorials, through the more familiar opinions of the gossip columns and through the issues

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[47] See G. Boyce, J. Curran and P. Wingate (eds), *Newspaper History from the Seventeenth Century to the present*, (London, 1978).

[48] Figures provided by the offices of the *Dover Express* and *Kent Gazette*. For more on the difficulties involved in assessing circulation figures see A. P. Wadsworth, 'Newspaper Circulation, 1800-1954', *Transactions of the Manchester Statistical Society*, (1954), pp.1-40.

raised in the readers' letters to place the official archival material in its local context and, hence, achieve a deeper insight into the common traditions, beliefs and values that underpinned the rites of collective remembrance.[49]

By siting commemoration securely in the context of community life, this study will be able to explore the subtle interplay between familial, intermediate and civic affiliations that helped to shape the memorialisation of the fallen and, by so doing, test the validity of the theories put forward in more general surveys. Indeed, Elizabeth Hammerton and David Cannadine, in their work on the Diamond Jubilee in Cambridge, have highlighted the dangers of examining rituals in isolation, of decontextualising them and, hence, exploring their significance at a purely theoretical level.[50] Collective rites are a product of society and only by probing the tensions and bonds that lie at the heart of communal life can a full understanding of their meaning be uncovered.[51] This is particularly true for the three boroughs targeted by this study.(See Plate 1) Each had a claim to national prominence during the war years; Canterbury as the centre of the Established Church, Folkestone as the main point of embarkation for troops travelling to the war zone and Dover as the home port of the Dover Patrol which played a vital role in keeping the Channel clear of enemy incursions.[52] Thus, for the civic authorities of all three boroughs, remembrance of the war dead was regarded not only as a chance to honour fallen citizens but also an opportunity to reaffirm national status. Yet, acting as a counterbalance to this official direction, local communities and organisations, with their own agendas to pursue,

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[49] Nearly all the local papers had regular columns presenting informal coverage of local issues. Thus, the *Folkestone Express* had 'the Occasional Musings of a Wonderer', the *Folkestone Herald* 'Felix', the *Kent Gazette* 'A Woman's outlook' and the *Kentish Observer* 'Roamer'.

[50] E. Hammerton and D. Cannadine, 'Conflict and Consensus on a Ceremonial Occasion: The Diamond Jubilee in Cambridge 1897', *Historical Journal* 24 (1981), pp.111-146.

[51] This approach has also been utilised by historians investigating other themes of the Great War. See G. Moorehouse, *A Town, its Myths and Gallipoli*, (London, 1992) and C. Pearce, *Comrades in Conscience:* The *Story of an English Community's Opposition to the Great War*, (London, 2001).

[52] The Established Church, with its close links to the rituals of state, was, to a certain extent, reinvigorated by the memorialisation movement in the aftermath of the Great War. Canterbury's civic leaders were fully aware of this fact. For more on the impact of the war on the Church see A. Wilkinson, *The Church of England and the First World War*, (London, 1978).

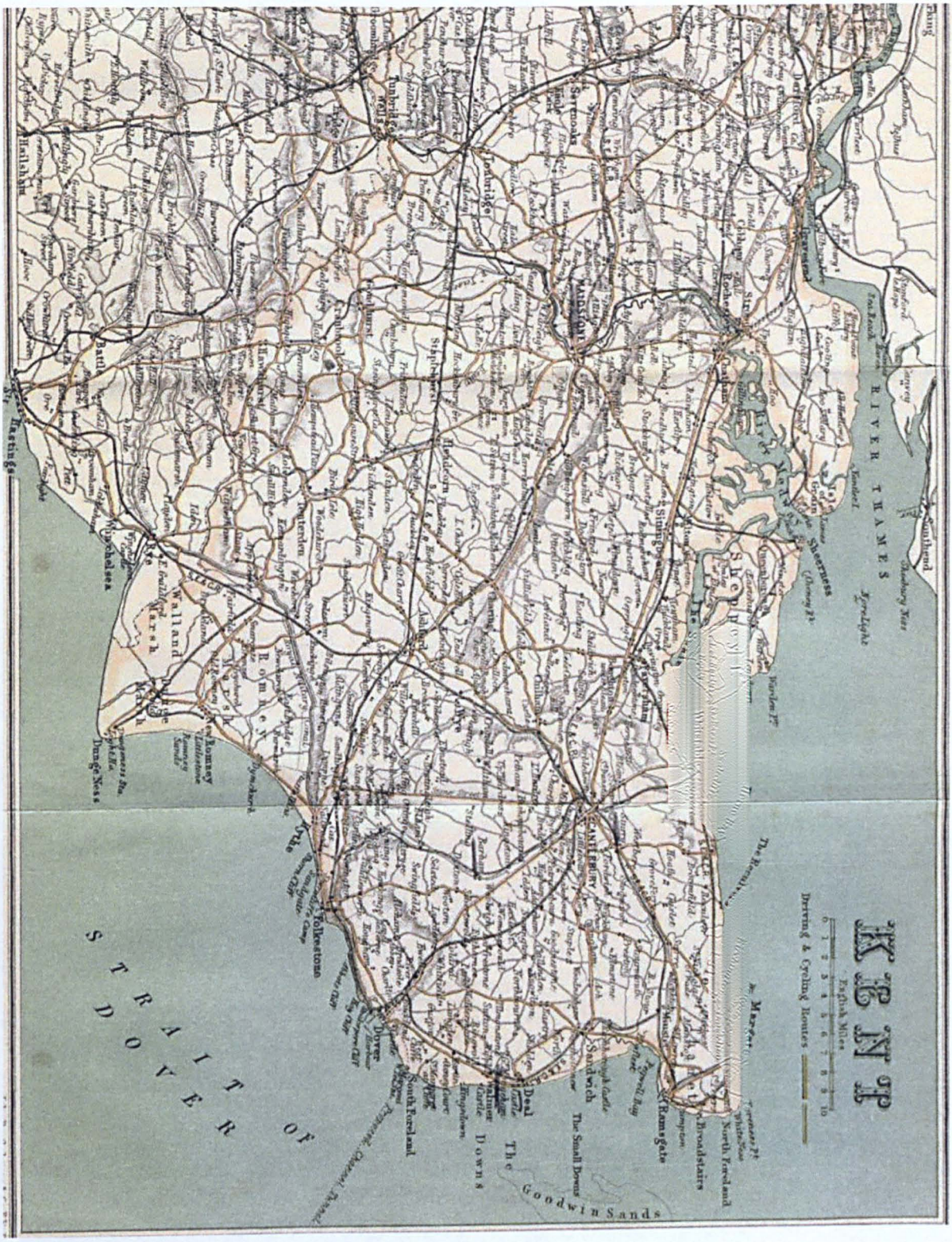

Plate 1: Map of Kent 1915 from *Black's Guide to East Kent* (London, 1915)

were recalling the dead at a more intimate level. It is, then, by first untangling these interlinking threads of remembrance that sense can be made of the memorialisation process and the movement can be put in its wider context.

Indeed, by viewing remembrance as an activity in which the structures and tensions of the local milieu were reflected, some insight into the shared assumptions of society in general may be gained. Arthur Marwick, in a standard work on the impact of the Great War, has argued that the collectivist experience of the war years resulted in a more interventionist approach to public life and a concomitant decline in deference.[53] Both Alex King and Modris Eksteins, in acknowledging this move towards collectivist government, have, however, pointed to the continuing sway of the paternalistic ethic of nineteenth century liberalism. For King, the extension of the electorate from seven to twenty million combined with increasing concerns over post-war disorder resulted in the authorities using "the civic creed of remembrance" as a means of instructing the newly enfranchised masses in their responsibilities to the community.[54] Meanwhile, Eksteins has argued that as the middle-class dominated instruments of state came under public control in the early part of the twentieth century so the bourgeois values of the nineteenth century came to dominate the discourse of government in the immediate post-war years.[55] Yet, as Brian Atkinson has revealed, local government in Kent in the first half of the twentieth century was largely apolitical, with business being conducted in such a fashion that "even committed activists would claim that when they entered the council chamber they left their national party allegiance outside".[56] Hence, a national framework cannot be imposed on a local model. It is only by constructing a detailed picture of how communities such as Dover, Folkestone and Canterbury went about a task as important as commemorating their war dead that an insight can be provided into the

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[53] A. Marwick, *The Deluge: British Society and the Great War*, (London, 1965)

[54] King, *Memorials of the Great War*, p.197.

[55] ; M. Eksteins, *Rites of Spring: The Great War and the Birth of the Modern Age*, (London, 1989), pp.176-191.

[56] B. Atkinson, 'Politics' in N. Yates (ed), *Kent in the Twentieth Century*, (Woodbridge, 2001), p.184. Atkinson puts this non-party approach to local government down to the Conservatives' domination of East Kent with their share of the vote throughout the 1920s remaining at 65% plus.

dynamics of local government and the assertion that the bourgeois ethic of Edwardian politics continued into the 1920s can be tested.[57]

Finally, this thesis will end with the unveiling of the commemorative sites. The intention is to build up an intimate portrait of communities coping with the trauma of mass bereavement through collective action. It is by following the process through from first tentative soundings to realisation with the rites of dedication that an understanding will be reached of the forces that lay behind the initial drive to memorialise the fallen. Hence, although much work has been done on the changing meaning of remembrance in the 1920s and 1930s, as memory sites were reinterpreted in the light of contemporary events, such analysis will have to remain outside the scope of this study.[58]

iv. Structure

In attempting to unravel the complexities of civic life that underscored the memorialisation process at the local level, this thesis will adopt a largely synchronic approach examining the stages by which various communities in Folkestone, Dover and Canterbury went about constructing memory sites to the fallen of the Great War. Chapters 2-4 will be stand-alone studies of the commemorative procedures at civic level within each borough. Each chapter will start with an overview of the borough's development, for the debates surrounding the form and purpose of civic remembrance sites frequently revolved around entrenched beliefs regarding the singularity of a community's traditions. The chapters will then examine events chronologically, from the formation of the coordinating Committee to the dedication of the monument. Thus, initially the focus will be on the establishment and functioning of the War

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[57] Ross McKibbin has argued that the English middle-class in the 1920s was essentially Edwardian in outlook and it was this class's values that underpinned government in this period. R. McKibbin, 'Classes and Cultures in Interwar England', Paper presented at the University of Kent, (2002).

[58] For more on the changing nature of remembrance from a national perspective see Gregory, *The Silence of Memory*; from a local perspective see Connelly, *The Great War: Memory and Ritual*; and for a theoretical overview see S. Goebel, 'Intersecting Memories: War and Remembrance in Twentieth Century Europe', *The Historical Journal* 44 (September 2001), pp.853-858.

Memorial Committee and the claims that various sectional interest groups put forward to best represent the will of the local populace while simultaneously attempting to promote their own specific agendas. By uncovering the role that the general public played in this process, the opportunities that were presented for inclusion and the devices that resulted in exclusion, light will be shed on the validity of the assertion that such sites of memory were, genuinely, the products of community enterprise. The emphasis will then shift to two key collective rituals, the collection of subscriptions and the compilation of the names of the fallen. Once again the focus will be on the, often uneasy, relationship between public participation and municipal control, as the desire to guarantee a sense of communal ownership clashed with the logistics of finance and administration. The concluding sections of these first three chapters will be concerned with monument design and the rites of dedication. They will consider how the civic leaders who formed the executive committees arrived at a decision on the style and form of the memorials and the ways in which the sites' iconographical symbolism was then disseminated at highly ritualised unveiling ceremonies. In particular discussion will centre on the extent to which the remembrance of the past was hijacked by the concerns of the present, with the memory of the war dead being used to mobilise the living in defence of the existing status-quo.

The penultimate chapter will move away from the macro study of civic commemorative activity and will, instead, investigate the memorialisation process at school, club, work, regimental and parish level, with separate sections being dedicated, in turn, to Folkestone, Canterbury and Dover. In these more immediate sub-communities the bonds of identity were, generally, tighter with the sense of belonging resonating to the heart of family life. Thus, this chapter will survey how such tight-knit networks responded to the loss of closely known members, examining how they defined themselves through the commemoration of their war dead and the extent to which they mirrored the process at civic level, thus reinforcing the accepted language of remembrance. The final chapter will draw out the common themes that can be traced in the construction of memory sites in all three boroughs, as well as accounting for any divergences in practice. It will demonstrate how much of the memorialisation work followed the same pattern with the local elite taking the lead

and ensuring that individual memories of the past were subsumed by an acceptable and accepted collective version.

Chapter 2 Conflict and Consensus in Folkestone

i. Folkestone: Gateway to the Continent

Although Folkestone's origins can be traced back to Celtic times, its significance as a Channel port stems only from the mid-nineteenth century. Unable to offer deep enough anchorage for large ships and lacking a permanent harbour until the nineteenth century, the town remained throughout the preceding centuries little more than a local market town with the majority of the population employed in the fishing industry. Its one distinguishing feature in these years was its incorporation in 1313 into the Confederation of the Cinque Ports as a limb of neighbouring Dover.[1] Although its contribution to the Confederation's role in coastal defence was relatively insignificant, indeed its incorporation was coeval with the beginning of the Cinque Port's decline, the honorific privileges and vicarious glory that were attached to its membership remained ingrained in the civic consciousness. Pride in the myth, if not the reality, of this past association was to have some bearing on the debates surrounding commemoration in the aftermath of the Great War.

It was with the coming of the railways in the 1840s that Folkestone developed both as a port and a seaside resort.[2] Shortly after the South Eastern Railway had completed its connection between Folkestone and London in 1843, a cross-Channel steamship service to Boulogne was opened with further rail links to Amiens and then Paris. Folkestone now eclipsed Dover as the most important link to Continental Europe.[3] To facilitate the increasing volume of traffic, Folkestone's harbour was extended in 1863 with the building of the Promenade Pier and again twenty years later with the construction of New Pier. An offshoot of this development was the growth of Folkestone as a holiday destination. By the turn of the twentieth century the town had become "one of the most favoured watering places in the country and was correctly described as 'Fashionable Folkestone'".[4] Unsurprisingly such a dramatic change in fortunes was reflected in the population figures for the borough. Folkestone was one

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[1] For more on the Cinque Ports see F. W. Jessup, *A History of Kent* (Chichester, 1995), Ch.9.

[2] C. H. Bishop, *Folkestone: the Story of a Town*, (Ashford, 1973).

[3] Ibid.

[4] H. Hickingbotham, 'Memories of the Harbour' in R. Howarth (ed.), *Folkestone Past and Present*, (Kent Newspapers, 1954), p10.

of only three towns in East Kent whose population doubled within twenty years of the opening of a local railway line.[5] Having remained virtually constant at around 4,500 for the first four decades of the nineteenth century, the figure topped 9,000 by 1860 and continued to increase markedly thereafter.[6] By the turn of the twentieth century the population stood at 30,379 and by 1921 at 36,005.[7]

Before the First World War the borough of Folkestone consisted of three wards; North, West and East. In 1920 a fourth was added in the form of Morehall Ward, a largely middle-class residential area. The changes that Folkestone underwent in the second half of the nineteenth century inevitably affected the social composition of the town. The arrival of the railway and the expansion of the port facilities brought with them an influx of manual and semi-skilled workers who, generally, settled in the north and east of the town. Simultaneously there was rapid development along the seafront to the west with a large number of small private schools and exclusive hotels opening up. Thus, the socio-economic profile of the town was divided between the fashionable and relatively wealthy West Ward and the more proletarian wards to the north and east. Indeed, in describing the parish of St Michael's in the East Ward, the Reverend Colin Laxon was at pains to point out its depressed nature. By the turn of the twentieth century, he stated, there was not, from its 4,500 residents, "a single wealthy person among them – unlike other parts of town. The parishioners were tradesmen, a large number of lodging-house keepers, many harbour and railway employees, and large sprinkling of the absolutely poor."[8] A former pupil of St Margaret's School, 'A High Class School for the Daughters of Gentlemen', clearly had had drilled into her the existence of this economic wall separating rich from poor. In describing the girls' constitutionals at the end of the nineteenth century she recalled that, "The Eastern limits of the town were marked by the William Harvey statue, beyond which there was a risk of being contaminated by the east end of town."[9] As would be expected these economic characteristics were reflected in the town's political makeup. In the 1919 local elections the Labour candidates topped the

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[5] Jessup, *History of Kent*, pp.158-59. The other two were Sittingbourne and Ashford.
[6] Ibid., p.155.
[7] *Kelly's Directory of Folkestone, Sandgate and Hythe*, (London, 1928), pA23.
[8] C. Laxon, 'St.Michael's and All Angels, Folkestone', *Bygone Kent* 14/10 (Oct.1993), p.613.
[9] C. Thomas, 'St.Margaret's, Folkestone', *Bygone Kent* 16/2 (Feb.1995), p.113.

polls in both the North and East Wards and Labour councillors were to be returned regularly in the following years.[10] The wealthier wards of Morehall and West remained resolutely opposed to any Labour incursions.

The economic division of the town was, to some extent, a by-product of the duality in Folkestone's identity. It was both a genteel seaside resort and a busy working port. The First World War had a devastating effect on the local economy with the tourist trade coming to a complete halt and most of the private schools closing down. Hence, in many ways, the job of reconstruction in the immediate post-war years exacerbated the pre-war divisions. The civic leaders were faced with the dual challenges of a depleted housing stock combined with inadequate welfare facilities, and a depressed holiday trade in a much more competitive post-war market. These twin economic imperatives were to have an impact on the debates surrounding the nature and form of the town's war memorial.

One further factor that helped to shape the town's post-war identity was its wartime experience. As the most convenient embarkation point for the Continent it was hardly surprisingly that Folkestone was chosen as the main base for the transportation of troops to the Front. By the end of the war nine million men had passed through the port.[11] With the constant movement of troops, the ever visible presence of wounded servicemen in the Victoria Hospital and various converted hotels and the continuous arrival of war matériel, the local residents had good justification for feeling that they were living in frontline England. The sense of parochial pride that this unique role undoubtedly engendered was clearly articulated by the Reverend Carlile in the foreword to his book, *Folkestone during the War*. He was certain that, "No town in England has a record of war work comparable with that of Folkestone. It was not only the nearest to the fighting line but the key position to England."[12] Seemingly occupying its own war-zone, the perception that Folkestone was isolated from the rest of mainland Britain was further and tragically underlined on 25 May 1917 when seventeen Gotha aeroplanes carried out a daylight raid on the town centre. Once again

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[10] W .H. Moncrieff won the North Ward election by 1475 votes to 576, and W. Hollands the East Ward by 841 to 673.

[11] J. C. Carlile, *Folkestone during the War 1914-1919*, (Folkestone, 1919), p.91.

[12] Ibid., p.4

the Reverend Carlile's history provides some insight into the extent to which the experiences of war became seared into the civic consciousness:

> It was not until May 25th 1917 that a raid on the town actually occurred, but that ordeal was horrific, never to be effaced from the memory. For ten minutes or so death literally rained from the sky – a sky of azure blue – causing the streets in some parts of the town to run with blood, and carrying bleak desolation into scores of homes.[13]

By the cessation of hostilities, then, Folkestone was a town keen to put the depredations of the war years behind it, yet, simultaneously, proud of its achievements during a period of national emergency. Its renown as a holiday destination, its years of economic prosperity and its brief spell centre stage militarily all seemed to belong to the past. Thus, as the borough readjusted to peacetime living, its civic leaders sought to uphold the traditions of former glories while coping with the practicalities of local reconstruction.

ii. Directing Memory: the War Memorial Committee in Folkestone

The first official move at municipal level towards commemorating the war dead of Folkestone was made in January 1919 at a meeting of the General Purposes Committee of the Borough Council when, 'the mayor stated that he proposed shortly to call a public meeting with reference to a local war memorial'.[14] Two months later an open meeting held at the Town Hall unanimously passed the resolution that, "a memorial be established in Folkestone in memory of those Folkestone men who gave their lives for King and Country in the Great War and to commemorate the services of others and Folkestone's part generally in the war.'[15] That the enterprise was intended to be a truly collective one, with the Committee embodying the public will, was emphasized by the wide range of sectional interests covered by the Committee personnel, with representatives of the borough Council, the local trades' associations, the Friendly Societies, the Women's Citizens' Association and the National

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[13] Ibid., p.123

[14] Folkestone Library Local History Collection, Folkestone Corporation Minutes 1918-19, p.169.

[15] Dover, East Kent Archives, FoAc/6/1, Folkestone Public Meeting, Minutes, 10 Mar. 1919.

Association of Discharged Soldiers and Sailors all being nominated.[16] The Committee's role as public agents was further underlined by Dr. Tyson, a local JP and himself a Committee nominee, when he assured the public meeting that his task would be "to receive and dissect the wishes that the people of the town might have".[17]

In this apparently seamless progression from initial proposal in the Council Chamber through ratification at a public meeting to fully functioning representative committee, Folkestone was following a well-worn path.[18] Yet, as Alex King has pointed out, although opportunities for public participation were frequently prominent features in the establishment of war memorial committees, these by no means guaranteed the democratisation of the commemorative process.[19]

Virtually from the outset in Folkestone doubts over the representative nature of the Committee's makeup were to be raised and the lie was soon to be put to the proud boast of Dr. Carlile, another Committee member and well-respected long-serving Baptist minister, that, "the platform and audience [at the initial public meeting] showed that afternoon the unity of spirit created by the war".[20] The meeting was held on a weekday afternoon thus precluding the attendance of much of the local populace; a fact indirectly noted by the *Folkestone Express* when it reported that, "there was a fairly large attendance of prominent townspeople".[21] The *Folkestone Herald* made its disquiet much more apparent when it expressed the hope that the "right of cooption will be extensively exercised, so that the General Committee shall be made as representative as possible. It is a subject in which the whole town should feel a strong interest and the project, to be successful, should be broad based upon the people's

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[16] An interesting omission to the representative groups nominated for inclusion on the War Memorial Committee was reported in the *Herald* of 15 Mar. 1919; "Mr G. Sidey raised the question of relatives of those who had lost someone in the war being on the Committee and Mr. G. Haines suggested that Mr Sidey's name be added to that list, Mr Haines remarking that they knew Mr Sidey had lost a boy." Such an embarrassing oversight was an intimation of the difficulties to come.

[17] *FH*, 15 Mar. 1919.

[18] See King, *Memorials of the Great War in Britain*, pp.26-30.

[19] Ibid.

[20] *FE*, 15 Mar. 1919.

[21] Ibid.

will."[22] A letter to the editor of the *Folkestone Herald* pulled no punches when highlighting the undemocratic nature of the proceedings as a whole;

> The public meeting at the Town Hall on Monday last to discuss the provision of a war memorial for Folkestone well illustrated the manners and methods that Folkestone peculiarly adopts in doing such things. The hall was only half full but the platform was very full;.....It is almost beyond present day conception to see the public 'signify its approval in the usual way' to resolutions of which no notice has been given and which at the time were read to the assembly once only. One could see that the whole business had been carefully stage-managed and rehearsed, and for any individual member of the audience to have struck a discordant note would have been deemed highly indecorous in such an august assembly, and would have spoilt the carefully engineered 'unanimity' of the meeting.[23]

Similar sentiments were expressed in the Folkestone Chamber of Commerce when Mr. Juniper told his fellow members that, "at the public meeting the names [of those nominated for the War Memorial Committee] were read out and pushed through before the people knew anything about it scarcely".[24] Dr. Billings, a fellow Chamber member, shared these concerns noting that, "As he went about town amongst all classes of people, he learned that the public were not following the Committee as it should."[25] The implicit criticism of the Memorial Committee's social composition was clear. Such mounting unease was eventually to take its toll and in calling a second public meeting in May 1920 the mayor was at pains to emphasize his desire for true collective participation;

> I have been asked by the War Memorial Committee to call a public meeting to report the present position and further consider the matter. The meeting is called for Tuesday next at the Town Hall at 8pm. An evening meeting has been arranged in order to suit all; I know there are those who find an afternoon meeting more convenient; I am also aware that business people and workers cannot attend in the afternoon. May I ask the former to consider the important question to be discussed and be present at an hour which suits the large majority.
> We are all (Committee included) profoundly disappointed that the Folkestone War Memorial has not made more headway and if the schemes of the committee have not

[22] *FH*, 22 Mar. 1919.
[23] Ibid. 15 Mar. 1919.
[24] *FE*, 31 Mar. 1919.
[25] Ibid., 3 Mar. 1919.

been supported because they have not met with the approval of the public, this meeting will provide the opportunity for saying so.[26]

Yet this appeal was not made until well over a year after the first public meeting and had its genesis in the paucity of subscriptions rather than the spirit of openness. It is also of no little significance that the appeal was made by R. G. Wood who, prior to succeeding Sir Stephen Penfold as mayor in November 1919, had been chairman of the Chamber of Commerce, one of the local associations that had been most vocal in its criticism of the Memorial Committee's work. The involvement of the public through consultative meetings, though undoubtedly seen as an important means of validating their efforts, was viewed by many Committee members as an obligation to be resorted to only in extremis rather than an integral part of the commemorative process. Despite such intermittent appeals directed to the local community as a whole, it was to be the wranglings of narrow sectional interest groups that were to have a greater bearing on the activities of the Memorial Committee.

Although, as we have seen, the official War Memorial Committee for Folkestone was elected at the public meeting of 10 March 1919, future discussions as to the specifics of the town's commemorative plans were by no means limited to that Committee's meeting room. A variety of sectional interest groups and organisations held parallel meetings and directed their representatives to promote their causes in the official Committee. Thus, the Folkestone branch of the Trades' and Labour Council met the day after the election of the Memorial Committee and passed a resolution calling for the monument to be of a utilitarian nature.[27] Mr. Ralph, the Council's secretary, saw the memorialisation project as a "chance for Folkestone to do good work after all the promises that had been made to the boys who went over to the other side".[28] Shortly afterwards the local branch of the National Association for Discharged Sailors and Soldiers, in supporting the idea of a utilitarian scheme, proposed the construction of a

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[26] Ibid., 8 May 1920.

[27] The existence of a general political divide in choice of memorial, with the Left favouring the utilitarian and the Right the monumental, has been noted by King, *Memorials of the Great War in Britain*, p.99 and N. Mansfield, 'Class Conflict and Village War Memorials', *Rural History, Economy, Society, Culture* 6,1 (1995), pp.76-77.

[28] *FE*, 25 Jan. 1919.

memorial hall for the use of ex-servicemen and their dependants.[29] In direct contrast to these two suggestions Folkestone's Chamber of Commerce, whose recorded aims were "to promote, advance and protect trade, commerce and the general interests of the borough.....and to promote, support or oppose legislative or other measures affecting its interests", voted in favour of a monumental design.[30] For the Chamber the aesthetic qualities of any proposed memorial were all important. The idea of a triumphal arch was favoured on the grounds that not only was it a suitable symbol of victory but it would also help to "beautify" the town and "have the great advantage of forming a fitting and architectural termination to the Leas".[31] These interest groups, with their own particular agendas to pursue, added an extra layer of bureaucracy to the enterprise and further distanced the public from the memorialisation process as a whole.

For Memorial Committees, and Folkestone was no exception in this, the difficulties in reconciling the different demands of these sectional groups was both troublesome and time-consuming, frequently undermining public confidence in the whole process. A proposal by the vicar of Folkestone, the Reverend Canon P. Tindall, that the town's memorial should include a cross on the seafront, the Leas, was fiercely opposed by the Chamber of Commerce on the grounds that, "it would be very detrimental to the interests of the town if they were going to turn their promenade into anything which savoured of a religious nature".[32] The subsequent adoption by the Memorial Committee of Tindall's proposal provoked Dr. Billings, on behalf of the Chamber, to question both the motives of the 'Church Party' and the representative nature of the Committee as a whole. "The resolution as to the cross was", he argued, "carried by thirteen votes to five out of a possible three dozen. The mover was the head of the

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[29] The NADSS was the first of the ex-servicemen's bodies founded, being established in September 1916. It had close links with the Trade Union movement and though less radical than some of its brother organisations nonetheless actively campaigned for the rights and material welfare of demobilised soldiers. See G. Wooton, *Official History of the British Legion,* (London, 1956).

[30] *Kelly's Directory of Folkestone, Sandgate and Hythe*, (London, 1928), p.A37

[31] *FH,* 19 Apr. 1919.

[32] *FE,* 3 May 1919

religious bodies of Folkestone and he was followed by diverse devotional disciples whose people would, no doubt, be considering war memorials of their own."[33]

Such internecine wrangling often had deep-rooted causes, well outside the sphere of any commemorative activity. The Folkestone Chamber of Commerce, which had been founded at the end of the nineteenth century, was reported in the *Herald* as facing the challenges of reconstruction in the aftermath of the Great War with a "renewed spirit".[34] To this end, 'a member' informed the editor, through the paper's letters' columns, that, "We [the Chamber] mean to give the valley of the dry-bones, as represented in the Council, a real shaking up.....There has been too much apathy in our public life; too much of the real old crusted red-tapeism."[35] The intensity of such municipal rivalry could often overshadow the collective spirit that the construction of a memorial site was supposed to engender. In seconding Dr. Billings' resolution at a Chamber of Commerce meeting to have a vote of no confidence in the town's War Memorial Committee, Mr. Gosnold made no attempt to hide the impact of the past on the present; "For twenty years they [the Chamber] had allowed a few of the so-called brains of Folkestone standing in Folkestone's light. Hole and corner meetings, and secrecy had been the programme of the town. He welcomed the resolution brought forward, for he was sure it was that Chamber's desire and earnest intention to smash that hole and corner business in Folkestone."[36] For Gosnold the War Memorial Committee and the Borough Council were synonymous; the commemoration of the fallen was subsumed by the factionalism of local political life.

Yet, despite the evident rifts that existed between the various sectional interest groups a complete breakdown in relations was carefully avoided. Having been told that ex-servicemen collecting subscriptions would not be paid, the local press claimed that the NADSS had "refused to have anything more to do with the memorial".[37] However, at the Association's general meeting nine days later the chairman, F. Blunt, was in a more conciliatory mood. He reported that the dispute between the Committee

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[33] Ibid.
[34] *FH*, 19 Apr. 1919.
[35] Ibid.
[36] *FE*, 31 May 1919.
[37] *FE*, 20 Dec. 1919.

and the ex-servicemen had "come to a concrete bottom at last", going on to state that he was "sorry for the discord that had been between them but he thought it was a most serious duty."[38] The apparently irrevocable breach was attributed to a "misstatement by the press".[39] In a similar vein the argument between the Chamber of Commerce and the Memorial Committee over the suitability of a granite cross on the Leas led to a proposal that the Chamber should demand the dismissal of the entire Committee. However, the Chamber's chairman, R. G. Wood, was concerned about the strength of such a resolution, preferring instead "to put forward something of a constructive nature to assist the committee out of its difficulties".[40] It is interesting to note that Wood was to succeed Sir Stephen Penfold as mayor the following November and may well have been reluctant to jeopardise his political ambitions by embroiling himself in a feud with the War Memorial Committee which was, of course, chaired by Penfold. It was eventually resolved that, instead of a vote of no confidence, a strongly worded motion of censure should be issued protesting against "the manner in which the War Memorial Committee is carrying out the duties entrusted to it."[41] This notwithstanding, there was, it would seem, a tension between the bipartisan nature of remembrance and the factionalism of local politics. Protective though the Chamber and the NADSS were of their own sectional interests, they were also keenly aware that it was communal action that lay at the heart of civic commemoration. The sacred nature of remembrance rituals invariably allowed consensus to triumph over conflict.

Indeed, it was by removing the debates from the confines of the War Memorial Committee and appealing to the public at large that sectional interest groups felt they could best influence the direction of commemorative activity. Having had the financial viability of their scheme for an ex-serviceman's hall questioned by the finance sub-committee of the War Memorial Committee, the NADSS representative, A. G. Webb, "asked for members to be at the Town Hall at the next meeting so he

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[38] *FE*, 3 Jan. 1920.

[39] Ibid.

[40] *FE*, 31 May 1919.

[41] Dover, East Kent Archives, FoAc/6/1, Folkestone War Memorial Committee, Minutes, 18 Jun. 1919.

could try and get them in the meeting".[42] Although the appearance of these non-elected members of the public would contravene the democratic nature of the War Memorial Committee, clearly Webb hoped that the views of the community, especially in the guise of ex-servicemen, would outweigh any constitutional niceties. In this he was to be disappointed. Following a similar tack, the Chamber of Commerce, having failed to persuade the members of the War Memorial Committee to revoke the resolution that the monument take the form of a cross, and having lost, by the mayor's casting vote, an amendment to have the Committee meeting adjourned, was left with no alternative other than to appeal directly to the public. Once again Dr. Billings, on behalf of the Chamber, wrote to the editor of the *Folkestone Herald* outlining in detail the perceived unconstitutional machinations of the War Memorial Committee. He concluded by expressing his hope that, "the unconsulted public will heed the warning of 'the casting vote' against a gracious amendment and that it will act with all vehemence against these rushing, divided and purposeless tactics".[43] This mirrored a similarly worded appeal from another member of the Chamber of Commerce, Mr. B. Arbey, in the *Folkestone Herald* a month earlier in which the unrepresentative nature of the War Memorial Committee had been criticised. It was, Arbey had concluded, "the duty of every Folkestonian who has the future beauty and function of his town at heart to interview such members of the Committee as he can and influence them with all the active vehemence at his command to ensure that these parochial suggestions never mature."[44] For both the Chamber and the NADSS the ultimate court of arbitration, over and above the War Memorial Committee, was the community at large. Yet, despite this tacit acknowledgement of the collective ownership of the memorialisation process, public opinion was generally only mobilised as a last resort; the community was to respond only when called upon.

The local press in Folkestone, in the form of the *Folkestone and Sandgate Express* and the *Folkestone, Cheriton, Hythe and Sandgate Herald*, had, as one would expect, a major input into the forming and directing of public opinion and, indeed, to this end

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[42] *FE*, 28 Feb. 1920.
[43] *FH*, 5 Apr. 1919.
[44] *FH*, 15 Mar. 1919.

both papers were keen to emphasise their community links. Thus, the *Express*, having proposed an alternative site to that put forward by the War Memorial Committee for the town's monument, supported its stance in a later edition by stating that, "The suggestion made in these columns a few weeks ago that a granite cross should be erected on Caesar's Camp came from a gathering of several men of the town whom had lost sons in the war, and the wishes of the parents of the men who have paid the price of victory should also have consideration."[45]

Yet, the extent to which the papers reflected the views of the full spectrum of community life needs to be questioned. The *Herald's* views on the utilitarian component of the town's war memorial are an interesting insight into its target audience. Although the editor and 'Felix', the paper's featured gossip columnist, could not agree on the suitability of a proposal to raise funds for a Nursing Institute, they both concurred with the mayor that such an institution was very much wanted".[46] The mayor had argued that, "It would be for that class of people who were the only class at the present time overlooked. The poor could go to the hospital and get the very best treatment, whilst rich people were able to get into a nursing home and by paying eight to ten guineas a week receive every comfort and the very best nursing. There was a class of people who did not wish to go into the public wards but who, if for the payment of a small sum they could have a private room, would welcome it."[47] The *Herald*, in endorsing the mayor's view, was eager to name this "overlooked" class. The editor, though somewhat obscure syntactically, was, nevertheless, sure of his understanding of public opinion; "that a nursing institute of the kind outlined would be useful nobody can deny and that something for the benefit of the long neglected middle-class is long overdue will be generally conceded."[48] 'Felix' was equally fulsome in his support "for a section of the community which has been hit very hard during the war – by taxation and other direct and indirect charges – vis the middle-class."[49] That the local press may not have represented the thoughts of all sections of the community does not, in itself, seriously undermine the impact that it

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[45] *FE*, 5 Apr. 1919.
[46] *FH*, 15 Mar. 1919.
[47] Ibid.
[48] *FH*, 22 Mar. 1919.
[49] Ibid.

had on the rituals of remembrance. If, indeed, it largely reflected the views of the middle-class then it should be remembered that it was on this group that Memorial Committees relied for a substantial proportion of their subscriptions and, as a consequence, Committee members were especially sensitive to their criticisms of proposed schemes. Thus, throughout the commemorative process, the two local newspapers were to bring pressure to bear on the workings of the town's Memorial Committee, influencing both the scope and form of the community's remembrance project.

Indeed, it was the *Folkestone Express* that first raised the question of a remembrance site for the town. In the edition following the signing of the Armistice the editor was quick to instruct the Borough Council as to its duty to the fallen;

> Folkestone has taken its share in the country's fight, and in the hour of triumph we must not forget those of our sons who have died in the great cause. It will be the duty of the town to raise some tangible monument to mark what those men have done for us, and we suggest that the civic rulers should turn their attention to this matter as soon as possible. The memory and glory of those men will never die but honour has to be paid to those who have made the Great Sacrifice and it must be a fitting memorial.[50]

When, in January 1919, Sir Stephen Penfold finally announced his intention to call a public meeting to discuss the construction of a war memorial the paper, in noting that the move had "been made somewhat tardily", was keen to remind its readers of its leadership in the matter by pointing out that, "some weeks ago we urged upon the Council that steps should be taken towards providing a Memorial for Folkestone's fallen heroes."[51] This note of ownership, the sense that the press was leading the Committee in the community's drive to commemorate the fallen, was to continue throughout the process. In February 1921, having highlighted the fact that the Committee's decision to put on public display designs for the war memorial followed hard on the heels of a criticism in their columns that just such an action had not been taken, the *Express* was determined to link cause and consequence; "I wonder if it was

[50] *FE*, 16 Nov. 1918.
[51] *FE*, 25 Jan. 1919.

the short leader in the *Express* last Friday that led to the notification on the following day that the models of the war memorial will be on view at once."[52]

Faltering progress encouraged both the *Express* and the *Herald* to become increasingly critical of the conduct of the Memorial Committee. Escalating discord over the appropriateness of a memorial cross on the Leas resulted in the *Herald* urging members of the Committee to "call a truce to all bickerings and go forward in a spirit of local patriotism".[53] The *Express* was much more damning in its condemnation of the Committee and the ever-lengthening delays. Under the headline "Folkestone War Memorial – Will it Ever Come?", the paper could barely contain its exasperation, going so far as to question the commitment of some Committee members;

> Perhaps some day in the far distant future Folkestone will have a War Memorial. Perhaps.
> Another meeting of the Futility Committee, alias the War Memorial Committee, alias the Air-beating Committee was held on Friday under the presidency of the mayor. There was but a small attendance and quite a number of letters of apology for absences were read.[54]

Two years later, as a result of a further delay in instructing the sculptor to proceed, the *Express* was still bemoaning the fact that, "the Committee once again lived up to their reputation of not being unanimous as to procedure."[55]

The pressure exerted by the local press undoubtedly had an impact on the workings of the town's War Memorial Committee. Indeed, it is interesting to note that although the decision to allow representatives of the local newspapers to attend the meetings of the Committee was passed unanimously, the suggestion was initially proposed and seconded by two of the Committees more schismatic members, F. Blunt and R. Forsyth.[56] Blunt, the chairman of the Folkestone branch of the NADSS and an

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[52] *FE*, 12 Feb. 1921.
[53] *FH*, 31 May 1919.
[54] *FE*, 31 May 1919.
[55] *FE*, 11 Jun. 1921.
[56] Dover, East Kent Archives, FoAc/6/1, Folkestone War Memorial Committee, Minutes, 25 Mar. 1919.

activist in the local Labour Party, and Forsyth, a Labour councillor and recently defeated Parliamentary candidate for that Party, were both in a minority in the Memorial Committee, partly over their support for the primacy of a utilitarian memorial and partly over their championing of the Labour Party's agenda. By appealing, through press coverage of the Memorial Committee's work, to the wider public their cause could only be advanced. Such constant and intense scrutiny not only highlighted but also exacerbated the difficulties the members of the Committee had in resolving their differences. For some the combination of external pressure and public expectation made them uncertain of the extent and legitimacy of their own powers.

Although the initial public meeting of March 1919 had resolved to appoint a Committee with powers "to decide upon the form" of a memorial, "to obtain subscriptions" and "to do all things necessary to carry out the previous resolution [to establish a memorial]", the doubts that were raised over the conduct of the meeting left many members of the War Memorial Committee questioning the extent of their mandated authority.[57] The resolution, at the inaugural Committee meeting, to incorporate a cross into the town's memorial scheme, prompted a number of members to voice their concern over such a peremptory move. As the *Express* reported, "Councillor Wood thought they were there to hear suggestions from all and sundry and not to come to a definite decision yet", while Dr. Billings, supported by Alderman Pepper, thought that they should report to another public meeting, stating that he had been told that, "whatever was done by the Committee would not be binding".[58] The disagreement was pursued in the columns of the *Folkestone Herald.* In response to an observation in the editorial of 5 April 1919 that, "the better course is to assume that the Committee was not entrusted with executive powers",[59] the Reverend J. Edward Harlow felt compelled to defend the Committee's decision and simultaneously reprimand the paper for undermining public confidence;

> As a member of the War Memorial Committee may I express, with much respect, my surprise at the assumption in your leading article last week that the Committee is not

[57] Ibid.
[58] *FE,* 5 Apr. 1919.
[59] *FH,* 5 Apr. 1919.

> entrusted with executive powers? The mayor has ruled to the contrary at each of the two meetings so far held. You mark the danger of contention. Will 'contention' be avoided by publicly 'assuming' that the Committee does not possess powers which the chairman has repeatedly ruled it does possess?[60]

Harlow's letter elicited an immediate response from Dr. Billings who, the following week, outlined the case against the Committee for the editor of the *Herald*, concluding with the hope that the paper would "continue to 'mark the danger of contention' if by 'publicly' espousing the part of a disappointed public, we may get the war memorial that the people want."[61] Yet, for Harlow and Billings, as representatives of the 'Church Party' and the Chamber of Commerce respectively, the suitability of religious iconography seemed to be closer to the heart of their dispute than the arcane workings of the Committee's constitution. The furtherance of sectional interests seemed to overshadow any concern these members may have had about the extent to which the public voice was given a hearing in Committee meetings.

The superficiality of public inclusion was also evident in the events surrounding the calling of the second, and last, public meeting to discuss the town's war memorial. As has already been mentioned the impetus for the meeting stemmed mainly from a failure to obtain sufficient subscriptions for the memorial fund. The mayor, in his opening address, outlined clearly the symbiotic relationship between Committee and community; "The Committee wanted to know whether the public approved of the suggestions which had been made and if they did approve of them how was the money to be raised. If they did not approve of the schemes then they wanted to know what would be acceptable to them."[62] However, the subsequent decisions of the Memorial Committee were to highlight the gulf that existed between rhetoric and action. After lengthy discussions, the public meeting, at which the *Express* noted there was "a large attendance", resolved that fund-raising should take priority over the choosing of a design.[63] To this end it was decided that yet another sub-committee should be formed to organise a war memorial week and then, once the amount of

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[60] *FH*, 19 Apr. 1919.
[61] *FH*, 26 Apr. 1919.
[62] *FE*, 15 May 1920.
[63] Ibid.

funds available had been more precisely ascertained, a third public meeting should be called to discuss the form of the project. However, the chairman of the Memorial Committee, Sir Stephen Penfold, the mayor, R. G. Wood, and the vicar of Folkestone, Canon Tindall, were all united in their opposition to the meeting's resolutions and at a specially convened meeting of the Memorial Committee a fortnight later had no qualms in overturning the will of the public and inverting their recommendations. Canon Tindall, displaying an alarming disregard for due democratic process, defended his stance by stating that, "He did not like the resolution at the public meeting and had not voted for it".[64] The war memorial week was not to be held until a full year after the public meeting had first called for it and then only after the form of the memorial had already been finalised.

In the control exerted by the town's elite the construction of Folkestone's commemorative site appeared little different from any other local political activity. Yet, the emotive nature of such an undertaking meant that the impression of collective involvement was all important. Openness and public accountability had to underpin the workings of the directing Committee. For such a community site to be a success, a sense of public ownership in its realisation was essential. Evidence of the emphasis placed on communal participation can be seen in the careful inclusion of a wide range of sectional interest groups in the make-up of the War Memorial Committee, in the unfettered access afforded the press for the reporting of the Committee's work and in the convening of public meetings to ratify executive decisions. Yet, this drive to reach a consensus could also, paradoxically, make the memorialisation process more vulnerable to conflict. Pre-existing tensions and rivalries in the borough's political life were often brought into sharp relief as different factions laid claim to be the true representatives of community identity. Attempts to resolve such conflict frequently resulted in the whole process being obscured from the public view as the disputes were fought out in the meeting rooms of executive committees with a few local activists dominating. The community's participation was thus restricted and reactive; public opinion only being mobilised as and when it suited the needs of local pressure groups. Nonetheless, neither local political activists nor members of the War Memorial Committee were completely free to act as they

[64] *FE*, 29 May 1920.

pleased. Ultimately, for its decisions to be validated and legitimised, Folkestone's War Memorial Committee had to be able to display some degree of public accountability. Although consultations through open public meetings were susceptible to manipulation, they were nevertheless a key element in conflict resolution. Thus, opportunities did exist for the wider community to have an impact on the decision-making of the town's War Memorial Committee. However, these opportunities were limited and formalised with the local elite, for the most part, retaining ownership of the process, controlling both the timing and the format of public participation.

iii. Community Rituals 1: Fundraising

The raising of funds for a war memorial project was not simply a practical consideration but rather a communal activity that resonated to the very heart of the process as a civic ritual. By subscribing to a memorial fund members of the public could express their gratitude for the sacrifice of the fallen and demonstrate their affinity with their fellow citizens. For local Committees, public participation in fund-raising validated their work and recast the plastic memorial as a genuinely communal memory site. Yet, Committee members were aware that their own reputations and those of their localities were also at stake. For members of the Folkestone War Memorial Committee, the desire to promote civic prestige, to extol the town's role in the war and its importance generally, was a strong motivational factor. From the outset Sir Philip Sassoon, the local MP, was keen that the memorial "should be worthy of the town".[65] In echoing this sentiment at a public meeting in May 1920 the mayor, R. G. Wood, appeared to be driven more by a spirit of civic rivalry than any desire to honour past glories. For the memorialisation proposals to be a "credit to the town" his audience was urged that,

> There was no time to lose for since the scheme was started many other memorials had been started not only in Folkestone but in the county and other places with which one was associated and these projects were taking money from people in Folkestone. Thus the Folkestone memorial would suffer. He had even refused to appeal in

[65] Dover, EKA, FoAc/6/1, Folkestone Public Meeting, Minutes, 10 Mar. 1919.

> Folkestone for subscriptions for the County Memorial as at present they had their own memorial to consider.[66]

Almost a year later, with the memorial fund still woefully short of its target, it was again a perceived sense of the town's standing that was being invoked to help boost donations, this time by the *Express*, when the public was informed that, "a big and a strong pull is all that is necessary and Folkestone will not then lag behind other towns."[67]

A combination of sacred duty and civic pride led many citizens to propose, in the first instance, overly ambitious commemorative schemes. Acutely aware of the enormity of the losses suffered as a result of the recent conflict and fiercely proud of the prominent role their town played in the mobilisation of men and matériel, many Folkestonians assumed that donations for a memorial project would pour in at an unprecedented rate. The Memorial Committee's initial target of £20,000, which was to prove to be almost seven times higher than the amount eventually raised, received widespread approval.[68] Doubts raised by Mr. G. Haines of the Chamber of Commerce as to the viability of such an ambitious scheme were contemptuously dismissed by the *Folkestone Herald*. The paper's editor was sure that he was living in exceptional times and that the public's response would reflect this fact:

> Mr G. W. Haines expresses the opinion that not more than £2,000 will be raised remarking that he bases his estimate upon past experience. But is there any 'past experience' which can be taken as a reliable guide upon this occasion? There has never been a war at all comparable with the Great War which has convulsed the world in the past five years, and the circumstances in which the appeal for funds to defray the cost of the memorial will be issued will be unique. A sum far exceeding £2,000 should be forthcoming. Gratitude to those who have made the supreme sacrifice or been maimed for life should inspire many substantial contributions.[69]

A similar sentiment, though this time dulled by the harsh lessons that only experience can bring, underpinned the resignation of the secretary of the War Memorial

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[66] *FE*, 15 May 1920.

[67] *FE*, 23 Apr. 1921.

[68] Dover, EKA, FoAc/6/1, Folkestone Memorial Finance Sub-Committee, Minutes, 28 Nov. 1919.

[69] *FH*, 29 Mar. 1919.

Committee, A. F. Kidson. "It did not occur to me", he informed his fellow Committee members, "that so much effort would have to be made to obtain subscriptions, and I anticipated that as soon as the appeal was made everybody would, out of gratitude for what has been done for them, wish to subscribe, but in this anticipation I was wrong."[70]

The financial difficulties that many Memorial Committees experienced meant that they found themselves torn between propriety and necessity. An all out drive for subscriptions did not always sit easily with the delicate task of commemorating the dead. For some, sacred ends did not justify profane means. The Folkestone War Memorial Committee refused to allow a local trader to sell china models of the proposed monument even though all the proceeds were to go towards the fund. The idea of a fete on the Leas was raised and rejected on two separate occasions, with the mayor, in opposing the motion for a second time, warning his fellow Committee members that, "With reference to entertainments in aid of the funds, they must go carefully in that respect".[71] Even in accepting money raised through an appeal made at the Grand Hotel during a "dramatic entertainment", the mayor was damning in his gratitude; "He recognised they were having it for the best motive.....It was a step in the right direction and though they were not exactly Folkestone people he thanked them for the effort they had made."[72] It seemed to be social origin as much as geographic location that lay at the heart of his reservations. Indeed, in assessing the suitability of money raising ventures class seems to have played a significant role. The aptness of a cricket match and accompanying entertainment organised by the Brotherhood of Cheerful Sparrows went unquestioned.[73] The refined nature of such an occasion in which, "both teams played in tall silk hats and Mr. Haig's band played delightful selections" was clearly more acceptable to the middle-class sensibilities of

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[70] Dover, EKA, FoAc/6/1, Folkestone War Memorial Committee, Minutes, 29 Dec. 1919.

[71] *FE*, 30 Apr. 1921.

[72] Ibid.

[73] The Folkestone Court of the Brotherhood of Cheerful Sparrows was set up in January1920 under the chairmanship of E. Condy, a local JP. According to Condy the Brotherhood was "simply and solely a fraternity" with the charitable objective of "helping the lame dog over the style". Although Condy claimed that the Brotherhood had "no politics....and was absolutely non-sectarian and non-municipal", some idea of the general outlook of its members can be gleaned from his insistence that they "were loyal to King and Constitution". *FE*, 9 Apr. 1921.

the Memorial Committee than the mass appeal of low-brow vaudeville or proletarian fetes.[74]

Sporting events of all types were, in fact, common features of fund-raising and were generally deemed appropriate. A football match between the Schools' League champions and a District XI was organised by the Folkestone War Memorial Committee. An even more intriguing contest was proposed by the town clerk. In declining the offer of a match between the Borough Council and the local branch of the NADSS, he suggested, as an alternative, that a team of ex-servicemen should "play a team of men who had obtained exemption, or a team of conscientious objectors".[75] There is, unfortunately, no evidence that such a match ever took place. The personal qualities that sporting contests were thought to encourage, determination, team spirit and a sense of fair play were, for many, the very characteristics that the fallen embodied.[76]

Invariably Memorial Committees laid great stress on the sense of duty that the living owed the dead; it was a matter of honour to donate. Indeed, in the Folkestone War Memorial Committee's early drive for a memorial hall the burden of obligation was extended to surviving servicemen as well as their fallen comrades. A. G. Webb, on behalf of the NADSS, reminded Folkestonians that £20,000 was a small price to pay for the sacrifices of his Association's members;

> The sum of £20,000 is aimed at by the Folkestone War Memorial Committee to commemorate the glorious services rendered by that immortal band of heroes from Folkestone who gave all that we might live in comfort. It is also a duty on the part of the inhabitants of Folkestone to recognise those men who offered all but were fortunate enough to return (Some unfortunately maimed for life). You, we feel sure, will admit that those glorious lads of our town are deserving of practical recognition and that we owe them far more than £20,000.[77]

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[74] *FE*, 14 May 1921.

[75] Ibid., 11 Oct. 1919.

[76] The growth of organised sport in the latter part of the nineteenth century and the perceived connection with wider moral well-being has been noted by Eksteins, *Rites of Spring*, pp.120-126.

[77] *FE*, 27 Dec. 1919.

The subsequent appeal urged people to "Help those who in 1914-18 Helped You."[78] The undercurrent of guilt that ran through this appeal to honour, the contrast between present comforts and past sufferings, was not uncommon. The editor of the *Folkestone Herald* was more direct in pricking the conscience of the wealthy of the borough when he anticipated that, "those investments and banking accounts which have assumed proportions undreamt of before the war will be another fruitful source [of contributions]".[79] A similar note was struck in the letter columns of the *Express* over the failure of the Brotherhood of Cheerful Sparrows to take, up to that point, an active role in fund-raising for the memorial. Reacting to an item in the previous week's edition commenting on the inactivity of the Brotherhood, an 'Old Bird', stretching analogy to the limits, made his displeasure clear;

> Sir,
> I see in Occasional Musings re the War Memorial Fund that the Cheerful Sparrows are looking down from their perches. I wonder they have not come off a long time ago and had a 'round robin' which, seeing how well filled some of their nests are, should provide a nice round sum. Give up chirping and hunting for food.[80]

Publishing lists of subscribers and the amounts they had pledged was another common way of appealing to the public's sense of duty. The lists served the dual function of, on the one hand, celebrating those who had fulfilled their obligations and, on the other, encouraging the remainder to match such efforts. It was this second group that was clearly uppermost in the mayor's mind when he informed Folkestone Town Council that, "the best way [to obtain more donations] would be to again publish the list of subscribers so they could see who had subscribed and those who had not".[81] Yet, his subsequent promise to publish "the full list of subscribers" was

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[78] Dover, EKA, FoAc/6/1, Appeal, 23 Oct. 1920.

[79] *FH*, 29 Mar. 1919. The Western Allies experienced a brief but considerable boom in the immediate post-war period. Deregulation, combined with a sudden upsurge in demand, resulted in significant gains for many investors and businessmen. By the summer of 1920, however, government retrenchment and a levelling off of consumer demand had led to a severe downturn in fortunes. D.Aldcroft, *The European Economy 1914-1970*, (London, 1994), Ch.1.

[80] *FE*, 26 Mar. 1921. As previously noted, the Brotherhood of Cheerful Sparrows was quick to react to such criticism with the members arranging a fund-raising cricket match and initiating a collection for the following month.

[81] *FE*, 30 Apr. 1921.

never fulfilled.[82] Although lists did frequently appear in the columns of both local newspapers they were by no means comprehensive with a financial threshold separating those whose contribution was deemed worthy of individual recognition from the unnamed masses. Thus, the lists of monies received during the town's memorial week only noted individually those who donated ten shillings or more, the rest having to settle for the anonymity of "small amounts" or "other sums".[83] Clearly space would have to have been a consideration in whether or not to publish the full list of subscribers. Nonetheless, by continually acclaiming in the local press the contributions of the town's elite a sense that the commemoration project was owned and controlled by the propertied and wealthy classes was being indirectly disseminated.

Although the publication of subscription lists was supposed to celebrate the joint effort of the community, Catherine Moriarty has noted that the practice was sometimes denounced on the grounds that it would undermine the sense of collective ownership; the memory site would appear to belong to the named few, not to all.[84] The proprietorial subtext of subscription lists was tacitly recognised by the *Express* when it questioned the wisdom of publishing donors' names, pointing out that many people preferred to give anonymously.[85] Spontaneity and selflessness had to underpin contributions. For a memory site to embody truly a community's gratitude, then, it was felt by many, its funding had to be of a genuinely voluntary nature. A suggestion in the *Folkestone Herald* that, "some part of the cost of a useful scheme could be defrayed out of the rates"[86] was dismissed by the Memorial Committee as "an absolutely absurd way of appealing for funds".[87] Similarly, as has already been noted, a proposal to pay

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[82] Ibid.

[83] *FE*, 14 May 1921. This when the average earnings for a man in 1922 was £3-9s per week. Andrew Pearson, *Britain in the Era of Two World Wars 1914-45*, (London, 1994).

[84] Moriarty, 'Private Grief and Public Remembrance', pp.125-142.

[85] *FE*, 7 May 1921.

[86] *FH*, 29 Mar.1919

[87] *FE*, 13 Nov. 1920. The issue of expenditure on commemorative projects being, at least in part, defrayed from the rates was dealt with in the House of Commons by the MP for Folkestone, Major Astor. Astor stated that the Local Government Board's view was that, "a public appeal for voluntary subscriptions from the inhabitants should be made by the local authority before having recourse to the rates." Nonetheless, the Board was prepared to concede that, "reasonable expenditure for memorials of a useful character" could be sanctioned "where

ex-servicemen for collecting funds was felt by the mayor and a majority of the Committee to be against the spirit of the whole enterprise. The purity of the project was paramount; it had to remain untainted by the normal mundanities of the commercial world.

The introduction of an element of compulsion was to defile the sanctity of the civic ritual and undermine the collective ownership of the memory site. With the town's memorial fund making slow progress and in response to a query as to whether the collectors "had tried using any powers of persuasion on the people", the secretary of the War Memorial Committee was categorical that, "no pressure should be exerted; the idea was that subscriptions should be entirely voluntary gifts."[88] Mrs Daly, of the Brotherhood of Cheerful Sparrows, was equally keen to emphasise the validity of her organisation's work. Although a model of the memorial was to be put in her shop window and a collecting box on the counter she was insistent that, "notwithstanding that, no attempt is made to unduly press people to contribute."[89]

For some, however, profanity lay in the very act of asking for money; to have to canvass for funds was viewed as a violation of the fallen's memory. Mr. Sidey, who, as has already been mentioned, was seconded on to the War Memorial Committee as a representative of the bereaved, told those present at the second public meeting that, "to those who unfortunately lost dear ones during the war that constant hunting for money was rather boring.....It would be better to have some simple monument instead of dunning people for money."[90] He was supported in this by Mr. Bowles who felt that the Committee "should not keep continually asking people to give and so forcing them".[91] For Canon Tindall such was the gravity of the act of raising a memorial to the fallen that it stood apart from all other civic rituals, demanding a separate, purer response from the community. "It seemed to him", a meeting of the War Memorial Committee was informed, "that to have a war memorial week, similar to a war loan week, when

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accounts were subject to audit by the government." By 'useful' Astor had in mind schemes of a utilitarian nature. *The Times*, 26 Mar. 1919.

[88] *FE*, 28 Feb. 1920.

[89] *FE*, 2 Apr. 1921.

[90] *FE*, 15 May 1920.

[91] Ibid.

they were going to cadge for money did not seem very respectful to those heroes who had died for them.....To go cadging and begging for money for those fine men who gave their lives looked to him very infra dig."[92]

Such high-minded ideals made the work of Memorial Committees even more difficult. While not wishing to offend the sensibilities of the local populace it was still necessary for the financial imperatives of any commemorative project to be met. The need to keep on board public sympathies did not always marry up with the desire of borough Memorial Committees to enhance their towns' and so, vicariously, their own prestige. For many members of Folkestone War Memorial Committee, the purity of Mr. Sidey's call for a 'simple monument' did not match the scope of their civic ambitions. The inherent tension that existed in the first public meeting's resolution to, on the one hand, commemorate "those Folkestone men who gave their lives for King and Country" and, on the other, "to celebrate Folkestone's part generally in connection with the War", encouraged the Committee to look beyond the narrow confines of parochial fund-raising.[93] The finance sub-committee, mindful of the town's national role as an embarkation point for Allied troops on route to the Western Front and its international significance as a base-camp for Canadian forces, decided to broaden the scope of its ambitions and appeal for funds in both the *Times* and the national press in Canada. A lady from Sheffield, responding to the appeal in the *Times*, encapsulated the supra-local vision of Folkestone's Committee members when she informed the chairman that her guinea donation was "in loving memory of one for whom Folkestone was the last piece of British soil on which he trod."[94]

Yet, this attempt to fuse the national and the local, to invest the commemorative project with a multi-layered meaning, was to prove to be riddled with difficulties and ultimately unsuccessful. The town's MP, Sir Phillip Sassoon, would not initially sign the appeal in the *Times*. Although he accepted that the "proposed monument on the Leas can rightly be considered to be a matter of more than local interest", he was concerned that the "essentially local benefits" of the scheme for an ex-servicemen's

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[92] *FE*, 29 May 1920

[93] Dover, EKA, FoAc/6/1, Folkestone Public Meeting, Minutes, 10 Mar. 1919.

[94] *FE*, 15 May 1920.

club "would very likely have the unfortunate effect of prejudicing the whole enterprise".[95] Despite the Committee's subsequent resolution to omit any mention of the utilitarian aspect of the project in the *Times*, the mayor still had to admit, six months later, that, "the appeal issued to the people in England and Canada had met with no response".[96] That ambition had outstripped common sense in this matter would seem to be supported by the mayor's admission at the same meeting that, "nothing had been done during the season to raise funds for the memorial [because] you don't get it from visitors as a rule."[97] Implicit was a tacit acknowledgement of the essentially local character of the project. By widening the scope of their fund-raising schemes in an attempt to further their civic ambitions, the Folkestone War Memorial Committee had been willing to jeopardise the effectiveness of the memory site as a community totem. Yet, paradoxically, it was the particularism of their civic ambitions that resulted in an indifferent national response and, thus, ensured that the project remained firmly rooted in the locality.

The reliance on public donations for not only financial viability but also communal endorsement ensured that the local populace did have some impact on the workings of local Memorial Committees. Many Committee members feared that too much dissent within a Memorial Committee would tarnish a commemorative project in the eyes of the community and hence adversely affect the level of contributions. At only the second meeting of the Folkestone War Memorial Committee, Dr. Carlile, unsettled by the intransigence shown by some members over the utilitarian aspect of the town's plans, "pointed out that they must get the greatest harmony in order to gain the greatest amount of subscriptions."[98] Well over a year later the mayor was still anxious that the Committee's failure to present a united front was jeopardising the success of their work. Rejecting the idea that the borough should construct both a memorial hall and a monument he informed the Committee that, "they would get no adequate response to their appeal if they went forward with a double-barrelled scheme."[99]

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[95] Dover, EKA, FoAc/6/1, Folkestone Memorial Finance Committee, Minutes, 23 Feb. 1920.
[96] *FE*, 11 Sep. 1920.
[97] Ibid.
[98] *FE*, 5 Apr. 1919.
[99] *FE*, 13 Nov. 1920.

The financial power that the public exercised was also evident in the Committee's inability to agree on the precise scheduling of their fund-raising activities. Mr. Forsyth's suggestion that they should "ascertain what they were likely to get and then prepare a scheme according to the amount of money received" was in diametric opposition to the mayor who was of the opinion that, "if they had a scheme acceptable to the public they would get money".[100] Although it was eventually decided, at the public meeting of 5 May 1920, to concentrate on raising funds first, the Committee nonetheless ordered a sketch of the proposed monument to accompany the house to house collectors "as many people have expressed a wish to know a little more definitely what is proposed".[101] It is interesting to note that this sketch, based on the Committee's original idea of a granite cross, bore no resemblance to the memorial eventually chosen. The public's donations were rather conveniently seen to have been an endorsement of an abstract notion of memorialisation rather than a tangible monument.[102]

Undoubtedly the financing of commemorative projects did allow the public's voice to be heard. The failure of a community to subscribe to a memorial fund was one of the starkest methods of expressing dissatisfaction and one of the most effective. The second public meeting at Folkestone, which was not called until well over a year after the first, resulted solely from a lack of subscriptions. Such financial apathy inevitably undermined the feasibility of any scheme and sent a clear message to the members of the controlling Committees. Having outlined their parlous financial state at the meeting of May 1920, the mayor informed the audience that, "the Committee came to the conclusion that the proposals that they placed before the public evidently did not meet with approval".[103] Yet, the public's involvement was largely reactive, stemming in this instance from the Committee's inability to raise sufficient funds elsewhere. Recourse to such public consultation was regarded by the controlling bodies as a last resort, a stop-

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[100] *FE*, 3 May 1919

[101] Dover, EKA, FoAc/6/1, Folkestone War Memorial Committee, Minutes, 11 May 1920.

[102] Although the Committee clearly felt happy that the public had not been misled in this matter, in other instances they were much more meticulous in the handling of the donations they received. Thus, when it was decided to no longer go ahead with an ex-servicemen's club but instead provide a fund for their dependants, all the subscribers to this utilitarian component of the project were contacted in order to gain consent for such a transfer to be made.

[103] Dover, EKA, FoAc/6/1 Folkestone Public Meeting, Minutes, 11 May 1920.

gap measure to tide them over difficult times. Sir Stephen Penfold's assertion at the same meeting that, "it was the public who found the money and it was they who would say what they wanted" was to prove all too hollow.[104] No more public meetings were to be held and, as will be seen, the community's input in the remainder of the process was to be carefully prescribed and largely superficial.

iv. Community Rituals 2: The Naming of the Fallen

One of the most arresting and moving aspects of virtually any borough war memorial is the list of names engraved on the base panels and, indeed, it was to be in the naming process that local communities would become most involved in the memorialisation of the fallen. The inclusion of a loved one's name on a local memorial helped bridge the gulf that existed between private and collective commemoration; personal loss was, at least in part, assuaged by public recognition.[105] In May 1917 the mayor of Folkestone was encouraged by Lord Plymouth, the chairman of the Local War Museum Association, to adopt the War Museum scheme in order "to preserve the record of the patriotism and heroism of local inhabitants and the part they have played in the titanic conflict".[106] Thus, by the end of the war the centrality of naming in the commemorative process had been firmly established. Lord Radnor's plea to Folkestonians at the first public meeting to discuss the town's commemorative plans, that, "there should be permanently on record in every town, and probably in every parish of the country, some book with the names and service of those who had taken part in the defence of their country in any capacity whatever", was rooted in firm foundations and would have struck a sympathetic note with his listeners and fellow Committee members.[107]

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[104] *FE*, 15 May 1920.

[105] The centrality of naming in remembrance was taken to extremes by Maya Lin, whose Vietnam Veterans' Memorial in Washington DC consists solely of names engraved on a black marble wall. In stressing the synchronicity of the private and the collective, Lin was keen that the site would provide the opportunity for, "personal reflection while unifying those individuals into a whole". Vincent Scully, 'The Terrible Art of Designing a War Memorial', *New York Times*, 14 Jul. 1991.

[106] Dover, EKA, FoCM/5/1, Earl of Plymouth to the mayor of Folkestone, 10 May 1921.

[107] *FE*, 15 Mar. 1919. Radnor was the major landowner in and around Folkestone.

However, concurrence with the sentiments expressed by Radnor notwithstanding, Folkestone's War Memorial Committee did not originally intend to include the names of the dead on the borough's memorial. Having already adopted Lord Plymouth's scheme for a War Museum and, under the direction of the borough librarian, S. G. Hills, compiled a Roll of Honour, it was felt by many Committee members that their duty in this area had been fulfilled. The motives that underpinned the Committee's adoption of this line are not too hard to discern for the obstacles facing borough Memorial Committees as they attempted to have engraved accurate lists of the war dead were considerable. The sheer numbers involved were, more often than not, daunting. Hills informed the Folkestone Memorial Committee that as of 31 October 1921 the number of recorded dead stood at 466 from 72 different regiments.[108] In addition to the simple logistical difficulties of ensuring the accuracy of the details for such overwhelming numbers there was the painfully delicate task of adjudicating on eligibility. Sir Stephen Penfold, in outlining the complexities that the Committee faced once they had reversed their original position and resolved to include names on the memorial, displayed an intuitive understanding of the centrality of naming in the rituals of remembrance when he astutely sidestepped direct personal accountability. "A number of names," the Committee was informed, "had been sent in of men who had been out of the war and had come back all right again but twelve months after had died. He did not think it was the intention that those names should go on the memorial, but he would not take the responsibility of saying whether they should or not."[109]

Further pressure to abandon the inclusion of names was exerted by the professional experts to whom the Folkestone Committee turned for advice. Having agreed to oversee the selection of a design for the town, the Royal Society of British Sculptors urged the Memorial Committee to revert to their original plan of compiling a Roll of Honour as not only would the cost be less prohibitive but it would also be "to the advantage of the memorial from the artistic standpoint".[110] This advice was reinforced a few months later by J. A. Colton, the assessor appointed by the Society to oversee the selection process. Having pointed out that the cost of engraving so many names could

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[108] Dover, EKA, FoAc/6/1, Folkestone War Memorial Committee, Minutes, 13 Oct. 1921.
[109] *FE*, 17 Dec. 1921.
[110] Dover, EKA, FoAc/6/1, Folkestone War Memorial Committee, Minutes, 9 Oct. 1920.

well exceed £500, he emphasized the aesthetic considerations by observing that, "it was not usual for names to be engraved on memorials".[111]

That Folkestone's Memorial Committee was prepared to reverse its original stance of January 1920 and, moreover, to persevere with the inclusion of names despite such difficulties and in the face of expert advice to the contrary, was a clear acknowledgement of the primacy of naming in the commemorative rituals. For the Committee's members to fulfil their duties and, more importantly, to be seen to be fulfilling their duties, they had to first and foremost publicly celebrate the achievements and sacrifices of their community's soldier-citizens.[112] The inclusion of names firmly rooted a memorial in the locality and underlined its validity as genuinely communal memory site. Major Compton's rhetorical question to his fellow Committee members during the debate in January 1920 on whether or not to include name panels on the memorial, "Are we not commemorating the names of the Folkestone men who have fallen?", was particularly apposite.[113] It was the town as a living community of interdependent men, women and children that was being memorialised not merely an impersonal notion of civic status. Although the notables who directed the memorialisation process had a number of, sometimes conflicting, agendas they wished to pursue, they could not afford to lose sight completely of the ritual's heart; the fallen.

For the wider community generally, and the bereaved particularly, naming was the central component of the memorialisation process and was the ritual to which most importance was attached. Though precise motives may have varied, all were united in their insistence on public naming. For some it was of critical importance that loved ones should be remembered alongside their fallen comrades, to be acknowledged as sharing in death the qualities they were held to have displayed in life. This was of

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[111] Ibid., 2 Mar. 1921.

[112] The importance of being seen to be meeting one's obligations was apparent in the arguments put forward against maintaining a simple Roll of Honour. In noting that, "one of the reasons given not to have names was that the names were in the muniment room of the Corporation", Councillor Mumford went on to stress the importance of visibility; "Who, however, would go there to see the names? The names should be put on the memorial.": *FE*, 3 Jul.1920. Not only should the dead's names be clearly accessible to the community but so too should the fact that the Committee had fully discharged its obligations.

[113] *FE*, 3 Jul. 1920.

especial concern for Mrs. H. Duncan who was unable to find her son, Cpl. C. E. Duncan, on the list of the fallen published in the *Folkestone Herald.* She was understandably anxious for, as she informed S. G. Hills, the borough librarian and Committee member responsible for the compilation of names, "he had a brother (A. J. Duncan RASC who is duly inscribed on the memorial) die in 1917 and we should feel it very much if his name was not recorded among the rest of the heroes".[114] For others nostalgia was the driving force. Mrs. J. Major, a resident of Capetown, South Africa, having discovered that her two sons had been missed off the original lists of the fallen, asked the mayor to ensure that their names were included on the extra plaque which she had been told was to be added to the memorial. "They loved their native town," she concluded, "and I shall feel happier to know their names are honoured on the Memorial on the spot where they often played as children."[115] For Mrs. Major the Folkestone memorial was a means of immortalising the memory of her dead sons, resiting them forever in happier, more innocent times.[116] Many of the bereaved, while anxious to commemorate publicly their loss, were uncertain whether or not their dead qualified for inclusion. This was especially so for those whose loved ones died after the cessation of hostilities. Mrs. H. Clark, whose husband, Private Robert Clark, had volunteered for the Royal West Kents in June 1915, been discharged with TB in October 1917 and died in December 1919, was unsure whether to send his details in to the Memorial Committee as she had been "wondering if the memorial is only for the men who died abroad".[117] In a similar vein, Mrs Muriel More drew a connection between war-time service and peace-time death. In asking the Committee to reconsider the omission of J. A. Carlile, the only son of the distinguished local Baptist minister, Dr. J. Carlile, she was adamant that, "although he went after...he was certainly killed by the war".[118]

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[114] Dover, EKA, FoAc/6/4, Mrs. Duncan to S. G. Hills, 30 Nov. 1922.

[115] Dover, EKA, FoCM/4, Mrs. Major to the mayor of Folkestone, 13 Jul. 1923.

[116] For further examples of the recollection of the dead as children see Moriarty, 'Private Grief and Public Remembrance', p.137.

[117] Dover, EKA, FoAC/6/2, Mrs. Clark to S. G. Hills, 16 Nov. 1921. Clark's name was included on the memorial.

[118] Ibid., Mrs. More to S. G. Hills, 23 Nov. 1921. It is interesting to note that More's assertion is supported by Sydney Clark in an article for *Bygone Kent.* Clark ascribes Captain Carlile's death to "the strenuous nature of his wartime duties". Sydney Clark, 'Dr. Carlile of Folkestone', *Bygone Kent* 11/2, (Feb 1990), pp.115-119. Nonetheless, the Committee adhered to its original decision and Carlile's name does not appear on the memorial.

Further evidence of the importance of naming for the bereaved can be found in the frequent demands for precision in the details recorded. Mr. W. H. Grace informed Hills that his son had not been a private but a "boy mechanic and passed all exams for which we have certificates".[119] Although such a correction was undoubtedly motivated, at least in part, by paternal pride, there was also a need to ensure that the service of the dead was recorded faithfully for posterity. Indeed, when Mrs. Gamburn informed Hills that her husband had been listed as a Sergeant when, in fact, "at the time of his death he was Acting-Sergeant but his proper rank was Private and all his papers came through as such", she was as much motivated by pride in the achievement of a loved one as Mr. Grace.[120] There were no gradations in the fulfilment of duty; all were to be equally honoured. It was the living's last remaining responsibility to the dead to ensure that the memorialisation of the services performed was exact. More prosaically there was the additional concern that with such vast numbers involved any slight error in the information recorded could lead to confusion over the precise identity of the individual being commemorated. Thus, it was not uncommon for relatives to ask for the full names of their dead to be recorded. A war memorial, though a communal memory site, was also a focus for private grief and, as such, recalled the deaths of individuals, of fathers, of husbands, of sons, as much as it commemorated the collective sacrifice of a community.

With the dual demands from the public for inclusion and accuracy, there was great pressure on Memorial Committees to ensure that the lists of names of the fallen were both correct and comprehensive. It was common for the names of the fallen to appear in local newspapers alongside a request for corrections or additions. Appeals of this sort were made in the local newspapers in Folkestone on two separate occasions.[121] Moreover, the Folkestone War Memorial Committee, having drawn up a preliminary list of the fallen using the records of local newspapers, church shrines and Rolls of Honour in clubs and workplaces, sent pro-formas to relatives asking for further particulars, including the cause of death and the deceased's connection with the borough.[122] When no relative could be contacted, the next step was to make enquiries

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[119] Dover, EKA, FoAc/6/2, Mrs. Grace to S. G. Hills, 14 Nov. 1921.

[120] Ibid., Mrs. Gamburn to S. G. Hills, 13 Nov. 1921.

[121] The appeals appeared in the *Express* and the *Herald* on 5 and 12 November 1919.

[122] Dover, EKA, FoAc/6/2.

at the record offices of the military authorities. Thus, S. G. Hills, on behalf of the Folkestone Committee, contacted the Royal Garrison Artillery Records Office to help trace Battery Sergeant-Major Thomas Eldridge who had no known next of kin.[123]

As has been seen it was not always clear-cut who should be included on a memorial and, in line with many other boroughs, a special sub-committee was convened in Folkestone to adjudicate on such matters. Yet, interestingly, the decision to form this sub-committee was not taken until 12 December 1921 when it was also decided that the list of names would have to be finalised by the end of the year. The imposition of such a tight time schedule, which meant the sub-committee was only able to meet twice, inevitably led to errors and omissions. Indeed, the mayor informed one relative eight months after the unveiling of the memorial that, "the chairman of the Committee has given instructions to Mr. S. G. Hills, the librarian, to start a list of names for another tablet to be affixed [to the memorial] in future....as fresh names are being accumulated."[124]

The Folkestone War Memorial Committee did show concern over the compilation of the names of the borough's war dead, and great pains were taken to ensure accuracy, yet the process did not seem to resonate as much with the Committee members as it did with the general public. Naming was not first on the Committee's agenda, the decision to have the names of the fallen engraved on the memorial not being taken until well over a year into the process, and the rigid time constraints, which severely restricted the work of the sub-committee in December 1921, were largely self-imposed being the consequence of delays stemming from heated arguments over other aspects of the memorialisation process. Collectively the names of the fallen invested the memorial with significant power as a community totem. Hence, the Committee's interest in the individuals whose names they gathered lay not in their lives on a personal, familial

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[123] Ibid. Interestingly, Ken Inglis, in his examination of commemoration in Cambridge in the aftermath of the Great War, has noted that the process was an entirely civic ritual with no thought of involving the military authorities. Although the Folkestone Memorial Committee was keen to use the local civilian networks, this would seem to be more due to expediency than a conscious decision to promote the communal nature of the enterprise. Their willingness to resort immediately to the military authorities to settle difficult cases would seem to support this view. See Inglis, 'The Homecoming' pp.583-603.

[124] Dover, EKA, FoCM/4, 13 Aug. 1923.

level but rather in their role as representatives of the community. Ensuring accuracy was to encourage inclusion and heighten the public's identification with the rituals and symbolism that surrounded the memorial. The corollary of this was the exclusion of those regarded as being outside the community of the dead. In a physical sense this meant those whose connection with the borough was deemed to be too tenuous. Thus, Mrs. Prior was curtly told by Hills that, "As we saw your son's name was put on the Sandgate memorial it was withdrawn from the list prepared for the Folkestone area".[125] That Mrs. Prior, who had already subscribed to the Folkestone memorial and who had lived in the town for over forty years, should be informed of this fact just one day before the unveiling ceremony underlines the primacy of the collective over the individual as far as the Committee was concerned. Now he was no longer regarded as a community representative, the memory of Private Ernest Prior and his mother's grief could be summarily dismissed. The Committee also excluded those whose deaths could not be conclusively linked to war service. This meant not only the omission, as we have already seen, of those service personnel whose post-war deaths could not be proven to have been directly caused by injuries sustained or diseases contracted during the war years, but also the civilians killed during enemy air-raids. The dead were united not just by the ties of geography but also by the bonds of duty, honour and service.

The naming of the fallen was, then, a key ritual in the memorialisation process, actively engaging the wider community and directly encouraging public participation in the commemorative rituals. The decision taken by most borough Memorial Committees, Folkestone's included, to have the names of the fallen listed alphabetically rather than by rank further underlined the memorial's role as a civic memory site. Yet, as the sense of communal ownership was heightened through naming rituals, so the borough memorial became an even more potent symbol for the civic leaders to exploit as they moulded and appropriated its didactic capacity through the choice of design and at unveiling ceremonies.

v. The Appropriation and Dissemination of Memory: Form and Ritual.

[125] Dover, EKA, FoAC/6/4, S. G. Hills to Mrs. Prior, 1 Dec. 1922.

The divisions and conflicts that dogged the Folkestone Memorial Committee, from the arguments concerning its formation through the debates surrounding the technicalities of procedural issues to the uncertainties over the extent of its power, were to be brought into sharp relief as different sectional interest groups vied for a controlling influence over the form that the town's memorial should take. Although much of the ensuing discussion was within the public domain, with the editors of the local newspapers devoting a significant number of column inches to it, the overall direction of the decision-making process, and the final choice of the design itself, remained, as will be shown, firmly in the hands of the controlling elite.

One of the first decisions that faced most War Memorial Committees, and Folkestone was no exception in this, was the choice between the monumental and the utilitarian. As Alex King has noted these discussions were by no means new and most parties were well versed in the arguments and counter-arguments.[126] Indeed, one correspondent in the *Folkestone Express*, seemingly overcome by ennui at the thought of yet more time being spent on this issue, charted the ebb and flow of commemorative confabulation in Folkestone over the past half century before resignedly supporting a utilitarian scheme:

> Sir,
> I have been considering how many memorials I have heard discussed since 1863.
> The drinking fountain in King's Square in the market was erected after the Crimean War by Captain Kenmost, an old naval magistrate and a martinet.
> The Victoria hospital was a memorial of the Jubilee having been shifted from the old dispensary at Millbay.
> The theatre was 'dedicated' to Felix Joseph, an antique dealer. The Harvey statue was erected as a memorial because someone discovered that Harvey was born in Folkestone. There was a great fight as to whether the commemoration should be a memorial window in the parish church.
> The Weston memorial hung about for many years and was eventually placed at the end of the Leas.
> I do not know what form the war memorial will take and I am too old and practical to pay very much attention to it. If anyone was serious in Folkestone (and that seems to be beyond hoping for) I would suggest a thoroughly good market in the centre of town, or an abattoir where meat could be killed in sanitary and healthy conditions.
> The housing scheme would form a very good memorial, only the council have made up their minds to go in for the 'circumlocution department'.[127]

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[126] King, *Memorials of the Great War in Britain*, pp.65-73.
[127] *FE*, 5 Apr. 1919.

Both the local branch of the NADSS, with the support of the Folkestone Trades and Labour Council and the local MP, Sir Philip Sassoon, were also, though undoubtedly with a more positive frame of mind, in favour of utilitarian schemes, specifically a Memorial Hall and a Nurses' Institute respectively.[128] However, although many may have applauded the principles that underscored both these proposals, they, nonetheless, entertained grave reservations as to their suitability. The editors of the two local newspapers raised the concerns that, for much of the public, undermined the practicality of such utilitarian schemes. Financial viability, as we have already seen, was a major difficulty and the *Folkestone Express* doubted that sufficient "provision could be made so that in future years it [the Memorial Hall] could be continued without becoming a charge on the public."[129] For the editor of the *Folkestone Herald* it was the possibility of government intervention that weakened the case for the Nurses' Institute: "If the hospitals are to be taken over by the state many people would prefer that their donations were devoted to a different object, as such an institute would in that case, to great extent, lose its identity as a war memorial."[130] In fact it was to be a combination of both factors that eventually resulted in the abandonment of the utilitarian component of Folkestone's scheme. An initial failure to raise sufficient money led the Committee to downgrade their utilitarian proposal from a Memorial Hall to a fund for the dependants of the fallen, and the subsequent news that a Club was to be built for all ex-servicemen, financed by the United Services Fund, resulted in the decision to concentrate solely on the monumental aspect of the remembrance project.

Another concern which was often voiced and which could adversely affect the decision to go ahead with a utilitarian scheme surrounded the discord that could be perceived to exist between a memorial's meaning and its purpose. It was imperative that the mundanities of everyday life should not be allowed to desecrate the memory of the fallen. A small item in the *Folkestone Herald*, in which it was reported that a suggestion had been put forward at a meeting of Special Constables that a restaurant

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[128] As already noted, Nick Mansfield, in his study of war memorials in rural communities, has signalled the existence of a class divide in the choice memory site, where 'the gentry' favoured the monumental and 'working people' the utilitarian. Mansfield, 'Class Conflict and Village War Memorials 1914-24', pp.76-77.

[129] *FE*, 5 Apr. 1919.

would serve as an appropriate memorial, elicited a withering response in the following week's edition. Signing herself simply 'A Mother', the correspondent made plain the gulf between the sanctity of the dead and the profanity of the living:

> To propose, as was done at a meeting of Special Constables last week, to erect a 'popular restaurant' as a memorial seems to me an insult to the living as well as the dead. One cannot imagine that Mr. Hall or any of his fellow specials can have lost a son or a relative during the war, or they would not propose in such a callous way a place where people can 'eat and be merry' in memory of the dead.
> I suppose Mr. Hall would have a brass plate on the building inscribed with the names of those who died for their country, and inside a band playing the latest jazz or two-step to an appreciative audience. If any of the Special Constables who were present at the meeting have sons or relatives who have been fortunate enough to come back one would imagine they would wish to show their gratitude in a different way to this.[131]

Indeed, such was the evident insensitivity of the suggestion that the Special Constables felt it necessary to distance themselves from the whole episode. A statement from the Special Constables' Committee was placed in the *Herald*, pointing out that not only had the Committee rejected the idea but that the proposer had only been a guest at the meeting and was not even a Special Constable.[132] In a less extreme example it was simply the past association of a building that rendered a utilitarian scheme unworkable. A cost-cutting scheme, which called for the renovation of a former hotel as a Memorial Hall, was dismissed by Mr Haines as an insult to the dead. "He had", he informed the Committee, "been connected on more than one occasion with the Clarence Hotel and he could not conceive a building of that kind being utilised as a memorial with serious and high ideals. To associate that building with those who had gone seemed to him a disgrace."[133] Such sensitivity, for the Clarence Hotel, the implications of Haines' disapproval notwithstanding, had never been anything other than a respectable hotel, when combined with financial constraints presented the proponents of utilitarian schemes with often insurmountable obstacles.[134]

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[130] *FH*, 22 Mar. 1919.
[131] Ibid.
[132] Ibid.
[133] *FE*, 21 Jun. 1919.

In advancing a memorial scheme, be it monumental or utilitarian in nature, proposers were always anxious to stress its potentially beneficial impact on a community's well-being and values. The enhancing of public spaces, a favourite preserve of nineteenth century urban leaders, continued to inform the thinking of many of those who proffered suggestions.[135] B. Arbey urged his fellow Folkestonians to become actively involved in the monumental component of their town's remembrance project, viewing it as a "never to be repeated opportunity to permanently and usefully beautify their town".[136] For Miss Daly of the Women Citizens Association, a convert to the cause of utilitarian commemoration, the spirit of Victorian paternalism still had a strong pull. The proposal to attach an acre of landscaped garden to the Memorial Hall site particularly attracted her as she felt this would "bring some brightness and beauty into the monotony of the workers' daily life".[137]

A powerful argument that was frequently invoked by the supporters of utilitarian schemes was the need to look to the future in order to justify the sacrifices of the past. Only by providing improved facilities, combined with a clear sense of direction, for the next generation would the sacrifices of the fallen be given some purpose. It was just such a stance that was adopted by one anonymous contributor to the *Folkestone Herald* when advancing the cause for a Memorial Hall; "It is to the rising generation that this nation will have to look for its future and in the right education of youth will be a permanent memorial for England's future greatness. The Boy Scouts, the Naval Cadets, the Church Lads' Brigade, the Girl Guides and similar organisations should be locally coordinated, a building erected on the sea front....with gymnasium, assembly and club

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[134] Catherine Moriarty in noting the difficulties facing those advocating utilitarian memorials has estimated that only approximately 5% of communities were able to go ahead with such schemes. Moriarty, 'Private Grief and Public Remembrance', p.128.

[135] From the beginning of the nineteenth century onwards it became increasingly common for self-elected groups to assume responsibility for the improvement of the urban landscape. By the turn of the twentieth century virtually every incorporated, and most unincorporated, towns had established a variety of improvement commissions to oversee different aspects of town development. D. Fraser, *Urban Politics in Victorian England: The Structure of Politics in Victorian Cities*, (Leicester, 1976), pp.91-103.

[136] *FH*, 15 Mar. 1919.

[137] Dover, EKA, FoAc/6/1, Folkestone War Memorial Sub-Committee, Minutes, 4 Apr. 1919.

rooms and also club accommodation for discharged soldiers and sailors might well be considered as a useful and fitting memorial."[138] Yet, Janus-like, the correspondent looked to the past as well as the future, for it was to be the values and qualities of the generation gone that would inform the actions of the adults of tomorrow: "[The Hall] would prove a centre for patriotic effort, an attempt to attract the youth to discipline and influence,... to mutually assist each other in valuing that freedom for which so many have laid down their lives."[139] These sentiments were echoed by 'A Sapper' who, in supporting the construction of a Memorial Hall, noted that as "the fruits of victory will be reaped mainly by our lads of today who will be our men of tomorrow", it would be beholden on them to "be responsible for upholding the sacred rights and traditions for which many of our men in the prime of their lives have been willing to bleed and die."[140] Thus, post-war society's tomorrows were to be shaped by the fallen's yesterdays.

Yet, for some proponents of utilitarian schemes, the views of the present generation were of greater concern than those of the next. At Folkestone's second public meeting in May 1920, A. G. Webb of the NADSS, concerned that, "some people had got the idea that the ex-servicemen were Bolsheviks", was sure that, "if the majority of the people knew the aims and ideals of the ex-servicemen they would fall into line with their views."[141] With heavy irony a 'demobilised Buff' reminded the *Herald's* readership of the plight of his peers: "We returned soldiers don't want any fuss and we can't complain of this score since our return to the old town – but we think, many of us, that such a club as was suggested by Mr. F. Blunt [the chairman of the NADSS] would

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[138] *FH*, 15 Mar. 1919.

[139] Ibid.

[140] *FH*, 19 Apr. 1919.

[141] *FE*, 15 May 1920. Logistical difficulties over demobilisation did cause the government some concern, especially in the light of the political and social upheaval elsewhere in Europe. Impatience with the slow progress of demobilisation, and with the 'contract' system for leave, resulted in 10,000 men marching to the centre of Folkestone on 3 January 1919 to voice their concern. A similar protest took place two days later in Dover, this time involving 2,000 men. Although both the local and national press played down the disturbances, *The Times* emphasising "the perfectly orderly and respectful demeanour" of the men, they could not have failed to have had an impact on the local residents and were, undoubtedly, at the root of Webb's concerns. *The Times*, 6 Jan. 1919.

be a godsend."[142] Indeed, forgetfulness played nearly as prominent a role as remembrance in the discourse of commemoration. 'Felix', in the *Folkestone Herald*, summed up the views of many demobilised men when he concluded an item in support of Blunt's scheme with the question, "Are Rudyard Kipling's words to be clothed with their real meaning? "It's Tommy this an' Tommy that when the Band begins to play", and then afterwards a lapse into forgetfulness".[143] For Mr. Gosnold of the Chamber of Commerce, forgetfulness was, up to a point, to be encouraged as the associations of the past required careful filtering. In objecting to a cross being put on the seafront he argued that," The town had suffered too many sacrifices for the people when they went on the Leas to meet that cross the first thing of all".[144] It was, thus, the didactic capacity of the war memorial that was uppermost in the minds of many campaigners as they sought to mould the messages of the past to the needs of the future. Mr. Haines reflected the views of many when he stated that, "[the memorial] should teach or uphold some great principle; not so much the war as the principles for which it was fought. A memorial erected to satisfy not only our own aspirations, but which may speak with no uncertainty in years to come."[145] Yet, as to what those principles were and of what a memorial should speak there was rarely agreement.

In widening the gulf between competing interest groups over the ownership of a memorial's meaning, the desire to appropriate the principles which a memory site putatively embodied inevitably led to claims and counter-claims to be the true

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[142] *FH*, 29 Mar. 1919. The general feeling of being undervalued on demobilisation, which lay at the heart of many ex-servicemen's grievances, was formalised in the aims of the various representative associations which campaigned for, among other things, improved pension provision and help with reintegration into the employment market. G. Wooton, *The Politics of Influence: British ex-Servicemen, Cabinet Decisions and Cultural Change (1917-51)*, (London, 1963), pp48-60.

[143] Ibid. Felix's theme was picked up on the following week by an ex-serviceman who, having first encouraged the *Herald's* readers to "picture from what these men have saved them" and then evoked in lurid detail that very image, concluded with the precise reference from Kipling's *Tommy*:

For it's Tommy this, an' Tommy that, an Tommy go away;
But it's "Thank you, Mister Atkins", when the band begins to play –
The band begins to play, my boys, the band begins to play,
O it's "Thank you, Mister Atkins", when the band begins to play."
Quoted in the *FH*, 29 Mar. 1919.

[144] *FE*, 3 May 1919.

representation of the united voice of the community. J. Edward Harlow, a Wesleyan minister, advanced the cause of religious iconography by claiming that, "No symbol could unify and express England's faith and hope and love as could the symbol of the cross."[146] For the chairman of the Memorial Committee, Sir Stephen Penfold, it was the utilitarian aspect of the scheme, specifically the construction of a Nurses' Institute, which seemed most fitting for "he considered it would unite all creeds, all classes and all shades of politics".[147] Indeed, Penfold's opposition to one of the other utilitarian proposals, an ex-servicemen's club, lay in its lack of universality. He could, he informed the Committee, only approve of the club "if it was not confined to any one section".[148] With the rifts in post-war society becoming all too apparent, the call for unity became an increasingly powerful rallying cry. By laying claim to represent the unified will of the people, the proponents of a particular scheme could emphasise not only their current level of support but also their implicit connection with the fallen. Commonality of purpose was the nexus between the living and the dead. Indeed, for one correspondent in the *Folkestone Herald*, the multi-layered nature of memorialisation, with schemes at school, club, work, parish and borough level, in itself tarnished the memory of the dead: "Assuming that within two to three years from the Declaration of Peace there will be within the borough of Folkestone ten, twenty or thirty different war memorials, will not these memorials by their multiplicity, diversity and necessary smallness fail to be memorials of the Great War and of an essential feature – viz union in common danger?"[149]

As public figures, Committee members were not only anxious to be seen as embodying the views of the community but were also keen to be recognised as advancing the prestige of the borough. In an attempt to rally support for a particular scheme it was not uncommon for stress to be laid on the essentially local characteristics of the undertaking and its respect for the traditions and identity of a locality. In advocating a Nurses' Institute as the utilitarian component of Folkestone's memorial, Dr. Tyson was quick to remind those gathered at the first public meeting of a date that had become

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[145] *FH*, 29 Mar. 1919.
[146] *FH*, 19 Apr. 1919.
[147] *FE*, 15 Mar. 1919.
[148] *FE*, 29 Mar. 1919.
[149] *FH*, 10 May 1919.

seared into the civic consciousness and, by so doing, to emphasize the unique bond that existed between the local populace and the medical profession:

> Outside the war zone there had never had been such an exhibition of dastardly cruelty as on the occasion of the air raid on that memorable day in May 1917. He had had a great deal of experience himself but he had never seen injuries like it before. Thirty people died, five in an hour, whilst they sent thirty to Moore Barracks hospital, Shorncliffe. The matron, nurses and staff worked in a wonderful manner. He could not conceive any greater object for the benefit of the own and the immediate neighbourhood, than what he had indicated.[150]

For Dr. Billings, however, it was the glory not the suffering of Folkestone's war years that ought to be recalled. His scheme for a triumphal arch was particularly appropriate, he informed the readers of the *Herald*, for,

> Folkestone's function was to act as a gateway to and from the Front. In the early days it was a haven of refuge for thousands of homeless Belgians and during the war eight millions of our men have marched through to the battlefield. What more fitting emblem could we have than a triumphal arch or gateway? No other town in the British Empire can claim Folkestone's unique function; no other town can so suitably adopt an arch as its memorial.[151]

The town's 'unique' role as an embarkation point was also invoked by Mr. D. Railton, on behalf of Canon Tindall, but this time it was heroic sacrifice that was the central motif. Railton was certain that the town's inhabitants would insist, "considering the unique part Folkestone had played in the war, that a memorial or cross of granite should be put up at the end of the Leas as a tribute to the valour of those men who went across to fight for liberty and justice."[152] For all three of these civic leaders, Folkestone's past was to be seized and moulded to meet the needs of the present. As representatives of local interests, Dr. Tyson as a board member of the Victoria

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[150] *FH*, 15 Mar. 1919.

[151] *FH*, 19 Apr. 1919.

[152] *FH*, 15 Mar. 1919. Interestingly, in the very same edition of the *Herald*, B. Arbey used very similar reasoning to argue the opposing position. He warned the paper's readers that, "Unless the Folkestone public wakes up they will find that instead of having a war memorial commensurate with the glorious and unique part their town has played in the war, they will

Hospital, Billings for the Chamber of Commerce and Railton as an employee of the Established Church, these three men were anxious to employ the sacrifices of the war years as a vehicle for legitimising and endorsing their peacetime activities.

Although civic leaders were quick to stress their credentials as the true voice of public opinion, the gulf between rhetoric and reality was, as ever, a significant one. Despite opportunities for public participation in the choice of design being presented, the community's involvement was largely more apparent than real. Thus, the mayor's invitation in the *Folkestone Express* for suggestions as to the form the town's memorial should take was issued only after the Committee had, five weeks earlier, settled on the incorporation of a cross in the final design. It was later resolved by the Committee, again without public consultation, that the final decision would be reached through the holding of a competition under the direction of the Royal Society of British Sculptors (RSBS), restricted to Society members. Not until the Committee, along with the adjudicator appointed by the Society, had reduced the number of entrants to three were the proposals finally put on public display. Although a book was provided for members of the public to indicate their preference, this exercise in democratisation bore all the hallmarks of tokenism. The Technical Institute, at which the models could be viewed, was only open on Monday and Wednesday afternoons. The editor of the *Express*, in questioning the choice of this venue, was clearly doubtful as to the extent executive power had been devolved; "If the public are to be asked which design they will adopt why are not the models placed in the Lady Sassoon Room in the library where townspeople can go at any hour of the day instead of being restricted as at present?"[153] Such doubts were fully realised when the final award was made. Although an overwhelming number of visitors expressed a preference for the second of the three designs, the Committee ignored this manifestation of the general will and opted for one of the alternatives.[154]

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descend to the mediocrity of having a stone cross or monument very similar to what will be studded all over this country in every town and village."

[153] *FE*, 12 Feb. 1921.

[154] The public's votes were; 17 for design No.1, 85 for No.2, 4 for No.3. The Committee chose No.1. Dover, EKA, FoAC/6/1 Folkestone Sub-Committee Meeting, Minutes, 2 Mar. 1921.

By far the greatest influence on the decisions of Memorial Committees came from professional artists. As has already been mentioned, Folkestone, in common with many other boroughs, sought outside help from the artistic community. By contracting experts, Memorial Committees received not only practical help and advice but also the reassurance that the completed project would have integrity from an aesthetic standpoint. However, the price of this was that a certain amount of control was taken away from the Committee members. The professional bodies in particular were reluctant to leave their reputations in the hands of unqualified community representatives. The RSBS informed the Folkestone Committee that they would be happy to oversee a competition among its members and would "charge no fee for this on the proviso that no design of which they did not approve be accepted".[155] Furthermore, the Society was to be given the right to appoint an assessor who would judge the entries and "having discussed with the promoters the merits and suitability of the respective designs, shall make his award which shall be final".[156] Indeed, the extent to which the Folkestone Committee was prepared to relinquish control and defer to the opinion of the professionals can be seen in their eventual choice of design. After the final three models had been put on public display in the Technical Institute, and having been told that the public had ranked them No.2 first followed by No.1 and then No.3 by 85 votes to 17 and 4 respectively, Mr.Colton, the assessor, summarily dismissed the people's choice. The Committee members were informed that, "he had no doubt in suggesting to them either No.1 or No.3 models, for both of them from an artistic point of view were excellent. No.1 was very charming in its aspect and would represent all branches of the services. To him both memorials were very beautiful. The model with the soldier (No.2) was, to him, commonplace."[157] As a result, Colton concluded, "he

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Further reference will be made to these figures and the fact that so few expressed a preference at all.

[155] Dover, EKA, FoAC/6/1, Folkestone War Memorial Committee, Minutes, 28 Jun. 1920.

[156] Ibid., 9 Sep. 1920.

[157] *FE*, 5 Mar. 1921. Interestingly Colton's reason for not adopting model No.2 concurred with Dr. Billings' justification for rejecting a memorial cross; namely that as a symbol it would be too commonplace. This attitude contrasts sharply with commemorative practice in France. Daniel Sherman has noted that most French communities opted for a standardised figurative monument precisely because it embodied the link between the locality and the nation. Daniel J. Sherman, 'Art, Commerce, and the Production of Memory in France' in J. Gillis (ed.) *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity,* (Princeton, 1994), pp.191-205.

would not be able to award first place to No.2 even if the Committee selected it".[158] Despite an objection from Major Compton, who moved that, "the models had been placed before the public for them to choose", the Committee eventually decided by eighteen votes to four that No.1 should be adopted.[159]

The debates surrounding the choice of design for a war memorial reveal that Committee members were fully aware of the power of these memory sites as symbols of local identity and expressions of community solidarity, of the solace they could provide in the face of overwhelming grief. As a remembrance site for loss at both an individual and civic level, a war memorial was reliant on a sense of collective ownership and hence demanded some expression of public participation in the decisions over form. Yet, as has been seen, the overall decision-making process remained firmly in the hands of a relatively few civic leaders. The engagement of the artistic community undoubtedly had an impact on the decisions of a Memorial Committee but the terms of the relationship remained firmly weighted in favour of the Committee members. The Folkestone Memorial Committee insisted, before accepting the RSBS's offer of help, "that a cross must be included in the monument, though it is not absolutely essential that it is a cross only".[160] Although the Society's assessor was able to summarily dismiss one of the final three proposals, it should be remembered that all three had been selected only after close scrutiny by a specially appointed sub-committee. To these committee members the choice of design was, as Alex King has noted, crucial for it was generally believed that the iconographical symbolism of war memorials was fixed.[161] It was hardly surprising, therefore, that civic leaders were keen to retain a controlling influence over a monument's didactic capacity through the appropriate choice of form. It was to be at the unveiling ceremonies that the Committee's ownership of iconography was to be consolidated and the 'correct' interpretation of form was to be disseminated.

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[158] Dover, EKA, FoAC/6/1, Folkestone War Memorial Committee, Minutes, 2 Mar. 1921.
[159] *FE*, 5 Mar. 1921.
[160] Dover, EKA, FoAC/6/1, Folkestone War Memorial Committee, Minutes, 28 Jun. 1920.
[161] King, *Memorials of the Great War in Britain*, pp.11-15.

The unveiling of a war memorial presented the members of the Memorial Committee and local dignitaries with a golden opportunity to present the 'official' version of a monument's symbolism, to ensure that this community memory-site was assimilated into the collective psyche in what they considered to be the correct manner. Yet, for the bereaved, surrounded though they might be by their fellow citizens, the ceremony was an intensely personal occasion, a time for private grief and the recollection of unique moments with individual loved-ones. Thus, the war memorial acted as a composite site, fusing both private and public memories. In their attempt to represent and shape the public interpretation of this communal memory-site, the local elite were also, implicitly, ascribing meaning on a personal level. Individuals were to be subsumed by the collective; they were to be recalled not as fathers, brothers, husbands and sons but, simply, as citizens, as idealised representatives of the community.(See Plate 2)

Just as had been the case when fund-raising, so the Folkestone War Memorial Committee recognised the necessity of emphasizing the local nature of the memorial at the unveiling ceremony yet were, simultaneously, keen to further civic prestige by looking beyond the confines of parochialism to the national stage. The arrangements at the unveiling laid great stress on community. The Slope Road in Folkestone, along which the local worthies processed, was lined with members of local civilian organisations, the Scouts, the Girl Guides, St John Ambulance Brigade and nurses from the Royal Victoria Hospital. A Guard of Honour for the memorial was drawn from the local services, the Coastguards of Dover and Sandgate, a detachment from RAF Hawkinge and soldiers of the local Territorial battalion, the 4th Buffs. Two hundred schoolchildren representing all the local elementary schools formed a choir to lead the singing.[162] Yet, despite a suggestion in the *Express* advancing the case of the renowned local war hero and church leader the Reverend D. Railton, the Memorial Committee was keen to attract someone of a national importance to unveil the memorial as a means of promoting the town's significance at a higher level.[163] The extent to which the Committee were overly ambitious in their aspirations can be gleaned from the rejection letter they received after an approach had been made to Buckingham Palace

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[162] *FE*, 9 Dec. 1922.

[163] *FE*, 21 May 1921. The Reverend David Railton had a distinguished record as a padre in the armed forces during the war and is credited with the idea for the burial of the Unknown Soldier. See his obituary in *The Times*, 1 Jul. 1955.

Plate 2: The Unveiling of the Folkestone War Memorial on the Leas

for the King to officiate. Clive Wigram, the King's Private Secretary, gently pointed out that, "in view of the number of applications of a similar nature the King has had to establish a rule that he would only unveil memorials of a National character or those connected with his own personal estates."[164] Undeterred, the special sub-committee set up to deal with the arrangements for the unveiling drew up a ranked list of national dignitaries to whom they would send invitations. In order, they invited, and received rejections from, the Duke of Connaught, Lord Haig, the Prime Minister, General Lord Allenby, General Lord Horne and Field-Marshal Robertson.[165] It was not until November 1922, a full six months after the first approach to the King and only one month before the scheduled date for the unveiling, that the Committee eventually settled for Lord Radnor, a major landholder in and around the borough. For the Committee the prestige that would accrue from the presence of a major national figure, and hence the vicarious honour that would befall them, outweighed the bonds of community relationships.

It was common for civic pride to underscore many of the speeches at unveiling ceremonies. The mayor of Folkestone in 1922, E. J. Bishop, in accepting the memorial on behalf of the town, seamlessly linked the past with the present, placing the glory of the recent conflict and the heroism of the war dead alongside their predecessors from a time when the town had once again, purportedly, played a key role in the defence of the nation;

> The municipal council ever remembers that it represents glorious traditions, stretching back to distant centuries. It remembers that, in the spacious yet troublous days of Queen Elizabeth, Folkestone was closely associated with the confederation of the coastal towns known as the Cinque Ports in the defence of the country, and realise with pride that the same great personal qualities of the men of those times which raised the town to a position of power and influence still exists, that the men of our day have lived up to the traditions of the past and that they are worthy of their forbears.[166]

Adopting a similar tone, the editor of the *Express* was also aware of the connection between the town's traditions and its recent history; "Folkestone took a great part in the

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[164] Dover, EKA, FoAC/6/1 Folkestone Unveiling Sub-committee, Minutes, 30 May 1922.
[165] Ibid., 3 Jul. 1922.
[166] *FE*, 9 Dec. 1922.

war, and its sons also in the fields proved they were no mean representatives of a borough with an historic past".[167] By emphasizing the continuum of history, viewing the dead of the Great War as natural heirs to the sailors of the Armada's days, not only was the eminence of the town being extolled but so too were the bonds of tradition, the ties of a common past. Just as the fighting men in the past had died for the greater good so too was a similar purpose being ascribed to the otherwise seemingly meaningless losses of recent years.

For the bereaved, and indeed for communities as a whole, there was some consolation to be found in the assurance that the sacrifice of the fallen had not been for nothing. When the editor of the *Express* stated that the fallen had died "trying to defeat a ruthless and despotic militarism which threatened to engulf the world", he would have found a receptive audience.[168] Yet, by giving the authorities the chance to make sense of the past, the unveiling ceremonies became a prime opportunity for the duties of the present and the objectives of the future to be laid out. Lord Radnor, when unveiling the Folkestone memorial, could validate his vision for international relations by invoking the sacred bonds of the wartime alliance;

> The memorial, by its position, facing as it does the French shore, reminds us that we were proud to stand alongside our Allies, the French, during the terrible time, and we look in future to them also to uphold with us the cause of civilisation in the world and so bring peace and prosperity to all lands.[169]

More specifically the unveiling ceremony was used by the civic leaders to ensure that the monument's iconography was correctly interpreted by the local populace. Although Folkestone's memorial followed a traditional figurative form, it was, nevertheless, felt that some clarification of its symbolism was necessary. Indeed, one dissenting Committee member's description of it as "an artistic pepper castor" no doubt heightened this determination to disseminate its precise meaning.[170] At the unveiling ceremony Sir Stephen Penfold made clear the link between the living and the dead that

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[167] Ibid.
[168] Ibid.
[169] Ibid.
[170] *FE*, 11 Sep. 1921.

the central figure of the monument embodied while touching on the concepts of self-sacrifice and patriotism that were also evident;

> Standing aloft on the central pedestal a bronze figure, symbolic of motherhood and reverence, faces in silent dignity the battlefields of France and Flanders, and immortalises the highest bonds of love between the dead and the living. She holds in her hand the symbol of sacrifice, while drooping at half-mast from the shaft of the Cross hangs the Union Jack.[171]

The special edition of the *Express* covering the ceremony elaborated on and clarified Penfold's themes;

> The memorial is a granite pedestal with a bronze figure symbolic of all that is enshrined in the loftiest and noblest conception of Motherhood and Reverence. The figure holds aloft in the left hand the sacred cross of sacrifice. Although the cross stands for self-sacrifice and suffering it is surrounded by the halo of glory; half-way down hangs the Union Jack indicative that the sacrificial service rendered was to King and Country. In the right hand the figure holds the Crown of Immortality. The glorious prize of all that can walk the steep and rugged path of service and sacrifice.[172]

The call was to those who remained to bear their losses with stoicism and to secure victory on earth and in the afterlife by emulating the self-sacrifice and patriotism of the fallen. The similarity between the two descriptions, not only in tone but in expression, would suggest, as one would expect, that through prior consultation between the sculptor and the Committee a precisely worded explanatory text had been drawn up well in advance of the ceremony. It was essential that those in authority sang from the same hymn sheet.

The emphasis on the bonds between the living and the dead, the extolling of the shared ties of the past, endowed the war memorial with a duality of function. The memorial both belonged to and was imposed on the people. It was a site at which the community expressed their individuality and the civic leaders shaped a collective identity. A special enclosure was reserved at Folkestone's unveiling ceremony for "the bereaved, Committee members and principal residents".[173] These three groups represented those

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[171] *FE*, 9 Dec. 1922.
[172] Ibid.
[173] Ibid.

with the greatest stake in the memorial. Yet, though the bereaved invested the memorial with its significance as a community totem, it was with the latter two categories that power resided. From the self-congratulatory tone of Penfold's comment that, "the Committee have been exceedingly fortunate in securing the services of [Blundstone]", to the mayor's remarkable observation that it was not an occasion "of too great seriousness", it was clear that the imperatives of civic ritual took priority over the demands of individual funerary rite.[174]

[174] Ibid

Chapter 3 The Acquisition of the Public Voice in Canterbury

i. Canterbury: Market Town, Cathedral City.

In an article for the *Kent Gazette and Canterbury Press* in April 1919 the pastor of Watling Street Congregational Church, the Reverend A. Snape, summed up what, for him, was the essence of the city; "It was a Cathedral City, a brewing centre, a city of public houses, a centre of the hop-growing industry and of agriculture, a market town and a distributing centre."[1] Although he felt these were the "predominant" influences, he "could not for a moment say that all were in the same category of desirability".[2] While it is not hard to guess at what for Snape was the most desirable category, this division in the city's identity, the antiquity of its role as the home of the Established Church contrasting with the modernity of its position as a bustling commercial centre, was to be an issue that would underscore many of the debates surrounding the memorialisation of the borough's war dead.

Although its roots as a focal point for the Christian faith go back to Augustine in the sixth century, with the death of Becket and the penance of Henry II confirming it as a major European shrine in the twelfth century, Canterbury's growth really took off in the first half of the nineteenth century. Based on its reputation as a centre for fine fabrics, its population nearly doubled between 1801, when it stood at 9,790 and 1852, when it had reached 19,000.[3] However, as the manufacture and distribution of textiles declined at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries so the city entered what Marjorie Lyle has described as a "period of standstill".[4] Indeed, between 1901 and 1921 the population fell by 5.7% standing at just 23,737 by the end date.[5] Although its status as the spiritual home of the Anglican faith gave the city a brief spell in the national limelight during the war years, as the Established Church

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[1] *KGCP*, 19 Apr. 1919.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Figures quoted in D. Gardiner, *Canterbury*, (London, 1923), p.115.
[4] M. Lyle, *Canterbury: 2000 Years of History*, (Stroud, 1994), p.13.
[5] For a detailed discussion of demographic changes in Kent in this period see M. Rawcliffe, 'Population' in N. Yates (ed), *Kent in the Twentieth Century*, (Woodbridge, 2001), pp.1-27.

led the nation in the rites of remembrance and thanksgiving,[6] on the cessation of hostilities the borough soon reverted back to being "a busy but essentially quiet and peaceful market town."[7] Thus, by the early 1920s, Canterbury was a city with a reputation based on past glory. As *Kelly's Directory of Kent* for 1923 noted, "The present importance of Canterbury is due in part to its position as the capital of East Kent, but chiefly to the greatness and endurance of its historical associations and to its high ecclesiastical rank as the chief city of the English Christian World."[8]

As the authorities prepared to commemorate the sacrifices of the borough's fallen there was, then, a tension that existed within the ranks of the civic leaders. A municipal guidebook for 1920 reflected the views of many when it asserted that,

> The visitor may therefore consider himself in no mean city; and if he can dissociate himself from modern surroundings and allow memory to be his sole companion, he may spend a never-to-be-forgotten day in the charming home of English Christendom, where the successor of Augustine still rules, and over which the romance of history still casts its spell.[9]

Yet, for others the prestige of antiquity was not enough. Looking forwards rather than backwards, their concerns were given voice in R. Cunninghame Graham's description of the city after a visit in 1924;

> the houses with their casement windows, timbered upper storeys, and over-hanging eaves, still kept the air of an older world. The gateways with their battlements and low archways, through which the medieval traffic once had flowed...to the shrine of Becket, were now monuments. Grouped round its dominating church, the city huddled as if it sought protection against progress and modernity.[10]

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[6] Ross McKibbin has noted that while there is no empirical evidence that people turned to religion for consolation during the war there was, nonetheless, an acceptance by the majority of the population of the centrality of the Established Church in public life. McKibbin, *Classes and Cultures*, pp.272-295.

[7] A. Bateman, *Hail Mother of England: A Social History of Canterbury*, (Rochester, 1984), p.88.

[8] *Kelly's Directory of Kent [1923]*, (London, 1923), p.140.

[9] *Austen's Hand-book to Canterbury and the Cathedral [1920]*, (Canterbury, 1920), p.2

[10] Quoted in Lyle, *Canterbury*, p.14.

For Canterbury to prosper and develop the focus had to be on the future not the past. Thus, in a history of the city sponsored by the Chamber of Trade in 1922, the author, W. Bowman, was keen to stress the municipality's modern appeal; "In spite of its antiquity and its ancient streets and lanes, Canterbury of today enjoys increasing popularity as a place of residence, for it possesses all the amenities of younger cities, without many of their objectionable features."[11]

By the end of the war Canterbury was, therefore, a city at a crossroads. Ambitions for its future development rested uneasily on a civic status based on glories long gone. In the opening paragraph to her history of Canterbury Marjorie Lyle pointed to this inherent tension stating that, "This little East Kent market town carries a load of expectation and a resonance disproportionate to its size and function."[12] As will be seen, the city's elite were all too aware of the need to meet the obligations the illustrious traditions of the past imposed as they went about the business of constructing the borough's memory site.

ii. Directing Memory: the War Memorial Committee in Canterbury

The Canterbury war memorial scheme had all the hallmarks of a genuinely democratic process. In the space of a year, three public meetings were convened and a referendum held in order to canvass the views of the community at large as to the form the commemorative project should take. Yet, not only were these attempts at open consultation to hinder the scheme's progress but, paradoxically, they were also to bring into sharp relief the extent to which proceedings could be manipulated and thus control could be firmly retained by a few civic dignitaries.

The deliberations involved in the choice of design for Canterbury's war memorial can be neatly divided into two distinct stages corresponding with the mayoralties of R. A. Bremner (November 1915 to November 1919) and H. G. James (November 1919 to November 1920). While both mayors were careful to involve the public in the

[11] W. Bowman, *The Royal and Ancient City of Canterbury*, (London, 1922), p.22.
[12] Lyle, *Canterbury*, p.13

process, the indecision and procrastination that dogged Bremner's tenure was to contrast sharply with the decisiveness and efficiency of James' period in office.

The first steps in the commemoration of Canterbury's war dead began in the pages of the *Kent Gazette and Canterbury Press* within a few weeks of the cessation of hostilities with an informal airing of views on the nature of memorialisation. A lengthy letter from 'An Onlooker' advancing the cause of utilitarian schemes in general[13] was quickly followed by a more specific suggestion from the mayor, R. A. Bremner, writing in his capacity as a member of the management committee of Canterbury Lads' Club, supporting the case for the construction of a Memorial Hall for use as a Boys' Club.[14] The first official moves were taken the following January with the mayor and deputy mayor, Councillor Arrowsmith, summoning an Executive Committee of local worthies to oversee the memorialisation process.[15] At the committee's first meeting on 28 February 1919 it was duly "resolved to call a public meeting to consider the action to be taken to inaugurate a memorial in honour of the men who have fallen during the Great War."[16] However, this first public meeting, convened on 14 March, was hamstrung by the fact that the Kent County War Memorial Committee was to meet the following day to assess the suitability of the Cathedral precincts as the site for its memorial. Thus, with the erection of a rival memorial, both in terms of prestige and the collection of subscriptions, being a distinct possibility, the meeting determined to avoid committing itself to a specific project and instead settled for the compromise resolution that, "a Committee appointed by the mayor with such additions as he may think fit, be requested to consider the form which such a memorial should take, and to confer with the Kent Memorial Committee with a view to a common understanding on the subject and report to a future meeting of citizens."[17] Held the following month the second public meeting, despite having had confirmed the decision of the Kent County Committee to locate their memorial in the environs of the Cathedral, proved to be no more

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[13] *KGCP*, 23 Nov. 1918.

[14] *KGCP*, 14 Dec. 1918.

[15] Canterbury, CCA, CC/AJ27/1, Canterbury War Memorial Committee, Minutes, 27 Jan. 1919.

[16] Ibid., 28 Feb.1919.

[17] *KGCP*, 22 Mar. 1919.

conclusive and, at the behest of the Town Clerk, H. Fielding, decided that a "referendum should be sent to all the householders in the city setting forth the various schemes and inviting opinions on them".[18]

The scheme then appeared to be left in abeyance for the following eight months. It was not until December 1919, by which time James had replaced Bremner as mayor, that an explanation for this hiatus was forthcoming. In an editorial note reassuring a correspondent who had written in lamenting the fact that "a war memorial seems to be entirely forgotten now",[19] the editor of the *Kent Gazette* put the record straight, stating that a "project for a dinner to ex-servicemen blocks the way at present, but we have reason to know that, when the consummation of this has been reached it is the intention of the mayor of Canterbury to take the other scheme vigorously in hand."[20]

By the end of January 1920, just three weeks after the ex-servicemen's dinner, the Memorial Committee, using the results of the referendum as a mandate, had resolved to erect a memorial cross in the Old Butter Market and had settled on two designs to be exhibited for public inspection.[21] The following month a third public meeting voted, "without a dissentient", "that a memorial to the Canterbury men who fell in the war be placed in the Old Butter Market, and that it be referred to an architect of eminence to suggest the most suitable cross with reference to its surroundings."[22] By July a meeting of the subscribers had ratified the precise design and, though the monument was not to be completed until November 1922, the delay henceforward was to be the result of financial difficulties rather than political prevarication.

Thus, in the twelve months immediately following the Armistice, two public meetings and a referendum notwithstanding, little substantive progress was made towards the realisation of Canterbury's memorialisation project beyond the announcement that the majority of those who had responded to the referendum were

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[18] *KGCP*, 26 Apr. 1919.
[19] *KGCP*, 6 Dec. 1919.
[20] Ibid.
[21] Canterbury, CCA, CC/AJ27/1, Canterbury War Memorial Committee, Minutes, 28 Feb. 1920.
[22] *KGCP*, 21 Feb. 1920.

in favour of some sort of monumental scheme. In stark contrast, in just seven months, between January and July 1920, with James having replaced Bremner as both mayor and chairman of the War Memorial Committee, the precise design and exact location of the city's war memorial had been unanimously agreed. An explanation for such erratic progress can, at least in part, be found in the conflicting views on the form of memory sites held by the two mayors. For Bremner, a proponent of utilitarian commemoration, the public's, albeit lukewarm, support for a monumental memorial acted simply as a minor hindrance rather than an insurmountable barrier to the fulfilment of his objectives and, hence, necessitated the introduction of filibustering tactics. In contrast James' desire for an "enduring monumental memorial" meant that the referendum result was seized as the basis for railroading through a scheme in harmony with his own aesthetic leanings.[23] For both of these civic leaders democratic procedures were there to endorse decisions rather than establish policy.

Yet, Bremner's support for the utilitarian versus James' advocacy of the monumental does not present the whole picture. Sectional groups with vested interests also ensured that ascertaining the will of the community was to be a tortuous affair. Although public participation was undoubtedly a prominent feature of Canterbury's commemorative process, it was, as will be seen, to be subject to careful manipulation and close management by local political activists. Indeed, in attempting to employ the trappings of democracy to bolster rather than shape decision-making, the controlling elite were to bring into sharp relief the superficiality of public consultation and, thus, were to open themselves up to criticism and dissent from within their own ranks and from the community at large.

The *Kent Gazette* was first to voice its misgivings with the authorities' handling of the matter, noting that, "owing to the inopportune time fixed for it, [the first public] meeting was not largely attended, the working-class body of the citizens being entirely unrepresented."[24] To underline its displeasure at such a cavalier approach to democratic principles, the paper, in listing those in attendance, noted cuttingly that, "among those present was the Dean of Canterbury (who arrived some time after the

[23] *KO*, 5 Feb. 1920.
[24] *KGCP*, 20 Mar. 1920.

meeting had commenced)."[25] The editor of the *Kentish Observer*, reviewing the first public meeting in the light of the problems experienced at the second, was equally concerned that, "the meeting was convened for a time – the afternoon – when it could not reasonably have been expected that a representative gathering could be got together".[26]

Anxiety over the limited level of public participation was also expressed in regard to the second public meeting. Yet, this time the disquiet was to come not from the press but from within the War Memorial Committee itself. Indeed, as far as the *Kentish Observer* was concerned all its previous criticisms had been resolved. In noting that, "the second meeting was held in the evening and was well advertised a good time in advance", the paper's editor was prepared to concede that, "the result was much more satisfactory in regard to attendance, and although the numbers of citizens present was not as large as it might have been, it was fairly representative of the different classes of the townspeople."[27] Thus, it was left on this occasion for grievances over the extent to which the voice of the community was being truly heard to be aired by two key committee members, the town clerk, H. Fielding, and the deputy mayor, Councillor R. Arrowsmith. Fielding informed the meeting that, "there were so few present that night that it was hardly possible to settle upon anything" and consequently suggested that, "it would be wiser to draw up a leaflet for distribution to every house in the city....asking every householder to state which he was in favour of - a memorial, such as a cross, or a memorial taking the form of something useful, such as a boys' club or public hall."[28] In this he was supported by Councillor Arrowsmith who "drew attention to the fact that the seventy five people present at that meeting did not at all represent Canterbury as a whole, and made it a most difficult matter to come to any decision at that meeting."[29] Yet, in this championing of the cause of democracy it is possible to discern ulterior motives. Whereas both Fielding and Arrowsmith were advocates of the utilitarian school of commemoration, the mood of the meeting was heavily in favour of a monumental scheme. Mrs. Maxwell Spooner, herself a

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[25] Ibid.
[26] *KO*, 15 May 1919.
[27] Ibid.
[28] *KO*, 1 May 1919.
[29] Ibid.

Committee member, in voicing her opposition to a "purely ornamental scheme", had noted that, "there were a certain number of people of weight and importance who thought [a monumental scheme] would be the best thing."[30] For Fielding and Arrowsmith the insistence on a referendum was as much an attempt to stave off defeat as it was a call for the greater democratisation of the memorialisation process. Thus, their appeal for wider community consultation highlighted both the importance and the fragility of public participation in the decision-making procedures.

Both the decision to hold a referendum and the actual result of the vote itself were to present further opportunities for the manipulation of public opinion and the validation of counter claims to represent the community will. Indeed, in the view of the *Kentish Observer* the very decision to hold a referendum signalled the failing of the democratic process. In an editorial headed 'That Referendum', the paper was clear how a consensus ought to be reached:

> We should imagine that the City of Canterbury enjoys (?) the distinction of being the only town in England where the extraordinary procedure known as a referendum has been adopted for the purpose of ascertaining the views of the community on the form of its local war memorial. It is the general rule to settle such questions by the vote of the majority present at a common hall.[31]

The holding of a referendum would, in the editor's opinion, create as many problems as it solved for he "did not believe that anything like one half of the citizens will take the trouble to fill up the forms and if the voting is close there will be an unpleasant task for the committee to decide finally which of the suggested forms of the memorial should be accepted."[32] Mr. Wright-Hunt, a War Memorial Committee member, chairman of Canterbury Chamber of Trade and future mayor, was similarly concerned about the practical difficulties of the exercise, informing the second public meeting that, "unless it stated very precisely what the various proposals were many who were not present to hear the various arguments raised would have considerable difficulty in recording their votes."[33]

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[30] Ibid.
[31] Ibid.
[32] *KGCP*, 1 May 1919.
[33] Ibid.

Such criticism could also be used as a means of validating an alternative viewpoint. Mr. Holgate-Smith, who had earlier informed those present at the second public meeting that he was in favour of a "simple memorial [as] personally he thought they were already overburdened with memorials and it did not matter what sort of memorial they chose to erect", was strongly opposed to the idea of extending public consultation any further.[34] He was at pains to point out that the meeting was "the second opportunity which had been given the citizens to come to the hall to air their opinions and offer suggestions and he did not think they were called upon to take any further steps to obtain their opinions."[35] For Holgate-Smith, the apathy of the citizenry was, indirectly, a rejection of the very idea of an elaborate commemorative scheme and so, by logical extension, an implicit endorsement of his own views. In a similar vein the editor of the *Kentish Observer*, in highlighting the failure of attempts at open consultation hitherto, took the opportunity to canvass support for his own views. Under the heading "Plethora of Speeches at Canterbury", the tortuous and inconclusive path that the memorialisation process had already travelled and would in the near future be forced to take was outlined:

> There have now been two public meetings in Canterbury on the subject and a lot of people have aired their views, which is all that has been done to date. No definite decision has been reached.....Now there is to be a referendum to the whole body of citizens – a perfectly useless proceeding as we think, involving a considerable amount of clerical work and not unattended by expense. And what will be the result? The citizens are to be asked not only to indicate the particular form of memorial they favour but how much they are prepared to subscribe towards the cost. It will be interesting to hear the result of the poll. Again we say that Canterbury should have been content to associate itself with the County. And it is not too late to do that now.[36]

Once again the evident inability of public consultations to reach a conclusive outcome was being used to undermine the legitimacy of the schemes under consideration and, hence, to validate the rationale for an alternative proposal.

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[34] *KO*, 1 May 1919.
[35] Ibid.
[36] Ibid.

Similar attempts to manipulate the democratic process and shape its findings were to continue after the results of the referendum had been collated. The *Observer*, barely able to conceal its glee at the fact that its earlier misgivings had been fully realised, pressed on with its support for alternative projects, though by now it had abandoned collaboration with the County scheme in favour of a colonnaded concert area in the Dane John Gardens. The paper was hardly surprised that the referendum had "proved a fiasco;... what else was it expected to be? Did anyone seriously believe that the citizens of Canterbury would take the trouble to fill up the voting paper and that if they did fill it up the voting would be so decisively in favour of any particular scheme so as to settle the question beyond all further cavil? It seems that five thousand papers were issued and not one scheme received more than three hundred votes."[37] Urging its readers to give their full support to the proposed concert arena, the paper went on to provide a detailed description of the plans for the Dane John memory site.

Alderman Anderson, whose scheme it was that the *Observer* now championed, not surprisingly concurred with the paper's estimation of the usefulness of the referendum while differing somewhat in his interpretation of the citizens' motives. For Anderson the public's lack of response, far from being the result of apathy was in fact a conscious rejection of the proposals under review. In a letter to the *Gazette* he was sure that the fact that, "not one of the four proposals received more than three hundred votes was not perhaps to be wondered at as in the opinion of many citizens....the projects put forward were not suitable memorials."[38] Another of the *Gazette's* correspondents adopted the same line of argument. In advocating a scheme not considered in the referendum, 'A Citizen' asserted that, "the referendum seems to have fallen flat as many citizens, unable to agree with any of the four proposals put forward, have decided to take no part in the voting."[39] Even the mayor felt able to put to one side the results of the referendum on the grounds that it had proved insufficiently conclusive. A mayoral appeal for subscriptions in the *Gazette* acknowledged that, "the majority seem to prefer some monumental memorial", but went on to point out that, "we cannot say what we shall do as in spite of meetings

[37] *KO*, 19 Jun. 1919.
[38] *KGCP*, 14 Jun. 1919.
[39] *KGCP*, 17 May 1919.

held and an attempted card vote there has been no possibility of arriving at any definite conclusion."[40] Thus, although the *Kentish Observer*, 'A Citizen', Alderman Anderson and the mayor were all insistent that the true voice of the people must be heard, they were, nonetheless, prepared to dismiss the results of a genuinely democratic procedure when the conclusions were not in line with their own entrenched views.

When traditional democratic procedures had failed to produce the desired outcome, it was not uncommon for the advocates of competing schemes to resort to less formal methods of marshalling public backing. Thus, Anderson, in an attempt to promote his idea of a colonnaded area in the Dane John Gardens, contrasted the desultory response to the referendum with the mass support that musical entertainments enjoyed. He informed the readers of the *Kent Gazette* that, "This site would provide beautiful Winter Gardens and a Popular Concert Hall, and in view of the popularity of the Citizens' Concerts and a clamouring for good music in the city, I cannot help thinking that my suggestion of a colonnade will be favourably received."[41] For Anderson it was through the immutable truth of the cash register that the public will could be best discerned.

Similarly, for the *Kentish Observer* finance was the clearest gauge of public opinion. Although the referendum had narrowly favoured a monumental memorial, the editor of the *Observer* was, nonetheless, certain that he was better able to assess the true wishes of the people. An editorial, in August 1919, informed the paper's readers that, based on the unavoidable truth of past financial experience, the public were in favour of utilitarian memory sites:

> On the subject of local war memorials it appears, as far as concerns Kent at any rate, that there is a pronounced disinclination on the part of the public to subscribe to merely monumental memorials. The view very generally held is that while it may be fitting enough to record in some public way the names of the men who sacrificed their lives for England, the money that would be required for an obelisk, a cross or any other form of monument might be more usefully employed in putting up something that would benefit the living, and it is found that people will willingly

[40] *KGCP*, 16 Aug. 1919.
[41] *KGCP*, 14 Apr. 1919.

> subscribe to the utilitarian form of war memorial but will not give freely towards one of any other description.....We confess that our own feeling on the matter has been from the first and remains sympathetic towards the utilitarian form of memorial, which we are convinced is more likely to elicit a good response from the public for financial support than any proposal for merely a memorial cross or an obelisk or a shrine.[42]

As the *Observer's* prediction appeared to become a reality, those who continued to oppose the findings of the referendum once again presented subscription levels as the acid test of public opinion. In May 1920, at a specially convened meeting of the City Council to sanction the removal of a statue of Christopher Marlowe which occupied the site proposed for the war memorial, Councillor McClemens linked finance to public opinion. In opposing the majority of the War Memorial Committee members over both the positioning and the form of the monument, he argued that, "the lack of response to the financial appeal was evidence that...the form of the suggested memorial was unpopular and personally he agreed that the design was a hideous one".[43] Despite it being pointed out that, "an almost unanimous vote was passed at the public meeting in the Guildhall in favour of the erection of the War Memorial in the Butter Market", McClemens still felt able to claim that, "he had been driven to [his] conclusion by public opinion".[44] Just as Anderson had interpreted a failure to respond to the referendum as a vote against the scheme under review, so for McClemens the act of not subscribing to the memorial fund was imbued with intent, being viewed as a conscious rejection of the entire scheme. Once again the will of the committed minority was considered to be subordinate to the inaction of the passive majority.

At the same meeting of the Council, the mayor, H. G. James, who, as has been noted, had been instrumental in advancing the scheme in the first place, was quick to counter McClemens' objections by emphasizing the legitimacy of the decision-making process. He pointed out that, "the site was fully discussed at the public meeting at the Guildhall, the citizens had every chance of saying what they wished and he

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[42] *KO*, 21 Aug. 1919.
[43] *KO*, 19 May 1919.
[44] Ibid.

maintained that the City must be bound by the decision of the majority".[45] Yet, while promoting these traditional forms of democratic accountability, James, nonetheless, went on to tacitly acknowledge the validity of the less formal methods of gauging the public will. He was prepared to accept that the community's response to his appeal for subscriptions could be used to assess the popularity of the project but preferred to adopt a more sophisticated approach than the mere balance-book accounting of Councillor McClemens. For James an assessment of monetary value was not enough; it was also necessary to examine the circumstances of the donor. Once again dismissing those who took an active role in the decision-making process in favour of the silent majority, he stated that, "There were a few misguided persons who wrote impertinent letters to him on the subject [of the war memorial] – there always would be so long as they were asked to put their hands in their pockets – but, on the other hand, among the poorest there were many good souls who were prepared to make sacrifices entirely out of proportion to their means, and had proved what they thought of the Memorial."[46] Councillor Stone, in supporting the mayor, was equally keen that the moral and not just financial worth of the donations should be considered;

> He was appointed to collect subscriptions in a very poor district, and it was very pathetic to listen to some of the people and see how desirous they were to be identified with the scheme. He spoke to one man who had earned a living as a vendor of baked potatoes and was well known to all of them. Today he was in receipt of the Old Age pension in addition to the small amount he had saved. This man was bringing in a shilling a week for ten weeks because he and his wife wished to do what they could towards subscribing to the Memorial. There could be no doubt that the citizens were anxious to do what they could to mark their appreciation of the deeds of our gallant men.[47]

For both James and Stone there was an inverse correlation between the wealth of the subscriber and the importance of their gift and, hence, their opinion. It was as if, in some small way, the financial sacrifice of the less well off mirrored the ultimate sacrifice of the fallen and, thus, endowed their contributions with an additional significance.

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[45] Ibid.
[46] Ibid.
[47] Ibid.

Such differentiation was not uncommon. Among those who wished to appropriate public opinion in favour of a particular scheme, the views of specific sections of the community were often held out as being of particular importance. At the second public meeting in April 1919, Mr. G. Rivaz, a local JP and member of the War Memorial Committee, rallied support for the Dean of Canterbury's suggestion for a memorial cross by allying the scheme with those who, it could be argued, had the greatest claim on such a memory site; the bereaved. He assured the meeting "that as far as he had been able to ascertain from those people who had lost relatives the memorial that most appealed to them was the one which the Dean advocated".[48] As if to underline the significance of such backing the *Gazette* noted that Rivaz was seconded by a Mr. C .David, "one who had lost his only son in the war".[49] The implication was that such views must hold primacy over the views of those who had been spared the pain of a blood sacrifice.

Of course there was one group whose opinions many considered took precedence over all others; the war dead. To invoke the fallen was frequently a last resort; an appeal to sentiment over logic in, more often than not, an attempt to sway an opposing majority. With the mood of the second public meeting clearly favouring some form of monumental memorial, the local scoutmaster, S. E. Haynes, allowed emotion to replace rationality when he promoted the case for a Boys' Club by asserting that, "if they could ask the men who had fallen which [scheme] they would rather have they would say, 'Do something for our boys'".[50] On receiving the results of the referendum held later the same year, Mrs Maxwell Spooner, chairwoman of the Canterbury Lads' Club, was forced to adopt a similar tactic. With a narrow majority in favour of a monumental memorial, she attempted to muddy the democratic waters by supplanting the wishes of the living with the demands of the dead. Her fellow Memorial Committee members were informed that, "She was certain that if those men who had died in the war could give their vote in the matter they would favour something which could be for the benefit of the young."[51]

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[48] *KGCP*, 26 Apr. 1919.
[49] Ibid.
[50] *KO*, 1 May 1919.
[51] *KGCP*, 26 Jun. 1919.

When making such emotive appeals, the speakers were fully aware that their arguments would have an impact beyond the confines of their immediate audience. It could be safely assumed, such were the reporting conventions of the day, that the local press would print almost verbatim records of the proceedings of these key civic meetings. Both the *Kentish Observer* and the *Kent Gazette* saw fit to devote a full page to a purely narrative account of the second public meeting held on 23 April 1919.[52] Yet, not surprisingly, neither paper was content to restrict itself to such a passive role. Taking it upon themselves to act as the upholders of community traditions, they saw it as their duty to take an active part in influencing the direction of the commemorative process. Indeed, as has already been mentioned, it was in the pages of the *Gazette* that the discussions surrounding the memorialisation of the war dead first received an airing. The detailed letter to the editor, in the issue immediately following the signing of the Armistice, which expounded the advantages of the utilitarian over the monumental, set the tone for the paper's future pronouncements on the subject.[53]

Over the course of the next fourteen months, until the final public meeting in February 1920 resolved to erect a memorial cross, both the *Gazette* and the *Observer* continued to press vigorously for a utilitarian project. Carefully timed to coincide with the first official discussions on the subject, the editor of the *Observer* presented his readers with a precise explanation as to why the remembrance site ought not to be simply a monumental one:

> We would like to express the opinion that big sums should not be spent on monuments alone.....It seems to the writer to be a waste of money to erect a costly memorial when there are so many ways in which something good could be done that would be of real material help to many who cannot help themselves....We hope that this point will be kept in view, especially in respect of local projects. Kent will be sure to have a County memorial of elaborate design, a memorial that will fittingly and in enduring form record the great and noble deeds on sea, land and in the air performed by her sons and the fame won by her territorial regiments. District and

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[52] *KO*, 1 May 1919 and *KGCP*, 26 Apr. 1919. Such an allocation of column inches is even more remarkable in view of the fact that both papers ran to only eight pages.

[53] *KGCP*, 23 Nov. 1918. It was not until 27 January 1919 that the matter was first raised in the Council Chamber.

> town memorials might well take a utilitarian as opposed to a merely ornamental form.[54]

Once the decision had been made to locate the Kent County Memorial in the precincts of Canterbury Cathedral, both papers supported a joint effort between City and County. Yet, for both it was still utility rather than aesthetics which predominated, with the practical advantages that would accrue from such collaboration being uppermost. The editor of the *Observer* urged his readers "to contribute a very substantial amount towards the county memorial seeing that it will be the means of attracting large numbers of visitors to the city".[55] Although the editor of the *Gazette* was prepared to acknowledge, in passing, "the pride which must naturally be felt at such a possession", he, nonetheless, concluded by returning to the financial imperatives of the scheme.[56] Following the same reasoning as the *Observer*, he was confident that, "the people of East Kent will be sensible of the great source of attraction for visitors which the Kent Memorial will form".[57] Indeed, for the *Observer* at least, this was merely a new twist to an old argument. As has already been seen the failure of the referendum in June 1919 to approve, conclusively, any of the four schemes under review had encouraged the paper to endorse Alderman Anderson's alternative proposal for a colonnade in the Dane John Gardens. In an editorial to promote Anderson's idea the question of Canterbury's tourist trade had, once again, been pushed to the forefront. Yet, on this occasion, the editor had not been able to resist the opportunity to return to an on-going dispute and to give full vent to the frustration he felt at the civic leaders' perceived lack of business acumen:

> The *Kentish Observer* heartily commends this proposal as a most suitable form of war memorial, but is extremely doubtful whether it will meet with much support from the Committee. There is not much disposition among public men in Canterbury to beautify and add to the attractions of the Old City. They expatiate upon its antiquity, its historical features, the architectural beauties of its matchless Cathedral but they overlook the salient fact that an ancient town cannot depend solely on its past as a means of attraction and make no attempt to keep the metropolitan city

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[54] *KO*, 30 Jan. 1919.
[55] *KO*, 31 Oct. 1919.
[56] *KGCP*, 24 Jan. 1919.
[57] Ibid.

> abreast of the times. We agree with Alderman Anderson that the site he suggests would provide a beautiful Winter Gardens and a popular Concert Hall.[58]

It was not just over the form of Canterbury's remembrance site that the press attempted to exert pressure on the workings of the city's Memorial Committee. In July 1919 the *Gazette* began a campaign urging the civil authorities "to do something about recording Canterbury's only VC".[59] The subject of this campaign was Major Edward Mannock who, by the time of his death in combat on 25 July 1918, had become the RAF's most highly decorated and most successful pilot of the war, being credited with 73 'kills'.[60] However, although the *Gazette* claimed he "was really a Canterbury product", Mannock had, in fact, only spent his school years in the city.[61] Having been born in Brighton and enlisted in London he was not, under the Memorial Committee's regulations, eligible for inclusion in the list of the borough's war dead. Nonetheless, despite the tenuous nature of the claim, the *Gazette* still demanded that, "the case be taken up by the mayor and necessary committee... to provide a memorial".[62]

The pressure on the authorities was maintained the following month in the paper's letters' columns. W. S. York asked the editor "when are the public bodies and citizens going to honour and do something to perpetuate the memory of the late Major Mannock VC?", concluding with the observation that any failure to act would be "a lasting disgrace".[63] In the very next edition the *Gazette* was able to claim a victory, announcing that the matter had been taken up by the City Council and "a committee

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[58] *KO*, 19 Jun. 1919. At the end of the war the Council had committed itself to the reconstruction of the Dane John Gardens. Its failure to act on its promise was a theme to which the *Observer* constantly returned.

[59] *KGCP*, 26 Jul. 1919.

[60] M. Gilbert, *First World War*, (London, 1994), p.445. For more on the career of Edward Mannock see N. Steel and P. Hart, *Tumult in the Clouds*, (London, 1997) and D. Winter, *The First of the Few: Fighter Pilots of the First World War*, (London, 1982).

[61] *KGCP*, 26 Jul. 1919. The significance of Mannock's limited association with Canterbury will be discussed in more detail when the rituals of naming are examined.

[62] *KGCP*, 26 Jul. 1919.

[63] *KGCP*, 16 Aug. 1919.

had been appointed to consider the best form of memorial to Major Mannock".[64] Yet, far from savouring the moment, the editor instead chose to use this small triumph as a platform for another editorial assault on the Committee's handling of the memorialisation process generally and, hence, for the further promotion of his own commemorative plans:

> A small Committee was appointed to consider the best form of memorial [to Mannock] and it is here that the crux is likely to come. Opinions are so very divergent on a matter of this kind, as we have seen by the deplorable way in which the question of a memorial of the general body of Canterbury's gallant sons has been allowed to drift month after month without decision. Tablets are being erected more or less in every parish Church, but Canterbury's municipal recognition still hangs fire. It is very much to be hoped that this latest addition to the multiplicity of memorials will not tend further to complicate the matter. It need not do so if the plan [to collaborate with the County] set forth in last week's *Gazette* is adopted.[65]

The influence that the press could, and did, have on the direction of the city's remembrance activity was not lost on the mayor, H. G. James. One of his first acts when resurrecting the city's commemorative plans in January 1920 was to invite the proprietors of both the *Kentish Observer* and the *Kent Gazette* to join the War Memorial Committee.[66] Such a move appeared to pay immediate dividends. Although the third public meeting in February 1920 rejected out of hand the *Observer's* long running campaign for a combined effort with the County, the paper was this time temperate in its reaction. While still taking a sideswipe at some of the local worthies' verbosity, the paper's editorial was, nevertheless, now fully supportive of the work of the Committee:

> Yet another public meeting has been held at Canterbury to decide whether a purely local war memorial, distinct from the Kent County Memorial, shall be erected and if so the form it shall assume. There have now been three public meetings to consider these questions and the views of many prominent citizens have been ventilated at inordinate length. It has remained for the present mayor to obtain a final verdict and

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[64] *KGCP*, 23 Aug. 1919.

[65] Ibid. It was eventually decided that Mannock's name should be allowed to appear in the list of Canterbury's war dead on the city's memorial in the Butter Market.

[66] Canterbury, CCA, CC/AJ/27/1, P. D. Eastes to H. Fielding, 9 Feb.1920 and E. Elvey to H. Fielding, 13 Feb. 1920.

> it will be due to his enthusiasm and keenness if the sum required for the purpose of a memorial cross is eventually raised. We still think that it should have been best if Canterbury had in the first instance joined hands with the county. But there is unquestionably a strong feeling on the part of many that the City should have its own local war memorial. Thursday's meeting was fairly representative of the general body of citizens and the resolutions proposed were carried unanimously.....We cordially wish the mayor all success in his war memorial scheme.[67]

Even the *Gazette* eventually changed its tune. As the scheme neared completion the paper acknowledged that, "For the progress that has been made with the scheme in recent months the citizens are greatly indebted to the mayor and other members of the Committee".[68]

The partial fettering of the press through inclusion within the ranks of the Memorial Committee gives some indication of the extent to which the overall direction of the memorialisation process was to be retained by the members of the Committee. Although Memorial Committees were meant to be representative of the general body of the citizenry, in practice they often fell far short of this ideal. Alex King has noted that controlling Committees were invariably elected from a pre-selected list of 'representative' people which had been drawn up at a preliminary closed Council meeting and, as a result, he has questioned whether commemorative activity can be truly seen as a spontaneous expression of public feeling.[69] Canterbury, to all intents and purposes, conformed to the pattern observed by King. When advising the first public meeting that, "they should content themselves that day with appointing a strong Committee", the Dean of Canterbury, H. Wace, who was in fact to be made the Committee's president, admitted that, "the mayor had already appointed to some extent" the members of the Committee.[70] To ensure that those present complied with the recommendation implicit in his suggestion, Wace added "that he thought the formation of the Committee might very well be left in the hands of the mayor, who would know, better than most of them, the different people who ought to be invited on to it."[71]

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[67] *KO*, 26 Feb. 1920.
[68] *KGCP*, 24 Sep. 1921.
[69] King, *Memorials of the Great War in Britain*, ch.1.
[70] *KO*, 20 Mar. 1919.
[71] Ibid.

It was to be a similar story when the remembrance project was resurrected in January 1920 during H. G. James' mayoralty. Although the public was promised that, "a citizens' meeting [would] be held in a fortnight for forming a strong executive committee",[72] James had, in fact, already sent out letters to a number of local worthies inviting them to become members of the Committee.[73] The public's role was restricted to validating ex post facto the actions of the town's elite.

Alex King, in highlighting the monopoly that local dignitaries held over the membership of War Memorial Committees, has, however, argued that their roles were often seen as nothing more than a natural extension of their official jobs. Thus, the chairman of the Committee was an administrator rather than a leader; his task was to create a forum in which the will of the community could be expressed and was not to direct proceedings or to formulate policy.[74] Yet, used to taking the lead in civic affairs, most Committee members found it difficult the devolve responsibility when it came to the memorialisation process. Bremner, when chairing the first public meeting to discuss the form of Canterbury's war memorial, was unable to forego the opportunity to promote his scheme for a Boys' Club. Having just told the audience that "he did not know that personally he had any predilection", he immediately contradicted himself by noting that, "there had been a suggestion, and he must say he was rather inclined to it himself, that they should buy or acquire some land and put up a building on it as a permanent club for boys of the streets."[75] The tension that was inherent in Bremner's dual roles as a proactive civic leader and an impartial Committee chairman was equally apparent at the second public meeting. He opened the meeting by promising that, "he did not propose himself to prompt anyone but he wanted to get an expression of feeling from the whole city."[76] However, once calls for a monumental memorial had been raised, he could not resist voicing his support for a

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[72] KGCP, 31 Jan. 1920.

[73] Canterbury, CCA, CC/AJ/27/1, Canterbury War Memorial Committee, Minutes, 28 Jan. 1920.

[74] King, *Memorials of the Great War in Britain*, ch.1.

[75] *KO*, 20 Mar. 1919.

[76] *KO*, 1 May 1919.

utilitarian hall, claiming that it was "a most excellent suggestion...which was very badly needed in Canterbury".[77]

Bremner's attempts to influence the course of the memorialisation debate were not merely restricted to articulating publicly the merits of his cause. Despite the second public meeting's resolution to hold a referendum appearing to signal the primacy of the community over the Memorial Committee, Bremner, nevertheless, ensured that control remained firmly in the hands of the Committee members. It was in a closed session of the Memorial Committee that the proposals to be included in the referendum were selected, with only four, including inevitably the construction of a Boys' Club, from seven being put forward.[78] Moreover, as has already been discussed, when the vote failed to favour his scheme, or indeed any form of utilitarian memorial, Bremner was able to simply set aside the result and delay making a final decision. The public's role was to follow not to lead.

On replacing Bremner as both mayor and chairman of the Memorial Committee, James was equally cavalier in his approach to democratic procedures. Adopting the diametrically opposite position to that of his predecessor, the new chairman seized on the referendum result as a mandate to fast-track through the decision to construct a monumental memorial. In January 1920, at the first meeting of the Memorial Committee under his chairmanship, not only was the resolution to erect a memorial cross in the Butter Market passed, but also three designs, which James had previously requested from local artists, were considered and a vote was taken on which should be adopted.[79] Thus, without recourse to further public consultation, James had used the referendum vote in which a narrow majority had been in favour of a general

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[77] Ibid.

[78] Canterbury, CCA, CC/AJ/27/1, Canterbury War Memorial Committee, Minutes, 11 Apr. 1919. The four schemes included in the referendum were: "1. The conversion of All Saints' Church as a Public Hall, 2. The purchase of the City Castle and construction of same as a public memorial, 3. A Club for Boys and Girls, 4. The removal of the Marlowe Memorial and the erection of a Cross." Ibid.

[79] Ibid., Minutes, 28 Jan. 1920. J. Ogden and W. Taylor of the Canterbury School of Art produced the three designs for James. *KO*, 8 Jul. 1920.

proposal for "the erection of a Cross", as a greenlight for the selection of an exact design.[80]

The peripheral role that the community was allowed to play in the choice of the city's memory site was further highlighted as the decision-making process unfolded. Although the *Gazette*, in reporting the Committee's decision to erect a cross, stated that, "two of the designs will be exhibited in the Beaney Institute in order to obtain a public expression of opinion as to which is the more desirable", the Committee, as noted above, had already made its choice.[81] Indeed, despite the *Gazette* reporting, after the two proposals had been in the Beaney for a fortnight, that it was "design one which appears to be most generally approved",[82] it was still a sketch of design two, the option favoured by the Committee, that appeared in the *Kentish Observer* two months later under the heading, "Canterbury War Memorial: the Suggested Market Cross to be Erected on the Site of the Marlowe Memorial".[83]

The removal of the public from the decision-making process did not, however, end there. Growing concern over their original choice of design encouraged the Memorial Committee to invite Professor Beresford Pite to visit Canterbury in July 1920 to "advise the Committee as to the most suitable form of memorial to be erected in the old Butter Market".[84] A proposal subsequently submitted by Pite, solely at the behest of the Committee, was provisionally endorsed at a Committee meeting in July 1920.[85] Although it was presented for formal ratification to the subscribers later the same month, it was only behind the closed doors of the War Memorial Committee in December 1920 that the final decision to adopt the design was "unanimously agreed".[86] Thus, this time with only the merest pretence of public accountability, the members of the War Memorial Committee had retained control over the form of the city's memory site.

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[80] Ibid., minutes, 11 Apr.1919.
[81] *KGCP*, 31 Jan. 1920.
[82] *KGCP*, 14 Feb. 1920.
[83] *KO*, 8 Apr. 1920.
[84] *KO*, 8 Jul. 1920.
[85] Canterbury, CCA, CC/W15/2, Canterbury War Memorial Committee, Minutes, 17 Jul. 1920.
[86] *KO*, 16 Dec. 1920.

As a community memory site, the construction of a war memorial demanded public involvement in the process. Yet, the emotive nature of the task meant that normal democratic procedures were often considered to be too laborious or too inconclusive to match the needs of the moment. For many the lacklustre stamp of local politics did not seem to do justice to the magnitude of the undertaking facing them. Such frustrations were clearly articulated by Councillor Stone at the second public meeting. Disappointed at the lack of progress, he was driven to criticise the attitude of the community at large and, dismissing any further attempts to marshal public opinion, he "referred to the apathy of the people generally on these matters and said it was marvellous the number of people there were who did nothing at all, leaving it to the few to do their best for the public, and to receive the criticisms for doing it of those who did nothing. He rather deprecated this going round cap in hand as it were to get the opinions of those who seemed to care so little."[87] As traditional methods of reaching a consensus were deemed inadequate, the way was left open for committed activists to claim public backing through alternative means. The confusion of conflicting schemes in Canterbury that ensued, with each professing to embody the general will, merely served to remove the process even further from community involvement. The obfuscation of democratic procedures, and the resulting impasse in the decision-making process, ultimately allowed the War Memorial Committee to retain control over the form of the city's commemorative site.

iii. Community Rituals 1: Fundraising.

Although a meeting of Canterbury's War Memorial Committee in April 1919 resolved "to consider the best means of raising funds"[88], and an appeal for subscriptions was subsequently launched in the local press in August 1919, the public's response was, nevertheless, disappointing.[89] By the end of the year less than £30 had been received.[90] For the editor of the *Kent Gazette* this financial shortfall must have come

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[87] *KO*, 1 May 1919.

[88] Canterbury, CCA, CC/AJ/27/1, Canterbury War Memorial Committee, minutes, 11 Apr. 1919.

[89] *KGCP*, 16 Aug. 1919.

[90] Canterbury, CCA, CC/W15/1, Canterbury War Memorial Committee, Account Book.

as no surprise. An editorial which had appeared on the same page as the mayor's original appeal had anticipated just such an eventuality when it had offered the unhelpful view that, "there are many people who would desire to know before subscribing to such a memorial, the specific purpose for which their money is to be applied."[91] Indeed, at the very first public meeting to discuss the city's commemorative plans the question of the scheduling of fund raising activities had been raised. In a letter of apology for his absence, Dr. Mason had warned those present that, "nothing can be decided until some notion can be formed of the sum that will be available."[92] The debate was, in fact, to rumble on for well over a year. As late as May 1920, with the decision to erect some form of memorial cross already taken, Councillor McClemens was still able to challenge the mayor in the Council Chamber by stating that as "there was no definite scheme, you cannot expect people to subscribe to a thing that they know nothing about".[93]

Yet, for many War Memorial Committee members, presenting the public with a precise design when asking for donations was fraught with difficulties. The president of Canterbury's War Memorial Committee, H. Wace, was concerned about alienating potential subscribers. He advised the mayor, H. G. James, that, when producing a circular appealing for funds, "it would be wiser not to print the existing sketch of the proposed memorial as I find it is a good deal misunderstood."[94] For others, a greater worry was being tied to a specific scheme. With the repatriation of the war dead banned, civic commemoration had assumed even greater importance. A borough memorial acted as more than just a community reference point; it was a delicately layered monument, fulfilling the dual roles of collective memory site and private surrogate grave.[95] With this in mind, those charged with executing the memorialisation process were acutely aware that the public's donations carried with them solemn obligations. Hence, many members of controlling Committees felt that were they to advance a precise design when calling for funds, they would then be

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[91] *KGCP*, 16 Aug. 1919.
[92] *KGCP*, 22 Mar 1919.
[93] *KGCP*, 22 May 1920.
[94] Canterbury, CCA, CC/W15/2, H. Wace to H. G. James, 4 Jun. 1920.
[95] For more on the Imperial War Graves Commission's work with the war dead see Thomas Laqueur, 'Memory and Naming in the Great War', pp.150-167.

honour bound to stick rigidly to their original proposal. It was this fear that prompted R. A. Bremner, the Memorial Committee's chairman in 1919, to reject a suggestion to have included on the referendum form the amount that householders would subscribe to the scheme they voted for on the grounds that, "the proposal for which the money was earmarked might not be carried out".[96]

Nonetheless, despite these initial misgivings, by 1920 Canterbury's War Memorial Committee had reversed its initial stance and, in May, a new appeal for funds, "now that a scheme has been definitely decided upon", was made.[97] However, the far from smooth process involved in arriving at the final decision as to the form the borough's memorial would take was to have a detrimental effect on fund-raising efforts. Both Wace and James were acutely aware that the divisions of the past, so widely reported in the press, could well undermine the scheme's financial viability. In the appeal for funds in May 1920, the public were entreated to let bygones be bygones and urged that, "though opinions have differed as to the form the memorial should take now all should unite in making it a thoroughly fitting commemoration."[98] Although financial imperatives demanded a cohesive effort, implicit in the message was also the need for civic harmony. For the memorial to be a worthy one, the camaraderie of the war dead needed to be matched by a unity of purpose in domestic life.

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[96] *KO*, 1 May 1919. Even once the final design of, and site for, the city's war memorial had been approved, Committee members were still anxious that the public's money was spent appropriately. At a meeting of the General Purposes Committee of the City Council in May 1920, held to discuss the removal of a statue of Christopher Marlowe that occupied the site proposed for the war memorial, Councillor Stone reminded his fellow councillors where their duty lay, stating that, "the cost of removal and re-erection of the memorial [to Marlowe] should be borne by the City; no part of the money which was to be raised for the war memorial ought to be expended upon the existing one." *KGCP*, 22 May 1920. Interestingly, at a later meeting of the General Purposes Committee held to discuss the same issue, Alderman Pope, though equally concerned that funds should be spent in the correct manner, arrived at the opposite conclusion. He felt that, "the whole cost of erecting the War Memorial should be met by public subscriptions and deprecated the suggestion that the money required for the preparation of the site should come out of the rates." *KGCP*, 18 Dec. 1920.

[97] *KGCP*, 1 May 1919.

[98] *KGCP*, 1 May 1920. In fact Wace had been pressing for a united effort from the outset. At the very first public meeting, in March 1919, he had "emphasized the importance of securing among the citizens of Canterbury general unanimity in the final decision for the very prosaic reason that, unless they had that unanimity, it would be difficult to get a very considerable sum." *KGCP*, 22 Mar. 1919.

Of even greater concern to many was the delay in initiating the drive for funds that arose as a result of the protracted deliberations over form. Councillor McClemens was certain that this lack of early progress had cost the scheme dear. On being informed that only £600 had been raised by May 1920, he told his fellow members of the War Memorial Committee that, "the reason why the appeal was unpopular was that they were so late in the field – the City Memorial had been left over until nearly every parish had secured one."[99] For the editor of the *Kentish Observer*, it was not only being left behind in the race for subscriptions that explained Canterbury's poor performance but also the nature of the competing claims on the public's purse. An editorial in October 1920, noting that both the Rochester and Canterbury borough Committees were experiencing difficulties in reaching their financial targets, pointed out that, "elsewhere in Kent there have been modest and yet more suitable local memorials erected, the money for these being quite freely subscribed by the parishioners of the various districts. These small local memorials seem to be preferred to the more ambitious schemes put forward by towns and large communities."[100] Almost a year later the *Gazette* picked up on the same theme. While reassuring its readers that the City's commemorative objectives were nearing completion, the paper also provided a review of, and an explanation for, the faltering progress thus far:

> It is over two years since the idea of a memorial was mooted. A fund was actually started during the mayoralty of Alderman Bremner and in Councillor James' year of office a definite scheme, with the Old Butter Market as the selected site, was decided upon. By dint of much effort – including a house to house collection – a sum of between £800 and £900 was raised. At a time when every parish, every regiment, every society and almost every school was making each its intimate appeal for its own individual memorial, this seemingly modest response was scarcely surprising. Canterbury's experience is by no means singular. There are a great many cities and towns throughout the country which, for precisely the same reason, are still awaiting the fruition of their largely commemorative schemes.[101]

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[99] *KGCP*, 22 May 1920.
[100] *KO*, 28 Oct. 1920.
[101] *KGCP*, 24 Sep. 1921.

For both papers' editors, Canterbury's memorialisation project was disadvantaged from the outset by the scale of the undertaking. Unwieldy in personnel and cumbersome in decision-making, it was also viewed as lacking the immediacy of community links that more localised schemes enjoyed. Disappointing though it was, the delay in calling for subscriptions was thought to have merely accentuated, not initiated, the public's indifferent financial response. Having already contributed towards the erection of parish, school or workplace memorials, the civic scheme could, for many, be relegated to a secondary role. With obligations fulfilled at a more intimate level, the demands of the borough seemed to be a much less pressing concern.[102]

A sense of duty lay at the heart of community financing. To subscribe to a war memorial was to pay homage to the fallen. Indeed, for some a donation was almost a memorial in its own right. The dedications which contributors to the *Gazette's* 'shilling' fund in October 1920 forwarded with their money mirrored, in many ways, the epitaphs that appeared on the graves of the fallen. Thus, the forty-two shillings raised by the City of Canterbury Lodge MU Oddfellows was given "in memory of 44 fallen brothers" and, at a more personal level, Mrs. Jackson's contribution of two shillings was, poignantly, "in memory of a loving son".[103] For those charged with financing civic remembrance projects, this widely held conviction that it was the living's responsibility to uphold the memory of the war dead was a strong selling point. Both Bremner and James, when promoting the borough scheme during their respective tenures as chairman of the Memorial Committee, were quick to capitalise on this belief. At the inaugural public meeting to discuss the city's commemorative plans, Bremner opened proceedings by stating that he was sure that, "the people of Canterbury would rise to the occasion to mark their sense of obligation to their fellow citizens".[104] Over a year later, when initiating an "individual personal appeal to every

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[102] The city memorial was unveiled on 8 October 1921. By this time most of the local parish churches had long since completed their schemes. Thus, St Stephen's was first off the mark, unveiling its memorial on 31 May 1919, followed by St Dunstan's on 11 December 1919, St Paul's on 22 May 1920, St Alphege on 8 May 1920 and St Mary Bredin on 5 June 1920. In addition to these memorials, there were a number of school, workplace and social club projects completed prior to the civic scheme.

[103] *KGCP*, 28 Oct. 1922.

[104] *KGCP*, 22 Mar. 1919

householder", James was equally certain that, "the citizens will not be found wanting in regard to the still higher duty of perpetuating the memory of the gallant dead".[105]

Yet, aware that many may have already discharged their duty to the dead by subscribing to a more intimate local memorial, the controllers of civic schemes recognised the necessity of broadening the scope of their appeals to encompass more than simply the expression of gratitude to the fallen. Thus, when encouraging readers of the *Gazette*, in April 1920, to subscribe to "the appeal now finally issued by our mayor", H. Wace, the president of the War Memorial Committee, stated "that we are all called upon, both in homage to the dead and for the honour of the City to provide for the erection of the Memorial without further delay".[106] Civic pride was vying with sacred duty in pricking the conscience of potential subscribers. Indeed, the need to do justice to the exalted position that Canterbury was perceived to hold as the centre of the Anglican Church was at the forefront of much of the rhetoric of the members of the borough Memorial Committee. At the third public meeting, in February 1920, the mayor concluded his address with the hope that, "they would all see their way to support the memorial and make it the success that it ought to be for a City with such a history as Canterbury".[107] Alderman Spooner echoed this sentiment by suggesting that, "the amount mentioned ought not to be beyond the capacity of such a great city as Canterbury".[108] For Councillor Stone, promotion of civic pride seemed almost to supplant remembrance of the dead. At a Council meeting in May 1920, with funds woefully short of the required target, he was prompted to proffer the rather extreme view that, "it would be better to wait for five or even ten years so as to have a memorial which would be worthy of, and in keeping with, the traditions of the City".[109]

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[105] *KGCP*, 1 May 1920

[106] *KGCP*, 17 Apr. 1920

[107] *KGCP*, 21 Feb. 1920.

[108] Ibid.

[109] *KGCP*, 22 May 1920. In a prescient response to this, Councillor Finch asked, "Does Councillor Stone really wish to suggest that we should combine the present War Memorial with the next one". The bracketed (laughter) which the *Gazette's* reporter included after Finch's comment rings all too hollow with hindsight.

As civic officials, members of Canterbury's War Memorial Committee were keen to further the city's standing and, hence, to advance their own reputations. Yet, their positions as public servants meant that they were also acutely aware of the burden of expectations that they had to shoulder. With each borough anxious to promote its own remembrance project, a sense of civic rivalry could develop between neighbouring communities. The delay in launching Canterbury's memorialisation scheme encouraged the editor of the *Kentish Observer* to make some unfavourable comparisons. In an editorial in June 1919 he noted that,

> They are doing exceedingly well in raising funds in a few Kentish towns for war memorials. Deal has just had a War Memorial Week, which resulted in a large sum being added to the already handsome list of donations. The total of the fund is now nearly £10,000, only about £2,000 short of the amount required to carry out the scheme in its entirety. Ashford is another town that has done well. We should be glad if we could say the same of Canterbury. The Cathedral City has hardly made a start yet. The result of the mayor's appeal down to date is about £25![110]

Implicit in this criticism was the challenge to Canterbury's Memorial Committee to ensure that the honour of the city was not undermined. The following year there was still concern being expressed about the potential for the scheme to fail to live up to the name of the city, but this time it was the verdict of future citizens, not the disapprobation of the present ones, that seemed to be the cause of the unease. Anxious about the slow progress of the memorial fund, the mayor informed a meeting of the Memorial Committee in May 1920 that, "he hoped for the honour of the City that sufficient money would be found for the erection of a proper Memorial, otherwise he did not know what future generations would think. It would be a scandal and a disgrace."[111]

That contributing to a war memorial fund was as much a public duty as it was a private homage can be sensed from the priority that was given to the publication of subscription lists in the local press. In a letter to the mayor, H. James, in the summer of 1920, H. Wace was insistent that the press notice advertising the relaunch of the

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[110] *KO*, 18 Jun. 1919.

[111] *KGCP*, 22 May 1920.

memorial scheme should include "a complete list of subscribers to date".[112] The implicit message that such a list, by acclaiming those who had already carried out their duty as citizens, would encourage others to follow suit was made explicit towards the end of the same letter when James was advised to send a copy of the circular to the prominent local landowner, Lord Northbourne, personally "as it would be a great advantage if he had before him the example which you yourself have set".[113] Such was the emphasis placed by the War Memorial Committee on the public acknowledgement of those who had fulfilled their civic obligations that lists of subscribers appeared in the pages of the *Gazette* each week during April and May 1920, occupying a total of sixty-seven column inches and costing the Committee £4-4-0.[114] In addition to this the house to house collections that were carried out in Canterbury's three wards towards the end of May and the beginning of June of the same year also received full coverage in the *Gazette*, with the names of those who had made a donation, no matter how small the sum, being acknowledged.[115] Indeed, the sense that contributing to the memorial fund was a public duty rather than a charitable act encouraged Councillor McClemens to take the next logical step and propose that the whole process be formalised. At a Council meeting in December 1920 he argued that, "whilst only about one thousand or two thousand inhabitants had subscribed [to the memorial], the whole city would wish to give their mite through the rates. Even were it to cost a penny rate, he did not think there was a single ratepayer who would object".[116] Thus, with the emphasis on collective obligation rather than individual conscience, the borough's war memorial was, in many ways, being reduced to the same level as any other civic amenity for which the Council assumed the responsibility of provision and the citizens the burden of finance.

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[112] Canterbury, CCA, CC/W15/2, H. Wace to H. G. James, 4 Jun. 1920. Wace emphasised the importance of including the lists of subscribers by underlining the suggestion twice.

[113] Ibid.

[114] Canterbury, CCA, CC/W15/2, Invoice *KGCP*, undated. The *Gazette* made a point of highlighting the fact that they had charged the Memorial Committee at half rate for the publication of the lists of subscribers.

[115] The Westgate Ward, *KGCP*, 8 May 1920; Northgate Ward, *KGCP*, 29 May 1920; Dane John Ward, *KGCP*, 12 Jun. 1920. The donations received ranged from two guineas to tuppence. The total raised was £336-0-3.

[116] *KO*, 13 Dec. 1920. McClemens' proposal was not adopted.

Yet, although the publication of the names of subscribers and the amounts they had donated may have advertised a community's public-spiritedness, it also enabled the extent of a private individual's civic largesse to be quantified. Inherent in James' promise, in the appeal for funds of May 1920, that, "all subscriptions will be acknowledged" was the understanding that the individual's stake in the memory site would be recognised.[117] Indeed, a sense of gradation in ownership was made apparent the following month when a notice in the local papers announced that, "Subscriptions may be paid by instalments – the full amount promised will be credited and acknowledged in the press".[118] The subsequent decision to have the final choice of design ratified by the subscribers, rather than all the citizens, further underlined this proprietorial impression.

Despite efforts to present the memorialisation of the war dead as a pressing civic duty, Canterbury, like many other towns and cities, struggled to raise adequate funds to cover the costs of erecting a borough war memorial. In part this could be explained by the unpropitious economic climate in the immediate post-war years. The editor of the *Kentish Observer* was doubtful that in such straitened times sufficient money would be raised to meet the ambitious targets of civic commemoration. In an editorial dismissing the decision reached at the second public meeting to go ahead with a separate borough memorial, the paper envisaged a bleak financial future;

> People contributed most liberally during the war to all sorts of war funds but now that the war is over and many feel that they have "done their bit" in various ways, it behoves them, in view of the coming new burdens of taxation, to exercise economy even to the extent of seeming stinginess. It is, in fact, a bad time just at the present to make appeals for contributions to almost any object no matter how deserving. There is of course an enormous amount of wealth in the country and those who share in it will no doubt continue to subscribe very handsomely to all these war memorial schemes, but it can hardly be expected that the middle-classes, who will feel the extra taxation most, can contribute so liberally as they would like or so liberally as, if

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[117] *KGCP*, 3 Apr. 1920. Indeed, the proprietorial nature of subscription lists could well have encouraged some to give anonymously. Of the 577 people who made donations during the house to house collection in the Westgate Ward in May 1920, four wished to remain anonymous. Although this was only a small percentage, it should be remembered that the nature of the collection meant that the onus was placed on the subscriber to make a specific point of requesting to have his or her name withheld.

[118] Canterbury, CCA, CC/W15/2.

> times were not what they are, they would certainly do. The outlook for the middle-classes is gloomy indeed. And it will not become less so as time goes on. The trouble for many of us is only just beginning.[119]

Over a year later similar doubts were still being raised. Councillor Finn attributed the poor response to the relaunching of the memorial fund in May 1920 to the fact that, "Canterbury trade was in a poor state at the present time".[120]

However, the depressed state of Canterbury's trade cannot fully account for the Memorial Committee's financial difficulties. Although the chairman of the Committee announced that, "It is particularly to be desired that all classes will contribute according to their means so that the memorial may be truly representative of the city", there was little sense of urgency in ensuring that this wish became a reality.[121] The protracted arguments within the ranks of the local elite over the form that the memorial should take meant that, in the early stages of the project, very little effort was made to involve the community through fund-raising initiatives. Indeed, by the end of 1919, a full ten months after the first meeting of the War Memorial Committee, only £27-19s had been raised with over £18 of this coming from just ten private subscribers.[122] Apart from a collection by the Boy Scouts in October 1919, it was not until the summer of the following year that a genuine attempt to include the local populace was undertaken with a series of house to house collections in May and June.[123] The inevitable financial shortfall that the Committee faced as a consequence of this lackadaisical approach, while indirectly emphasizing the necessity for

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[119] *KO*, 1 May 1919. Ross McKibbin has noted that, although there is little evidence that, in the long-term, the middle-class suffered financially as a result of the war, to observers at the time this was not always apparent. By 1920 the cost of living index was almost three times higher than it had been in 1914 while average money salaries had only doubled in the same period. This was not the case, however, for weekly wage earners and, hence, the differential between middle-class and working-class incomes seemed to be ever narrowing. To many the pauperisation of the middle-class seemed a distinct possibility. Ross McKibbin, *Classes and Cultures in England 1918-1951*, (Oxford, 1998), pp.50-59. The gloomy prediction towards the end of the editorial was presumably a reference to the forthcoming Finance Act which, in August 1919, was to increase both income tax and death duties.

[120] *KGCP*, 22 May 1920.

[121] *KGCP*, 10 Apr. 1920.

[122] Canterbury, CCA, CC/W15/2, Account Book.

[123] Ibid.

collective involvement and, hence, the communal nature of the project, was also, paradoxically, to reaffirm the extent to which local notables maintained control over proceedings. With, by the end of June 1921, over £300 still needed to complete the memorial[124], and despite the *Observer's* assertion that, "It is generally felt that the record of names of the fallen is essential to the purpose of the memorial"[125], the Memorial Committee resolved "that the erection of the memorial be at once proceeded with on the understanding that the tablets of names will be added when the further funds required for that purpose have been subscribed".[126] Thus, in their eagerness to be seen to have fulfilled their civic function, the Memorial Committee was prepared to proceed without including the names of the borough's fallen on the memorial; the very element that imbued the memory site with community meaning and infused the unveiling ceremony with collective significance.

iv. Community Rituals 2: The Naming of the Fallen.

In Canterbury, as in most other towns and cities throughout Britain, the naming of the borough's fallen citizens resonated to the heart of the civic rituals of remembrance. For many the compilation of a list of the war dead took priority over all other aspects of commemorative activity. Although the form of memorial projects frequently generated heated disagreements, the issue of naming rarely provoked any dissent. A correspondent to the *Kent Gazette* in November 1918 set the tone for much of the ensuing debate in the city. Despite advocating that any money raised should be used "to pay our sacred debt to the men who have suffered in our stead", 'An Onlooker' was, nevertheless, equally adamant that there should be "some form of memorial with our men's names inscribed for all to see".[127] Indeed, it was not uncommon for those proposing utilitarian schemes to make a point of emphasising their support for the public acknowledgement of the names of the fallen. The editor of the *Kentish Observer* was a vigorous opponent of the purely ornamental in commemoration, yet he still felt it necessary to begin an editorial on the subject of local war memorials by

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[124] *KGCP*, 22 Jun. 1921.

[125] *KO*, 1 Jun. 1921.

[126] Canterbury, CCA, CC/W15/2, Canterbury War Memorial Committee, Minutes, 27 Jun. 1920.

[127] *KGCP*, 23 Nov. 1918.

stating that, "We would like to express the opinion that though big sums should not be spent on monuments alone, it is right and proper of course to record in some public form the names of heroes of a particular town, village or district who gave their lives for King and Country."[128] Similarly Alderman Anderson, when supplying the *Gazette* with details of a memorial concert arena in the Dane John Gardens, was at pains to point out that, "tablets might be fixed with the names [of the dead] inscribed thereon in the tower at the entrance. There, for all time, the names of those who fell would be prominently before the eyes of the public."[129]

Members of Canterbury's War Memorial Committee were equally aware of the centrality of naming in the memorialisation process. As the second public meeting to decide on the form of the city's scheme appeared to be reaching an impasse, Councillor Arrowsmith, who had earlier seconded the mayor's proposal for a Boys' Club, was still able to find some common ground by stating that, "whatever form the memorial took....it would be wished that, in any event, a tablet containing the names of the fallen should, with the Dean's permission, be placed in either the Cathedral or the cloisters."[130] Indeed, unable to agree on any other issue, the meeting adopted Arrowsmith's observation as a formal resolution and unanimously approved it.[131]

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[128] *KO*, 30 Jan. 1919. The editor of the *Observer* returned to this theme eight months later when, in another editorial on 'Local War Memorials', he asserted that, "the view very generally held is that while it may be fitting enough to record in some public way the names of men who sacrificed their lives for England, the money that would be required for an obelisk, a cross or any other form of monument might be more usefully employed." *KO*, 21 Aug. 1919.

[129] *KGCP*, 14 Jun. 1919

[130] *KGCP*, 26 Apr. 1919.

[131] The names of Canterbury's fallen only appear on the war memorial outside the gates of the Cathedral and not, in fact, inside the precincts at all. Although it is not clear when the decision was taken to make this alteration to the plan, some explanation for the change of heart can, at last in part, be found in the lukewarm response of the Dean of the Cathedral, who also happened to be the president of the War Memorial Committee, to the original resolution. In the *Observer's* coverage of the second public meeting, it was noted that, "After further discussion the Dean said he would see what the Chapter could do in regard to such a tablet as to whether there could be found sufficient space for it in the Cathedral itself, or whether it would not be better to place such a tablet, containing as it would so long a list of names, in the cloisters." *KO*, 1 May 1919

Some explanation for the importance which Committee members, and communities generally, attached to the ritual of naming was offered by the Dean of Canterbury Cathedral and president of the War Memorial Committee, H. Wace, at a fund-raising gala in September 1922. As reported in the *Kentish Observer*, he urged those present to make one final financial push so that the city's commemorative project could be completed with the affixing of the tablets of names to the memorial, by stressing the exceptional times through which they had all lived;

> British wars had hitherto been conducted by professional armies composed of men who had deliberately chosen the army as the profession of their lives. But in this great emergency, citizens who had never had experience of anything but the quiet pursuits of peace, who had not been qualified in any degree for the physical exertions of war, men who had been engaged in ordinary business, and whose families depended upon their work and their presence, all these were suddenly called upon to offer themselves, "their souls and their bodies", as a living sacrifice. The value, moreover, of their gift depended on the thoroughness with which it was made, on their being willing to spend the last drop of blood, and the last ounce of strength, in the duties to which their commanders called them. These, my friends, in the last resort were the most indispensable of the elements which were required by our leaders, and we may even say, by God Himself, if the victory was to be gained. The greatest thing for which we have to thank God, and which we should remember with supreme thankfulness, is that the men were there. Here in Canterbury, as throughout the land, there were men who came forward at once, and others who readily answered the call of conscription, for the salvation of their country and the world from violence and tyranny. These men, my friends, should be commemorated no less than their leaders. They should be as much in our hearts as those whose names are all in our mouths.[132]

Thus, with ordinary citizens having been required, for the first time, to make the ultimate sacrifice in the service of the state, so those surviving were obliged to honour the memory of this supreme act of citizenship and pay homage to the fallen's sense of

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[132] *KO*, 28 Sep. 1922. Bob Bushaway, in his examination of the rituals of naming in Great War commemoration, has stressed this point, noting that the desire to list all the names of the fallen arose with the concept of a volunteer army. In earlier conflicts, with a regular army in operation, only acts of valour by individuals were commemorated. Bushaway, 'Name upon Name', pp136-167. However, Ken Inglis has viewed the democratisation of naming as having its origins in the Imperial wars of the nineteenth century. Army reforms which enhanced the regional character of regiments combined with the presence of volunteer battalions in South Africa resulted in a desire for civic as well as regimental memorials. Inglis, 'The Homecoming', pp.583-603.

civic duty. The dead had laid down their lives in the name of their communities; though cited individually they were to be remembered collectively.

For the bereaved, the naming of the fallen was the pivotal process in the rituals of remembrance. With the inclusion of a loved one's name in a community's Roll of Honour grief could, at least in part, be assuaged through the public recognition of a private loss. Mrs. Emily Weaver, responding to a call for the names of the fallen from S. Topliss, the secretary of Canterbury's War Memorial Committee, was determined to record the full details of her son's career. Although only asked to provide information on the deceased's connections with the city, she could not resist informing Topliss that her "late son made the Great Sacrifice on 1 September 1917 in France near Larch Wood.....He joined in May 1916, left England in September 1916 and was killed on 1 September 1917. He was entitled to the British General War Service Medal and the Victory Medal."[133] For Mrs. Weaver, the inclusion of such particulars could not only help to emphasize her late son's right to have his name included on the city's war memorial but could also help to mitigate her grief by having his achievements, and the pride she felt in them, publicly acknowledged.

This combination of anguish and pride, the intensity of personal loss being alleviated by the comfort of community recognition, also clearly underscored William Read's reply to Topliss' enquiries. Having supplied a brief outline of his son's army service, from enlistment in the 2nd Battalion of the Buffs to his death from wounds at the British Red Cross Hospital in Etaples on 11 October 1915, he concluded by stating that, "I think I have now given you all the particulars and you will readily understand that the matter is a very painful one to write about. I will, however, give you any further information, if wished, and I have an interesting newspaper cutting of him and a delightful letter from a Captain RAMC of the hospital where he died."[134] A correspondent to the *Gazette* in May 1919 had, in fact, anticipated just how fundamental to the grieving process it would be to have the full history of the fallen celebrated. In a letter supporting the Dean of Canterbury's proposal for the adoption

[133] Canterbury, CCA, CCW15/2, Emily Weaver to S. Topliss, Jan. 1921.
[134] Ibid. William Read to S. Topliss, 26 Feb. 1921.

of a purely monumental scheme, Percy Maylam emphasized the importance, on both a personal and civic level, of having such comprehensive records:

> It will be impossible to inscribe on the memorial details concerning each man, but the following plan has been suggested....the list should include not merely the full Christian name and surname, rank and regiment of each one, but also his home address, the date and place of his death, how he died, and where he is buried. Surely no details of such a sacrifice should be omitted? Two copies of this Roll of Honour should be made on Parchment,, each copy being suitably bound in a book, one to be deposited in the Beaney Institute and the other in the Cathedral Library. Thus, in future ages it will be easy for any descendent to verify the heroic deeds of his ancestor from a contemporary record.[135]

By chronicling the specifics of military service, such a Roll of Honour would not only be a tribute to the individuality of each man named on the list of the fallen, but also a testament to the magnitude of the dead's collective sacrifice.

The desire to see a loved one remembered as part of 'the Glorious Dead' was a strong motivational factor for many of the bereaved. To have a lost relative subsumed within what George Mosse has termed the 'cult of the fallen', was to have him endowed with heroic qualities.[136] This notion of honour by association appeared to be informing the thinking of Mrs. Jackson when she advised S. Topliss that she "should very much like [her] son to be with the list of the brave boys that gave their lives in the cause of freedom".[137] Mrs. Smith was equally insistent that her son's name be included in "the list of fallen heroes.....who sacrificed their lives in the great cause of freedom".[138]

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[135] *KGCP*, 10 May 1919.

[136] The 'Cult of the Fallen' was part of what Mosse termed 'The Myth of the War Experience' which aimed to legitimise and sanctify the war, transforming it into a meaningful and sacred event. Although Mosse focuses on the defeated nations, his analysis is not exclusively restricted to them. Mosse, *Fallen Soldiers*, ch.5.

[137] Canterbury, CCA, CCW15/2, Mrs. Jackson to S. Topliss, undated.

[138] Ibid. E. Smith to S. Topliss, undated. Interestingly, the use of high rhetoric which punctuates the letters of both Mrs. Jackson and Mrs. Smith was not uncommon in the correspondence between the bereaved and Committee officials. Thus, both Mrs. Harvey and Mrs. Allen, when responding to Topliss, refer to the deaths of their sons as "the Great Sacrifice". (Ibid.) Although Pat Jalland has argued that most people had, by the later stages of the war, lost faith in such high rhetoric, both Paul Fussell and Alex King have suggested that the use of such language continued on into peacetime. King has noted that in an attempt to give meaning to the enormity of the loss, the language of commemoration was often informed

Yet, Mrs. Smith's son was not, in fact, eligible for inclusion on the Canterbury memorial. Having been born and bred in Folkestone, his connection to the city was limited to a temporary stay during which time he enlisted in the army.[139] However, her eagerness to have her son's name included in Canterbury's list of the fallen, despite the tenuousness of the claim, further underlines the importance which many of the bereaved attached to such collective commemoration.[140]

Aware of the importance of the rituals of naming to the community generally, and the bereaved specifically, Canterbury's War Memorial Committee took great pains to ensure that the record of the city's fallen was as accurate as possible. Mr. Wright Hunt, the mayor and chairman of the Memorial Committee in 1921, appealed through the local press for details of the borough's war dead to be forwarded "in writing, with full name, rank, decoration (if any) and place of residence in August 1914".[141] The list of names was then made available in the Beaney Institute for public inspection and, if necessary, amendment. Furthermore, although the collection of names through individual submissions from friends and relatives was, undoubtedly, central to the naming process as a community ritual, the Committee still took extra precautions to ensure that there were no errors or oversights.[142] Letters were sent to a variety of local

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by the higher ideals of wartime, while Fussell has pointed out that what he terms 'high diction' remained popular in the immediate post-war years. Jalland, *Death in the Victorian Family*; King, *Memorials of the Great War in Britain*; Fussell, *The Great War and Modern Memory*.

[139] Smith's name appears on the borough memorial in Folkestone.

[140] Mrs. Smith was by no means alone in advancing such an insubstantial claim. Mrs. Burnap, whose son was born in Chartham and had enlisted in Dover, and whose name already appeared on the village memorial in Petham, was, nonetheless, keen to have his name included among the list of Canterbury's war dead. Her request was refused on the grounds that he had never lived in the city. Canterbury, CCA, CCW15/2, Mrs. Burnap to S. Topliss, undated.

[141] *KGCP*, 12 Feb. 1921. The appeal also appeared in the following week's edition.

[142] As previously noted, Ken Inglis has argued that local Memorial Committees were keen to maintain the compilation of the names of the fallen as a purely civic ritual and hence were loath to involve military authorities in the process. There is certainly no evidence that the Canterbury War Memorial Committee looked for assistance beyond the various civilian agencies they consulted. Inglis, 'The War Memorial Movement in Cambridge, England', p.593. Nonetheless, despite the best efforts of the Committee, oversights were inevitable. As late as April 2000, the name of Private Cecil Goldfarb, which had been omitted from the

organisations, including churches, the Salvation Army, charitable associations and prominent businesses, asking for their assistance with the task.[143] Those parishes which had already erected memorials to their fallen were contacted so that their Rolls of Honour could be verified. Thus, Mrs D. Gardiner, who had been asked to make enquiries about the one hundred and twenty-five names that appeared on the memorial in St. George's church, informed her fellow Committee members that the vicar had assured her that, "every one of those were names of men living in the parish on the outbreak of war. The list was compiled with great care and doubtful cases were investigated."[144]

Yet, the assistance provided by local agencies notwithstanding, compiling the names of the war dead remained a time-consuming and complex task. It was not always clear-cut who was eligible for inclusion. Many men who died long after the cessation of hostilities were still considered by their grieving relatives to have been casualties of war. Thus, Mrs. J. Price submitted for consideration the name of her husband, Private Archie Price, who died in Peshawar on 11 September 1919 and Mr. T. Gibbs wanted included his youngest son, Edward, who died on 13 May 1920 in Ripon, North Yorkshire.[145] The complexities facing Committee members in this area were clearly exacerbated by the emotive nature of the cases. Indeed, just how difficult it was to adjudicate on such sensitive matters was highlighted by the case of R. W. Simpson. Born in Canterbury, he served with the RAMC for the duration of the war before being posted to Salonika in 1919, where he fell ill and subsequently died in hospital on Malta. Although Mr. P. Finn, who was authorised to investigate the case on behalf of the Memorial Committee, concluded that, "strictly according to our ruling he should not be included", he went on to qualify his decision by pointing out that, "his parents lived in Canterbury for forty-three years.....and he was a native and his people are still here. He leaves a widow and daughter."[146] Sentiment was

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original Roll of Honour, was engraved on the memorial in the Butter Market. *Friends of War Memorials Newsletter* 8 (Winter, 2000), p.9.

[143] Canterbury, CCA, CCW15/2.

[144] Ibid., Mrs. Gardiner to Mr. Page, 18 Apr. 1921.

[145] Ibid., Mrs. J. E. Price to S. Topliss, 16 Feb. 1921; Thomas Gibbs to S. Topliss, 28 Feb. 1921. Both Archie Price and Edward Gibbs were included on the borough memorial.

[146] Ibid., P. Finn to Mr. Page, undated.

eventually allowed to overcome reason and the Memorial Committee ruled that Simpson's name should be included on the borough's monument.

In addition to the logistical difficulties inherent in drawing up an accurate and comprehensive record of the fallen, the civic War Memorial Committee also had to face some powerful dissenting voices. Engraving lengthy lists of names on monuments was an expensive business. The members of Canterbury's Memorial Committee were informed by Beresford Pite, the architect commissioned to design and oversee the construction of the city's memorial, that, "due to the number of names required, the cost of four bronze tablets will be £307".[147] This was a substantial sum, especially when viewed as a percentage of Pite's original estimate for the entire project of £1066.[148] For some such expenditure was not justified on the grounds that the work was superfluous. Thus, at the second public meeting in April 1919, the Reverend P. A. L. Clarke, the vicar of St. Alphege's, argued against the resolution to have the names of the dead recorded as part of the civic memorialisation scheme as "the names of all connected with the various parishes who had fallen would be placed on tablets in various churches and this would therefore be very much a repetition of the same names."[149] For others the prohibitive cost of including names on a memorial could be used as an excuse to promote a separate agenda. Beresford Pite, when informing the Committee, in December 1921, that a cheaper alternative to the four bronze tablets with the names of the fallen was to have "the names in a printed and bound book with copies deposited in the civic records", appeared to be entirely motivated by financial concerns.[150] Indeed, he made a point of noting that the adoption of his suggestion would result in a saving of over £200.[151] However, on being told two months later that the Committee was still intent on having the bronze tablets affixed to the memorial, his true reservations about such a course of action became abundantly clear. In a letter acknowledging the Committee's decision he

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[147] Ibid., B. Pite to S. Topliss, 17 Dec. 1921.

[148] Ibid., B. Pite to S. Topliss, 26 Nov. 1920. In Pite's original proposal the cost of the nameplates was set at £200. This estimate was based on the assumption that there would be approximately 300 names to engrave. In fact the number of names eventually reached 517 hence the increased expense. Ibid., 10 Feb. 1921.

[149] *KO*, 1 May 1919.

[150] Canterbury, CCA, CCW15/2, B. Pite to S. Topliss, 17 Dec. 1921.

[151] Ibid.

attempted, albeit in a most delicate manner, to pull artistic rank by concluding with the observation that,

> The warden of St. Augustine's had mentioned to him that he was worried that the 'artistic effect' of contrast between the stonework of the base and the actual memorial might be lost by the addition of the bronze plates.....With this point of view I venture to agree. Pardon my suggesting it as interesting.[152]

For Pite, aesthetics took priority over sentiment.

The Committee's decision to disregard these financial and artistic objections does, once again, underline the emphasis that was placed on the naming process in civic commemoration. Undoubtedly the weight of public expectations was, at least in part, responsible for this focused drive to forge ahead with the rituals of naming. At a Memorial Committee meeting in December 1921, held to discuss Pite's idea to omit the bronze tablets and instead have a book containing the names of the fallen, H. James, the mayor and chairman of the Committee from November 1919 to November 1920, pointed out that they had "pledged to put the names on the Memorial".[153] James' successor in both roles, Mr. Wright Hunt, was equally determined to be seen to have fulfilled his duty to the community. In September 1922, in a speech reported in the *Kent Gazette*, he thanked the audience at a fundraising concert in the Queen's Hall for their support and emphasised the Committee's refusal to be swayed from its civic obligations by noting that,

> Canterbury War Memorial Committee had been advised by some to leave the memorial as it was and to have the list of the City's fallen heroes inscribed in a book on parchment displayed in the Beaney Institute, but the Committee felt they ought to keep faith with the public and carry out the original suggestion and inscribe the names on the Memorial itself. (Applause) He was glad to hear that applause because he was going to say that in that opinion he was sure that they had with them the majority of the people of Canterbury.[154]

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[152] Ibid., B. Pite to S. Topliss, 7 Feb. 1922.

[153] Canterbury, CCA, CCW15/2, Canterbury War Memorial Committee, Minutes, 28 Dec. 1921.

[154] *KGCP*, 24 Sep. 1922

However, although the local notables controlling the commemorative work were responsive to community demands on the sensitive issue of naming, the pressure they faced could sometimes have more to do with civic prestige than homage to the dead. The *Kent Gazette's* campaign to have Major Edward Mannock VC included in the list of the borough's war dead was a case in point. From the outset the editor of the paper, although clearly aware that Mannock was not eligible for inclusion, was intent upon making a connection between the war ace's heroic achievements and his days as a schoolboy in the city. While prepared to acknowledge that he was actually born in Brighton, the paper stressed that he "was really a Canterbury product for it was during the years that he spent in the City that his fine qualities saw their fullest development viz during his boyhood and early manhood."[155] On the eve of the civic memorial's unveiling in October 1921, and galvanised by the Memorial Committee's decision to have Mannock's name included in the city's Roll of Honour, the *Gazette* looked to take the campaign a step further. Noting that, with a war record of "73 destructions of German planes", Mannock had a "greater number than either Bishop VC, McCudden VC or Bell VC", the paper's editor reiterated that, "In all essentials Major Mannock was a Canterbury product. He was educated, trained and his fine character was developed here."[156] The suggestion was then mooted that Mannock's name should, in fact, be given "special prominence", and that, "no place could be more appropriate than at the head of that large band of gallant fallen citizens who also gave their lives that England might be free".[157] Thus, not only was Canterbury to receive vicarious glory from its association with such a war hero but so too were its fallen citizens.

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[155] *KGCP*, 26 Jul. 1919. Although the paper claimed that its campaign "seems to find very widespread support among the citizens generally", one can't help wondering how some of the bereaved whose loved ones were not included in the city's Roll of Honour felt about the issue. Thus, Mrs. Norah Newport, having been told by S. Topliss that her husband Alan, who had lived in Canterbury since the age of 12, was not eligible under the Committee's rules, must have had mixed emotions about Mannock's inclusion. Canterbury, CCA, CCW15/2, N. Newport to S. Topliss, undated.

[156] *KGCP*, 8 Oct. 1921.

[157] Ibid. As has already been noted Mannock's name, though included on the city's memorial, was not given any special distinction.

Canterbury's War Memorial Committee, aware of the need to fulfil its civic obligations and mindful of the sensibilities of the bereaved, certainly regarded the ritual of naming to be one of its more pressing concerns. Yet, though meticulous in the logistics of compilation, the members of the Committee attached less importance to the public celebration of its record of fallen heroes. As has already been noted, with financial difficulties threatening to seriously delay the completion of the project, the Committee had no qualms in unanimously resolving to go ahead with the construction of the memorial without the bronze nameplates, contenting themselves instead with the vague "understanding that the tablets of names will be added when the further funds required for that purpose have been subscribed".[158] Moreover, the suggestion by the distinguished local Baptist minister, J. Edward Harlow, that, in the interim, "The names of the local war heroes, clearly written in alphabetical order, should appear in a glass-protected frame on the wall of a building for all the world to see", was studiously ignored.[159]

The subsequent conduct of the Memorial Committee, as it strove to fulfil its promise to affix the nameplates, did little to dispel the sense that the completion of the project was now of limited interest. In December 1921 enquiries were made about the possibility of finding a cheaper method of engraving the names onto the memorial and, despite Pite's insistence that it was not possible "to carve directly on stone as it would not be clear enough nor enduring", a meeting of the Memorial Committee was still held the following month to appraise the various alternatives.[160] However, it proved impossible to resolve the matter "because of the small attendance at the Committee".[161] Clearly, for many, the claim of civic duty had long since run its course. Indeed, in November 1922, at a Friendly Societies' dance to raise the final few pounds needed to cover the cost of the nameplates, the mayor, Mr. Wright Hunt, articulated the exasperation that no doubt many of his colleagues felt at the perpetuation of this final phase of the scheme. Unable to mask the feeling that sacred

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[158] Canterbury, CCA, CCW15/2, Canterbury War Memorial Committee, Minutes, 27 Jun. 1921.

[159] *KGCP*, 15 Oct. 1921

[160] Canterbury, CCA, CCW15/2, B. Pite to S. Topliss, 17 Dec. 1921.

[161] Ibid., Canterbury War Memorial Committee, Minutes, 25 Jan. 1922.

duty had been replaced by administrative drudgery, he undiplomatically told those present that, "He was sure they would all be glad when the War Memorial was finished as it had been hanging about for a matter of four or five years".[162]

The day set aside to honour the completion of the city's commemorative scheme further underlined the secondary importance which the Committee attached to naming. Although the ceremony was held "in the presence of several thousand citizens", there was a distinct lack of civic pageantry.[163] In stark contrast to the elaborate rituals surrounding the unveiling of the memorial itself a year earlier, the formalities for the affixing of the nameplates were kept to a minimum, with the ceremony being a mere adjunct to the annual Remembrance Day service in the Cathedral. For the local notables charged with realising the city's memorialisation project, the war dead were a collective, 'the Men of Canterbury', a potent symbol of local pride. In this impersonal guise the fallen had been central to, and acclaimed at, the civic rite in October 1921; though pivotal for the wider community, the citing of individual names was, for the city's leaders, superfluous, having no part to play in the monument's didactic role.

Undoubtedly, the raising of subscriptions and the compiling of the names of the war dead were the two aspects of the memorialisation process which most actively engaged the wider community. Indeed, for the friends and relatives of the fallen both these rituals appeared to be an almost sacred duty. However, the borough Memorial Committee, though attuned to the community's sensibilities, adopted a more practical approach to these civic rites. As a way of imbuing the memory site with collective meaning, such communal activities were viewed by the city's elite as essential to the memorial's purpose, yet, they were, nonetheless, apportioned less time and importance than the debates over form and the preparations for unveiling. The rituals of naming and financing were civic obligations not sacred duties.

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[162] *KGCP*, 11 Nov. 1922.

[163] *KO*, 16 Nov. 1922. The *Kent Gazette* anticipated the importance that the unveiling of the nameplates would have for the community at large when it observed that, "the unveiling of the names of those citizens who fell in the Great War will give to the handsome monument

v. The Appropriation and Dissemination of Memory: Form and Ritual.

Although, as has been shown, the rituals of naming and fund-raising were the key collective rites that underpinned the wider community's participation in Canterbury's remembrance project, it was, in fact, to be the discussions over form that would most exercise the attention of the controlling Committee and receive the greatest amount of press coverage. Central to this debate was the choice between the utilitarian and the monumental. At the city's second public meeting in April 1919, Mrs Spooner, wife of Archdeacon Maxwell Spooner and a future member of the War Memorial Committee, emphasised the importance that many attached to this issue when she noted that, "there was a controversy raging all over the country between the two plans for memorials – for memorials which would be ornamental and for those which would be useful. It came up in different shapes but it was the same thing that was agitating the minds of everbody."[164] In fact, as will be seen, the controversy was particularly to agitate the minds of the borough's local elite as they attempted to advance their own sectional interests and appropriate the didactic capacity that it was assumed a war memorial possessed.

The decision to hold a second open meeting in April 1919 to formalise the city's commemorative plans offered those with a cause to promote the ideal public forum within which they could air their views. Thus, Mrs Spooner, the chairwoman of Canterbury Lads' Club, was keen to publicise the valuable community service that her institution performed and to push for its adoption as the borough's memorial project. Suggesting that, "such a club would prove a very thoughtful, kindly and suitable memorial for the City to undertake", she told those present at the meeting that, "Their Boys' Club was brought home to them as being a very necessary one because of the number of juvenile cases of crime – because of the number of boys

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erected on the site of the Old Butter Market, close to Christ Church Gateway, a distinctive personal touch". *KGCP*, 14 Oct. 1922.

[164] *KO*, 1 May 1919. Mrs. Spooner was one of only a handful of women who had an active role in the workings of the civic Memorial Committees in Folkestone, Canterbury and Dover. The under-representation of women in this area is hardly surprising in so much as the commemorative process was effectively under the control of the civic authorities and public life was almost exclusively a male preserve. See McKibbin, *Classes and Cultures*, pp.518-521.

who were constantly being 'had up'. Their late Chief Constable was one of those chiefly responsible in getting the Club started and their present Chief Constable would be able to say what a great difference there had been in the number of cases of juvenile crime through the city having this Boys' Club."[165] In seconding Mrs. Spooner, the local scoutmaster, S. E. Haynes, aware of the need to match the apparent purity of exclusively ornamental schemes, looked beyond the Club's obvious utilitarian value, arguing that, "such a memorial could be made to strike the eye. Its entrance could be made a thing of beauty....something to lift up the younger citizens and make them better men."[166]

Directly countering Spooner and Haynes at the meeting in April 1919 was the Dean of Canterbury Cathedral, H. Wace. Although he was resolutely of the opinion that, "this sacrifice of their fellow citizens in the Great War was so sacred and a great thing that it should stand by itself, all alone, and not be mixed up with anything else", the scheme he proposed, a runic cross in the Old Butter Market by the gates of the Cathedral, seemed to be as much driven by a desire to propagate the message of the Christian faith as it was by an eagerness to safeguard the purity of the memory of the fallen.[167] Citing the decision of the Kent County War Memorial Committee to erect its memorial within the Cathedral precincts "as an example worthy of their attention", the Dean was keen to promote further the standing of the home of the Anglican Church by pointing out that;

> The County Committee had thought that a memorial which commemorated anything so solemn and sacred as the sacrifice of life was appropriately placed if put in the neighbourhood of a sacred edifice. They had hesitated between Rochester and Canterbury and finally decided to place their memorial in Canterbury Cathedral. He thought the motives which prompted that might also prompt the placing of a memorial such as he was suggesting to that meeting in the neighbourhood of the Cathedral.[168]

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[165] Ibid.

[166] Ibid.

[167] Ibid.

[168] Ibid. An ulterior motive for Wace was the removal of a statue to commemorate the playwright, Christopher Marlowe, which he felt detracted from the Cathedral's impact. He told those at the third public meeting, in February 1920, that the Old Butter Market was "in the eyes of a good many people disfigured by a certain statue there", and that he "did not

For Wace, such was the magnitude of the sacrifice of the fallen that consolation and meaning could only be found through the teachings of the Established Church. Indeed, in September 1922, he articulated, even more clearly, the view that the sites of memory had to be underpinned by the Christian faith when he informed those present at a fund-raising evening that, "Every such memorial or monument in a Christian city like this must be, in the first instance, to the glory of God; and a heartfelt emotion of thankfulness to God should rise in the bosom of every Canterbury man as he passes the War Memorial."[169]

One point upon which all were agreed, no matter what their views on the nature of commemoration, was that such was the scale of the suffering and trauma through which they had all lived that a hitherto unrivalled effort was required to ensure that the memory of the fallen was recorded for posterity. Bremner and Wace, president and chairman respectively of the War Memorial Committee, though in direct conflict over the question of the monumental versus the utilitarian, nonetheless, presented a united front at the first public meeting in March 1919. Dean Wace made a direct comparison with the last Imperial war to emphasise the size of the task facing them:

> They all recognised that what had passed during the last four years was the greatest and most decisive event in the history of the whole country and Empire and they might go further and say even in the history of the world.....They erected a memorial in the Dane John in commemoration of those who fell in the Boer War. That was an important event, but, great as it was, it was small in comparison to the Great War.[170]

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consider the present site for the Marlowe Memorial, next to the most artistic building in the City, appropriate". *KGCP*, 21 Feb. 1920.

[169] *KO*, 28 Sep. 1922. Indeed, at the unveiling ceremony, in October 1921, Wace underlined the symbiotic relationship that he felt existed between the Cathedral and the war memorial. Having thanked the mayor and the Council for giving permission to site the memorial in the Old Butter Market by the gates of the Cathedral, he then pointed out that by so doing they had "conferred a great benefit on the Memorial by granting it a site which places it, like the sister Memorial of the County of Kent, in close association with the Venerable Cathedral and subsequently with the sacred memorials of the great soldiers and statesmen of the past, whose monuments are enshrined within its sacred walls. It will bear its witness to the eyes and the hearts of every visitor to that cradle and home of English piety, self-sacrifice and valour." *KGCP*, 15 Oct. 1921.

[170] *KO*, 20 Mar. 1919.

The mayor, citing the same example, echoed this view, arguing that, "if they could spend a great deal of money on those few men – and all honour to them – how much more ought they to honour the many who had fallen in the great fight which had resulted in the liberation of humanity itself."[171] However, by the time of the second public meeting the following month, although both men were still insistent that the memory of the fallen needed perpetuating, the rift between the two could no longer be concealed. For Wace, a commemorative site had to be exclusively dedicated to reminding the living of the dead; it was, he felt, only through the clarity of the monumental that this purity of purpose could be guaranteed. Once again illustrating his point with a reference to the Boer War, he stated that, "If it [the monument] were not ornamental he should not so much mind, so long as it struck the eye. He did not know that the Buffs Memorial on the Dane John was ornamental but it reminded them of the Boer War; and he had in mind a memorial of sufficient size and sufficiently imposing to bring to memory the great event to all who passed by."[172] Yet, to Bremner, such plastic memory sites, rather than enshrining meaning, merely encouraged forgetfulness. Speaking out against monuments in general, and the Dean's example in particular, he suggested that, "very few people took the trouble to find out what they stood for; of the memorial on the Dane John they said 'What is that soldier there for?'".[173]

Despite being a strong advocate of the utilitarian in commemoration, Bremner was, nevertheless, fully aware of the practical difficulties which could undermine such schemes. At the second public meeting he was prepared to accept that the proposal he originally supported, a Boys' Club, may not, in fact, meet one of the prerequisites of a commemorative site; namely durability. He acknowledged that, "An objection to [the Club] was raised at the last meeting – and it was a rather cogent one – that while the interest in it was maintained, and the management remained good all would be all right, but if at any time, as was very probable, interest in it waned, it might become

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[171] Ibid.

[172] *KO*, 1 May 1919.

[173] Ibid.

derelict, and instead of being a monument for all time it would be one for only a short time."[174] Wace was equally anxious about the Club's potential lack of permanence as a memory site, though his concern was more centred on the likelihood of a change in status than the risk of a fall in enthusiasm. Anticipating the possibility that such charitable institutions may fall out of favour, he noted that,

> The present Lads' Club was started in days when they were allowed to help upon a voluntary basis such institutions, but the time might soon cease when they would have any voluntary power of action, and he thought it highly probable the time was not too far distant when the Government would take in hand all such institutions for boys. They might then find that they had provided themselves with an institution which did not commend itself to the views of the Government.[175]

For Mr. G. F. Francis, the unpredictability of the future was the key drawback to utilitarian schemes. Voicing his support for Wace, he argued that, "the difficulty of clubs and schools was that they were apt in time to become diverted from their original purposes".[176] Thus, for many, Wace's instruction at the inaugural public meeting in March 1919 that, "the first thing they had to do was to provide a perpetual and permanent memorial" had highlighted the two essential properties that a memory site had to possess; and that utilitarian projects appeared unable to guarantee.[177]

Although the impracticalities of many utilitarian schemes led some to question their feasibility, perhaps even more damaging to their cause were the attacks which opponents made on the motives which underpinned them. Unsurprisingly, at the forefront of those who raised doubts as to the integrity of the proponents of utilitarian schemes was Dean Wace. Having informed the meeting in the April 1919 that, "He had a great dislike in his mind to turning a memorial into something which could be advantageous to themselves", he then proceeded to make an unfavourable comparison between the sectionalism of the previous speakers and the idealism of the war dead:

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[174] Ibid.

[175] Ibid. Bremner himself opposed, on very similar grounds, a suggestion for a Polytechnic Institute. He argued that such a facility "was provided for to a great extent under the new Education Act; the School of Art, if people chose to take advantage of it, also offered similar facilities at the present time." *KGCP*, 26 Apr. 1919.

[176] Ibid.

[177] *KGCP*, 16 Mar. 1919.

> These men had died for us. They had not died for a boys' club or for a public hall, but for the great and grand purpose for which their country was fighting, and any adequate memorial should be connected with that consideration, and not be a memorial which, after all, would be secondary to the purpose for which that sacrifice was made. He had the thought of all that before his mind, his heart was moved with deep gratitude to those men, and he did not want to be distracted by other things in his memory of them.[178]

The following week, in a letter to the *Gazette*, Percy Maylam, a local solicitor, reiterated the need to ensure that the memory of the fallen remained unsullied by the concerns of everyday life. To Maylam, the sites of mourning resonated to the core of a community's consciousness, addressing an innermost need to celebrate collective loss. Seconding Wace's monumental scheme, he made abundantly clear the discord that was inherent in projects which married the sanctity of self-sacrifice with the mundanity of utilitarian commemoration;

> It is an instinct in humanity, common to all races, to all religions, and at all periods of time, to perpetuate the memory of its dead by the erection of such a memorial; surely in the case of those who have died as these have died, that custom should not be departed from. What is proposed in place of such a memorial? A variety of undertakings, none in any way connected with that which is sought to be commemorated – schemes ranging from the purely philanthropic to undertakings unblushingly utilitarian, concerning none of which does there appear any prospect of agreement. Some of the strictly utilitarian proposals, the erection of a town hall for instance, appear most repellent as a memorial.[179]

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[178] *KO*, 1 May 1919. In an attempt to reclaim the high moral ground, Mr. Fielding, the town clerk and a supporter of the Boys' Club, attempted to cast doubt on the motives of the advocates of monumental schemes. Acknowledging that if a majority favoured a monumental scheme then that would "settle the matter", he concluded with the aside that, "Of course it would be the far easier thing to do, and if they would rather do the easier than what he considered the best then let it be a monument". Ibid.

[179] *KGCP*, 10 May 1919. Interestingly, in the same edition of the *Gazette*, another correspondent, though equally dismissive of the projects proposed at the second public meeting, advanced his own utilitarian scheme by emphasising its connection with the fallen and its role in placing their self-sacrifice at the heart of community memory. W. York argued that the memorial "should take the form of some special benefit to our fighting men. In the four schemes at present proposed, there appears nothing to benefit those who have helped to bring us this victory. I should like to see endowed a permanent club, with a convalescent home, and free medical aid for those who have suffered for us, through war service, indirectly or otherwise. By helping the living we should reverence our dead." Ibid.

Although they may have disagreed over the specifics of form, those charged with overseeing the city's memorialisaton process, as public officials, were all equally anxious to take advantage of the opportunity which the construction of a remembrance site provided for the enhancement of civic prestige. At the inaugural public meeting in March 1919, the mayor, R. A. Bremner, was reluctant to allow Canterbury's remembrance plans to be subsumed by those of the county. Implying that such an eventuality would be an insult to the city's reputation, he pointed out that, "Canterbury was a county, and was also one of the oldest cities in the county. They had sent a large number of men to the war, of whom a great many had fallen. It was only right, therefore, that they should have a memorial of their own."[180] The following month he again voiced his concern over this potential slight to the city's standing. Worried about the impact that a failure to construct a separate borough memorial may have on visitors, he informed the second public meeting that, "Canterbury was a county in itself and he did not want people to come here and think that Canterbury was in the county because it was not".[181] The Dean, though a rival of Bremner's in the question of form, was equally adamant that any remembrance site should promote the city's role in the war. With the focus once again on the impression that outsiders may gain, he supported his proposal to have the monument sited in the Butter Market by arguing that, "every visitor to Canterbury, when he comes to that place to which nearly every visitor comes, should have it forced upon his eyes what were the sacrifices made by Canterbury."[182]

Although both Wace and Bremner were keen to have the memory site on prominent display, to mark conspicuously the city's contribution to the nation's triumph, there was also a strong inclination within the controlling elite that any monument should be

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[180] *KGCP*, 22 Mar. 1919. The Local Government Act of 1888, by which sixty-two county councils took over the administration of county affairs from the justices of the peace, also made provision for sixty-one towns, dubbed county boroughs, to be exempt from the jurisdiction of these new bodies. Canterbury was the smallest county borough in England and Wales. N. Yates, 'Local Government Structure and Reorganisation in Kent' in N. Yates (ed.) *Kent in the Twentieth Century*, (Woodbridge, 2001), pp.370-79.

[181] *KO*, 1 May 1919.

[182] *KGCP*, 21 Feb. 1920.

in keeping with its surroundings. Beresford Pite, the architect contracted to carry out the commemorative work, was fully aware of the Committee members' views on this issue and was sympathetic to their needs. When submitting a sketch design of the proposed monument in July 1920, he was quick to assure the members that, "the special characteristics of interest in the historic detail of Canterbury Cathedral are, to some extent, reflected in the style of the detail of the carvings of the capital and diaper bands".[183] The War Memorial Committee's eventual decision to opt for Pite's runic cross ensured that the borough's remembrance project reinforced the antiquity of the city.(See Plate 3) Moreover, its resolution, in June 1921, to include the coats of arms of the Cathedral, the borough and the Black Prince on the cross further emphasised the site's connections with the city's past.[184] Thus, the memorial appeared to be required to fulfil dual functions; it was, simultaneously, to commemorate the self-sacrifice of the fallen while acclaiming the historic tradition of the city. Indeed, with the inclusion of a figure of Saint George in armour alongside those of a soldier, a sailor and an airman in four niches at the top of the monument, the men of 1914-1918 were firmly located in the long history of Canterbury's service to the state. In noting, in his coverage of the unveiling ceremony in October 1921, that the memorial was "a great acquisition to the city", the editor of the *Kentish Observer* underlined the view that the site was as much about civic status as it was about collective remembrance.[185]

For the local notables, keen as they were to promote the city's current standing through the memorialisation of its glorious history, the purpose of the borough's war memorial was to look forward as well as backward, focusing as much on shaping the future as on enshrining the past. By perpetuating the memory of the deeds of the fallen it was hoped that the actions of the citizens of tomorrow could be moulded. Unsurprisingly, for H. Wace this didactic function assumed a religious overtone.

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[183] Canterbury, CCA, CCW15/2, B. Pite to S. Topliss, 17 Jul. 1920.

[184] Ibid., Canterbury War Memorial Committee, Minutes, 27 Jun. 1921. The tomb of the Black Prince can be found in Canterbury Cathedral. The choice to include his coat of arms on the city's memorial cross not only reinforced the Canterbury's historic traditions but also emphasised the Anglo-French alliance as both countries' emblems form part of the Prince's heraldic badge.

[185] *KO*, 13 Oct. 1921.

Plate 3: The Runic Cross in Canterbury

Reminding those present at a fundraising meeting in September 1922 of the "great deliverance which by the mercy of God was wrought for this country", he outlined what, in his view, was the central purpose of remembrance with an illustration from the Holy Scriptures;

> We read in the Bible that when the children of Israel passed over the river Jordan, Joshua commanded them to take twelve stones out of the midst of the river and to set them up in Canaan, and the reason he gave was this: 'That this may be a sign unto you, that when your children ask their fathers in time to come, saying, What mean ye by these stones, then ye shall answer them, that the waters of Jordan were cut off before the Ark of the Covenant of the Lord when it passed over Jordan; and these stones shall be for a memorial unto the children of Israel for ever; that all the people of the land may know the hand of the Lord that it is mighty, and that they may fear the Lord our God for ever.'[186]

H. James, the mayor in 1920, was equally interested in the impact the memorialisation process would have on future generations. For James, however, the lesson of the past was a secular rather than a spiritual one; it had more to do with civic responsibility than religious observance. Making a prediction that was to be realised all too soon, he informed those present at the third public meeting in February 1920 that, "They had to remember this fact, the younger generation in time might be called to come out and do the same thing as their predecessors had done. If there was nothing in the City to commemorate the sacrifices made by the men in the last war, he did not think they would have done anything to stir up their patriotism or to encourage them to go out and do what these lads who had laid down their lives had

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[186] *KO,* 28 Sep. 1922. Wace had previously used this Biblical reference at the two public meetings in March and April 1919. At the second meeting Councillor West, a supporter of utilitarian commemoration, noted that frequently intentions were not matched by outcomes. Thus, he stated "that he thought the worthy Dean made a mistake when he quoted Joshua as an example. Joshua had twelve stones placed so that for all time the people should remember all that God had done for them. But in spite of the stones the people forgot God and all he had done for them and bowed down and worshipped idols. If they went to that place today he doubted whether they would find those twelve stones or any of them still standing." *KO,* 1 May 1919.

done."[187] The Memorial Committee's choice of inscription for the monument further underlined the sense of obligation that was felt to underpin commemoration, with the living being exhorted to match the example of the dead.[188] In a commandment seemingly issued from beyond the grave, the visitor to the memory site was thrown down a challenge with the lines;

> True love by life,
> True love by death is tried,
> Live thou for England,
> We for England died.

With the debates surrounding the form of the memory site focusing on both the didactic capacity of the monument and its role as an emblem of civic prestige, the members of Canterbury's War Memorial Committee were increasingly anxious that they should retain control over the decision-making process. While opportunities were provided for the public to have an input into the choice of design, these were largely superficial, having little impact on the overall direction of the project. Thus, although a design by J. Ogden, a local artist and master of the Sydney Cooper School of Art, had been commissioned by the Committee in January 1920 and displayed in the Beaney Institute for public approval the following month, Archdeacon Spooner's subsequent suggestion to his fellow Committee members that, "an architect of eminence" should be invited to submit a proposal "as it was a matter of importance that they should have the most artistic design possible" was, nonetheless, approved.[189] In July of the same year Professor Beresford Pite of the South Kensington Museum, was instructed "to advise the Committee as to the most suitable form of memorial to be erected in the Old Butter Market".[190] The Committee's unanimous acceptance of Pite's submission in December 1920 and the limiting of the public's involvement to the post hoc viewing of the approved design in The Beaney Institute further signalled

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[187] *KGCP*, 21 Feb. 1920. The idea that the fallen should act as role models for future generations was even more enthusiastically embraced by Councillor Dickens who suggested that a picture of Major Mannock VC "should be hung in all schools". *KGCP*, 23 Aug. 1919.
[188] Canterbury, CCA, CCW15/2, S. Topliss to B. Pite, 4 Aug. 1920.
[189] *KGCP*, 21 Feb. 1920
[190] *KO*, 8 Jul. 1920.

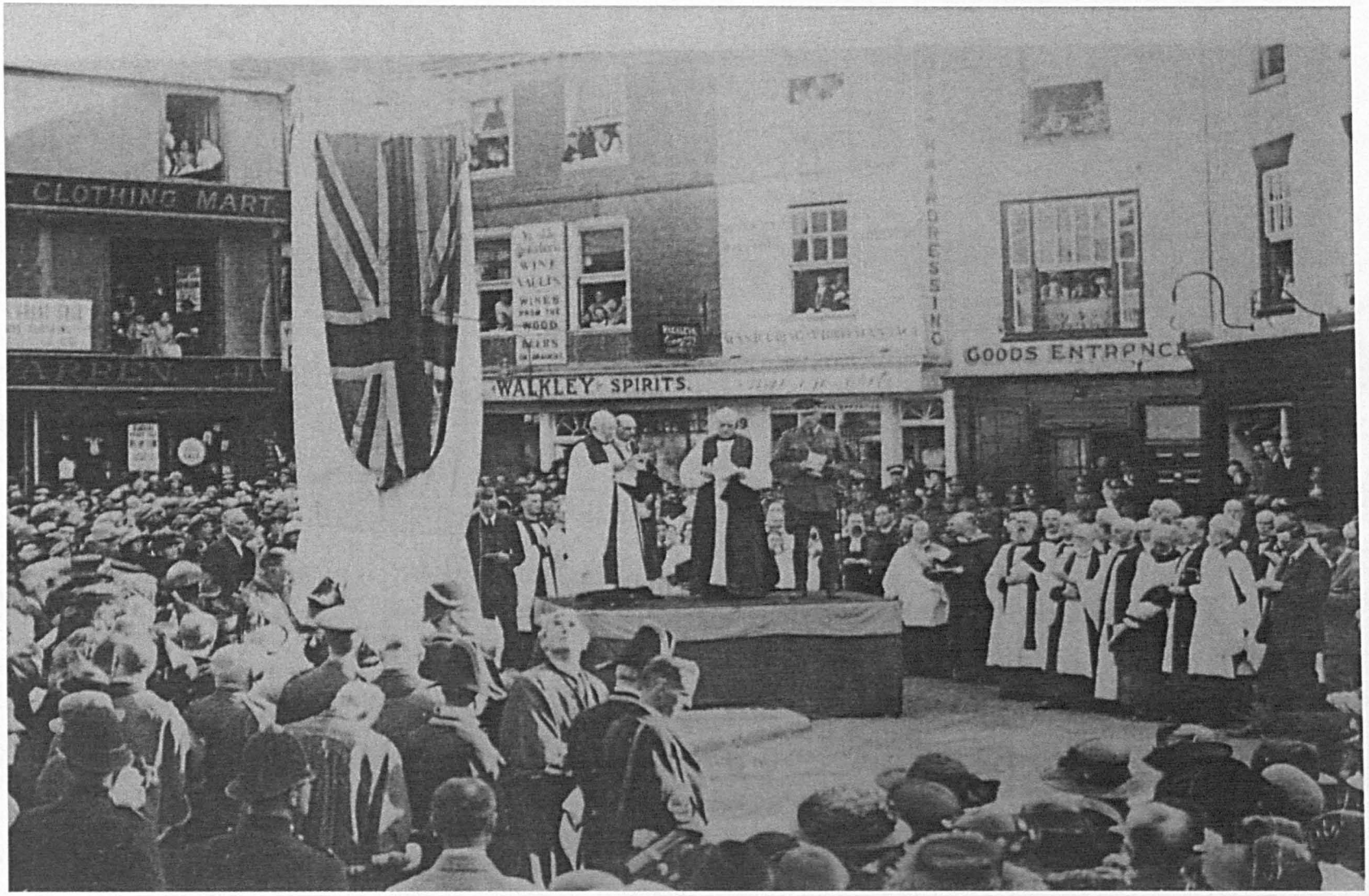

Plate 4: The Unveiling of the Canterbury War Memorial in the Butter Market

the extent to which the community had been removed from the decision-making process.[191] For the controlling elite, the demands of aesthetics took priority over the rituals of collective ownership; in guaranteeing the artistic integrity of the memory site through the unilateral decision to employ a professional architect, the Committee members were attempting to maximise the memorial's potential as a symbol of civic pride and an embodiment of the values of citizenship.

It was the unveiling of the memorial cross in the Old Butter Market in October 1921 that presented the Committee members with the ideal opportunity to ensure that the memorial site's didactic function was fully recognised by, and seamlessly integrated into, the wider community.(See Plate 4) Yet, for many of the bereaved, surrounded though they were by thousands of their fellow citizens, the ceremony had little to do with civic pageantry but was, rather, an intensely private affair, providing the cathartic relief of a funerary rite which the vicissitudes of war had denied them. Thus, with a war memorial, as a composite site, impacting at both the individual as well as collective level, there was an inherent tension in the ritual of unveiling. Field-Marshal Douglas Haig, at the inauguration of the Canterbury monument, to a degree acknowledged this tension. Having been invited to carry out the unveiling, he opened his address by noting that the task he was about to perform was "in the nature of things associated with sadness but it was also a most honourable one".[192] For Haig, the ceremony, by honouring the memory of the fallen, was, simultaneously, to "soften the blow of hearts that mourn" and "act as an inspiration and example to the living".[193] Thus, although a sense of bereavement at an individual level suffused the occasion, the dead were, nonetheless, being recalled as a collective in the furtherance of the cause of citizenship.[194]

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[191] *KGCP*, 11 Dec. 1920. An item in the *Gazette* on the eve of the unveiling of the memorial in October 1921 went part of the way in justifying the public's exclusion in the choice of design. Noting that the work was virtually complete, the editor pointed out that the monument "is stated by those most competent to judge to be most artistically carved and altogether in keeping with the sacred building which it immediately faces." *KGCP*, 1 Oct. 1921.

[192] KGCP, 15 Oct. 1921.

[193] KO, 13 Oct. 1921.

[194] This tension in emotional responses was highlighted by Basil Liddell Hart in his *History of the World War*. Thus, he noted that, "The earlier anniversaries [of the Armistice] were dominated by two opposite emotions. On the one hand grief, a keener sense, now that the storm had passed, of the vacant places in our midst. On the other hand, triumph, flamboyant

Indeed, further evidence that, for Canterbury's controlling elite, the importance of the unveiling ceremony lay in its significance as a civic pageant rather than an individual rite can be found in the Memorial Committee's very choice of Haig as guest of honour. Despite the *Kent Gazette's* insistence that the Field Marshal had "close associations with Kent through residence at Kingsgate, Thanet", it was not because of his local connections that he was chosen.[195] In fact, he had not even been first choice, with the Committee initially setting their sights on the Prince of Wales.[196] For Canterbury's leaders, it was essential that if the city's status as the centre of the Established Church was to be upheld then the services of a national figure needed to be secured for such a key civic occasion. In the letter inviting Haig to perform the unveiling, which was reproduced in the local press after his acceptance had been confirmed, the mayor, Mr. Wright-Hunt, was at pains to point out the borough's historic importance as much as the extent of its wartime services:

> We would humbly represent to your Lordship that Canterbury in accordance with its ancient motto, "Mater Angliae", is universally regarded as the Mother city of the English nation and the English Church, that it is consequently the resort of numerous pilgrims for all parts of the British Empire and is a famous centre of English life and thought. We would also respectfully submit to your Lordship that as an important military centre, it rendered conspicuous service during the war, and that its Cathedral is the resting place of many great soldiers, from Edward the Black Prince to the present day, when various distinguished regiments are erecting memorials in it to their comrades who fell in the war. In view of these historic considerations we venture to proffer our humble petition to your Lordship that you would be graciously pleased to unveil the Memorial Cross.[197]

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only in rare cases, but nevertheless a heightened sense of victory, that the enemy had been laid low." B. Liddell Hart, *A History of the World War 1914-18*, (London, 1934), p.459

[195] *KGCP*, 24 Sep. 1921.

[196] Canterbury, CCA, CCW15/2, Canterbury War Memorial Committee, Minutes, 27 Jun. 1921.

[197] *KGCP*, 1 Oct. 1921. The very fact that the members of the Committee wanted the letter published in the local press underlines the pride they took in being able to secure Haig's services. In underlining Canterbury's place as home to the Anglican Church, the civic authorities may also have been appealing to Haig's known piety. For more on this see Nigel Cave, 'Haig and Religion' in B. Bond and N. Cave (eds.) *Haig: A Reappraisal 70 Years On*, (Barnsley, 1999), pp.240-261.

It was as if a symbiotic relationship existed between borough and visiting dignitary; by one matching the reputation of the other, both would be able to have their standing reinforced and acclaimed.[198]

Civic pride was the leitmotif that underpinned much of the ritual surrounding the city's unveiling ceremony. For the local press, the presence of Haig, and the honour that this bestowed on the city, seemed to dominate proceedings. On the eve of the unveiling the editor of the *Gazette*, who had been seconded on to the War Memorial Committee the previous year, seemed scarcely able to believe that the city was to receive such a distinguished visitor. In an item outlining the details of the ceremony, he concluded by excitedly reminding his readers that, "as previously announced the memorial will be unveiled by Earl Haig – a signal honour for the city!"[199] In their coverage of the ceremony itself both the *Gazette* and the *Observer* featured headlines which focused on Haig's attendance rather than the inauguration of the memorial. Thus, the *Observer*;

> **Field-Marshal Haig at Canterbury**
> Unveiling of City's War Memorial;

and the *Gazette*;

> **Earl Haig's Visit to Canterbury**
> War Memorial Unveiled.[200]

In his unveiling address, Haig, clearly sensitive to the civic pride that informed his hosts, was quick to distinguish Canterbury's wartime experience from that of most of the rest of mainland England. Highlighting the city's frontline role, he reminded those present that, "You were yourselves at close quarters with the great conflict. Soldiers

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[198] Emphasising this relationship, Haig was granted the freedom of the city by the Corporation.

[199] *KGCP*, 24 Sep. 1921. To a certain extent the honour bestowed on Canterbury by Haig's presence was not quite as exceptional as the editor of the *Gazette* presumed. As noted by Leon Wolff, after the war Haig, alone of the major war leaders, was "given nothing to do" and so, to fill his days, "toured the land and made speeches concerning duty, sacrifice and service....and unveiled any number of war memorials." L. Wolff, *In Flanders Fields*, (London, 1958), p.255

[200] *KO*, 13 Oct. 1921; *KGCP*, 15 Oct. 1921.

of many regiments thronged your ancient streets and filled your venerable Cathedral. I doubt not the thunder of the guns carried to your ears from the not far distant battlefields. War itself came to you borne of the winds of heaven."[201] This mark of distinction was also picked up by the Archbishop of Canterbury who, in dedicating the memorial, noted that, "no other English Cathedral City stood so near to the actual scene of war".[202]

If the unveiling ceremony was to be most effectively utilised by the controlling elite as a prime opportunity at which the meaning of the memorial could be articulated, then the ritual's roots in the locality had to be fused with its role as a key civic rite. To this end, in the arrangements for the ceremony as many groups as possible were represented and united. The *Gazette* noted that on the day of the unveiling the approach roads to the Old Butter Market were to be lined "with the Buffs' Territorial Detachment, the OTC from King's School and St Edmund's and cadets from SLBS [Simon Langton Boys' School] and Kent College" and that, "some of the prayers will be read by a Minister of the Non-Conformist Churches".[203] Thus, the day was to be underscored by a spirit of harmony and inclusion; the individual was to be subsumed by the collective.

However, it was also imperative that the occasion was signposted as a civic one, as one at which the bonds of citizenship predominated. Hence, special accommodation was to be set aside "for members of the Corporation, the City Clergy, members of the Memorial Committee, Magistrates and members of the civic bodies, County Representatives and relatives of the men who are to be commemorated".[204] The bereaved, though it was their presence that endowed the monument with its totemic power, were merely another representative group, paying homage at a collective ritual over which the community's elite presided. Indeed, the link between personal grief and civic rite was neatly illustrated by a bathetic scene which appeared in the pages of the *Gazette*. Sparing its readers none of the sentimental detail, the paper reported that on the day of the unveiling, "A little boy with his head in bandages, Stephen Hare,

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[201] *KGCP*, 15 Oct. 1921.
[202] Ibid.
[203] *KGCP*, 8 Oct 1921.
[204] Ibid.

whose father gave his life whilst serving with the West Kents, was standing in the group of bereaved relatives. The long wait in the warm sun was evidently a trying ordeal in his condition for the little fellow, and the Mayoress kindly took him into Messrs Hunts' shop to rest until the ceremony was due to commence."[205] The bereaved were to be embraced as fellow citizens; their loss was the community's loss and, consequently, the memory of the fallen was to be incorporated into the collective consciousness and moulded to the needs of civic life.

By emphasising both civic pride and the shared bonds of tradition, the dignitaries who presided over unveiling ceremonies attempted to make sense of widescale personal grief by imposing a collective meaning on individual loss. Thus, in his address at the unveiling of the Canterbury memorial, Haig, eager to clarify for those present the precise meaning that should be assigned to the memory of the fallen, supported his reasoning by first siting the men of 1914-18 in the county's long history of service to the state:

> Certainly you have a right to be proud of these men. On whatever field they fought the Buffs well maintained the reputation that was first earned at Blenheim and Ramillies and has gloriously been continued to our own day. It is not easy to pick and choose, but you will remember that it was the 7th Battalion East Kent Regiment with the 7th West Kents in the sub-sector on their left that held the forward zone at Vendheuil on the morning of March 21st, 1918, when the great storm of supreme German attack burst upon the Fifth and Third British Armies. No finer feat of arms has been performed by any regiment than was achieved by the 7th Buffs on that momentous day...Let us neither forget nor misinterpret the example these men have set. It is a pattern of courage, of manhood and resolution in the face of odds, but it is more than that. It stands as such and even more for the triumph of the spirit of comradeship, of that service of unity in effort, and of common endeavour for one great overriding cause which is the chiefest source of all self-sacrifice and thereby a main element in the progress and betterment of humanity.[206]

The implicit message was that just as the dead of the last war had been following the example set by their illustrious forebears, so now it was the turn of the present generation to meet their obligations. Indeed, later in the same speech, Haig made the implicit explicit by noting that the threat to society had not ended with the signing of

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[205] *KGCP*, 15 Oct. 1921.
[206] *KO*, 13 Oct. 1921.

the Armistice. Although vague as to the exact nature of the peacetime menace, he was, nevertheless, sure about what was required to combat it;

> The peril is masked but it is still there. Peace may have given it a new form but the danger that lies in wait for an Empire such as ours never sleeps and disunion is its opportunity. There are two great bonds that tie men together, love of country and love of God. The war showed these two mighty factors working together and by their aid we conquered. I pray that they may work together still.[207]

The mayor, Mr Wright Hunt, accepting the memorial on behalf of the borough, was equally keen that the memory site should be firmly located in the city's illustrious past, though this time the stress was on religious tradition rather than military glory. Praising the choice of site, he pointed out that the cross lay at "the junction of two ancient roads. On the left was the narrow lane through which for many hundreds of years pilgrims from the Old Roman road had passed on their way to the Cathedral; and on the right was the road from Ebbsfleet and Sandwich along which over 1300 years ago came the first great Christian mission to England headed by Augustine and his monks."[208] Thus, the war dead's sacrifice was both underpinned by, and subsumed within, Canterbury's Christian heritage. To Wright-Hunt, the message was clear, the monument was "a reminder that the spirit of duty, of self-sacrifice and service shown on the battlefield, could also be expressed in daily work and life of all who passed by."[209]

The ritual of unveiling was, then, a chance for private loss to be publicly sanctified and for memory of the past to be moulded to the demands of the present. It was also an opportunity for the Committee members' achievements, as well as the site's worth, to be acknowledged and acclaimed. At the ceremony in October 1921 H. Wace, when presenting the remembrance cross to the mayor on behalf of Canterbury's Memorial

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[207] Ibid.

[208] *KGCP*, 15 Oct. 1921.

[209] Ibid. Wright Hunt returned to the same theme the following year at the unveiling of the nameplates in November 1922. Arguing that, "the valour of the sons of Canterbury had also a significance for the living", he suggested that, "The front panel, 'Live Thou for England', would surely raise in the hearts of passersby a desire, in the spirit of those whom it

Committee, made certain that the efforts of his fellow members did not go unrecognised. Highlighting both the difficulty of the task and the extent of the accomplishment, he pointed out that, "The Committee have been sensible of the responsibility of preparing a memorial which would be not unworthy of this ancient and famous City. The plans for the memorial have received, therefore, prolonged consideration and we have been fortunate in obtaining the services of the eminent professor of architecture at the South Kensington Museum."[210] Wace and his colleagues, confident in the knowledge that the obligations of public office had been fully met, could take pleasure in a job well done. Thus, the conclusion that Ken Inglis arrived at when examining the rites of commemoration in Cambridge seemed to apply equally to Canterbury's notables; "The leaders...could well feel satisfied with what the work of a benevolent elite had accomplished on behalf of their acquiescent people".[211]

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commemorated, for further service towards their country and their fellow men." *KO*, 16 Nov. 1922.

[210] KGCP, 15 Oct. 1921.

[211] Inglis, 'The Homecoming', p600.

Chapter 4 Control from above in Dover

i. Dover: Port, Town and Garrison

"Nearly every travelled man and woman would unhesitatingly answer in the affirmative Gloster's query in King Lear, "Dost thou know Dover?" for the ancient port is pre-eminently the 'Gate of England.'"[1] So began the 1921 edition of *The Dover Illustrated Guide Book* and it was this feeling of pre-eminence, of a long tradition of acting as the first and foremost bastion on the English coast that was to inform and shape the town's commemorative activity in the aftermath of the Great War. Although the war years saw the Grand Fleet, which had been stationed in Dover between 1909 and 1913, redeployed to Rossyth and both Folkestone and a hastily constructed dock at Richborough favoured ahead of Dover for the transport of men and matériel to the Continent, the port still had an important strategic role to play in the conflict. The Dover Patrol, which protected the Channel from enemy incursions, operated from its waters, it served as the base for naval attacks on the occupied Belgium coast and it was home port for the endless stream of ambulance ships that brought casualties back from France and Flanders. The significance of its role was evident from the restrictions imposed on the town's inhabitants during the war years. The district as a whole was a carefully controlled area with, initially, a curfew in operation and, latterly, permits being introduced for all visitors. As will be seen such key involvement in the nation's war-effort was to have a profound impact on the town's memorialisation process.

Indeed, Dover's national standing had been growing in the decades leading up to the Great War, a fact reflected in the port's burgeoning population, with the number of inhabitants increasing from 7,709 in 1801 to 43,645 by 1921.[2] Although the old maritime industries of ship-building, sail-making and rope-spinning had declined throughout the nineteenth century, these had been more than compensated for by the rapid rise of state-sponsored works. Thus, Dover harbour, which had been reconstructed in the mid-eighteenth century, was extended with the addition of

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[1] *Dover Illustrated Guide Book*, (Dover, 1921), p.1.
[2] Ibid., p.9.

Admiralty Pier in 1867 and the National Harbour in 1909. Moreover the town's role as an embarkation point for the rest of Europe continued to develop in the nineteenth century. John Whyman noted that "improvements in transport were decisive in strengthening Dover's position as a cross-Channel port", with the introduction of steamships in the 1820s appreciably expanding commercial contacts between Dover and the Continent.[3] After the Great War the Admiralty entered into negotiations with Dover Harbour Board to transfer the whole of the Admiralty Harbour to commercial use and this was finalised with the Dover Harbour Act of 1923. Thus, by the 1920s Dover was a thriving commercial port with a strong military presence in the form of the garrison stationed at Dover Castle.

As has already been noted Dovorians were keenly aware of their town's traditional role as one of the nation's primary defensive strongholds, a role that had continued to be of relevance during the war years. However, of almost comparable importance in shaping the town's identity was its position, long since obsolete, as one of the original Cinque Ports; the others being Hastings, Sandwich, Romney and Hythe. Granted charters by Henry II in 1155 and 1156 these ports, in return for supplying ships and men for the defence of the English coast, were granted exemption from taxation along with other privileges which, to a large extent, allowed them to be self-governing. Although the role of the Cinque Port began to decline from the end of the fourteenth century onwards, not least because of the changes in the Kentish coastline that resulted in a many of the harbours, Dover's included, silting up, the towns tenaciously clung on to a number of archaic ceremonial privileges. F. W. Jessup neatly concluded his survey of the Cinque Ports by stating, "Their past grandeur and subsequent decline are both recalled in Rudyard Kipling's felicitous description of them as 'ports of stranded pride.'"[4] It was just such 'stranded pride' which was all too often acutely felt by the town's dignitaries as they organised the rituals of remembrance after the First World War.

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[3] John Whyman, 'Rise and Decline: Dover and Deal in the Nineteenth Century', *Archaeologia Cantiana*, LXXXIV (1969), pp.54-76.

[4] F. W. Jessup, *A History of Kent*, (Chichester, 1974), p.78.

Dover's military importance, its commercial growth throughout the nineteenth century and its long tradition in English history were all factors which helped shape the town's identity in the interwar years. Yet one final factor would also have a defining influence on the commemoration of the war. As has already been stated the town, as a result of its strategic importance and proximity to the zones of fighting, was subject to tight restrictions in the war years. It was also, for much the same reasons, the target for a number of attacks by the Germans from air and sea. In all Dover had 113 warnings and 29 actual attacks resulting in 14 deaths and 46 injuries.[5] Though slight in comparison to the havoc wreaked by the raids of the Second World War, this was, nonetheless, the first time the British civilian population had directly experienced the destructive capacity of war and, as such, it had a profound effect on the public consciousness. For many Dovorians, living in a town subject to military restrictions, suffering more than their fair share of enemy attacks and witnessing the constant disembarkation of casualties from ambulance ships, there was a feeling that they were themselves in the frontline.

This image of Dover as an embattled enclave, somehow separate from the rest of mainland Britain, found voice after the war in a proposal to recognise officially the part played by its residents in the war effort. In a letter to the editor of the *Dover Express*, one resident expressed sentiments typical of those who supported such a scheme when he recommended that a "medal should be struck for those inhabitants of Dover who courageously remained in the town for the duration of the war".[6] Although the civic powers were at first favourably inclined, a series of letters in the local press opposing the scheme resulted in a change of heart. Captain T. E. Hill spoke for many when he castigated the advocates of issuing a town medal, observing that, "It seems the spirit of duty and self-sacrifice that compelled so many to enlist in the recent conflict has been all but lost. Those who wish to have a medal struck for the citizens of Dover would do well to remember the selfless heroics of the fighting men".[7] The rejection of the scheme notwithstanding, the issues raised concerning the significance and singularity of Dover's war contribution and, indeed, of the town

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[5] *Dover Illustrated Guide Book*, p.23.
[6] *DE*, 3 Jan. 1919.
[7] *DE*, 10 Jan. 1919.

itself were all brought into sharp relief as the propriety of different forms of commemoration were debated in an effort to construct a civic remembrance site.

ii. Directing Memory: the War Memorial Committee in Dover

From its inception, with the formation of a sub-committee of the Town Council, to its realisation, with the unveiling of the memory site in front of the Maison Dieu, the memorialisation process in Dover was to take over five years and undergo three distinct changes in approach.[8] Indeed, even as late as January 1924, four and a half years after the erection of a memorial in honour of Dover's war dead had been first mooted in the Council chamber, it was still necessary to hold a public meeting to assess the relative merits of utilitarian and monumental forms of commemoration, with the final choice of design not being ratified until the following April. As will be seen, at the root of such faltering progress lay a combination of confused objectives and disjointed leadership.

The idea for a borough memorial was first raised by the town's mayor, Sir E. T. Farley, in a Council meeting in May 1919. A debate on whether the Corporation should accept the War Office Trophies Committee's offer to present the port with a German machine-gun prompted Farley to suggest that, "a tower should be erected with the Zeebrugge Bell in honour of the fallen of Dover".[9] The proposal then seems to have been shelved until late October when, in his last meeting as leader of the Council, "the mayor suggested that a sub-committee should be appointed to select a suitable site for a war memorial and for hanging the bell from the Mole at Zeebrugge

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[8] Originally founded in 1303 to accommodate pilgrims on route to Canterbury, the Maison Dieu was purchased by Dover Corporation in 1834 for use as a magistrate's court and Council Chamber. *Dover Illustrated Guide Book*, p.12.

[9] *DE*, 9 May 1919. The Zeebrugge Bell was presented to the port of Dover by the King of Belgium as a souvenir of the naval raids on Zeebrugge and Ostend that had been carried out on St. George's Day 1918. The Bell had originally been set up on the Mole at Zeebrugge and used by the Germans to give warning of air raids. For more on the raids see B. Pitt, *Zeebrugge, St. George's Day 1918*, (London, 1958) and J. Bennett, *The Dover Patrol; the Straits; Zeebrugge; Ostend; including a narrative of the operations in the Spring of 1918*, (London, 1919)

presented to the borough by HM the King of Belgians".[10] A triumvirate comprising the mayor, his deputy, Councillor C. E. Beaufoy, and Alderman W. G. Lewis was then "accordingly appointed" to form the Zeebrugge Bell and War Memorial Committee.[11] Although reappointed the following month after the local elections, with Beaufoy assuming the chair as the newly sworn-in mayor, the Committee did not, in fact, meet until May 1920 when a proposal to site in front of the Maison Dieu a monument incorporating the Zeebrugge Bell was put forward for consideration.[12]

In the course of the next year only two Committee meetings were held during which suggestions for "a cenotaph, or other stone erection, or a reduced replica of the Zeebrugge Mole, each of which was to incorporate the Zeebrugge Bell, or the erection of an oak screen at the front of the dais in the Maison Dieu" were considered and, on either financial or aesthetic grounds, rejected.[13] The Committee finally reported back to the Town Council in May 1921 when its recommendations that the Zeebrugge Bell should be hung from a parapet at the front of the Maison Dieu and "a memorial in the form of a Shrine should be built in the well at the back of the dais in the Maison Dieu Hall to contain an illuminated Book of Remembrance recording the names of all local men who laid down their lives" were unanimously adopted.[14]

Over the next eighteen months the process appeared to be advancing without a hitch. Advice was taken on the precise design of the commemorative shrine and the best method of construction for the parapet. Mr. W. A. Forsyth, on the recommendation of Sir Cecil Harcourt-Smith, the Director of the Victoria and Albert Museum, was contracted to oversee the work and sufficient money, courtesy of a donation from the trustees of the Dover Prisoners of War Fund, was received to cover all the costs. Yet,

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[10] Dover Local History Library, Dover Town Council Minutes, 28 Oct. 1919, p.280. Sir Edwin Farley was mayor of Dover from 1913 to 1919.

[11] Ibid.

[12] Dover, EKA, Do/AMs13, War Memorial and Zeebrugge Bell Committee, Minutes, 7 May 1920. With local elections being held every November, the first act of the Town Council when it reconvened later the same month was to reappoint the members of the various standing committees, the Zeebrugge Bell and War Memorial Committee being no exception.

[13] Dover Local History Library, Dover Town Council Minutes, 31 May 1921. p.179. A more detailed explanation for the rejection of these proposals will be discussed later in this section.

[14] Ibid

in the face of such seamless progress, and notwithstanding the fact that the plans were finalised at a meeting in June 1922, the members of the Committee proved to be less than satisfied with the proposed scheme when they submitted their report to the Town Council just five months later. Although the report began with a detailed overview of the Committee's fine work over the previous year and a half, its conclusion contained a startling volte-face;

> We have now reconsidered the proposal and after careful deliberation are of the opinion that the Town Memorial should be of a more imposing character and created in the open air, the most suitable site apparently being in front of the Maison Dieu House. It would, however, be necessary to bear in mind the possibility of a widening of the thoroughfare at this point. We accordingly suggest that the original proposal should remain in abeyance and that a public meeting should be convened on the 29th inst. at 6:30pm with the object of giving all persons interested the opportunity of expressing their views on the matter and appointing a committee for the purpose of issuing an appeal for public subscriptions towards the Memorial and carrying out all other arrangements.[15]

Thus, three and a half years after the Council had first considered the construction of a civic war memorial, the debate had come full circle and Sir Edwin Farley's original proposal for a monument outside the Maison Dieu was, once again, the favoured option.

An explanation for the borough's failure to act more decisively in this matter can, at least in part, be found in the multiplicity of overlapping commemorative projects which not only occupied the Council's time but also diverted attention away from the specific task in hand. As has already been noted, the idea for a civic remembrance site had first been raised as a mere side issue during a Council debate on war trophies. Thus, from the outset, the memorialisation of the fallen and the collection of war memorabilia had been set on the same footing and so, in the minds of those charged with overseeing the process, had been inextricably linked.[16] The establishment of the

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[15] *DE*, 24 Nov. 1922.

[16] George Mosse, in his investigation into 'the Myth of the War Experience', has noted the tension that existed between the sacred and the profane by highlighting the impact that the display of war relics and the production of war-related trivia, what he has termed 'the process of trivialisation', had on the public's perception of the war. However, while drawing a distinction between public commemoration and its glorification of war and the familiarisation

Council sub-committee to oversee the commemorative arrangements appeared to further underline this duality of purpose, with its very title, the Zeebrugge Bell and War Memorial Committee, highlighting the lack of precision in focus.[17] Indeed, this confusion of aims was eventually recognised and resolved by W. G. Lewis, the mayor, when, in his capacity as chair of the Memorial Committee, he submitted his recommendations for the future direction of the borough's remembrance plans to the Council at a meeting in November 1922. Responding to a query from Councillor S. Livings regarding the whereabouts of the Zeebrugge Bell, he was adamant that, "the Bell had nothing to do with the War Memorial. That was a gift from the King of the Belgians to Dover and it should be kept separate."[18]

These early delays can also be attributed to the fact that the process was initially considered to be a matter for the Council alone. With the local elections being held every November it was necessary for all Council sub-committees, including the Zeebrugge Bell and War Memorial Committee, to be reappointed on an annual basis. Thus, from the Memorial Committee's inception in October 1919 to its removal from Council control in November 1922, there were no fewer than five different chairmen

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of the conflict that underpinned 'the process of trivialisation', he has, nonetheless, seen the two as supporting each other in transcending the reality of war and, thus, perpetuating 'the Myth of the War Experience'. George Mosse, *Fallen Soldiers*, ch.7.

[17] The confusion of commemorative objectives was neatly highlighted by a letter which appeared in the *Dover Express* the week following Farley's initial suggestion that a borough war memorial should be constructed. Endorsing the mayor's sentiment, the correspondent, W. Kennet, set out a proposal which managed to include the sacred and the profane, the utilitarian and the monumental. Neatly combining all the remembrance issues which were occupying the attention of the Council, he advocated, "a memorial garden with a central tower in which the Zeebrugge Bell hung. A room on either side, one with panels descriptive of Dover's part in the war and the names of those who have fallen, and the other with relics in connection therewith. The German Gun could be placed outside at the entrance to the tower." *DE*, 16 May 1919.

[18] *DE*, 24 Nov. 1922. The Zeebrugge Bell was, indeed, kept separate from the memorial scheme from then on. Whereas the civic memorial was, henceforward, to be controlled by a publicly elected committee, the Zeebrugge Bell continued to be the responsibility of the Town Council, with the costs for its erection being covered not by public subscription but rather defrayed from the rates. It was unveiled, appropriately enough, on St. George's Day 1923, well over a year before the civic memorial was completed.

with only two of the original members still serving by the time of the last meeting.[19] Such constant changing of personnel did, undoubtedly, have a detrimental effect on the decision-making process and certainly there seems to have been no other obvious explanation for the sudden u-turn in November 1922.

In addition to this lamentable lack of direction, one further consequence of the Council's monopoly of the commemorative process was a distinct lack of urgency. The competing demands of public office inevitably meant that the members of the Memorial Committee had to divide their time between a number of civic sub-committees. Hence, in over three years, the Memorial Committee met only eight times and reported back to the Council only twice. Moreover, as mayor and deputy-mayor in 1919, both Farley and Beaufoy, two key figures in the civic scheme, were invited to become members of the Committee to oversee the construction of a memorial in honour of the fallen of the Dover Patrol.[20] This project would have occupied a significant amount of their time as it not only carried national kudos but also worked to a tighter deadline with the foundation stone being laid as early as November 1919 and the monument being unveiled less than two years later.[21] Unsurprisingly the parochial claims of Dover's scheme appeared not to warrant such close attention and the borough Memorial Committee, in the thirteen months that Farley and Beaufoy occupied the chair, met only twice.

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[19] It appears to have been the practice for the serving mayor to be automatically appointed to act as chairman of the Zeebrugge Bell and War Memorial Committee. Thus, Sir Edwin Farley was the first chairman in October 1919, followed by C. E. Beaufoy (November 1919 to November 1920), C. J. Sellens (November 1920 to November 1921), R. J. Barwick (November 1921 to November 1922) and finally W. G. Lewis. Of the six Committee members in November 1922 only Farley and Lewis had served throughout.

[20] Indeed, Farley has been credited with being the first to propose the construction of a memorial to the men of the Dover Patrol, with his suggestion that, "a column of rough hewn granite be placed on the highest cliff at Dover, with tablets of the names of those who had fallen." J. B. Firth, *Dover and the Great War*, (Dover, 1924), p.126.

[21] The Dover Patrol Memorial was eventually unveiled by HRH The Prince of Wales on 27 July 1921, over three years before the civic memorial. Whereas the public appeal for subscriptions for the Dover Patrol Memorial was inaugurated in February 1919, it was not until over four years later that a similar appeal was made for the borough memorial.

Although the Council's decision in November 1922 to abandon the indoor shrine and revert to the original proposal of an outdoor monument in front of the Maison Dieu carried with it the stipulation that a public meeting should be convened to ratify the change of plan and elect a new Committee to oversee the project, the involvement of the wider community in the decision-making process was, nevertheless, to remain essentially superficial. Having duly had the new scheme "unanimously adopted" and the existing Memorial Committee reappointed by the citizens of Dover on 29 November, no further attempt at open consultation was made until January 1924.[22] Once again a move to radically alter the nature of the scheme provided the prompt for the Committee to throw open the debate. Thus, when R. J. Barwick, in his second term as mayor, endorsed a suggestion from Lady Violet Astor, the wife of the local MP, Major the Honourable J. Astor, that a Maternity Home would be a more fitting memorial, the Committee resolved to call "a public meeting of subscribers and all other interested parties to discuss the matter".[23] Held on 24 January, the meeting rejected any alteration to the scheme and voted for the Committee "to proceed without further delay with the memorial in front of the Maison Dieu".[24]

Two further public meetings were held over the next three months as the Committee set about the business of employing an architect and finalising the design. The first, on 15 February, was summarily dismissed by Barwick on the grounds that, "they had received quite a number of designs, but the Executive Committee had not had time to go closely into them".[25] Hence, the only decision reached was that the members of the Memorial Committee "would have to meet again and, if necessary, have expert advice...and a general meeting could be called afterwards to confirm."[26] In the

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[22] *DE*, 1 Dec. 1922. The only change made to the make-up of the Memorial Committee was to replace W. G. Lewis with R. J. Barwick as chairman. This was hardly surprising as Lewis, as the new mayor, had only been chairman for a fortnight whereas Barwick had been in charge for the previous twelve months. The decision had, anyway, been taken by the Council prior to the public meeting.

[23] Dover, EKA, DoCA17/1/51, War Memorial Committee Meeting, Minutes, 18 Jan. 1924.

[24] Dover, EKA, DoCA17/1/52, Public Meeting, Minutes, 30 Jan. 1924. Interestingly, the meeting resolved that the Committee "should adhere to the decision arrived at on 22 November 1922". Thus, those at the meeting felt bound not by the decision of the first public meeting on 29 November 1922 but by the earlier Council resolution.

[25] *DE*, 15 Feb. 1924.

[26] Ibid.

following ten days the Committee shortlisted and interviewed three of the thirteen architects who had submitted designs and, at a meeting on 25 February, unanimously opted for the services of the locally trained sculptor, Richard Goulden. By April, Goulden had prepared a model of the proposed monument and this was duly approved by the Memorial Committee on the 25th of the same month. Only after these decisions had been taken was the final public meeting held and the formality of ratifying the Committee's recommendations enacted.

Thus, although opportunities for public participation in the debates surrounding the form and nature of the memorialisation process did exist, Dovorians were neither the initiators nor the active controllers of their community's remembrance project, but instead passive recipients whose opinions were called for when others saw fit. It was only after two fundamental changes in the nature of the scheme had been suggested and serious divisions had been raised that the first two open meetings were held. For the civic elite, recourse to public consultation was a last resort, only to be undertaken when differences of opinion between members of the Executive Committee made further progress problematic. Although Councillor E. Powell appeared to be championing the case for greater public accountability in January 1924 when he objected to the Committee's adoption of Barwick's proposal for a Maternity Home on the grounds that, "the money was subscribed to erect a monumental memorial and there were not sufficient there to justify their suggesting an alteration and they must call a meeting of all the subscribers", as a leading opponent of the utilitarian in commemoration he was also protecting the viability of his own viewpoint.[27]

The superficiality of the community's inclusion in the process was further highlighted by the final two public meetings. Called at the bidding of the executive, they were entirely reactive, convened for the sole purpose of rubber-stamping decisions which had already been ratified by the Memorial Committee in closed session. Indeed, by the time of the monument's unveiling in November 1924 any pretence that the public's role had been anything other than peripheral had been dismissed. In providing a detailed deconstruction of the memorial's iconography on the back page of the unveiling programme, the organisers of the ceremony emphasized that the

[27] *DE*, 25 Jan. 1924.

notes were there to enable the ordinary citizen to understand "the reasons for the *Committee's decision* as to the type of Monument to erect in Dover".(emphasis added)[28]

Although Dover's civic elite appeared determined to maintain executive control over the direction of the borough's memorialisation process, they were, nonetheless, fully aware that for any prospective scheme to be considered legitimate it needed to be underscored by a semblance of public support. In the absence of a democratic forum through which the community will could be ascertained, proponents of specific projects attempted to bolster the validity of their arguments by employing alternative methods of assessing approval ratings. Thus, at the Committee meeting in January 1924, Barwick, citing the poor response to fund-raising efforts as evidence that the proposed monument outside the Maison Dieu lacked popular backing, emphasized the legitimacy of his alternative proposal for a Maternity Home by asserting that, "large subscriptions would be obtained for such an object".[29] At the subsequent public meeting, the borough accountant, Mr. E. Chitty, supported the mayor's reasoning when he "urged that the Memorial should take the form of a maternity home and argued that the small amount that had been subscribed in the town showed that there was no desire for the Memorial in front of the Maison Dieu."[30]

To counter the rather soulless logic of economic imperatives many speakers raised the moral stakes and claimed to represent the views of sectional groups who were considered to have a particular interest in the process.[31] Indeed, Sir Edwin Farley managed to combine financial practicalities and moral obligation when he informed those present at the public meeting in January 1924 that, "the Prisoners of War who had contributed to the Memorial the balance of their fund had decided not to allow it

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[28] Dover, EKA, DoCA17/1/56, Dover War Memorial Unveiling Programme.

[29] *DE*, 25 Jan. 1924.

[30] *DE*, 1 Feb. 1924. Chitty's logic was countered by a member of the audience who used the same method of assessing the public's mood to reach the opposite conclusion. Thus, the *Express* noted that, "a lady said that the house to house collection was not complete. In her street there was money still waiting to be called for....and what they wanted was a War Memorial and not a Maternity Home." Ibid.

[31] Indeed, Chitty himself resorted to this tactic, claiming that, "the provision of a maternity home would be more in harmony with the feelings of those who had gone". *DE*, 1 Feb. 1924.

to go to the institution of a Maternity Home, and would withdraw it and devote the money to a simple memorial."[32] The moral worth of the Prisoners of War's standpoint was emphasized further in the columns of the *Dover Express* when it was noted in the paper's coverage of the debate that, "A Dover Prisoner of War, who had spent four years in a German prison, said that they wanted the Memorial to be erected as proposed, and each of them would feel every time they passed it grateful to those in Dover who had kept them alive when they were being starved in Germany."[33] Captain F. Powell, the deputy mayor and a member of the Memorial Committee, continued with the military theme and validated his support for the original scheme by suggesting that within the ranks of fighting men it was not just those who had suffered the deprivations of captivity who opposed Barwick's amendment. Retaining at least some hold on objectivity, he argued that, "although he could not claim to speak for all ex-servicemen, he thought he could do so for a great number, and their wish was that the Memorial should be erected in front of the Maison Dieu House".[34] Having encouraged these contributions in the first place, Sir Edwin Farley was anxious that the opinions of an equally, if not more, deserving group should not be overlooked. He reminded those gathered that, "they had to take into consideration the wishes of the parents of those men who fell in the War".[35] Although there is no evidence that Farley, or indeed anyone else, had made any effort to canvass the bereaved, implicit was the understanding that their views would concur with his.

With the extent of democratic accountability having been limited to just one public meeting in over four years, and with the prospect of the project's completion in the foreseeable future appearing remote, it was hardly surprising that the temptation to claim an alternative method of gauging the collective will was, for some, too great to resist. Indeed, so rare was it for there to be a forum within which the voice of the people could be heard that for Mr. J. Wood, a local butcher and member of the Town

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[32] *DE*, 1 Feb. 1924.

[33] Ibid. That the *Dover Express* should choose to include this contribution in its report comes as no great surprise as, from the outset, the paper's editor had been advocating the construction of an outdoor memorial in front of the Maison Dieu. The role that the *Express* played in shaping the direction of the borough's remembrance project is examined later in this chapter.

[34] Ibid.

[35] Ibid.

Council, the very act of participating in the process was enough for a vote of confidence in the Committee's work to be registered. Before a show of hands had been asked for at the meeting in January 1924 he was ready to claim victory, asserting that, "as this was the largest meeting they had yet had, it showed that the people who subscribed the money desired that the Memorial should be erected in front of the Maison Dieu House".[36] Yet, despite its presumptuous nature, there was some validity in Wood's interpretation of the meeting's impressive turn-out for it was rare for anyone other the committed activist to become directly involved in the decision-making process. Although, as already stated, the third public meeting in February 1924 was abandoned because the Committee had not had time to discuss in advance the designs that had been submitted, a secondary consideration was that with only twenty people in attendance it was felt that there was little real value in pressing ahead.[37] Not surprisingly, such passive acceptance by the wider community of the control which a few local worthies exerted over the process did little to discourage the continual disregard for, and manipulation of, traditional democratic procedures which were such prominent features of the memorialisation work in Dover.

However, the disengagement of the general public notwithstanding, the failure of the controlling elite to include a broader base of opinion in what was a community project did bring criticism, not least from the press. Yet, in common with other leading figures in the community, the editor of the local paper, as a firm advocate of the monumental in commemoration, had his own agenda to pursue and his championing of democracy was, at best, sporadic. Thus, in response to Sir Edwin Farley's suggestion in the Town Council in 1919 that the borough's war memorial should take the form of a figurative monument outside the Maison Dieu, the paper had no qualms about the evident lack of wider consultation. Praising the mayor for his awareness of public opinion, it felt free to support the proposal wholeheartedly;

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[36] Ibid. A similar line of argument to the one presented by Councillor Wood, though one from which the opposite conclusion was to be drawn, was used by the Reverend W. G. Elnor in 1919 when chairing an open meeting to discuss the adoption of the war memorial of his parish of Dover St. Mary as the borough's remembrance site. Although arguments both for and against the proposal were aired, Elnor concluded that, "perhaps the smallness of the meeting was an answer to the question they were asking". *DE*, 16 May 1919.

[37] *DE*, 22 Feb. 1922.

> The mayor has certainly rightly interpreted the wishes of the people of Dover that the memorial to the Dover men, women and children who have been killed in the War should be a simple monument erected in an open space, such as in front of the Maison Dieu House. It is quite open to the Town to subscribe to other memorials, but the general feeling in Dover is that there should be a memorial in a public open space with the names of all those who have fallen, so that it shall be a reminder to the inhabitants of Dover for all time and every day of those who paid the great price.[38]

However, by 1922, with no obvious progress having been made, and the revised suggestion of an indoor shrine having been unanimously adopted by the Memorial Committee, there was a radical change in tone as the editor now felt it necessary to fulminate against the undemocratic nature of the whole process. The editorial of the 17 November 1922 set out in no uncertain terms exactly how Dovorians should view the actions of the Committee members;

> The question of the Dover War Memorial, instead of being left, as has been done in all other towns, for the people of the Town to decide, the form and site of the War Memorial has been decided by a sub-committee of the Dover Town Council, who have no mandate or authority for acting.[39]

Claiming, as in 1919, sole proprietorship of public opinion the paper went on to insist that the Town Council reject the original findings of the Memorial Committee and "reconsider the matter and deal with it in a way that will meet the public demands".[40] With the Council fulfilling these demands the following week by resolving to abandon the indoor shrine and convene a public meeting to discuss arrangements for an outdoor monument, the editor of the *Express* was able to adopt a more ambivalent approach.[41] While still promoting the primacy of the community in decision-making,

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[38] *DE*, 9 May 1919.

[39] *DE*, 17 Nov. 1922.

[40] Ibid.

[41] There is no evidence that the Council's decision to recommend the construction of an outdoor monument was a direct response to this press criticism. Indeed the call for a change in approach was contained in the Memorial Committee's report which would have been drawn up well in advance of the editorial in the *Express*. However, the paper's disapproval may well have encouraged the members of the Council to abrogate responsibility and entrust the appointment of the Memorial Committee to a public meeting.

he was, nevertheless, now keen to take the lead in articulating and shaping the collective will;

> The townspeople will be asked to deal with the matter [of the war memorial] and it is really a matter for them, although the meeting is being called at a rather inconvenient hour. There is in hand nearly enough money for a very suitable memorial, which might take the form of a Cross of Sacrifice or something of that type, with the names of Dover's fallen around it. That latter provision is most important. People wish to see the names of their loved ones and not to have them hidden away in a nook.[42]

From this point on, despite the public's effective exclusion from any meaningful involvement in the realisation of the scheme, no more criticism of the memorialisation process appeared in the editorials of the *Express*. Having had the views he had been propounding from the outset endorsed by the findings of the open meeting and adopted as official policy, the editor appeared to no longer consider it necessary for his paper to act as the guardian of the public voice.

However, although the *Express's* stance towards the workings of the Memorial Committee radically altered after the resolution to construct an outdoor monument was passed, concerns regarding the handling of the project did still continue to appear in the paper's letters' columns. The speed with which events progressed after Barwick's call for a maternity home had been defeated in January 1924 prompted two correspondents to question the legitimacy of the whole process. With a third public meeting scheduled for 15 February, 'A Subscriber', having stressed that a window of ten working days for the submission of designs was "hopelessly inadequate", came to the damning conclusion that, "the Committee must have already decided on the design".[43] The following month, C. B. Hutchinson, a local architect and unsuccessful contender for the Dover commission, was equally concerned that the short timescale had undermined the validity of the selection procedure. Noting that the members of Committee had left themselves with an impossibly tight deadline, he argued that, "they should have appointed a professional assessor for architecture is a fine art and

[42] *DE*, 24 Nov. 1922.
[43] *DE*, 1 Feb. 1924.

not merely a business...a fact which is quite insufficiently recognised".[44] Ironically, the sudden sense of urgency which was the root cause of these grievances was, in part, a response to an earlier letter of complaint about the Committee's running of the project. The week before the open meeting in January 1924, the honorary secretary of the Dover Branch of the British Legion, George Morton, had for the second time written to the Memorial Committee to express his dissatisfaction at the protracted delay in constructing a civic memory site and to demand that, "immediate measures be taken to expedite the matter".[45]

Opportunities for the citizens of Dover to become involved in the process of erecting their borough's remembrance site were severely restricted. It was not until November 1922 that the matter was considered to be one that should involve wider consultation and even then it took the complication of a radical change in policy and the twin impetuses of a hostile press report and a letter of complaint from the British Legion to prompt the calling of an open meeting. Although four public meetings were then arranged, these had little impact on shaping the process beyond the mere superficial sanctioning of executive decisions. The other main conduit through which the community could express a view, the local press, did open up the debate through its coverage of the various Committee and Council meetings and by the publication of letters from interested parties. However, despite the rhetoric of a few editorials, the *Dover Express* was not representative of the collective will and, after the first open meeting, took little interest in the exclusion of Dovorians from the decision-making process.

iii. Community Rituals 1; Fundraising

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[44] *DE*, 7 Mar. 1924. In the same letter Hutchinson raised a number of other concerns about the conduct of the competition. In order they were:
"1. All should have been publicly exhibited.
2. They should have been under 'motto' – so authors not known and no canvassing should have been allowed.
3. They should have been clear if sculpture was required as the two professions (architect and sculptor) are very separate." Ibid.

[45] Dover, EKA, DoCA17/1/51, G. Morton to R. Knocker, 25 Jan. 1924. Morton had made a similar complaint in November 1922, immediately after the Council's decision to change course and opt for an outdoor monument.

From the outset of Dover's memorialisation project concerns were being voiced within the Town Council about the funding of the scheme and stress was being laid on the need to economise as much as possible. An initial design for a commemorative fountain submitted by the mayor, C. E. Beaufoy, after the second Memorial Committee meeting in September 1920 was amended by the borough accountant, J. F. Duthoit, on the grounds that it was "too costly".[46] Although the Committee's subsequent resolution to seek the advice of a professional architect was duly executed by the town clerk, R. E. Knocker, aesthetic demands were still not allowed to obscure completely financial considerations. In approaching the Earl of Beauchamp for the name of an expert who might be able to assist the Committee, Knocker was quick to emphasize that, "It is, however, desired if possible to avoid incurring expense".[47] Beauchamp's ensuing offer to contact Sir Cecil Harcourt-Smith, the Director of the Victoria and Albert Museum, elicited an acceptance letter in which Knocker's gratitude was tempered by his monetary concerns. While thankful for the Earl's efforts on behalf of the Committee, the town clerk, anxious that, "the calling in of such an architectural expert will entail a fee", was keen to know "exactly how much this might be".[48] Indeed, the advice which Harcourt-Smith proffered, that a stone monument should be constructed from which the Zeebrugge Bell could be hung, was itself rejected on the grounds of economy. Reporting to the Town Council in May 1921 the Memorial Committee recommended the adoption of an alternative proposal,

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[46] Dover, EKA, Do/CA17/1/51, J. F. Duthoit to R. E. Knocker, 15 Nov. 1920.

[47] Ibid., R. E. Knocker to the Earl of Beauchamp, 25 Nov. 1920. The Earl of Beauchamp was the Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports and was known locally to take "a great interest in ancient monuments". Ibid.

[48] Ibid., Knocker to Beauchamp, 29 Nov. 1920. Knocker's wary approach to financial management undoubtedly stemmed from knowledge that is born of experience. Having succeeded his father, Sir Wollaston Knocker, as town clerk in 1907, he would have been fully aware of the practicalities and pitfalls of previous attempts at public fund-raising initiatives. Indeed, the last major effort to finance a civic scheme, the commemoration of the fallen of the Boer War, through voluntary subscriptions had been inaugurated three years before Sir Wollaston stepped down as town clerk and not been completed until five years into his son's period in office. The project, having fallen far short of its original financial target, was scaled down from an outdoor monument to a significantly more modest plaque in St. Mary's Church and was not unveiled until a full eleven years after the cessation of hostilities.

the hanging of the Zeebrugge Bell from the buttresses at the entrance of the Maison Dieu Gardens, "because the cost of the erection is estimated at not more than £50".[49]

Yet, the presence of such obvious financial misgivings notwithstanding, the Memorial Committee in fact paid little attention to the practical business of raising funds.[50] Despite an announcement in the *Dover Express* as early as July 1919 that, "an appeal for funds will be made shortly", no such initiative was launched for well over three years.[51] Indeed, by the end of 1922 less than £300 had been raised, with this coming from just two sources; the proceeds of the Dover Heroes' Memorial Flag Day held the previous summer which amounted to £54 and a gift of the excess balance of £227 from the Dover Prisoners of War Fund which had been donated as early as July 1919.[52] Not until April 1923 did the members of the Memorial Committee meet to discuss ideas for raising additional finance and as late as July 1924, with the fund still £200 short of the £1,200 required, a further meeting had to be held to discuss further measures for bridging the financial shortfall.[53] On the day of the unveiling itself money was still being raised through the sale of postcards of the monument and the final target was not, in fact, reached, and the sculptor, Richard Goulden, was not paid, until March 1925, some five months after the work had been completed.

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[49] Dover, EKA, Do/AMs13, Memorial Committee Meeting, Minutes, 3 May 1921.

[50] One explanation for such a delay could lie in the perennial problem which Memorial Committees faced, namely whether the choice of design or the collection of money should take precedence. In Dover's case the two sides of the argument were presented by the former mayor, R. G. Barwick, who was of the opinion that, "until they knew how much money was coming in, it was useless to choose a design", and Alderman E. Chitty, who felt that, "unless it was known how much was required people would not know how far to go with their subscriptions". However, this debate was not aired until the first public meeting in November 1922, more than three years after the Town Council had resolved to construct a remembrance site and had appointed the Memorial Committee. *DE*, 1 Dec. 1922.

[51] *DE*, 9 Jul. 1919.

[52] *DE*, 24 Nov. 1922.

[53] At the meeting of 19 April 1923 the ideas put forward by the Memorial Committee were; to hold a further Flag Day, to organise door to door collections, to send letters of appeal directly to three hundred leading citizens and to put on charitable performances at local cinemas and theatres. These measures will be examined in more detail later on in this chapter. Dover, EKA, Do/CA17/1/51, Dover Memorial Committee Meeting, Minutes, 19 Apr. 1923. Among the measures taken at the meeting in July 1924 was the "issuing of special invitations to Friendly Societies and Masonic Lodges to assist with contributions or raising subscriptions". Dover, EKA, Do/CA17/1/56, R. Knocker to A. Saunders, 7 Jul. 1924.

Although the Dover Memorial Committee's delay in acting undoubtedly exacerbated the monetary difficulties it faced, the task of financing a remembrance project was problematic at the best of times, with the need to maintain the communal nature of the whole enterprise often acting as a check on some of the more effective methods of raising funds. Thus, despite the severe difficulties he was experiencing in securing adequate contributions, R. G. Barwick, the chairman of the Dover Memorial Committee in 1923, rejected a suggestion that an appeal for additional subscriptions should be included with the local rates' notices on the grounds that this could be misinterpreted as an official demand for money.[54] For Barwick, if the memory site was to be regarded as truly belonging to the people then it was important to uphold rigorously the voluntary aspect of its financing. Indeed, some members of the Memorial Committee were keen to take things a step further and attempted to accentuate a sense of collective ownership by imposing a ceiling on the size of individual donations. In a notice in the local press in July 1919, the mayor, Edwin T. Farley, announced his intention to "make an appeal for funds [for the erection of a monument outside the Maison Dieu] which will be limited in amount so that all shall contribute in equal shares".[55] This sentiment was echoed three years later by Councillor F. R. Powell, when he informed those attending the first public meeting in Dover Town Hall that, "It would be quite easy to erect a memorial by means of the rich coming along but that was not what was required. Everyone whose relations lost their lives would like to feel that the memorial was erected by them and was as much theirs as a rich man's."[56] However, in an appeal for further subscriptions following the meeting, W. G. Lewis, a former mayor and the newly appointed chairman of the Memorial Committee, highlighted the dilemma that lay at the heart of Powell's observation. Conscious of the need to promote collective ownership Lewis stated that,

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[54] Dover, EKA, Do/CA17/1/51, Dover Memorial Committee Meeting, Minutes, 24 Sep. 1923. In neat contrast to Barwick's stance on this point was the recommendation the Memorial Committee made to the Town Council at a meeting in November 1922 regarding the hanging of the Zeebrugge Bell from the buttresses of the Maison Dieu. With it having been decided by this date that the Zeebrugge Bell would not form part of the town's commemorative site, the members of the Committee were quite happy to request that, "provision be made in next year's [Town Council] estimates for a fund to meet the expenditure". *DE*, 24 Nov. 1922.

[55] *DE*, 11 Jul. 1919. As has already been mentioned, this appeal was not launched for another three years and then not in the form that Farley anticipated.

[56] *DE*, 1 Dec. 1922.

"it is hoped that everyone will give something so that the memorial may be in the truest sense a town memorial", yet, with an eye on the practicalities of realising civic enterprises, he went on to qualify Farley's strictly egalitarian approach by adding that, "generous subscriptions are therefore invited, but even the smallest contributions will be welcomed".[57]

The emphasis on commemoration as a community project could, however, be used to the advantage of those charged with the task of raising money, with appeals often playing on people's sense of duty and notions of citizenship. For many, the need to have acknowledged the fact that they had played their part, that they had, literally, paid their way, was a strong motivational force when subscribing to a memorial fund and was an emotion which the Dover Committee was more than happy to exploit. As the scheme's financial difficulties intensified in 1923, R. J. Barwick, the chairman of the Committee, had no qualms about placing the burden of upholding civic prestige onto the shoulders of the port's leading townsmen. Requesting additional contributions, he stressed that these were necessary in order "to obtain such a sum as will ensure the memorial being worthy of the borough".[58] A year later in October 1924, with the unveiling ceremony scheduled for the following month, a much less tactful approach was adopted. With appeals for further subscriptions once again being issued, this time to the various branch managers of the town's banks, the Committee made certain that the recipients were left in no doubt as to exactly what was expected of them by unashamedly pointing out that, "the Directors of the Westminster Bank have contributed a sum of five pounds five shillings".[59]

However, there were limits even to the demands of civic duty. S. J. Livings, a local draper and future mayor, having contributed to the first call for subscriptions, clearly felt he had fulfilled his obligations as a citizen and, consequently, need no longer concern himself with any difficulties the town's memorial project may encounter. Replying to an inquiry from the secretary of the Memorial Committee regarding the sale of tickets for a fund-raising performance at a local cinema, he was disarmingly

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[57] *DE*, 8 Dec. 1922.

[58] Dover, EKA, Do/CA17/1/51, Dover Memorial Committee Meeting, Minutes, 18 Oct. 1923.

[59] Dover, EKA, Do/CA17/1/56, R. J. Barwick to branch bank managers, 1 Oct. 1924. With the exception of Barclays, all the banks met with Barwick's request.

open about his failure to contribute further, bluntly stating that, "I am afraid I have to confess that I quite forgot all about the tickets and consequently have not sold any. I should have paid for them myself, but having already subscribed I do not think I should."[60] Indeed, even for those most closely involved with the execution of the enterprise community spirit could sometimes become obscured by personal interest. Thus, when, at the second public meeting in January 1924, R. J. Barwick proposed abandoning the existing commemorative plans and constructing a Maternity Home instead he emphasized his commitment to his new scheme by ungraciously announcing that, "the memorial such as previously proposed would not be supported by him".[61] Such a combative approach not surprisingly met with an equally aggressive response, Barwick being informed by the town clerk, R. E. Knocker, that, "the previous mayor (W. G. Lewis) was against the new scheme and would withdraw his subscription if it was abandoned".[62] It was eventually left to the editor of the *Dover Express* to reintroduce an appropriate sense of decorum to the whole proceedings. In an editorial on the same page as a report covering the fractious exchanges at the public meeting, it was noted that, "Edward Chitty, the Borough Accountant, had been a strong advocate of the Maternity scheme but since the public meeting had donated £5 and it is hoped that other leading townspeople will follow his example and enable the scheme which should have been finished to be completed."[63]

In attempting to promote civic commemoration as a collective undertaking, one further constraint on the Committee's ability to raise funds was brought into play. The need to strike an appropriately solemn note could frequently undermine either the suitability or mass appeal of many community financing initiatives. Thus, the members of Dover's Memorial Committee, concerned that the frivolity of their methods could detract from the sanctity of the cause, found that the options available to them were severely limited. Having already dismissed suggestions for a special performance by the local amateur dramatics society and the holding of a torchlight

[60] Dover, EKA, Do/CA17/1/51, S. J. Livings to R. E .Knocker, 30 Nov. 1923.
[61] *DE*, 1 Feb. 1924.
[62] Ibid.
[63] Ibid.

festival, [64] they were further forced to postpone a benefit matinee at the Regent Picture House until the owner could "obtain a special war picture which would be appropriate".[65] Although the proprietor of the Queen's Hall was able to assure the Committee that the film he had billed for a similar event was "eminently suitable" as it was "the story of the war and the duties resultant on those who are left behind to those who made the grand sacrifice", the showing was not a success.[66] Dignified though the film may have been, popular it most certainly was not. At a meeting in January 1924 the Committee members were informed that the attendance at the Queen's Hall had been so low that less than £6 had been raised and this only because Councillor East had covered the costs of screening.[67] Indeed, so disappointed were the members of the Committee by this outcome that it was unanimously resolved "to abandon all other arrangements for entertainment".[68]

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[64] Dover, EKA, Do/CA17/1/51, Dover War Memorial Committee Meeting, Minutes, 24 Sep. 1923.

[65] Ibid., Dover War Memorial Committee Meeting, Minutes, 5 Nov. 1923. When agreeing to the special screening, J. H. Brunton, the owner of the Regent Picture House, had informed the Memorial Committee that the films showing on the date suggested were, "A Dangerous Talent (a five-part drama), The Three Gunmen (a two-part comedy) and a feature on West Ham Football Club". Ibid., J. H. Brunton to R. E. Knocker, 25 Oct. 1923.

[66] Ibid., C. Whittell to R. E. Knocker, 1 Nov. 1923. The film Whittell proposed to show was Abel Gance's 1919 film, *J'Accuse.* Described in the *Folkestone Express* as "the most romantic tragedy of modern times", the paper went on to state that the film "forms one of the most terrible indictments against war which it is possible to imagine.....the story being a lesson to the war profiteer and an awe-inspiring glimpse into the soul of France." *FE*, 8 Jan. 1921. In the film's central theme of the dead returning to seek justification for their deaths there is, as the film critic David Thomson has pointed out, "an awful irony in the way Gance enlisted troops on leave to play the dead, days before they themselves were to be killed at Verdun." D. Thomson, *The New Biographical Dictionary of Film (4th Edition)*, (London, 2002), p.322.

[67] The receipts from the film totalled £9-4-7 from which costs of £3-10-5 had to be deducted. Dover, EKA, Do/CA17/1/51, Dover War Memorial Committee Meeting, Minutes, 18 Jan. 1924.

[68] Ibid. Just to add insult to injury the Committee, despite its attempts to respect the local community's sensibilities, still received a stinging letter of complaint about the methods of fund-raising. Expressing his disbelief that sufficient money could not be raised by other means, Captain Hayward concluded by asserting that, "it would be far better to return the subscriptions than to wait for money to dribble in from entertainments etc. A memorial erected by those means can be of no honour to the dead, rather the reverse." Dover, EKA, Do/CA17/1/51, Captain Hayward to R. E. Knocker, 6 Dec. 1923.

The members of Dover's Memorial Committee did acknowledge the importance of community involvement in the financing of the port's remembrance site by offering suggestions about the imposition of a limit on the size of donations and insisting that all subscriptions should be voluntary. Indeed, in the drive to reach their target, they were more than happy to play on the collective spirit that was supposed to underpin the enterprise. However, though fully aware of the difficulties inherent in funding such a community project, the drive for subscriptions was not a priority for the Committee.

iv. Community Rituals 2: The Naming of the Fallen

The other key communal ritual involved in the creation of a commemorative site was the collecting of the names of the dead. Throughout the 1920s both national and regional newspapers carried seemingly endless columns of names as the war dead of local communities were remembered with the unveiling of new monuments. The *Dover Express* set aside two full pages solely to carry the names of those inscribed on the town's war memorial; there was no other accompanying text.[69] It was these lists of names that most clearly signalled the collective ownership of a war memorial and it was in the act of compiling the lists that community involvement was most evident.

Indeed, the extent to which the ritual of naming played an essential part in the memorialisation process can be discerned by the prominent role allotted to it in Dover's attempts to construct a civic remembrance site. The members of the borough's War Memorial Committee, well aware of the importance of naming as a collective rite and anxious to discharge their duties to the best of their abilities and, so, to satisfy fully public expectations, were quick to place the compilation of the town's Roll of Honour at the heart of their memorialisation work. Hence, one of the very first resolutions they passed, in May 1920, was to have "the names of local men inscribed" on the proposed memorial.[70] When, a year later, it was decided to change the scheme to a shrine inside the Maison Dieu, the Committee remained committed to the celebration of the names of the fallen, recommending that the new scheme should

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[69] *DE*, 7 Nov. 1924.

[70] Dover, EKA, Do/AMs13, Dover War Memorial Committee, Minutes, 7 May 1920.

"contain an illuminated Book of Remembrance recording the names of all local men who laid down their lives".[71] Yet, this was, of course, not the end of the matter and the following year the importance attached to the naming process once again featured in the debate surrounding the form of the town's memory site, this time as one of the principle arguments against the revised proposal. The editor of the *Dover Express*, articulating the view that the memorial should be in the open air in "the form of a Cross of Sacrifice or something of that type with the names of Dover's fallen around it", was particularly keen to emphasize the significance of his last point.[72] Arguing that the open celebration of the dead underpinned the whole project, he stressed that, "the latter provision is most important; people wish to see the names of their lost ones and not have them hidden away in a book."[73] Thus, although progress towards constructing a civic memory site was erratic, lacking both direction and coherence, an undertaking to honour the names of the war dead nonetheless remained a common thread throughout.

For the bereaved, in the absence of private graves at which they could mourn, the inclusion of the dead's names on war memorials became all important. With the cathartic rituals of funerary rites unavailable, the formalised procedure of submitting a loved one's name for inclusion on a local monument took on a new, and for some almost religious, significance.[74] Such deep rooted emotions, which underscored the naming process, can be seen in the frequency with which relatives tried to have included on local memorials those whose connection with the borough or even the war were, at best, tenuous. Mrs Holbourn, whose son had died in 1916 while working in a munitions factory in Faversham, wrote to R. Knocker, the honorary secretary of the Dover War Memorial Committee, asking for the inclusion of his name on the

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[71] *DE*, 31 May 1921.

[72] *DE*, 1 Dec. 1922.

[73] Ibid. Indeed, from the first the *Express* had been emphasizing the importance of the public display of the names of the fallen. Endorsing Farley's initial proposal for a borough memory site in May 1919, the paper was insistent that, "there should be a memorial in a public open space with the names of all those who have fallen". *DE*, 9 May 1919.

[74] As early as April 1915 an order issued by Sir Nevil Macready, the Adjutant-General of the British Expeditionary Force, prohibited the repatriation of bodies "on account of the difficulties of treating impartially the claims advanced by persons of different social standing". Major E. Gibson and G. Kinsley Ward, *Courage Remembered*, (London,1989), p.45.

town's memorial.[75] A similar letter was received from Mrs Watson whose son's name had already been included on the list of the fallen for nearby Folkestone.[76] Both requests were turned down; the first on the grounds that the deceased had not seen active service, the second because he had never been a resident of Dover.[77] An interesting bid for inclusion was made by Walter Holyoak, the pastor of Salem Baptist Church in Dover, on behalf of Mrs Jenner whose husband, George, had been an engineer on board the P&O liner SS *Egypt* which, in 1922, had collided with a French cargo steamer off Ushant. In a widely reported act of self-sacrifice Jenner had given up his life-belt to the save the life of a female passenger. Holyoak recognised that, as his death had occurred after the war, he probably would not qualify for inclusion but put forward the suggestion that as he had died "in such heroic circumstances" a separate plaque in his honour could be built abutting the memorial.[78] Although Holyoak's request was refused, it is nonetheless interesting to note the assumption that underpinned it. Those inscribed on the town's memorial had made the supreme sacrifice in the Great War that others might live; though the timing of Jenner's death excluded him from their number, the circumstances surrounding it made him their equal. Thus, for the bereaved, having a loved one included on the list of names inscribed on a war memorial not only provided private solace but also offered the opportunity to honour publicly the dead, imbuing them with the virtues and qualities of a breed apart.

Dignitaries were fully cognisant of the importance the public attached to the rituals of naming and consequently took great pains to carry out their tasks accurately and efficiently, with the full and open participation of the community. To this end, the members of Dover's Memorial Committee were keen to include all sections of society in the process. Not only was a list of the fallen displayed in the Town Hall for friends and relatives to inspect and amend as required but also letters were sent to all the local schools and parish churches asking for details of their Rolls of Honour to be

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[75] Dover, EKA, DoCA17/1/51, Mrs. Holbourn to R. Knocker, 24 Jun. 1924.

[76] Ibid., Mrs. Watson to R. Knocker, 1 Jul. 1924.

[77] Ibid., R. Knocker to Mrs. Holbourn, 7 Jul. 1924 and R. Knocker to Mrs. Watson, 7 Jul. 1924.

[78] Ibid., Mr. Holyoak to R. Knocker, 17 May 1924.

forwarded to the Committee.[79] However, as has already been shown, ascertaining whether or not someone qualified for inclusion on a memorial was not always a straightforward task. Hence, great care was taken to ensure that only those whose deaths resulted from active service in the war appeared on the borough's list of fallen. R. Knocker sent numerous letters to the relatives of servicemen who had died in hospitals in England during or shortly after the war in an attempt to ascertain whether or not the deaths had occurred as a result of "wounds or diseases contracted while on active service in connection with the war."[80] A typical case was that of Mrs Blackford whose husband had died at Chatham Naval Hospital on 1 January 1920. In reply to a request for further information, Mrs Blackford stated that her husband had been on active service on HMS *Engadine* at the time of the Armistice and had then been immediately posted to the Black Sea, not returning to England until November 1919, by which time he was seriously ill as a "consequence of the strenuous war work".[81] It was only after Mrs Blackford, in response to a further enquiry from Knocker, had confirmed that she was in receipt of a full naval pension that her husband's name was finally included on the list of the town's fallen.[82] Such attention to detail underlines the importance that both the community and the officiating Committees attached to the naming process. The compilation of an accurate and comprehensive register of the dead was one means of honouring the fallen; of, at least in part, fulfilling the exhortation 'their name liveth for evermore'.

Although the collection of names was a key part in the communal ritual of mourning, the extent to which the public's involvement in this process can be viewed as evidence of the collective ownership of remembrance rites seems to be open to question. The Committee members as, almost without exception, public figures were fully aware of the need to be seen to be meeting the obligations of office efficiently and to be executing their civic functions effectively and with the full support and approval of the local populace. Yet, the delicacy and difficulty of the task facing them

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[79] Ibid. The list of the fallen was displayed in the Town Hall in April 1924.

[80] Ibid.

[81] Ibid., Mrs. Blackford to R. Knocker, 21 Jun. 1924.

[82] Ibid., Mrs. Blackford to R. Knocker, 25 Jun. 1924. As if to emphasize the fact that her husband was worthy of inclusion, Mrs. Blackford added the unsolicited information that he

was further complicated by the imposition of an additional key constraint, namely that of time. The Dover Committee, having altered its plans once as to the form of the memorial, found itself under increasing pressure from both subscribers and local organisations to complete its task promptly. As has been noted previously, by as early as November 1922, after the Committee's decision to abandon the outdoor monument had been ratified by the Town Council, the local branch of the British Legion had expressed its dissatisfaction at the delay in constructing the memorial. The possibility of a second radical change to the project in January 1924 prompted another subscriber, Captain F. G. Hayward, to register a similar complaint. In a letter to the Committee secretary demanding the return of his subscription, he emphasised the sanctity of the enterprise stating that, "I consider this delay dishonouring the men who died for England and I wish to have no hand in it."[83]

However, the time pressures the Committee members faced were not always externally generated. The mayor of Dover for 1924, R. J. Barwick, was keen to have the town's memorial unveiled before his tenure of office expired on the 9 November and so asked for the ceremony to be brought forward. Despite R. Goulden, the sculptor commissioned with task of designing the monument, insisting that he "cannot rush the work and it is probably best not to fix the date of the unveiling before 11 November", it was resolved to hold the ceremony on 5 November.[84] Inevitably, the restrictions which this artificially created deadline imposed proved too great and names were still being sent in long after the memorial had been unveiled. The resultant request to Goulden that an additional nameplate be attached to the monument did not, unsurprisingly, elicit a sympathetic response. In a strongly worded letter to the secretary of the Memorial Committee, he began by pointing out that an

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had been "mentioned in dispatches for distinguished service and had three medals and was buried with full naval honours".

[83] Ibid., Capt. F. G. Hayward to R. Knocker, 5 Feb. 1924. The month before the unveiling Knocker sent a reply to Captain Hayward in which he firmly placed the blame for the delay on "the previous Town Council" and asked him to renew his subscription of five guineas. Hayward duly obliged. Dover, EKA, DoCA17/1/56, Knocker to Hayward, 7 Oct. 1924.

[84] Dover, EKA, DoCA17/1/56, R. Goulden to R. Knocker, 4 Sep. 1924. In fact the Committee originally chose 29 October for the day of the unveiling but as this coincided with the date fixed for the General Election it was decided to postpone the ceremony until 5 November as, in the words of Dover's MP, J. J. Astor, "polling day was not the correct (calm) atmosphere". Ibid., J.J. Astor to R. Knocker, 16 Oct. 1924.

extra plaque would affect the "artistic integrity of the monument... detracting from the carefully studied unity and completeness of the design", and concluded with the cutting observation that it would also "suggest a lack of careful planning in the first place".[85] Nonetheless, in October 1925, almost a year after the official unveiling, an additional panel, on which were engraved the names of fifty of Dover's war dead, was affixed to the monument.[86] Thus, important though the collective ritual of naming was in the borough's memorialisation process, it could still be relegated to a subordinate role when the ambitions of the controlling elite demanded.

v. The Appropriation and Dissemination of Memory: Form and Ritual

In contrast to the naming of the fallen and the raising of funds, where some attempt was made to promote the wider community's involvement, the responsibility for deciding on the form of Dover's remembrance site remained resolutely and unashamedly in the hands of the members of the town's Memorial Committee. Indeed, as has already been seen, until November 1922, when a change of personnel on the Memorial Committee led to the abandonment of the proposed indoor shrine in favour of an outdoor monument, the matter was considered to be exclusively the concern of the Town Council. Although an open meeting was called on 29 November 1922 to ratify the change of scheme, any future participation by the public remained at this peripheral level, being restricted to the retrospective endorsement of executive decisions.[87] However, their disinclination to open out the selection process notwithstanding, the controlling elite were, nonetheless, keen that the final design should meet with general approval and as a consequence were anxious to recruit outside help in the form of the professional services of a sculptor or architect. Thus, in December 1920, with the Memorial Committee planning to construct a shrine

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[85] Ibid., Goulden to Knocker, 5 Dec. 1924.

[86] Although prepared to concede to the Committee's request for the extra nameplate, Goulden was, nevertheless, still concerned about his artistic reputation, insisting that the panel "should clearly state it was added later". Dover, EKA, DoCA17/1/56, Goulden to Knocker, 15 Oct. 1925.

[87] See pp.142-143 for details of the public's exclusion from the decision-making process. Indeed, at the open meeting in November 1922 the mayor, W. G. Lewis, was quite prepared to defend executive control in this area, stating that, "the design of the memorial should be left to the appointed Committee". *DE* 1 Dec. 1922.

inside the Maison Dieu, the mayor and chairman of the Committee, C. J. Sellens, was prompted to contact Sir Cecil Harcourt-Smith, the Director of the Victoria and Albert Museum, as he was concerned that, "unless expert advice was sought and the construction of the oak screen was in keeping with the architectural features of the building then objections would be raised on antiquarian and artistic grounds".[88] In a similar vein over three years later, at a meeting in February 1924, the members of the Memorial Committee, when assessing the thirteen submissions they had received in response to the competition to find a design for the proposed monument outside the Maison Dieu, were eager to do all they could to undermine the objections of any potential dissentients. In seconding a move to delay the public meeting scheduled for that same evening, thus providing the Committee with a period of grace before arriving at a final decision, Councillor F. Powell highlighted the fears that underpinned his colleagues' caution;

> He said that many of them no doubt would live in Dover for many years to come and if by choosing one of these memorials that night without careful thought, they chose the wrong one, they would constantly be reminded of it. Memorials looked very nice, but they knew that in confined spaces some could look very hideous. Some would look well there, but he thought that they should have someone with knowledge of art to help them in selecting one. Not only did they want a fine memorial but he was sure they wanted something in keeping with this ancient building. It would be dreadful to put up a memorial that people would not like afterwards, and he thought they would do right by delaying it a little while.[89]

A delicate symbiotic relationship existed between the professional artist and the Memorial Committee. For the artist, the commission to design a town's war memorial provided an opportunity to develop or extend a professional reputation.[90] In return the

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[88] Dover, EKA, Do/ CA17/1/51, R. Knocker to Sir Cecil Harcourt-Smith, 9 Dec. 1920.

[89] *DE*, 22 Feb 1924. Once again Harcourt-Smith was called on to provide expert advice. Although the decision to contract Richard Goulden to carry out the work was taken on 25 February, just ten days after the previous Committee meeting, a public meeting to ratify this decision was not held for another two months.

[90] Alan Borg has noted that generally those involved in the designing of war memorials were either artists from the sculptural establishment, such as Sir William Goscombe John and Sir George Frampton, or those who were relatively little known. Of the major artists, Borg cites Charles Sargeant Jagger as the only one whose reputation was founded on his commemorative work. Borg, *War Memorials*, pp.79-82.

members of the Memorial Committee received the technical expertise of a professional which not only helped to invest the site with a fitting gravitas but also deflect any potential criticism and, thus, vicariously endorse their position as community leaders.[91] Although, Alex King, in stressing the contribution that artists had on the style and form of remembrance sites, has stated that Memorial Committees had little influence on the aesthetic design of memorials, the response to Dover's competition does highlight the extent to which it was generally accepted that the setting of artistic parameters was the prerogative of the civic authorities.[92] Anxious to win the commission, the sculptors who responded to Dover's appeal for designs were keen to meet the demands of the Committee.[93] J. Swift of Doncaster, in expressing his wish to submit an outline drawing, requested "full particulars of [the Committee's] requirements".[94] L. F. Roslyn was equally flexible in his approach. Having offered a sketch for consideration he stated that he "could replace the figure of a soldier with a female figure of peace or victory if desired."[95] The eventual winner of the competition, R. Goulden, was given precise instructions as to what was required, being informed that the Committee wanted to express sacrifice and, therefore, "did not want a figure with the form of dress of any particular branch [of the armed services] but rather one that symbolises self-sacrifice."[96]

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[91] However, the use of a professional artist was not to everyone's liking. For Captain E. Hayward, a perennial complainer it has to be said, there was a clear distinction between a memorial's aesthetic value and its practical function. Having attended the unveiling ceremony and viewed the completed monument for the first time he informed the town clerk, R. Knocker, that, "It is no doubt a work of art, I am no judge. As a memorial to those men who fell, I think it fails utterly being too small and unimpressive." Dover, EKA, Do/CA17/1/56, Captain E. Hayward to R. Knocker, 24 Nov. 1924.

[92] King, *Memorials of the Great War in Britain*, ch. 5. Although he states that "committees usually deferred to artists on matters of style or form", King does go on to note that what the professional generally offered was "to express the feelings of others and fulfil goals local committees set for themselves". Ibid., pp.123-124.

[93] Notice of the Memorial Committee's invitation for designs was published in the local press at the beginning of February 1924. The Royal Society of British Sculptors was also informed about the competition. Entrants were told that £900 was available and given a fortnight to submit their plans. Dover, EKA, Do/CA17/1/51, Public Meeting, Minutes, 30 Jan. 1924.

[94] Dover, EKA, Do/CA17/1/51, J. Swift to R. Knocker, 8 Feb. 1924.

[95] Ibid., L. F. Roslyn to R. Knocker, 16 Feb. 1924.

[96] Ibid., R. Goulden to R. Knocker, 26 Feb 1924.

However, although the local Memorial Committee retained a controlling influence over the form of a community's war memorial, the artist, having secured a commission, was often offered a large degree of autonomy, with the Committee members frequently deferring to his professional expertise. Goulden was given full control over the technical aspects of the construction of Dover's memorial. In response to a request to be allowed to tender for the erection of the town's memorial, a local engineer, G. Ashdown, was informed by the secretary of the Memorial Committee that the matter was "entirely in the hands of the sculptor".[97] Indeed, many sculptors although willing to sacrifice artistic integrity at the altar of financial expediency nonetheless voiced some concern about the restraints imposed on their individual creativity. Thus, Goulden, on first entering Dover's competition, made clear his dislike for such debasing rituals stating that, "I do not believe that the best results are likely to obtain by holding competitions on these lines, involving, as they do, an enormous amount of purely speculative work."[98] Having acquired the Committee's acceptance of his design, he was quick to reassert his artistic independence. In a letter summarising the Committee's requirements he was at pains to outline clearly his own interpretation of the duality of a monument's function, stating that it should "not only...commemorate, in some permanent and dignified manner, the sacrifice of Dover's sons but speak to inspire the younger generation in their daily life always"[99] It is interesting to note that despite the close involvement of the Dover War Memorial Committee throughout the construction process and the relatively precise guidelines they laid down with regard to the form of the monument, the completed project is in fact typical of Goulden's speciality, the naked allegorical

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[97] Dover, EKA, Do/CA17/1/56, R. Knocker to C. Ashdown, 3 Jul. 1924.

[98] Dover, EKA, Do/CA17/1/51, R. Goulden to R. Knocker, 14 Feb. 1924.

[99] Ibid., R. Goulden to R. Knocker, 5 Mar. 1924. Indeed, when initially submitting a design for consideration by the Memorial Committee Goulden saw fit to expound his views on the function of art and the artist. In a letter included with the thumbnail sketch of the proposed monument he explained that, "the sculptor's job is to put his life into his work and though he personally can never become rich, the sculptor should strive to serve as an expression and enrich the world....helping even a few think more nobly and appreciate more truly that which is fine in life." Ibid., R. Goulden to R. Knocker, 14 Feb. 1924. In his willingness to propound such general theories Goulden may have been something of an exception, for Alex King, in his general survey of commemorative practices in Britain between the wars, has noted that it was very rare for an artist in the employ of a Memorial Committee to offer his personal views

figure, with very similar designs being found at Reigate in Surrey and Crompton in Greater Manchester.[100](See Plate 5)

Indeed, the fact that Goulden had been commissioned by a number of other Memorial Committees, and that the design he submitted had been adopted elsewhere, may well have acted in his favour, for by employing someone with a national reputation Dover's Committee could not only hope to guarantee their own commemorative site's artistic integrity but also look to enhance the port's standing generally. Thus, much was made of Goulden's popularity, with the Committee letting it be known through a press release that, "For the last few weeks he had been busy on two important memorials, one for the County of Middlesex,....and that he had completed war memorials at Millbank Military Hospital, the Bank of England, Bromsgrove, Brighton, Shoreham, Kingston-upon-Thames, Great Malvern and many smaller ones for private persons.....He also designed the memorial in Lincolns Inn Fields to the Premier's wife, which had recently been brought to the public notice in the Press."[101] Implicit was the message that by acquiring the services of a professional in such demand, both the borough's and, vicariously, the Committee members' reputations had been advanced.[102]

The promotion of civic prestige was a pivotal requirement in the discussions surrounding the style and form of Dover's commemorative project. The port had been affected by the war more than nearly any other town on mainland Britain and for many inhabitants there was a strong sense of pride in the key role their community

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on the role of memorialisation and the function of commemorative sculpture. King, *Memorials of the Great War in Britain*, ch. 5.

[100] To an extent the similarity between the Dover monument and Goulden's other commemorative works is not too surprising. By stipulating that the memorial had to be figurative and symbolic of self-sacrifice, the Dover Committee was hardly being overly proscriptive. Furthermore, when submitting his initial sketch Goulden had included photographs of his other work so the final design was more or less fixed in the minds of the Committee members from the outset.

[101] *DE*, 29 Feb. 1924.

[102] Margaret Winser, a local artist who submitted a design for consideration by the Memorial Committee, appealed to the same sense of civic prestige but turned the argument on its head by stressing that her proposal was "an original design not yet adopted". Dover, EKA, Do/CA17/1/51, M. Winser to R. Knocker, 7 Feb 1924.

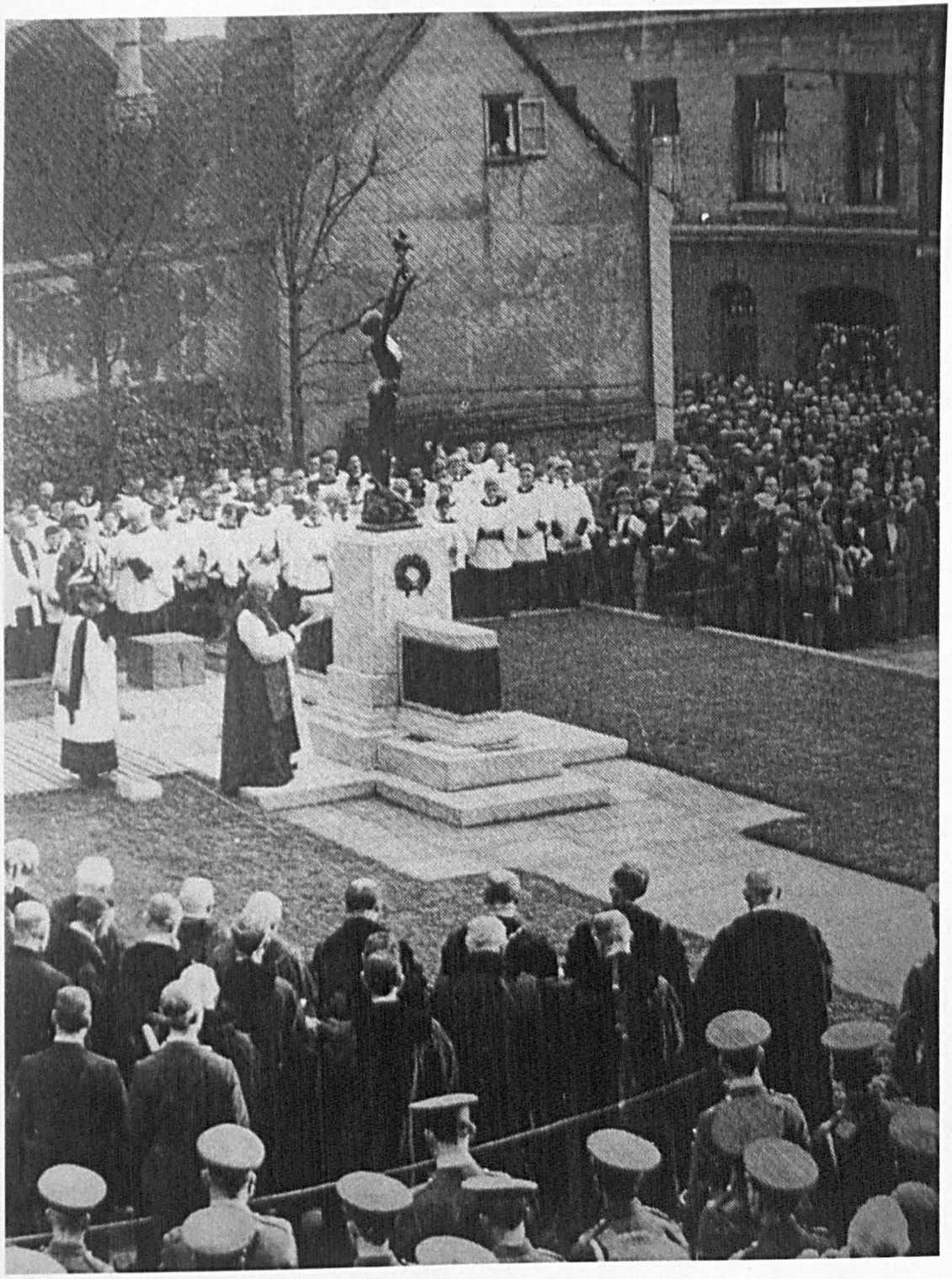

Plate 5: The Unveiling of the Dover War Memorial outside the Maison Dieu

had played in the war effort and a keenly felt desire that this should in some way be reflected in the town's war memorial. In submitting a design to the Memorial Committee an 'ex-VAD' articulated this sentiment clearly, stating that "as Dover suffered so during the war and took such a prominent part the town should have a memorial out of the ordinary run of crosses etc".[103] Committee members, as representatives of the community and public figures, were sensitive to such feelings and fully aware of the political capital to be made from the furtherance of local prestige. In deciding on the form that the memory site should take it was of paramount importance that, if the work of the controlling officials was to be fully recognised, the monument should be noteworthy. Thus, when supporting a resolution, at a Committee meeting in November 1922, to abandon the memorial inside the Maison Dieu Councillor W. J. Barnes was concerned that the scheme lacked prominence arguing that the plan "was all very well but a shrine was put in St. Mary's Church after the South African War and he did not believe that one in a hundred had ever seen it".[104] At the ensuing public meeting both the mayor, W. G. Lewis, and former mayor, Sir E. T. Farley, opened proceedings by stating that they were against the idea of an indoor niche on the grounds that, "it was not worthy of Dover".[105] A similar line of argument was used by one speaker at the second public meeting in January 1924 to justify his opposition to R. J. Barwick's recommendation to abandon an outdoor monument in favour of a Maternity Home. As noted in the *Dover Express*;

> Mr. Snelling spoke with much vigour in opposition to the new proposal and was loudly cheered. The town, he said, had suffered more than any other town in England from the war (hear, hear), and but for those who formed an impregnable line in France with their bodies, Dover would have been devastated just as the towns in

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[103] Dover, EKA, Do/CA17/1/51, 'ex-VAD' to R. Knocker, 28 Nov 1922.

[104] *DE*, 24 Nov. 1922.

[105] *DE*, 1 Dec. 1922. The other main objection to the construction of an indoor shrine focused on the aptness of the Maison Dieu for such a sacred site. This was neatly summed up in letter published in the *Dover Express* in November 1922. The correspondent, W. H. Chase, felt strongly that, "When we remember that the Town Hall is used for concerts, dances and various other purposes, surely a more suitable place could be found to perpetuate the memory of those who have fallen than in a place of amusement." *DE*, 24 Nov. 1922. In holding this view he was supported by the paper's editor who reminded his readers that the memorial would be "in a niche against which, when functions are on at the Town Hall, the benches with the beer barrels on the refreshment stalls will be placed". *DE*, 17 Nov. 1922.

> France were devastated. Yet what had Dover got to show. Towns that knew nothing of the war had beautiful memorials.[106]

It was not just through the form of the remembrance site that attempts were made to emphasize Dover's distinctive character but also through the detail of the monument's iconography. Thus, when still committed to the construction of an indoor shrine, the Memorial Committee instructed the architect, Mr. W. A. Forsyth, to replace with a representation of St. Martin, Dover's patron saint, one section which contained the arms of the Cinque Ports, "as although the latter form part of our arms their use is common to all ports".[107] Having switched to the outdoor project, Goulden was told categorically not to include a military figure in his plans as "the Committee felt the effigy of a soldier inappropriate as it does not reflect that Dover, not only in the Great War, but from the earliest times, has been one of the chief ports of the country."[108] The unique nature of the town and its war effort was, then, to be encapsulated in the war memorial's individuality. This sense of civic pride, of viewing Dover as distinct and separate, was clearly articulated by the editor of the *Dover Express* who, in describing the town's memorial on its unveiling, concluded with the observation that, "Most of the war memorials and many of those that have been exhibited at the Royal Academy have dwelt too much on the obvious. The sculptor of the Dover Memorial has produced something original and very beautiful."[109]

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[106] *DE*, 1 Feb 1924. A similar sentiment had been expressed by a correspondent to the *Dover Express* regarding the War Office Trophies Committee's offer to present the town with "a German machine gun (damaged) with ammunition box and belt". Dover, Local Studies Room, Council Minutes, 1919, p35. Thus, 'A Dovorian' had concluded his letter with the resigned supposition that, "it is the usual tale, the poor old town has had all the kicks and somebody else has appropriated the spoils". *DE*, 24 Oct. 1919. Interestingly, Barwick, in proposing to abandon the outdoor monument, was as much motivated by civic prestige as Snelling was in opposing the Maternity Home. Such had been the poor response to the Committee's appeals for funds that Barwick felt that, "They had not sufficient for a memorial of a suitable character". *DE*, 25 Jan. 1924.

[107] Dover, EKA, Do/CA17/1/51, R. Knocker to W. Forsyth, 9 Feb. 1922.

[108] Ibid., R. Goulden to R. Knocker, 5 Mar. 1924.

[109] *DE*, 7 Nov. 1924.

One final concern for the members of the Memorial Committee, having spent so much time and energy debating the commemorative site's form and iconographical features, was to ensure that their efforts were correctly interpreted by the wider community. Alex King has pointed out that symbols do not contain meaning independently, that monuments are not encoded with an immutable message, but rather they interact with the viewer, there being a fluidity in interpretations. However, as has been previously noted, King has gone on to stress that despite this impermanence, or indeed because Memorial Committee members were fully aware of it, there was an insistence that war memorials should have a specific meaning.[110] Hence, although Goulden may have felt that the task of a sculptor was "to enrich the world...helping even a few think more nobly and appreciate more truly that which is fine in life", for the members of the borough's Memorial Committee it was imperative that the monument's message was accessible to all.[111] It was all very well for the *Dover Express* to be lavish in its praise, stating that Goulden had "produced a work of art that will for all time remind those who read its meaning aright that the Youth of this land trod the thorny path of self-sacrifice to attain the ideal exemplified by the Fiery Cross", but the implication that there may be some who would incorrectly interpret the memorial was an eventuality that the Committee was determined to avoid.[112] Consequently, to overcome the possibility of the meaning being lost it was decided that a written explanation of the monument's symbolism should be given. Thus, notwithstanding Goulden's reluctance, on the rather patronising grounds that, "the purpose of works of this character is to stimulate the somewhat rare habit of thought amongst the mass of folks", it was resolved that a detailed version of the 'official' interpretation should be affixed to the monument and this was duly carried out a month after the unveiling ceremony.[113]

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[110] King, *Memorials of the Great War in Britain*, pp.11-15. See page 64 for earlier reference.

[111] Dover, EKA, Do/CA17/1/51, R. Goulden to R. Knocker, 14 Feb. 1924.

[112] *DE*, 7 Nov. 1924.

[113] Dover, EKA, Do/CA17/1/56, R. Goulden to R. Knocker, 26 Nov. 1924. The explanation which Goulden provided, and which was placed in a glass case by the entrance to the memorial, stated that, "The figure of youth is symbolic of self-sacrifice and devotion. His hand grasping the cross, enveloped in flame, suggests triumph of the spirit over bodily suffering. The thorns at his feet represent the difficulties in the path of life overcome." Ibid.

Although the Committee may have hoped that it could invest the town's memory site with an immutable and enduring meaning, careful steps were, nevertheless, taken on the day of the unveiling ceremony to guarantee that the monument's message was clearly articulated and its narrative firmly incorporated into the collective psyche. Not only did the unveiling programme contain Goulden's precise explanation of the sculpture's symbolism but it also gave an overview of the purpose of war memorials generally:

> The function of War Memorials may be said to be twofold. Primarily, they are the result of the desire felt by most of us to record, in some fitting and permanent way, the gratitude we feel towards those who nobly sacrificed their all to save our country from becoming the vassal of a foreign power; but also we wish to acknowledge and show our sympathy toward those who suffered, and do still so terribly, from a sense of personal loss. Few of us wish to perpetuate, by monuments, the joy of victory, for its own sake – the extent of victory is, and will be, felt by all now and hereafter; and since this war was one of aggression on the part of the enemy, its cessation by our efforts is our reward.[114]

Having been provided with this reminder of the necessity of the fallen's sacrifice, the reader was then given a clear indication of how the memorial should be understood and the memory of the war dead which it encapsulated upheld:

> A simple symbolic monument, placed in the midst of the busy throng of everyday life, may speak to us with the still small voice of love of duty and self-sacrifice, reminding us of the choice each individual born amongst us must make for himself. The noble example of self-sacrifice the monument commemorates may help us to realise that the virtue of our lives will be according to how freely we are willing to give them for our fellow men without thought of reward, except that which we shall know in the giving.[115]

This theme of a debt owed by the living to the dead was further underlined in the presiding dignitaries' addresses. Sir Roger Keyes, who had commanded the Dover Patrol during the war and been invited by the Committee to unveil the memorial, was

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[114] Ibid., Unveiling Ceremony Programme, 5 Nov. 1924.
[115] Ibid.

unsure that Dovorians had yet met their obligations, asking those assembled for the ceremony,

> But what of the debt that we owe to those who fought and died? Can we who are left honestly say that we have paid that debt? Our country is suffering from unemployment to an unprecedented degree, trade difficulties, housing shortage and a hundred and one social difficulties that go towards growing unrest and discontent.[116]

For Keyes it was only by matching the efforts of the fallen that the living could ensure that their conscience was clear. He reminded his audience that the task begun by those they commemorated that day had yet to be completed;

> All that was achieved in France was through comradeship, self-sacrifice and devotion to duty, devotion to the interests of the country, and great bravery. Let it remind us to work together in the same spirit to win the peace, so that when we walk by these memorials in years to come we can walk by them with shoulders squared and thanking God that our dead did not die in vain.[117]

The mayor, R. J. Barwick, was equally adamant that the past placed a burden of expectation on the present, arguing that only by safeguarding the constitutional authorities could post-war society best articulate its veneration for the lost generation:

> I think that this memorial brings to our memory a duty which we owe to the future of our country. It is up to us to always uphold the Union Jack of England. We owe it to those who died for that flag, and it is left to us as a legacy to see that the Union Jack is the only flag that flies over our country.[118]

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[116] *DE*, 7 Nov. 1924. In fact Keyes had only been the Committee's third choice when it came to inviting someone to unveil the memorial. They had first approached the Prince of Wales but had been informed by his equerry that he only accepted such invitations "on three grounds;
1. if erected on own property in Duchy of Cornwall,
2. if the war memorial is for a regiment of which he is colonel-in-chief,
3. if the memorial is considered national in scope of importance, such as the joint Houses of Parliament memorial, the Royal Naval Memorial at Chatham and the Dover Patrol Memorial." Dover, EKA, Do/CA17/1/56, J. Astor to R. Knocker, 3 Jul. 1924. Their next choice, the Duke of Connaught, had been "unable to attend due to commitments abroad". Ibid.

[117] Ibid.

[118] Ibid.

By laying emphasis on duty and unity, the officiating dignitaries could reinforce the memorial's role as a community site where private grief could be assimilated into the collective memory. The unveiling ceremony was carefully orchestrated to underline its significance as a civic pageant. To this end it was considered vital that all sections of the community were represented. Thus, in Dover, as elsewhere, special enclosures were set aside for the bereaved, personnel from the armed services, members of the Town Council and some selected subscribers, ensuring that a spirit of civic unity prevailed.[119] Inclusion was the key. Prior to the ceremony, the secretary of the Memorial Committee, R. Knocker, had been instructed to contact the President of the Dover Evangelical Free Church Council to request that, "representatives of the clergy of all denominations be present at the unveiling".[120] With this emphasis on public participation, the memory of the war dead could be used to underscore the primacy of the collective over the individual. In concluding the day's proceedings, the Archbishop of Canterbury was keen to stress just this point. He started by reminding those gathered of the men who were commemorated by two other memorials standing on the cliffs overlooking the Channel;

> Monuments of the glory and the fame of what will, for all time, be known as the Dover Patrol stand high in imperishable stone, confronting each other in England and in France across the silver streak of sea. The dauntless courage of those men, and the persevering fertility of their resource, were crowned with such success to the adventurous enterprise as would have seemed but for its accomplishment to be incredible.[121]

Yet, for His Grace, the lesson that underpinned the borough's ceremony was not to be found in the glory of such individual heroics but rather in the anonymity of the unexceptional service of the seven hundred Dovorians whose names were engraved on the memorial they had just unveiled. For, through the construction of a monument

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[119] Dover, EKA, Do/CA17/1/56, R. Knocker, various letters of invitation, 21 Oct. 1924.

[120] Ibid., R. Knocker to A. Rankine, 20 Oct. 1924.

[121] *DE*, 7. Nov. 1924. The two memorials, commemorating the fallen of the Dover Patrol were unveiled at Leathercote Point near Dover on 21 July 1921 and Cap Blanc Nez, Sandgatte, on 20 July 1922. There was, however, a more immediate prompt for the Archbishop of Canterbury's reference to the Dover Patrol as at the conclusion of the

in honour of "those citizens of Dover who, in some part or other of the far-flung war by sea or land laid down their lives", they were paying a "different tribute of honour" centring not on the distinctions of the personal but instead on the achievements of the collective.[122] Indeed, it was the fallen's very lack of distinction which was central to his message:

> They had taught us to appreciate the possibilities and the powers of quite ordinary people like ourselves. The call of duty can evoke in ordinary people – who are neither saints nor heroes – a response which no-one beforehand would have dreamed possible; that raises to a higher level the standard of life of every one of us.[123]

Thus, Dover's war dead were to be recalled not as individuals but rather as an undifferentiated mass, for then, stripped of personal identity, they could be acclaimed as the true embodiment of the principles of citizenship and their memory could be moulded to the needs of the present. To this end, although the memory site's roots in the community were trumpeted through the collective rituals of voluntary subscriptions and name compilation, the wider public's involvement was at best passive and reactive during the key processes of construction and unveiling.

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unveiling of the civic memorial, a Roll of Honour containing the names of the fallen of the Dover Patrol was to be deposited in the Maison Dieu.

[122] Ibid.

[123] Ibid.

Chapter 5. The Layering of Memory; Commemoration in the Sub-Community

i. Folkestone

Commemoration permeated English society in the aftermath of the Great War; from civic level to more localised schemes at sub-community level, with their focus on schools, clubs, works and places of worship, remembrance was pre-eminent in the years immediately following the conflict. The memorialisation of the fallen mirrored the complex interrelationships of society's superstructure. At every level, where people shared a common identity or could perceive a unifying bond, communities were eager to remember their war dead and to celebrate their contribution to the collective war-effort. Thus, there was an intricate multi-layered texturising of commemorative activity with social groups sub-dividing and overlapping as they sought to proclaim, and to have acknowledged, their role in the past struggle.

Many of the commemorative projects at sub-community level in Folkestone were, as a consequence of the more intimate nature of their composition, less subject to the pitfalls and complications of the larger civic remembrance scheme. In workplaces and schools a hierarchical structure was both firmly established and unquestioningly accepted and thus provided a clear framework within which the logistics of the memorialisation process could be carried out. At North Council School the headteacher, Mr Mummery, not only initiated the raising of a memorial but was even entrusted by Folkestone Education Committee to prepare the blueprint which the Committee's chairman "felt quite sure that if it was anything like a decent design the Committee would be only too glad to fall in with."[1] In religious establishments it was usually felt necessary to have some form of public involvement in the commemorative process, although this rarely paid more than lip-service to the concept of open consultation. At Christ Church the Memorial Committee, chaired by the vicar, L. G. Gray, sought the approval of the parishioners for the adoption of its recommendations, though the meeting was held on a workday afternoon. Unsurprisingly only seven people, counting the vicar himself, were able (or willing) to attend, of whom one was the people's warden, one a churchwarden and two

[1] *FE*, 27 Dec. 1919.

sidesmen.[2] Similarly a vestry meeting of All Souls' Church, held on a Tuesday afternoon, resulted in "a [war memorial] committee composed of the vicar, churchwardens and sidesmen with the addition of Mr. Wilson (organist) being appointed to formulate a scheme".[3] Thus, at church level, the degree of control that an engaged minority of parish activists, buttressed by a façade of public endorsement, exerted over the memorialisation process closely mirrored the pattern of hierarchical direction at civic level.

For most sub-communities the debates surrounding the form of the memorials were much less protracted than at civic level. In the majority of schools and workplaces limited finances meant the decision was a relatively easy one with some variation on a Roll of Honour being the most common choice. In Folkestone this was the case at North Council, Sydney Road and St Mary's schools, at the Pride of Cliff and the Oddfellows Lodges, and at the Post Office and the rowing club. In churches, religious iconography, as one would expect, dominated. Once again the final decision on style was frequently dependent on money. Thus, the Memorial Committee at Christ Church opted for a mural but decided that the "form it would take would depend upon the contributions which were sent in".[4]

However, for the Anglican Church there could be an added complication, for uncertainty existed as to exactly who fell within the bounds of its community and hence from whom it could justifiably expect to receive subscriptions. As a religious institution it clearly served those who regularly worshipped within its walls, yet as the Established Church it was felt by many to have a wider social and cultural role, acting as a focal point for the parish at large. The inscription on the commemorative tablet in St.John's, dedicating the memorial 'To the Glory of God and in the honoured memory of the Parishioners and Members of the Congregation', hints at this dilemma, viewing, as it does, church-goers and non-attending parish residents as two discrete groups. At the unveiling of the war memorial at Holy Trinity Parish Church the

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[2] Canterbury, CCA, U3/217/8/1, Christ Church, Vestry Meeting Minutes, 28 Nov. 1919. The meeting was held on Friday 25 April 1919 at 3pm.
[3] *FH*, 26 Apr. 1919.
[4] *FE*, 3 May 1919.

Archdeacon of Canterbury, while identifying the same division between the parishioners, was keen to articulate the common bonds that they shared and, simultaneously, advance the case for the church as the nucleus of community life:

> They must make their remembrance of those who had died for them permanent. There was nowhere in which [the memorial] could be made more permanent than in the parish church. There was nowhere more appropriate for the parishioners and members of the congregation than the parish church, for it was in the parish church that these men worshipped, or in which they received their first communion, or in which they had attended funerals of those near and dear to them. There might be some names on that list of men who were not known as communicants or church-goers. Granted that was the case with some of them yet they were REAL MEN and Christ was a real man. Nobody who had not endured as they had endured had the slightest right to claim to be better than they were. Each of them was like Christ for he gave his all for others. They had been made like Christ in that way.[5]

However, although there may have been widespread acceptance of such 'marginal Christianity'[6], the appropriation of a secular commemorative role by the church could still result in tensions, as not all within the nominal community identified with its beliefs or viewed it as the true focus of collective life.[7] In April 1919, at a meeting of the Parochial Church Council, the vicar of All Souls' was clearly disappointed by the response of his parishioners to the church's memorial scheme. In "expressing regret that [it] had not been taken up in a more enthusiastic manner" he had, he owned, "at one time been inclined to think he should drop it because it seemed to him the

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[5] *FE*, 31 Jul. 1919. This distinction between membership of a church and general belief is noted by Ross McKibbin in his examination of religion between 1918 and 1951. In detailing the declining membership of the Established Church in the years following the First World War he points out that most people, nonetheless, still adhered to the basic tenets of Christianity and that, "at those moments in their lives, particularly the beginning and the end, which are thought to be particularly sensitive or climacteric and which conventionally involve relatives or friends, the English continued to have recourse (usually) to a Christian rite." McKibbin, *Classes and Cultures in England*, p.290.

[6] W. Pickering has described those who attend church only on key occasions as adhering to a 'marginal Christianity'. W. S. Pickering, 'The Persistence of Rites of Passage: Towards an Explanation', *British Journal of Sociology* 25 (1974), p.77.

[7] In *Classes and Cultures* McKibbin has noted that the influence of the church was markedly less pronounced in urban areas where many of its social and cultural functions were provided by various secular organisations and outlets.

people's hearts were not in it".[8] At the following month's meeting, with funds still well short of the target, he was much more forthright in apportioning blame within the community;

> He could not admit that [the fund] was what it ought to be and it occurred to him that there were some people in their midst who, having made considerable profits out of the war, would have done their share in realising the end they had in view. It was remarkable how few of the shopkeepers have come forward to assist.[9]

For Holy Trinity Church, financial shortfall was also to blame, at least in part, for the introduction of a discordant note. An ambitious decision to adopt a dual commemorative scheme, in the form of a pulpit as well as a mural to the war dead, resulted in the completion date being put back as the projected cost of £500 proved to be problematic. For Dr.Coke, a sidesman and father of one of the fallen, this delay was the sole cause of his disquiet: "Nothing was too much to honour the men who had done so much for them. He would be averse to any scheme which would go on for ten, twenty or thirty years."[10] Yet, criticism was not restricted to the lengthening timescale. The rather petulant remark of Colonel Dalison, a churchwarden and member of the Memorial Committee, that, "he had heard comments as to the proposed pulpit and if people thought they [the Committee] had not made a good suggestion it was for some of them to come forward and do the work", revealed that for some it was the nature of the scheme, specifically the construction of a pulpit, rather than the failure to meet deadlines that lay at the heart of their misgivings.[11] By opting for an exclusively religious and overtly practical item of church furniture the Committee had brought into relief the divide that existed between the secular and the spiritual community. It was left to the vicar to heal the breach, though in a somewhat exasperated manner, by emphasizing the primacy of remembrance: "As for a pulpit for him to preach from, he had preached better sermons on a soap box in a public

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[8] *FH*, 26 Apr. 1919.

[9] *FH*, 22 May 1919. Such public shaming of those who were perceived not to have fulfilled their obligations towards the war dead mirrored the questioning of the lack of response from the Brotherhood of Cheerful Sparrows at civic level. See *Folkestone Express*, 26 Mar. 1921.

[10] *FE*, 26 Apr. 1919.

[11] *FH*, 26 Apr. 1919.

square before coming to Folkestone. The memorial would be for those who gave their lives."[12]

Just as the Anglican Church was frequently anxious to include all residents, and not just communicants, in remembrance projects and thus lay claim to primacy in the memorialisation process at parish level, so other sub-communities were keen to extol the part they had played in the war and take pride in the achievements of their members. The naming of all those who had served in the war, and not just those who had died, was one means of emphasizing the contribution a particular social group had made to the national effort and hence underlining its intrinsic worth.[13] Christ Church, North Council School, the Royal Standard Sick and Dividend Society and the Pride of Cliff Lodge all dedicated memorials to all those who had enlisted. At the unveiling of the memorial plaque in May 1921, the headteacher of North Council School, Mr.Mummery, explained the reasoning that lay behind just such a decision;

> With regard to the boys who had served, they felt they had a right to have their names recorded because many of them would be maimed badly for life, and further than that they were all exposed to the same danger as all who had made the Supreme Sacrifice.[14]

Indeed, the Pride of Cliff Lodge went one step further and resolved to include on its Roll of Honour a member who had been one of the civilians killed in the air raid in 1917.[15]

Assuaging grief with pride was a theme that was returned to again and again during the dedication addresses at unveiling ceremonies. The Archdeacon of Canterbury

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[12] Ibid. It was eventually resolved that the scheme should be left to the Committee and both the mural and the pulpit were constructed.

[13] Mark Connelly in his examination of remembrance in London has noted the link between scale of sacrifice and degree of vicarious glory. Connelly, *The Great War, Memory and Ritual*, p.96.

[14] *FE*, 3 May 1921. It also has to be noted, of course, that at civic level the sheer numbers involved made the naming of all those who served impracticable.

[15] *FE*, 9 Apr. 1921. By contrast the names of those killed in the air raid of the 25 May 1917 do not appear on the civic memorial.

urged the parishioners of Holy Trinity Church to mitigate personal loss through the acknowledgement of collective achievement;

> It would not be right and fitting if the sad and solemn element were absent from it [the service] today. There must, however, at the same time, also be an element of thoughtfulness and pride of what they [the fallen] were and what they did and what they gave.[16]

In many sub-communities any sense of loss was almost entirely subordinated to the vicarious glory that accrued from the sacrifices of the fallen. Honour deriving from the achievements of its alumni was clearly uppermost in the mind of the Reverend W. A. Beckett when he informed the pupils of Grace Hill School that the unveiling of their memorial was a "very great and noble occasion in the history of the school".[17] In dedicating the memorial, Sir Phillip Sassoon, MP for Folkestone, elaborated on this theme by explaining that;

> This memorial, indeed, is evidence not only of the courage and devotion of the twenty-nine gallant men and lads whose names are here written; it is proof, too, of the fine character, and high ideals, that the old Wesleyan School succeeded in instilling into the hearts and minds of the boys that passed through it in former years.[18]

At North Council School the unveiling ceremony was similarly used as an opportunity to applaud the school's ethos. With the list of former pupils who had been killed in the war standing as high as ninety-one, so great was the acquired glory that Alderman Spurgen, the chairman of the Education Committee, was even prepared to admit to some alarming educational shortcomings;

> They might have been good or bad boys and probably not good at passing examinations but when put to the test and proved, they were found to be perfect in

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[16] Canterbury, CCA, U3/233/5/A, Holy Trinity Church, Folkestone, parish magazine, Jul. 1919.
[17] *FE*, 8 Oct. 1921.
[18] Ibid.

> this – that they had not forgotten the lessons they had learned, the lessons of patriotism.[19]

For Spurgen the war had been the ultimate test of the school's worth; the ninety-one dead had seen that test passed with flying colours.

Indeed, the unveiling of a memorial to the war dead was, for some sub-communities, such a momentous event that it not only acted as an endorsement of their existing ethos but also added an entirely new dimension to the values that framed their collective identity. Thus, for Mummery the ceremony of May 1921 had established a new character within the makeup of the school:

> With the memorial it was certain that an esprit de corps would be created among the present boys and future generations to do their best in whatever they had to encounter in life.[20]

At Grace Hill School an extra layer of tradition had been created to ensure the bonds of community were firmer than ever. In dedicating the school's memorial the Reverend W. A. Beckett told the pupils that the event they had just witnessed was one they "must try never to forget, and before the time comes for them to leave and go out into the world in their turn, they must be sure that the younger boys and girls that come here and take their places understand what the memorial means and share their pride in it."[21] Hence, the war memorial, rather than merely acting as a testament to a community's essence, could, itself, become an integral part of the values which were to be collectively affirmed.

The war could not only be used as proof positive that the principles which underpinned a sub-community's collective identity were both valid and valuable but could also be taken as evidence that those very principles, having upheld honour and civilisation in the face of a barbarous conflict, should now be promoted on a wider

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[19] *FE*, 7 May 1921. That school memorials in some way reflected the institution's individual ethos was recognised by Spurgen. In instructing Mummery to prepare a design for North Council School he acknowledged that, "Each school would require something different from other schools". *FE*, 27 Dec. 1919.

[20] *FE*, 7 May 1921.

[21] *FE*, 8 Oct. 1921.

stage. At the annual smoking concert of the Royal Standard Sick and Dividend Society, at which a memorial to the Society's war dead was unveiled, the chairman, G. Harvey, was in no doubts that, "the comradeship shown by the men in the trenches could only be instilled into these men by the unity and esprit de corps shown by the various members of this club".[22] He then went on, albeit in a homely and somewhat novel fashion, to advance the role that the Society should still play in the contemporary world;

> It was a great pity they could not have more of these meetings because he believed half the troubles in the land today could be smoothed out if only they could gather round a table with a pipe of tobacco and talk things over.[23]

In a similar vein, though with rather less of the fire-side chat about it, Mr. P. Greenstreet of Folkestone Oddfellows saw the war as the acid test which had confirmed his Society's worth and endorsed the principles of the movement as a whole and its future role in civic life. He informed his brother members at the unveiling of the Folkestone branch's war memorial in September 1920 that;

> He trusted that the principles of Oddfellowship and Friendly Societies generally would permeate the whole of our Empire; that all would think less of the individual and more of the country as a whole. Then, and not till then, would that dear old country become a land fit for heroes to live in, and a country for which so many thousands, the memory of some of whom they were honouring that evening, would not have died in vain.[24]

The commemoration of a sub-community's war dead, and the celebration of their contribution to national salvation, could also underscore the final acceptance of that sub-community into wider society. The unveiling of a memorial plaque to the twenty-nine former pupils of Grace Hill School, in September 1921, was used by Sir Phillip Sassoon to emphasize the seamless transference of control from the Methodist Church to the Education Committee. Having praised the Education Committee for their "kindly and fitting thought" in inviting the Ministry to attend the service, he

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[22] *FE*, 20 Mar. 1920.
[23] Ibid.
[24] *FE*, 18 Sep. 1920.

further underlined the harmony of the handover by asserting that, "the change of control that occurred when the Education Committee took over has meant no change in the spirit that existed, and still exists, among the boys and girls who come here to be given their start in life."[25] For the Grace Hill Wesleyan Church itself, the unveiling of its war memorial in July 1919 was seized as an opportunity to affirm its loyalty to the state. The Reverend J. E. Harlow told the congregation that he had particularly wanted the mayor to be present, and his wife, Lady Penfold, to unveil the memorial because he "realised these men had given their lives not for their church but for their country".[26] The coverage of the event in the *Folkestone Express* made a point of stressing that the mayor "attended wearing his chain of office", and Harlow, ensuring the symbolic significance of the occasion should escape no-one, explained that, "Lady and Mayor Penfold, in some sense, represented the civic community".[27]

Building bonds with the wider community also played a central part in the commemoration ceremony of the Pride of Cliff Lodge. Brother F. Pilcher informed his brother members at the Oddfellows' Hall in April 1921 that, "It was the first time they had had the pleasure of seeing the vicar and mayor and mayoress in the Lodge room and he hoped they would soon be able to have them there again."[28] In his dedicatory address Canon Tindall, the vicar of Folkestone, reciprocated these sentiments and opened up further channels for future cooperation;

> He was pleased to see the Oddfellows at Folkestone. At Maidstone and Ashford there used to be a great Friendly Society Church parade. If ever they cared to have a Friendly Society Church parade in the Parish Church he would be delighted to see them and they would be able to return the visit he had made there that evening.[29]

The integration of all social groupings into mainstream domestic society, and the need to carry forward the unifying spirit of the war years to combat the tribulations of peacetime, was a common theme in unveiling addresses. The parishioners of Christ Church were told by Canon Tindall that, "they needed in Folkestone a united

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[25] *FE*, 8 Oct. 1921.
[26] *FE*, 19 Jul. 1919.
[27] Ibid.
[28] *FE*, 9 Apr. 1921.
[29] Ibid.

devotion....to go forth fighting against materialism, indifference and sin".[30] For Sir Phillip Sassoon, the Conservative MP for Folkestone, the opportunity presented by an invitation to unveil the Oddfellows' war memorial to remind his largely working-class audience of the primacy of state obligations over sectional interests was too great to resist.[31] It was, Sassoon informed the members of the Lodge, the camaraderie of the trenches, eternalised by the sacrifices of their fallen comrades, that should continue to inform their approach to life generally and their workplace relations specifically;

> [He] would like them to remember, when looking at the memorial, that those men died for freedom and liberty, all united in one great brotherhood for the same cause. Was it not therefore possible for them all to unite now and endeavour to establish industrial peace at home.....There was nothing more pernicious than the doctrine of class against class which must ultimately lead to destruction....He felt certain that all there that night, being members of one of the oldest Friendly Societies in the country, whose main objectives were to help their brothers, would not only carry out those principles themselves, but would preach them wherever they went, so helping to cement that friendship made on the blood-stained battlefields of France and Belgium.[32]

For the fallen to act as an example of the qualities and characteristics to which the living should aspire, it was often felt necessary to emphasize the tragedy of potential unfulfilled. The eulogies frequently implied that it had been a generation of future leaders, the best and brightest, who had been lost on the killing fields of the Great War.[33] Those present at the unveiling of the Roll of Honour to the workers of

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[30] Canterbury, CCA, U3/214/8/2, Christ Church, Folkestone, parish magazine, Jan.1920.

[31] In his study of the expansion and activities of Friendly Societies in Kent, Michael Winstanley has noted that the vast majority targeted the "archetypal, self-improving, respectable, aspiring section of the working-class". Michael Winstanley, 'Friendly Societies: their Operations', *Bygone Kent* 2/4, (April, 1981), pp.215-219.

[32] *FE*, 18 Sep. 1920.

[33] David Cannadine has argued that the origin of this belief in a lost generation of leaders was rooted in the higher proportion of losses suffered by the upper-classes in the fighting. Having generally joined up first and formed the backbone of the officer corps, those from a privileged background ran significantly greater risks of being killed in combat. While the death-rate for the six million men from the United Kingdom who fought was 1 in 8, Cannadine has noted that for Balliol graduates who joined up it was twice as high. Cannadine, 'War and Death, Grief and Mourning in Modern Britain', p.197.

Folkestone Post Office who had died in the war were assured by General Shonbridge that those killed "had been activated only by the highest principles" and, thus, "would always be a shining example of what British men and women could do for their country".[34] Mr. Mummery, the headteacher of North Council School, underlined the extent to which glittering futures had been cut short by highlighting the unrealised promise of one specific individual. At the special assembly held to commemorate the ninety-one former pupils who had given their lives, he told the children that, "one name he noticed in the first column would probably have been a senior civil servant by this time and would have been in a high position if he had not been torpedoed on his last return from the West Coast of Africa".[35] At Christ Church the unveiling ceremony for the parish war dead was combined with a service in memory of Dennis Lawrence, a prominent church worker. The implication was that just as Lawrence matched the fallen in "the glory of service and self-sacrifice", so the fallen, in their turn, shared Lawrence's qualities of leadership; both were "a noble example to every layman".[36]

To reinforce further the magnitude of the war dead's accomplishments, the purity of their sacrifice was frequently stressed. The fallen were seen to have borne the burden of their responsibilities lightly and to have confronted death willingly. The Archdeacon of Canterbury informed the parishioners of Holy Trinity Church that he was certain that those who had died in the war "went to their deaths with a smile on their faces, unflinching, calm and triumphant".[37] Although allowing for an element of doubt, the Reverend J. E. Harlow was almost equally secure in the knowledge that the twenty-six men of Grace Hill Wesleyan Church who had been killed had met their fates in a similarly stoical manner:

> No-one could tell what took place between them and their God in the last instance. They could almost hear them saying 'We are going to our death, but we go content. Our life is done but we are content to die for our country.'[38]

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[34] *FE*, 7 Jun. 1919.

[35] *FE*, 7 May 1921

[36] Canterbury, CCA, U3/214/8/2, Christ Church, Folkestone, parish magazine, Jan. 1920.

[37] Canterbury, CCA, U3/233/5/A, Holy Trinity Church, Folkestone, parish magazine, Jul. 1919.

[38] *FE*, 7 Jun. 1919.

A combination of patriotism and compliance also informed G. Harvey's address at the Royal Standard Sick and Dividend's remembrance service in March 1920. Harvey reminded his fellow members that their fallen comrades "fought for Empire, the Greatest Empire the world had ever known, they fought for freedom and for home and beauty and they had done it willingly and with a smile all the time".[39] Thus, it was the patriotic rush of volunteerism in August 1914, not the resigned slog of conscription in the face of a war of attrition, which provided the context for unveiling addresses.[40]

By portraying the dead in such an idealised manner, a sacred burden was being passed on to the living. At the unveiling of the memorial to the men of the Machine Gun Corps Cavalry, Major-General Sir F. H. Sykes, the Controller-General of Civil Aviation, set out the exact nature of the debt that the living now owed the dead:

> We trusted in the manliness, the fearless confidence and splendid spirit with which they went and in which they faced all cheerfully. The tribute that they would wish from us the most is that we should echo their spirit in our daily strivings to be true to their ideal for which they died.[41]

At a more intimate level, the headteacher of Sidney Street School, Mr. P. Greenstreet, used the memory of the fallen to urge his charges on to ever greater achievements:

> He hoped that by their appreciation of their work at school, and their determination to make themselves a credit to the school, they [the current pupils] would show their gratitude to the boys who had gone before[42]

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[39] *FE*, 26 Mar. 1920.

[40] Modris Eksteins has highlighted a similar temporal divide in the war aims of British soldiers. In the early stages, he argues, they were motivated by a desire to preserve the world for civilisation and fair play, yet, as the war dragged on, and the composition of the army changed in 1916, these ideas became much less prevalent. Eksteins, *Rites of Spring*, pp.116-129.

[41] *FE*, 26 Feb. 1921.

[42] *FE*, 23 Jul. 1921.

The more intimate nature of sub-communities, and the homogeneity of principles that bound the members of a sub-community together, informed the nature of commemoration at this localised level. Pride, rather than an overwhelming sense of loss, was a central component in many ceremonies. Remembrance of the war dead was assimilated into the shared memory that united a sub-community and underscored its value system; the memorialisation ceremonies were incorporated into the very rituals and traditions that formed the foundation blocks of a common identity. For these tightly-knit social groupings, the sites of memory reinforced internal solidarity and reaffirmed external worth.

ii. Canterbury

A small item in the *Kentish Gazette* of 14 August 1920, under the heading 'a Practical Memorial', noted that, "Mrs. M. A. Tomkins, who was so well known for many years as the proprietress of the County Hotel, Canterbury, has endowed a bed at the Kent and Canterbury Hospital in memory of her gallant son, the late Captain F. Allen Tomkins RFA".[43] On 26 August, with the official unveiling by Canon Bickersteth of the commemorative plaque above the hospital bed, the formal rites of remembrance in honour of Captain Tomkins appeared to have been completed. Yet, over the next two years Tomkins was to be memorialised in a variety of different guises, as a member of Canterbury Masonic Lodge, as a former pupil of Simon Langton Boys' School, as a parishioner of St George's Church and as a citizen of Canterbury.[44] Such a multi-layering of remembrance not only kept the commemoration of the war dead at the forefront of the public's consciousness in the immediate post-war years, as almost every week the local press contained reports detailing the workings of various War Memorial Committees or covering the unveiling ceremonies for new monuments, but also imposed a complex matrix onto the memorialisation process itself, as disparate local groups attempted to claim the fallen as their own and to manipulate the sacrifices of the past to the needs of the present. Indeed, the desire of these more intimate social groupings to appropriate the memory of the fallen was clearly articulated by

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[43] *KGCP*, 14 Aug. 1920.

[44] The Masonic Lodge's war memorial was unveiled on 31 March 1921, St George's Church on 29 March 1921, Simon Langton Boys' School's on 25 May 1921 and the city's on 10 October 1921.

Archdeacon L. J. White-Thomson at the unveiling of St George's parish memorial in Canterbury in March 1921. Dismissing the push for "great central memorials" as "wrong", he argued that, "what was wanted was a memorial in each parish church. He was quite certain the memorial tablet in that place was going to make a real mark on the church and on all parishes of a similar kind. It was right that we should commemorate our own, in our own way, with our own gifts, in our own churches."[45]

Inevitably such a multiplicity of memorial projects, with overlapping societal networks, could result in a certain amount of tension. The inherent conflict between civic and more immediate community schemes was highlighted by one correspondent to the *Kentish Observer*, for whom the failure of Canterbury's municipal project to meet its financial targets was largely attributable to the more pressing demands of local initiatives. Signed simply 'A Ratepayer', the letter informed the paper's editor that, "The Citizens of Canterbury have clearly shown that not only is the form of the memorial distasteful to them but that they consider a city memorial unnecessary, seeing that every Canterbury man who gave his life in the war is already commemorated in his own parish, in his county and, in many cases, elsewhere."[46]

In this competitive commemorative climate, memorial projects at parish, school, club, work and regimental level had distinct advantages over their civic counterparts. The formation of a Memorial Committee was a relatively straightforward affair with the members usually being drawn from a pre-existing management structure. The vicars of St. Stephen's, St. Dunstan's, St. George's and St. Margaret's parish churches, the headmasters of King's School and Simon Langton Boys' School, and the Earl of Guilford, the former commander-in-chief of the Royal East Kent Yeomanry, were all

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[45] *KGCP*, 2 Apr. 1921.

[46] *KO*, 27Jan. 1921. The Kent County War Memorial Committee followed the same line of argument when justifying its decision not to record the names of the fallen either on the monument in the Cathedral precincts or on a Roll of Honour. The expense notwithstanding, the Committee noted that, "Whether the names were recorded on the walls of the Bastion, or in a Golden Book, the record to a large extent would be but a duplication, for the names are already recorded, in some cases more than once, on the parish and regimental memorials." *FE*, 20 May 1922.

the chairs of their respective Memorial Committees.[47] Some semblance of accountability in decision-making was usually adhered to but this was more often than not merely a matter of form rather than a genuine drive for open consultation. Thus, when the members of the Memorial Committee at Simon Langton Boys' School, under the chairmanship of the headteacher, Mr. J. H. Sharp, met on 24 January 1919 to discuss their choice of design, there was no question that their proposal would be contested. Having reached an agreement, the Committee then retired en masse to the School Hall where a General Meeting, presided over by a key member of the Memorial Committee, Mr. R. A. Bremner, who was not only a school governor but also the mayor of Canterbury, promptly and unanimously ratified the decision.[48] In a similar vein, although a vestry meeting of St. George's Church was convened to approve its Memorial Committee's suggestion of a tablet and rood screen in honour of the fallen of the parish in July 1920, a faculty for the work had, in fact, already been drawn up by the Committee three months earlier.[49]

This intimacy, both in terms of size and affiliation, which communities at sub-civic level enjoyed, was also to have a beneficial impact on the financing of local remembrance projects. It was much easier for the Memorial Committee members of these smaller scale enterprises to gauge realistically the level of support they could expect to receive and, hence, to cut their cloth accordingly. Thus, by far the most common form of memorial was the commemorative tablet which had the twin

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[47] The Earl of Guilford commanded the Royal East Kent Mounted Rifles (Yeomanry) from the outset of war until he was replaced by Lt-Col A. ffrench-Blake during the Gallipoli campaign.

[48] *The Langtonian*, Vol. 11 No. 2, (July 1920). Despite the uncontested authority of the Langton Memorial Committee, the headteacher, Mr. J. H. Sharp, was still sensitive to public opinion and keen to stress the community's widespread support for his proposals. Outlining the details of the school's memorial scheme at a prize-giving evening in July 1919, he made a point of noting that he had "received an extraordinary number of letters approving of our scheme and not one of disapproval". *KGCP*, 2 Aug. 1919.

[49] Canterbury, CCA, U3/3/4/13, St George's Churchwarden's Book, Minutes, 30 Jul. 1920 and 9 Apr. 1920. Indeed, as early as June 1915 it had been considered at a vestry meeting at St George's to proceed with a plan "to erect a screen as a memorial to those who fell in the war". However, it was eventually agreed to delay ratification as "the general opinion was against raising a large sum during the present crisis". Ibid., Minutes, 18 Jun. 1915.

advantages of being effective in its simplicity and practical in its expense.[50](See Plate 6) In addition, with the bonds of school, club, work or church resonating to the heart of many people's daily lives, there was, not infrequently, an economic gain that could accrue from such close ties. Both the Canterbury branch of the Oddfellows, Manchester Unity, and St. Paul's Parish Church had all the construction work for their memorial projects carried out by members of their respective communities free of charge.[51] In the case of Holy Cross School, nostalgia for a lost age of innocence had a monetary spin-off, with the *Gazette* noting that, "the memorial was provided chiefly through the liberality of Mr. Alfred Smith of Sheerness, whose brother's name appears on the tablet. Both were at school 25 years ago."[52]

When serious financial difficulties did arise, as was the experience for the 'Buffs' regiment and Simon Langton Boys' and King's Schools, the problem appears to have stemmed from overly ambitious original targets; in the three cases cited these were £800, £1,000 and £8,000 respectively.[53] For the Memorial Committees involved any shortfall in subscriptions was an acute embarrassment, as it brought into question not

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[50] St. Margaret's, St. George's, St. Paul's and St. Stephen's parish churches, the Masonic Lodge, Canterbury Conservative Club, The East Kent Farmers' Association, The Oddfellows' Lodge and Holy Cross School all opted for a memorial tablet as their sole commemorative form. A review of an exhibition of war memorials at the South Kensington Museum, which appeared in the *Burlington Magazine* in September 1919 and was quoted at length in the *Kentish Observer*, stressed the aesthetic advantages of the Roll of Honour. Bemoaning the lack of creative energy on show, the author, 'JHJ', complained that, "The spectator finds himself surrounded by sculptured or painted figures, nude or draped or half draped, already all too well known, sitting, standing, crouching, sprawling or what not on half the modern public buildings of London, poor flaccid figures with the plasticity of a half-filled hot water bottle." His parting advice for members of local War Memorial Committees was to remember that, "the essential purpose of a war memorial is to commemorate the names of heroes and it is prudent not to attempt too much. A simple stone with good lettering, a well-written Roll of Honour, are more consonant with the dignity of heroic death than is a poor piece of architecture or a pretentious figure of victory." *KO*, 18 Sep. 1919.

[51] *KO*, 13 May 1920 for the Oddfellows; *KGCP*, 22 May 1920 for St. Paul's.

[52] *KGCP*, 13 Mar. 1920. Interestingly Alfred Smith's brother was recorded on the memorial tablet as Pte G. Smith, Australian Contingent, leading one to surmise that it was a desire to have recalled a happier time before the two brothers were separated that motivated such generosity.

[53] *The Dragon*, 260 (July 1921), p.156; *The Langtonian*, Vol. 11 No. 2 (July 1920) p.122; *KGCP*, 8 May 1920. Compare these targets with the £15 that was required for the Canterbury Oddfellows' memorial or even the £1200 that the city's civic memorial eventually cost.

Plate 6: The Memorial Tablet in St. Stephen's Church, Canterbury

only their own judgement but also, more importantly, the sense of belonging that existed within the community as a whole. The editor of the 'Buffs'' magazine, *The Dragon*, in noting that the memorial fund in July 1921 was still £250 off the amount required was keen that this should not be taken as an implied criticism of regimental esprit de corps. The deficit was, he argued, "not as unsatisfactory as it would at first seem [for] the appeal being followed so closely by the industrial crisis no doubt affected the flow of subscriptions."[54] For the headmasters of Simon Langton Boys' and King's Schools achieving their financial goals went beyond the demands of simple economic imperatives and instead became a matter centring on the honour of the school. When issuing a new appeal for funds in April 1919, Mr. J. H. Sharp, the headmaster of Simon Langton, combined patriotic duty with the pull of the old school tie. In a statement which accompanied his circular requesting subscriptions, and which was reprinted in the pages of the school magazine, he reminded former pupils and members of staff that;

> Most of them (the fallen) have died on the threshold of manhood, and their names stand to us as a symbol of patriotism and, yet more, of devotion to principle. Their sacrifice will be an inspiration to future generations of Langton Boys, and their deeds will be preserved among the most precious traditions of the school.[55]

To subscribe was not just to fulfil an obligation to fallen compatriots but was to invest in the future of the school. Although sharing the same sentiments, the headmaster of King's School, Mr. Latter, was much more forthright when outlining the parlous financial state of the school's memorial project at Speech Day in August 1922.

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[54] *The Dragon*, 260 (July 1921), p.156. The first appeal for subscriptions was made in March 1921, the same month that the miners embarked on a protracted dispute over paycuts and called on the Triple Alliance (railwaymen and dockers) for sympathetic action. At this stage the honorary secretary of the Memorial Fund, Major J. Cookenden, was not only confident of meeting his target but was, in fact, anticipating exceeding it. In a letter published in the *Kent Gazette* calling for donations, he informed the paper's readers that, "My Committee wishes me to add that in the event of more money being subscribed than is necessary for the erection of the memorial, such surplus fund will be dedicated to the endowment of a Cottage Home for ex-Buffs, or towards the building of a new one." *KGCP*, 19 Mar. 1921.

[55] *The Langtonian*, Vol. 10 No. 4 (April 1919), p.446. Undoubtedly Sharp's observation would, nonetheless, have been a heartfelt one for he had lost one of his sons in the war, as indeed had the deputy headmaster Mr. Ledger.

Emphasizing the fact that despite two years of fundraising they were still £3,000 short of their original target, he made abundantly clear that the onus on the living to subscribe was rooted as much in upholding the reputation of their alma mater as it was in honouring the sacrifices of the war dead:

> He knew they were all with him in admiration of what these fellows did, for whom that memorial was being erected, not only for the School but for the country in the Great War. It would be a slur upon the School if they started a work which they were unable to complete.[56]

Although the act of subscribing to a memorial fund could frequently be held up as a matter of communal obligation, the collection and memorialisation of the names of the dead were, for the bereaved, intensely personal processes, providing opportunities for private homage to be paid to fallen loved ones. For those with sufficient money and influence there was the possibility of opting for a personal memorial. Thus, Mrs. Kelly furnished St. Thomas's Church with a stained glass window in memory of her husband, Lt. Martin Kelly, who, it was noted by Father Sheppard at the dedication of the window in April 1920, "was a constant worshipper at St. Thomas's Church and a staunch supporter and friend".[57] The bereaved's desire to have individually marked and recorded the deeds of their dead was graphically illustrated by the memorial tablet to Lt-Commander Julian Tenison that was commissioned by his mother and sister and unveiled in the cloisters of Canterbury Cathedral in May 1919. With the fact that Tenison was the last of the family line adding extra poignancy, the inscription on the tablet enshrined for posterity the salient details of the deceased's life and lineage:

> To the Glory of God and in memory of Lieut-Commander Julian Tenison, Royal Navy, son of Charles and Isobel Tenison. Born 1885, joined HMS Britannia 1900 and was killed in command of submarine E4, North Sea Flotilla, August 15th 1916 after two years of service in the war. 'Pro Regia et Patria'. Descended from the Rev Edward Tenison, D.D. of Elverton Manor and Canon of this Cathedral, Bishop of Ossory, and from Lieut. Thomas Tenison, Royal Fusiliers who was born at Canterbury 1739. – He died unmarried, the last male representative of Thomas

[56] *KGCP*, 8 May 1922.
[57] *KO*, 5 Apr. 1920.

Tenison, Archbishop of Canterbury. This tablet is erected by his mother and sister, Eva Mabel Tenison.[58]

Yet at the communal level the dead were seen as representatives of a social group, their individuality being subsumed into the collective as 'Our Glorious Dead'. Indeed, the tension between private and public remembrance was highlighted in November 1924 by the return to the church of St. Mary Bredin in Canterbury of four wooden crosses which had formerly marked war graves in France.[59] With the memorial tablet to the war dead of the parish having already been placed inside the church over four years earlier, a suggestion that these private tributes should receive similar treatment brought into sharp relief the divide between personal memory and community remembrance. The eventual decision to have the crosses sited outside, undifferentiated from other private and civilian graves, prompted a favourable response from no less a person than the Archbishop of Canterbury. Although prepared to acknowledge that the parish had faced a dilemma, His Grace was, nonetheless, clear that a distinction had to be drawn between the individual and the collective, concluding a letter to the vicar of St. Mary Bredin's with the assertion that, "the decision you have reached is the right one. Let no-one think that we regard lightly memorials so sacred. They have a pathos and personal interest which is all their own."[60]

The ascendancy of the collective over the individual was a theme which was also touched on by the headmaster of Simon Langton Boys' School, Mr. J. H. Sharp, at a prize-giving evening in July 1919. Opening the proceedings with an overview of the school's memorial plans, Sharp initially justified the choice of a tablet engraved with the names of the fallen on the grounds that it gave "visible and outward expression to our gratitude and reverence for those who have fallen".[61] However, he went on to point out that the eighty-six Old Langtonians who died in the war would have meaning only as an undifferentiated group, their names, far from recalling flesh and

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[58] *KO*, 29 May 1919.
[59] The four were Rifleman Palmer, Privates Finch and Hewitt, and Lieutenant Bambridge, son of the late vicar of St Mary Bredin's. *KGCP*, 8 Nov. 1924.
[60] *KGCP*, 15 Nov. 1924.
[61] *KGCP*, 2 Aug. 1919.

blood, would instead come to be invoked collectively in order to perpetuate abstract principles of war aims:

> For many years those names will call up definite forms, but the day will swiftly come when they will be but names. Nothing helps us to realise past deeds of heroism as the definite names of those who accomplished those deeds. The purpose for which those boys died will be recalled through that deep interest which the list of those who paid the price must always rouse amongst thoughtful men and boys.[62]

To underline community claims to ownership of the war dead the Rolls of Honour invariably invoked the fallen in their civilian guise. More often than not the lists of names on memorials in clubs and workplaces, churches and schools, appeared in alphabetical order with any military details, if included at all, relegated to mere addenda.[63] Indeed, it was not uncommon for information peculiar to a particular sectional group to be included after the names to further underscore the sense of communal identity. Thus, on the Canterbury Scouts' memorial each of the fifteen members killed in the war had the scout troop to which he had belonged engraved after his name, while both King's School and Simon Langton Boys' School grouped their fallen alumni by date of leaving.

By claiming the fallen as its own, a sub-community could attempt to validate the principles that underscored its composition through the appropriation of the personal qualities that the war dead were supposed to embody. Thus, Lord George Hamilton, the President of Kent County Cricket Club, echoing Wellington's verdict on Waterloo, assured those gathered to witness the unveiling of the Club's memorial fountain in August 1919 that the war had, in fact, been won on the playing-fields of England. In a dedication address infused with the teachings of popular eugenics, he

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[62] Ibid. Later in the same speech the introduction of a scholarship in honour of the former pupils who fell in the war was justified in the same terms: "Every year the awarding of the scholarship will remind us of the principles for which they [the dead] fought."

[63] Indeed, the only church at which the war dead were listed according to military rank was St. Mary Bredin's. One possible explanation for this divergence from normal practice may lie in the fact that the vicar's only son, Lieutenant Bertram Bambridge, as the only officer from the parish who fell in the war, now appeared at the head of the Roll of Honour.

was insistent that a clear link existed between the fortitude shown during the conflict's darkest days and the character building qualities of sport:

> England was the home and nursery of sport, and no locality had more contributed to that proud distinction than the County of Kent. During the most critical phases of the war the qualities engendered by sport proved a great national asset. It mattered not in what particular sphere of athletics a man had excelled – whether as a horseman, shot, boxer, cricketer or footballer – the ascendancy which he had attained over his competitors became more firmly established under the ordeal of war, and he became among his comrades the natural guide and leader – the foremost "over the top" and the last to leave the trench.[64]

In a similar vein, at the unveiling of the memorial tablet in Canterbury Wesleyan Church in November 1920 H. G. James, the mayor of Canterbury and a church member, made a connection between the central values of Methodism and the wartime record of those being commemorated. It was, he felt, "fitting that the fallen should be remembered in the Church.....because there they must have learned from the very first all those great lesson of comradeship and loyalty and duty which enabled them to carry through during the trials that beset them in the campaign."[65]

Indeed, for many sub-communities the Great War was viewed as the ultimate test of worth, the ordeal by fire through which members must go in order to demonstrate their merit. Thus, in March 1920, when Canterbury's postmaster opened the unveiling service for the memorial to the employees of the Post Office who had been killed in the war by noting that, "no fewer than 99 of the postal staff from the Canterbury district had served", he was acclaiming the collective spirit of his organisation rather than honouring the personal contributions of individual workers.[66] For the Canterbury Baptists, the memorialisation of war-time service was such a priority that the decision was taken to omit altogether the names of the fallen from the Church's memorial tablet. Keen to have acknowledged the fact that the Church had allowed its premises

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[64] *KGCP*, 23 Aug. 1919.

[65] *KGCP*, 6 Nov. 1920. James had made a similar link between peacetime principles and wartime heroism the previous month when unveiling the Canterbury branch of the Ancient Order of Foresters' memorial. Then he had told those present that, "He was proud to be there and to hear the record of the Foresters in the Great War. It showed there must be a wonderful spirit behind the Order". *KO*, 14 Oct. 1920.

[66] *KGCP*, 3 Apr. 1920.

to be used by serving soldiers as a mess room during the war years the pastor of the Church, the Reverend J. Lewis, explained at the unveiling of the tablet in October 1921 that, "it was impossible to discover the names of all whom they desired to commemorate so it was felt best, in a few words, to record the fact that men belonging to that Church, and who had found a home in that Hall, laid down their lives for their Country."[67]

The subordination of personal grief to collective pride was also the dominant theme of Sir E. E. Carter's address at the unveiling of the King's School memorial cross in December 1921. As an Old King's Scholar himself, Carter was keen that the leitmotif of the occasion should be one of celebration rather than sadness. Displaying a somewhat unfeeling mastery of statistics, he told those present that,

> Their total casualties in the war exceeded 50 per cent of the Old King's Scholars who were known to have served in the war and of the whole total they found that somewhere in the neighbourhood of from 18 to 20 per cent of them laid down their lives during the Great War. Notwithstanding the sorrow that they left behind them and the knowledge of the great sacrifice that they each individually made – nevertheless the School was justly proud of their record – a record which brought them back really to the great traditions of the School: love of Country, love of King, love of home.[68]

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[67] *KGCP*, 1 Oct. 1921. The inscription on the memorial tablet reads: "This Hall was used as a Recreation Room for members of His Majesty's Forces from 1914-1919. To the Glory of God and in grateful memory of the men connected with this Church or associated with it whilst in Canterbury, who died for their Country during the Great War 1914-18."

[68] *KGCP*, 24 Feb. 1921. Both Carter's sentiment and mathematical theme were echoed by the Dean of Canterbury, H. Wace, in his dedication address. Wace extrapolated that as "twenty-one boys who were actually in the School, or were leaving in the term that war broke out, lost their lives that must have meant that at least fifty members of the Upper Classes must have joined the ranks – a noble proportion in a School of about 200 boys as it was at that time." The Archbishop of Canterbury, though unable to attend due to illness, nonetheless, in a letter read out at the ceremony by the Headmaster, endorsed Carter's view and took Wace's supposition a step further. In morbid anticipation of present-day performance league tables, he pointed out that, "In proportion to our numbers we are in the front rank of the Schools who sent their sons to the Great War, wherein not a few of them made the Great Sacrifice." *KGCP*, 24 Feb. 1921.

Implicit was the suggestion that the worth of an institution could be measured by the extent of its war service; the ethos of the school being validated in the blood of its fallen.

For some sub-communities with a history divergent from that of the Establishment, the raw data of wartime service could be used to legitimise claims for full integration into mainstream society. At the unveiling of the Wesleyans' memorial in November 1920, the Reverend Richard Hill, a former minister in Canterbury and the Principal Wesleyan Chaplain with the RAF, was at pains to point out not only the scale of the Church's contribution to mobilisation but also the fact that such an effort was merely the continuation of a long tradition of supporting the state in times of military conflict;

> Their own church, the Wesleyan Methodist Church, to its great honour had always played a very important part in the struggles of the past 120 years. In the Great War just finished more than 300,000 of their members and adherents had served in the Royal Navy, in the Army and in the Air Service whilst nearly 30,000 made the supreme sacrifice.[69]

Brother A. Joad, the secretary of the Canterbury branch of the Lodge of Oddfellows, Manchester Unity, was equally keen that the extent to which his members had fulfilled their obligations to the state should be acknowledged. In opening the dedication ceremony for his fallen brothers in May 1920, he made explicit the Lodge's national allegiance by noting that they had sent "over four hundred members to join the forces of who forty-four had made the supreme sacrifice. Their Lodge alone had paid out nearly £700 for funeral benefits and about £1,000 for sick benefits, showing that the 'City of Canterbury' Lodge had been loyal to King and Country in the great struggle."[70] In an interesting variation on this theme, the secretary of the Ancient Order of Foresters, Brother S. Bodkin, presented those assembled for the unveiling of the Fraternity's memorial tablet in October 1920 with a similar range of statistical detail but this time with the express purpose of emphasising the Order's independence. Having noted that out of one million members 250,000 had served and

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[69] *KGCP*, 6 Nov. 1920.

[70] *KGCP*, 15 May 1920.

51,144 had died, he went on to stress that the £941,000 raised for the relief of the fallen's dependants had been provided "without assistance from the State".[71]

In an organisation with an impeccable pedigree for upholding the existing status-quo, the sacrifices of the Great War would often be interpreted as a reinforcement of the existing value system and, hence, seamlessly integrated into the traditions that underpinned the institution's ethos. Thus, at the unveiling of memorials to the fallen of the armed forces it was, unsurprisingly, not uncommon for emphasis to be placed on the longevity of regimental service to the state. General Lord Horne, the guest of honour at the unveiling of the Buffs' memorial in Canterbury Cathedral in October 1921, made sure in his dedication address that the regiment's recent sacrifices were not viewed in isolation.[72] Carefully linking past and present, he placed the regiment's glorious traditions at the forefront of the memorialisation process by noting that, "[The Buffs] were the oldest regiment in the British army and their history is the history of England for three and a half centuries. The outline of this history is written on its colours – Blenheim, Waterloo, Albuera, Punjab, Sebastopol, Taku Forts, South Africa, Chitral, the Relief of Mafeking, and then the Great War."[73] A similar tone was adopted by the Reverend F. Monteith Jackson at the memorial service in St. George's Church Canterbury, in April 1919, for the servicemen who had died in the raids on Zeebrugge and Ostend in the last year of the war.[74] Jackson, the former

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[71] *KO*, 14 Oct. 1920. Bodkin's sentiment was, in part, endorsed by H. G. James, the mayor of Canterbury, in his unveiling address when he agreed that, "The fact that 250,000 men from the Fraternity joined His Majesty's Service proved the value of such a Society....and when they considered that £1,000,000 had been given in relief to the wives and dependants of the killed it spoke volumes for such an Order." However, he was also keen that the lesson of patriotic duty should not be entirely lost by reminding those present that the fallen's "sacrifice pointed out the duty we owe to the state". *KGCP*, 16 Oct 1920.

[72] During the war the Buffs had formed part of the First Army and, consequently, had been under the command of Horne.

[73] *KGCP*, 6 Aug. 1921. As if to reinforce the seamless incorporation of the memory of the Great War into regimental traditions, the memorial, a solid oak reredos, was situated in the Warriors' Chapel in the Cathedral alongside some of the Buffs' previous battle honours. As the *Gazette* had noted when the plan was first proposed, "The Chapel already shelters many of the old regimental colours. The East Window was erected in memory of members of the regiment who fell in the Crimean War, and the South Windows commemorate two officers of the Buffs." *KGCP*, 19 Mar. 1921.

[74] The raids, which took place on 23 April 1918, met with only limited success. Although the canal entrance at Zeebrugge, which allowed U-boats access to the North Sea from their

chaplain to Vice-Admiral Roger Keyes the commander of the expeditions, urged the congregation to view these latest acts of heroism in the context of the nation's long history of opposing Continental despotism. Adopting a stirringly patriotic tone, he pointed out that,

> A hundred years ago, directly news of Wellington's victory at Waterloo reached this country, a royal proclamation was issued commanding a thanksgiving service to be held in all churches throughout the realm the following Sunday. Go back two hundred years further when Spain was the aggressive robber nation of Europe. No sooner was Philip's great armada scattered and destroyed and our country delivered from the threat of invasion than our ancestors gratefully commemorated their wonderful deliverance by services of thanksgiving. So then the memorial and thanksgiving service they were holding that day was no unusual thing. A people with such a history and traditions, who speak the tongue that Shakespeare spake and hold the faith that Milton held, could not, if they would, shake themselves from the venerable customs of the past.[75]

The sacrifices of the fallen had served to confirm England's position as the foremost guardian of freedom and liberty.

Utilising the sacrifices of 1914-18 as a means of underlining a distinguished history of service to King and Country was by no means confined to the armed forces. Many schools, equally proud of their former pupils' military records, readily assimilated the commemoration of the Great War into the esoteric rituals which invariably punctuated the academic calendar and underpinned their collective values. In dedicating the King's School memorial cross in December 1921, H. Wace, the Dean of Canterbury, set out in exact terms just how it was intended that the monument should become a central part of both the physical and spiritual life of the school. He explained to the assembled schoolchildren the full significance of both the design and positioning of the cross:

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shelters six miles inland, was temporarily blockaded, the equivalent objective at Ostend remained fully operational. Nonetheless, the daring nature of the operations captured the imagination of the British public and the bravery of the men involved was recognised accordingly, with eight Victoria Crosses being awarded and the commander, Vice-Admiral Roger Keyes, receiving a Knighthood. For more on the raids see Paul G. Halpern, *A Naval History of World War One*, (London, 1994).

[75] *KO*, 24 Apr. 1919.

> By a happy design the memorial was associated with the whole life of the school. The arches as they called them – had always been the centre of the School's life – a kind of Court in which all School interests were discussed, where colours were awarded, scholarships announced and, in fact, it was a sort of Common Hall. Now, with its original form and space restored, it would serve those purposes in a more ample manner. It would now become a Court of Honour, with the Cross as the dominating feature, with the Cathedral as its background and with a special link with the past in the ancient Norman Staircase. He understood that those three steps to the Cross would have each a peculiar function assigned to it. The lower step would be used to announce matters relating to School games; the second for matters relating to ordinary School business; whilst it was hoped that on certain occasions open-air services might be held in the Court, conducted from the third step. So the Cross would preside over every aspect of School life, and would bring home day by day and all day long the great spiritual and moral obligation which everything else in their lives was intended to serve.[76]

Theory was then immediately put into practice. On completion of the unveiling ceremony, which had, of course, been conducted from the top step of the Cross, the Headmaster, Mr. Latter, proceeded to announce from the second step the award of a Modern History Exhibition to St. John's College Cambridge. The afternoon's business was rounded off by the School Captain who took his place on the bottom step to present the 1st XI football squad with colours.

The Headmaster of Simon Langton Boys' School, Mr. J. H. Sharp, was equally sure that the memory of the fallen would play an integral part in upholding and strengthening the bonds that united the school community. Lacking the antiquity of King's, Sharp chose to look forward rather than backward when, in May 1921, he informed the boys at a special assembly for the unveiling of the memorial plaque that, "the school was indeed paying a fitting tribute to those of its sons who have invested its future life with such precious and valuable traditions".[77] Implicit was the message that these new 'traditions' had placed an added burden of expectation on the present pupils. Just how onerous a burden the legacy of the past could be was made abundantly clear to the children of Holy Cross School at a memorial service in March 1920. Having read out the names of the ten Old Boys who had died in the war, Archdeacon White-Thomson then placed the full weight of civic obligation squarely

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[76] *KGCP*, 24 Dec. 1921.

[77] *The Langtonian*, Vol. 11 No. 5 (July 1921), p.226.

on the shoulders of his young audience, warning them that, "they should prove that they were worth fighting for and worth saving".[78]

For the Established Church, the memorialisation of the war dead, and the spate of unveiling ceremonies which occurred in the years immediately following the Armistice, were prime opportunities not only to reaffirm the value of Christian teachings but also to reverse the gradual decline in active membership.[79] The faith's central motif of death and Resurrection was one that had a strong resonance with the bereaved and was a theme that was, unsurprisingly, continually referred to at unveiling ceremonies. Those gathered to witness the unveiling of the memorial to the eighty-nine dead of Simon Langton Boys' School would, undoubtedly, have derived great comfort from the certainty with which the Dean of Canterbury, H. Wace, was able to proclaim that,

> Our faith happily assures us that those who have died are in the hands of a gracious Saviour, who Himself set the greatest example of self-sacrifice by suffering and dying for us, and who will, we know, see that the sacrifice made in His name for the truth and goodness for which He died will not be unrequited.[80]

The same message was propagated by Archdeacon L. J. White-Thomson at the unveiling of the St. Stephen's parish memorial in May 1919, although this time it was not just the solace to be derived from religious belief that was being promoted but also the position of the church as the cornerstone of community life. Focusing on "those who have been left with gaps in their lives", he encouraged the parishioners to mitigate their grief by reminding them that, "As the disciples were comforted, so should we derive comfort from the certainty of reunion after death. The church was to be the guardian of the memorial tablet which had been raised as a record of those who

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[78] *KGCP*, 13 Mar. 1920

[79] Ross McKibbin has stressed the difference between those who were nominally Anglican and those who were active church members. The former had little more than a passing connection with the church, more often than not limited to christenings, weddings and funerals. Ross McKibbin, *Classes and Cultures in England,* pp.272-73. The number of communicants in the Anglican Church had fallen from 2,226,000 on the eve of the war to 2,153,000 by 1919. R. Currie, L. Horsley and A. Gilbert, *Churches and Churchgoers*, (London, 1977), pp.128-129.

[80] *The Langtonian*, Vol. 11 No. 5 (July 1921), p.226.

had died from St. Stephen's. Their bodies were buried in peace but their 'name liveth for evermore' upon the imperishable walls of their parish church."[81]

Indeed, as time went by and White-Thomson's services were required by more and more local parish churches, so his message became increasingly directed on advancing the centrality of religious belief in everyday life.[82] Thus, in December 1919, having first asserted that, "with shells bursting and light flashing and all the horrors and din of war around them [the fallen's] hearts and thoughts went back to this Parish Church", he concluded his dedication address in honour of the fallen of St. Dunstan's by making abundantly clear exactly what was demanded of the parishioners if the sacrifices of the war years were not to have been made in vain.[83] Stressing that the cross was "a united memorial for all in the parish who had given their lives", he urged them to bear in mind that, "of all the lessons they had learned during the bitter days of the war, the one most precious was the essential unity of those who love the Lord....if their gratitude and thankfulness for those who had laid down their lives meant anything it was that they should offer their lives for the service of God."[84] The following May, for the benefit of the parishioners of St. Mary Bredin's, the message was made even more explicit. They were informed that the war, over and above being a military conflict, had been a spiritual struggle from which there had emerged only one winner; "Many things were discredited during those four years. Our own false civilisation, our own selfish, worldly standards – many things were discovered to be artificial and absolutely useless. God alone was vindicated."[85]

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[81] *KGCP*, 31 May 1919. Employing the Christian message of life after death as a means of assuaging grief was by no means confined to the clergy. In March 1920, H. G. James, the mayor of Canterbury, urged those attending the unveiling of the memorial tablet to the employees of the Post Office who died in the war to take comfort from "the coming Easter festival with its promise of glorious resurrection". *KGCP*, 3 Apr. 1920.

[82] In order of unveiling, White-Thomson officiated at St. Stephen's (May 1919), St Dunstan's (December 1919), St. Alphege's (2 May 1920), St. Mary Bredin's (31 May 1920), St. George's (March 1921) and St. Margaret's (July 1921).

[83] *KGCP*, 13 Dec. 1919.

[84] Ibid.

[85] *KGCP*, 5 Jun. 1920.

It was not just in the promise of life after death that solace was to be found. The bereaved were frequently consoled by the assurance that their loved ones had confronted death willingly, certain of the nobility of the fate that awaited them. At the unveiling of the memorial to the fallen of Canterbury Wesleyan Church, H. G. James recalled the wave of optimism with which the first few months of the conflict had been greeted. He told the congregation that,

> He remembered personally the early days of the war, the coming together of these men fresh from their homes and domestic comforts, banding together for the one purpose that they might develop and prepare their muscles and their bodies to make them fit to fight or to die. Did one ever see a dark look on the faces of those men? No they were always full of hope and longing that they might go across to the other side. When the last training day came roars of cheers went up of gladness and joy that they were going over to do their share in the great work.[86]

The image of young men eager to serve in the name of a just cause was also conjured up by H. Wace at the memorial service for the former pupils of Simon Langton Boys' School who had died in the war. Posing himself the question, "Why did they make that sacrifice?", he confidently asserted that, "They did it at the simple call of duty, of their own free will, in defence of their country and of the great cause of which their country was the representative and protector".[87] A few months later he returned to the same theme, this time for the benefit of the pupils of King's School. However, what had previously only been alluded to was now made explicit as the dark days of conscription and attrition were banished altogether and the children were, instead, told to cast their minds back to the outbreak of hostilities and the Old King's Scholars "rush to volunteer".[88]

Indeed, for one contributor to the Buffs' in-house journal, *The Dragon*, the spirit of willing sacrifice extended to the relatives of the fallen. In an article by 'A Serving Buff', an emotive description of the unveiling, in July 1921, of the memorial to the regiment's war dead concluded with a melodramatic depiction of a mother "choking

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[86] *KO*, 4 Nov. 1920.
[87] *KGCP*, 28 May 1921.
[88] *KO*, 22 Dec. 1921.

back the tears and repeating "It is hard, for he was always such a good boy.""[89] Yet, this show of grief, far from being viewed by the author as a cry of hopelessness, was instead interpreted as a sign of acceptance:

> It was these few words that conveyed to my mind how nobly the mothers of England had borne the loss of their dear sons, for in that memorable assembly on July 31st nothing more than tears (that Heaven sent outlet for grief) were outwardly indicative of how parents had so nobly and generously and gallantly given their sons for the cause of Freedom and Right.[90]

For Lord Harris, the unshakable faith with which, he felt certain, the fallen had embraced death was ample reason for pride rather than grief to be the watchword of post-war remembrance. Addressing the members of the East Kent Farmers' Association in January 1920, he took as his theme the soldiers' maxim, *dulce et decorum est pro patria mori*, in order to assure those assembled that their lost colleagues, whose names appeared on the Roll of Honour he had just unveiled, need not be pitied. With a hint of envy, he pointed out that the men they honoured "had a great opportunity..... and they took it. And who can say they were unfortunate in their deaths? Surely there is nothing that anyone can aspire to more honourable than to fall for one's country.....for these dear lads who fell for us, why surely the proper way to look at it is they were happy in their deaths – for they died doing their duty."[91] He presented the same line of reasoning at the unveiling of the monument to the fallen of the East Kent Yeomanry at St. George's Gate, Canterbury, in October 1922. In an address replete with Tennysonian overtones, he informed the men of his former and recently disbanded regiment that,

> The philosophers have told us to call no man happy until he was dead; and again we are told that it is an honourable thing to die for one's country. Therefore need we grieve for those who fell?.....Surely our memory of them should not be of grief but

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[89] *The Dragon*, 262 (Sep 1921), p.150. Mark Connelly has noted that reports of remembrance services frequently concentrated on grieving women. By directing the focus towards the pain of bereavement, female figures highlighted the role of the commemorative process in providing comfort and consolation. Connelly, *The Great War: Memory and Ritual*, pp.165-66 and 203-04.

[90] Ibid.

[91] *KGCP*, 24 Jan. 1920.

> one of pride that they, with so many others, when the country's call came, recognised it was not for them to reason why, but for them to do their bit, some of them to die.[92]

Although the glory which accrued from unquestioning service in the name of King and Country may have been enough to sanctify the sacrifices of the fallen in the mind of Lord Harris, others were, nonetheless, keen to justify the cause for which so many had laid down their lives. Indeed, the Right Reverend Bishop Knight, the warden of St. Augustine's College, made a direct link between the legitimacy of political objectives and the morale of wartime Britain. At the dedication of the memorial tablet in St. Paul's Church, he reminded the parishioners that, "there never would have been unity in this war but for the justice of our aim".[93] For the pupils of Simon Langton Boys' School, the conflict was presented as a simple matter of right and wrong. The chair of the governors, H. Wace, told the children that men had gone to war because "Great Britain had pledged its word to maintain the independence of a small country long allied to us, and we should have broken faith and deserted the weak in their helplessness if we had not come forward to defend them."[94] When the Reverend Monteith Jackson unveiled the memorial to the dead of the Zeebrugge and Ostend raids in April 1919, he spoke in equally clear-cut terms. Taking as his theme the story of St. George and the Dragon, he masked the realpolitik of modern warfare with allusions to the gallantry of a mythical age to conjure up a straightforward picture of good versus evil;

> The enemy with the foul and shameful deeds of cruelty that had stained his name, was stretching himself like some hideous monster over Belgium, and with his claws at the very moment groping for the throat of France. The enemy was, of course, the Dragon, and the Iphigema, Intrepid, Thetis, Sirius, Brilliant, the two submarines, with the old Vindictive and her escort of destroyers and trawlers etc. – these ships carried the very gallant gentlemen who upheld the name and honour of St. George. They were the living embodiment of the chivalry and knighthood of England.....Zeebrugge was only one episode in that long struggle – but it seemed to sum up in brilliant epitome the whole war. Once again St. George and the Dragon

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[92] *KO*, 19 Oct. 1922.

[93] *KGCP*, 22 May 1920.

[94] *The Langtonian*, Vol. 11 No. 5 (July 1921), p.227.

> met face to face, and once again St. George was victorious, and another battle was won on behalf of the freedom of the seas, which meant the freedom of the world.[95]

Archdeacon L. J. White-Thomson opted for a different saint but drew the same conclusion. Addressing the congregation of St. Margaret's Church at the unveiling of the parish memorial "he drew a parallel from the patron saint of that church who was depicted as a virgin unarmed but unharmed in her story of triumph over the dragon. Her only armour was sweet innocence and purity and her only weapon the sign of the Cross. Once more it was the triumph of Right over Might."[96] The imagery may have belied the totality of Britain's war effort but the message was, nevertheless, unambiguous.

To underline the validity of Britain's war aims, and to legitimise the enormous sacrifices that the nation had been obliged to bear, it was not unusual for the spectre of a victorious Germany to be evoked in dedication speeches. H. G. James, the mayor of Canterbury, indirectly addressed the consequences of such an outcome at the unveiling of the memorial to the fallen of Canterbury and District Post Office. Reminding those assembled of the perilous state of world affairs at the outbreak of war, he highlighted exactly what would have been lost had the Allies not prevailed;

> In 1914 the storm clouds broke and they were enabled to see the enormous preparations that had been going on in Central Europe for the undoing of the world, that menaced the whole of our civilisation. The liberty which they enjoyed, the whole civilisation of the world, and the very freedom which their fathers had won for them and handed down as a birthright, all was menaced by a powerful adversary. What

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[95] *KGCP*, 26 Apr. 1919. That Jackson chose to centre his address on the story of St. George and the dragon was hardly surprising. The memorial was sponsored by the Society of St. George and unveiled on St. George's Day in St. George's Church. The memorial tablet itself depicted a dismounted St. George giving the final deathblow to the dragon. The *Kentish Observer* noted that, "The Dragon is not the usual small and 'chative' beast but a large and loathsome monster such as is necessary to symbolise the German power in Flanders and on the high sea." *KO*, 17 Apr. 1919. The focus on England's patron saint was in recognition of the fact that the raids had taken place on St. George's Day 1918, the signal for the start of operations being 'St George for England'.

[96] *KGCP*, 23 Jul. 1921.

> would have been their position but for the sacrifice of all those splendid men who accepted the call of duty and went forth to win a great victory – and to die?[97]

A few months later, at the memorial service in honour of the dead of the Canterbury Wesleyan Church, he tackled the same hypothetical question. However, this time he was much more emphatic in his conclusion, bluntly stating that, "had not these gallant men interposed themselves between the Germans and ourselves... we would have simply been the slaves of Germany".[98] The Reverend J. Lewis, the pastor of the St. George's Place Baptist Church, was equally keen that his flock should appreciate the full implications of Allied victory. While voicing some concern about the way events had unfolded since the Armistice, he was still insistent that the sacrifices of the past should be viewed in context;

> We should remember and try to imagine what would have happened if Germany had won the war. We ought not to forget that side of it. It was so easy to forget – and if we forgot we should be apt to think lightly of the sacrifices made on our behalf. Some people talked nowadays as if they were not the same people who talked in the days of the war and particularly at the beginning of the war – as if all those sacrifices had been made in vain.....Whilst he deplored the condition of things in England today and felt we did not have the peace we ought to have had – as far as he could see the lives of those men were not unnecessarily thrown away. They gave them for a cause that was just and right, and their sacrifice the future, if not the present, would certainly recognise.[99]

Implicit in the portrayal of a world saved from the yoke of German oppression was the demand that the living should keep faith with the dead. The values and traditions for which so much had been sacrificed had to be preserved at all costs. Sir Herbert Lawrence, the commander-in-chief of the 21st Empress of India's Lancers, was insistent that the debt owed to the fallen should be honoured. At the unveiling of the regimental Roll of Honour in Canterbury Cathedral in March 1922 he urged those

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[97] *KO*, 1 Apr. 1920. H. Wace, the Dean of Canterbury, used the same line of reasoning when justifying the wartime losses at the unveiling of the memorial tablet to the fallen of Simon Langton Boys' School. He told the pupils that, "There is a memorable passage in Epistles from which the Lesson has been read saying that, "Without the shedding of blood there is no remission. Evil cannot be overcome unless men are prepared to shed their blood opposing it."" *The Langtonian*, Vol. 11 No. 5 (July 1921), p.227.

[98] *KO*, 4 No. 1920.

[99] *KGCP*, 1 Oct. 1921.

under his command to keep to the fore the memory of their lost comrades and so to resolve "to live lives here that when the time comes and you are called to that higher sphere to which they have gone, you will be able to meet them and tell them that at least you have been faithful to the trust they have placed in you."[100]

The war dead were then to be the ultimate judges of the present generation's worth. Having fulfilled their obligations to King and Country the onus was now on their successors to emulate their deeds and to meet the challenges of the post-war world with equal vigour and selflessness. However, the Reverend F. J. Helmore doubted that the verdict of the past would be a favourable one. Dedicating the memorial plaque to the fallen of the Oddfellows' Lodge, Manchester Unity, he told his fellow members that, "He rather fancied that if those men could come back and see the state of things in which they were living today they would be sadly disappointed. They did not give their lives that men might quibble, but in order to promote justice, liberty, love and friendship."[101] There was, he felt, a simple solution; "Let them show their brothers in the world without respect of class that they were the upholders of true friendship. Let them try to do better than they had done in the past year to show themselves worthy of the great sacrifices that had been made for them."[102]

Thus, the past was to be the inspiration for the present. Yet, it was not just the spirit of the frontline soldier that the living were urged to preserve but also the perceived principles for which he had fought. As disillusionment with peace time conditions set in, and the promise of a land fit for heroes failed to materialise, the memory of the sacrifices of the war years became a powerful weapon in the struggle to uphold the status-quo. The mayor of Canterbury, H. G. James, called on the city's Wesleyan community to overcome the country's present problems by replicating the camaraderie that the men whose names appeared on their church's Roll of Honour had shown. Having charged those present at the memorial service in November 1920 with the task of holding dear the example set by "those gentlemen who had laid down

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[100] *KO*, 30 Mar. 1922. Before leaving for Egypt in 1910 the 21st Lancers had been last stationed in Canterbury hence the choice of the Cathedral for the site of the regimental memorial.

[101] *KGCP*, 15 May 1920.

[102] *KO*, 13 May 1920.

their lives for liberty and freedom", he concluded his address with the hope that, "We may take courage from them to fight down every difficulty and may we not be found wanting in our hour of trial. We want no ranks, no class, no cliques; simply one great brotherhood working for the common task."[103] Major H. H. Dawes, the president of East Kent and Canterbury Conservative Club, was also anxious that complacency should not be allowed to undermine the gains of the recent past. Addressing his fellow members on the occasion of the unveiling of the Club's memorial tablet, he chose to focus his remarks on a speech made the previous evening by the local MP, Ronald McNeil, during which the audience had been warned that, "some influential members of the mining industry – whatever might be said of their followers – were certainly desirous of using the present distress for revolutionary purposes".[104] In wholeheartedly endorsing McNeil's views, Dawes issued a stark warning;

> Those who had the privilege the previous evening of listening to their Member would, he was sure, agree that they heard at that crucial moment in their history, a very good view of the position in which their county stands. And if he might be personal for a moment he would say that their Member was not an alarmist but a very modest and balanced thinker....and yet his view was that the position was extremely serious. He (Major Dawes) would go just one step in advance, the dangers which they suffered today were all a piece with the dangers to the country against which those heroes fought and in which they lost their lives. He could not but think that the greatest honour they could pay to their memory was a firm resolve on the part of all of them to continue the fight until their cause was attained.[105]

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[103] *KGCP*, 6 Nov. 1920. Interestingly, although James was appealing for unity in civilian life, the previous month he had suggested that the chances of such a hope being realised were remote. Addressing the Ancient Order of Foresters, he drew a clear distinction between combatants and non-combatants stating that; "Those of them who had been in the services knew what a glorious comradeship existed there. Civilians could not understand it and never would. Only those who had had the proud privilege of serving could fully understand that the finest guiding spirit to follow through life was that of the old ideal – comradeship and brotherly love – which taught them to sink rank and all things in a common cause." *KO*, 14 Oct. 1920. The perception that a unique camaraderie existed among frontline troops forms part of what George L. Mosse has termed the 'Myth of the War Experience'. For more on this see Mosse, *Fallen Soldiers*, pp.22-25 and 'Two World Wars and the Myth of the War Experience', *Journal of Contemporary History* 21 (1986), pp.412-426.

[104] *KGCP*, 28 May 1921. By this time the mines were into the third month of a lockout as management attempted to enforce pay cuts. The dispute was eventually resolved in the employers' favour in July of the same year.

[105] Ibid.

Those charged with the task of overseeing the rites of remembrance at local level in Canterbury enjoyed a distinct advantage over their civic counterparts. The more intimate nature of the sub-communities reduced some of the logistical difficulties that were inherent in the construction of a war memorial and allowed the whole process to be expedited with less chance of conflict or open dissent. It was natural for the bereaved to turn to the institutions which had acted as focal points in their loved ones' lives in order to find some relief from the pain of their losses. Yet, the leitmotif of the rituals was pride rather than grief. The war memorial, in honouring the heroic self-sacrifice of the fallen, reinforced the traditions and values that an institution held dear and served as a symbol of worth to the wider community.

iii. Dover

In contrast to the difficulties and delays experienced at civic level, for the majority of the more localised social groupings in Dover the construction of a memory site was a relatively straight-forward affair. As in Folkestone and Canterbury, most of the borough's sub-communities were self-contained organisations, such as schools, clubs and workplaces, where a member's role and status within the community were clearly defined and so the existing managerial infrastructure was usually sufficient for the appointment of a Committee. Thus, at both Dover College and the Duke of York's Royal Military School, the headmasters acted as chairmen of the Memorial Committees with school governors and Committee members of the Old Boys' Associations filling the other posts.[106]

At parish level, where the leaders of the locality were often readily identifiable and collectively acknowledged, the formation of a Committee was equally straightforward and uncontroversial with the local vicar being a common choice for Committee chairman, this being the case in the parishes of St Mary's and St James' in Dover. With the authority of the controlling Committees being largely uncontested, matters

[106] The Duke of York's Royal Military School, originally named The Royal Military Asylum for Children of Soldiers of the Regular Army, was founded in 1801 on the initiative of the Duke of York and opened in Chelsea in 1803. One of only two boarding schools for the

could generally be expedited with much greater alacrity. At a meeting of the parishioners of St Mary's Church on 29 May 1919, it was possible not only to appoint the members of the Memorial Committee but also to arrive at a decision as to the form the remembrance site should take.[107] The process was executed with equal efficiency in the neighbouring parish of St. James's with the resolution to erect a memorial tablet made of oak in St. James's Church being passed at a Parochial Church Council meeting in December 1928 without it first being considered necessary to seek the parishioners' approval.[108]

A Memorial Committee's ability to discharge its duties with the minimum of fuss was further aided by the modest scope of most local schemes. Limited finance meant that most Committees opted for some variation of a relatively standard form of memorial. Thus, the shortlist of designs drawn up by the Executive Committee of the Methodist Grace Hall focused on one of the most common forms of commemorative site, the memorial plaque, with the three options under consideration being "a panel in white alabaster framed in oak", "a tablet of architectural design with lettering on a copper plate" and "a framed sheet in the manner of an illuminated missal in black and gold, on parchment, vellum or handmade paper".[109] Indeed, it was when deviating from these standard, and hence widely accepted, forms that difficulties could arise. When the Reverend D. A. Townsend, the vicar of River, opened a parish meeting in May 1919 by informing those present that, "the ideas he had or the suggestions made to him for a memorial included a piano, heating apparatus, a new vestry....or what the Church really wanted, a choir vestry", he was gently reminded that the site had to serve the parish as a whole and not just communicants.[110] In putting forward the proposal that another meeting should be called "to which Non-Conformists would be

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children of Service personnel, it was renamed in 1892 and moved to Dover in 1909. NA, WO143, The Royal Military Asylum for Children of the Regular Army, Records 1801-1980.

[107] *DE*, 30 May 1919.

[108] Canterbury, CCA, U3/26/6/12/1. The completed memorial was displayed in the porch of the church for the parishioners to view prior to its dedication on 25 July 1929. Although there seems to be no obvious reason for such a delay in constructing a memorial, one possible explanation may be that, having had a Roll of Honour unveiled in the church as early as December 1918, it was not initially considered necessary to construct another memorial. Certainly the discussions surrounding the memorial plaque do not begin until 1928. Ibid.

[109] Dover, EKA, M13/6/7/6, War Memorial Committee Meeting, Minutes, undated.

[110] *DE*, 6 Jun. 1919.

specially invited", Mr. Medhurst, a church sidesman, moved that a war cross should be erected in the graveyard "as a great many would support that who did not come to church".[111]

One factor which assisted Committees at sub-civic level overcome the occasional hint of dissent, and which facilitated the progress of the memorialisation process generally, was the intimacy of the bonds which united the communities. Not only did this mean that the Committees frequently got their schemes off the ground first, and thus could garner the public's support before larger scale projects at civic and national level had a chance to issue appeals, but it also meant that, with the ties of neighbourhood organisations reverberating to the heart of family life, their work connected with people on a personal level. This was particularly true of the local parish church which, for many, was the first place to which they would turn in search of comfort and to pay their respects to their dead. Thus, River Parish Church, in addition to raising sufficient funds for a war cross to the fallen, was also presented by grieving relatives and friends with three further memorials to perpetuate the memories of individual soldiers who had laid down their lives.[112] For those unable to afford a private remembrance site, the act of subscribing to the local memorial fund could take on a special significance, being seen as the fulfilment of a private obligation rather than a contribution to a collective effort. In asking for his son's name to be included on the parish of St. James's memorial tablet, Edwin Bradley

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[111] Ibid. Both of Medhurst's proposals were duly carried out and a war cross was unveiled in the graveyard of River Parish Church on 22 May 1921. Similar concerns were raised at a meeting of the parishioners of Temple Ewell, a village on the outskirts of Dover. When it was proposed that the village war memorial should be in the form of a cross in the church grounds, J. B. Friend, in seconding the motion, added the somewhat unhelpful conditions that, "the cross was not in the Churchyard and not in the form of a cross as Non-Conformists had died in the war". However, the local vicar, D. H. Creaton, although as anxious as Friend "that they would do something that would not be considered to be run by any denomination or class", was, nonetheless, confident that the use of Christian imagery was both appropriate and inclusive. For Creaton the war was symbolic of the democratisation of religion, for just as the sacrifice of the fallen was for the greater good of society as a whole so "Jesus had not died for Roman Catholic or Church of England but for all and the cross was the common property of everybody." *DE*, 9 May 1919.

[112] These were a desk to the memory of Private E. T. Goldfinch presented by his parents, a Psalter with music to commemorate Lance-Corporal F. G. Smith supplied by his family and a brass tablet erected by the comrades of Bombardier F. G. Grownsell. *DE*, 25 May 1921.

appeared to view any payment as a duty rather than a donation informing the fund's treasurer, J. Mowll, that, "if you let me know what sum is required....I shall be glad to subscribe".[113] The same held true for Mrs. Elverson. Once again writing to request the inclusion of a loved one's name on the parish Roll of Honour, she concluded by stating that, "if you let me know the amount of the subscription I will send a cheque".[114] The memorial tablet was a surrogate grave, the subscription a last duty to be performed in homage to the fallen.

Indeed, just how fiercely the ties of the parish church resonated to the centre of family life was brought home to Mowll in a letter he received from one of his cousins, Edith Mowll. Although her son, Sydney, having emigrated prior to the outbreak of war, had died in the service of the Canadian Army, Edith was, nevertheless, keen that his name should be included on the memorial in St. James's. To support her case she emphasised the centrality of the church to Sydney's life, reminding her cousin that, "He had always attended St. James's when home from school and I should say it was the last place of worship he entered as he went to a service there the Sunday before he crossed to Belgium and was killed shortly after."[115] Recalling the dead in their childhood guise was also a tactic that the Bishop of Dover employed to emphasise an institution's community bonds, though this time it was used to promote the claim that school had on the memory of the fallen. Unveiling an oak screen to the 180 Old Boys of Dover College who died in the war, he told those present that,

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[113] Canterbury, CCA, U3/26/6/12/1, E. Bradley to R. Mowll, 25 Jun. 1929.

[114] Ibid., Mrs. Elverson to R. Mowll, 30 Aug. 1928.

[115] Canterbury, CCA, U3/26/28/5, E. Mowll to R. Mowll, 17 Aug. 1928. Unsurprisingly, although not strictly qualifying for inclusion, Sydney Mowll's name was included on the memorial. Indeed, the intimacy of the link between Committee and community meant that a certain degree of flexibility could be introduced into the naming process as a whole. Thus, Edwin Bradley, who asked that his son, Geoffrey Montague Bradley, should have his name inscribed in full on the memorial in St. James's as Montague was a long-standing family name, had his request granted. Canterbury, CCA, U3/26/6/12/1, E. Bradley to R. Mowll, 13 Aug. 1928. Similarly, for the parish of River it was noted in the *Dover Express* that, "there were forty-two names on the Roll though some had been placed there by special request.....Actually the fallen of River was about thirty-five. He [the chairman of the Parochial Church Council] personally put on the name of Colonel Armstrong, who had spent five years of his life in the parish." *DE*, 30 May 1919.

> It seems to me that nowhere is the loss of men felt more than in the schools. There is the individual loss in a family of course, but nowhere as in a school comes such an accumulation of losses as those of the Old Boys. You feel that there are missing those whom you knew so well, either in school or in the houses, in some form, or in some cricket or football team; those you knew with such intimacy through the years of your school time, and that there is such a gap now.[116]

Aware of the personal significance that these local memorials held for the bereaved, and for members of the immediate community as a whole, the controlling authorities were quick to attempt to mitigate the overwhelming sense of loss by ascribing some meaning to the deaths of so many young men.[117] Thus, dedication addresses would frequently contain some justification of the war, extolling the virtues of the fallen and legitimising their deaths. The Reverend F. P. Basden, when unveiling the memorial to the fallen of the Congregational Church in May 1921, was certainly in no doubt that the losses had been necessary, asserting that, "When there came a crisis in the history of the modern world, when brute force, materialism and irreligion threatened to bring all Europe beneath its sway, this land and other lands could only be saved from the tyranny of a foreign foe by the sacrifice of the best and noblest of its sons."[118] Following a similar line of argument the Reverend W. Goldstraw, Superintending Minister of the Primitive Methodist Church in Dover, reminded his congregation that,

> The men had bravely gone forth to be part of the living wall erected against the enemy who had menaced liberty and progress not only to this nation but to the greater portion of the civilised world. Home, church, country, liberty and honour were in danger from the wicked ambition of the foe and in order to defend and save

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[116] *The Dovorian*, 1921, p126.

[117] Alastair Thomson, in his study of commemoration and the rituals of remembrance in Australia, has emphasised the way in which the memorialisation of the Great War addressed the intense and widespread emotional need of the bereaved to cope with their grief. Thomson, *ANZAC Memories*, p129.

[118] *DE*, 13 May 1921. Earlier in his address Basden had informed the congregation that, "The men who fell were among the best of Britain's sons". Ibid. In dismissing the myth of a 'lost generation' Martin Kitchen has noted that, "it is true that the young men of the elite suffered the worst casualties, but if 2,680 Oxford graduates were killed it should also be remembered that 14,650 (80%) of those who served also survived." M. Kitchen, *Europe Between the Wars: A Political History*, (London, 1988), p.23.

> those things which were dearer than personal love it was necessary for many homes to give their loved ones.[119]

Goldstraw's justification for the sacrifices that had had to be made was given extra credence by the fact that his only son, Private Gerald Goldstraw, was one of the three names engraved on the memorial window. By bearing such a loss and still retaining his faith, he set an example for all to follow.[120]

For some a justification of the political and military reasons behind the conflict was not enough; the true worth of war was to be found in its purifying effect. By purging the rotten core of decadent society, the war had raised a generation above the baser instincts of human nature. The Reverend F. M. Jackson reminded the congregation of St Mary's Church Dover of their old pre-war lives, telling them that "Nine years ago, April 1914,....many of them were asking nothing of life but "give me the portion of goods that falleth to me"".[121] It was, Jackson continued, only with "the outbreak of war that self-enjoyment and self-interest were set aside and everyone worth the name of man or woman stopped thinking about what they could get out of life and thought only of what they could give."[122] By sanctifying the actions of the dead, the very spirit of the war could be acquired and remembrance could be manipulated to the needs of the present. For the Reverend E. H .Rudkin, the vicar of St. James's, the sites of memory looked to the future not the past. At the unveiling of the parish Roll of Honour in December 1918, his congregation was informed that, "many buildings, institutions and stones would, no doubt, be erected in memory of our fallen heroes....but the best of all memorials would be to build up that permanent and abiding peace of which our splendid men laid the foundation stone."[123] Commemorative sites were to fuse memory and action; they were to be the bond that tied the past to the present.

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[119] *DE*, 10 Oct. 1919.

[120] Catherine Moriarty, in noting this practice of choosing one of the bereaved to officiate at the unveiling ceremony, has stated that, "In this way ordinary members of the community became ceremonial lynchpins, linking others who were grieving with the memorial and its meaning". Moriarty, 'Private Grief and Public Remembrance', p.136.

[121] *DE*, 27 Apr. 1923.

[122] Ibid.

[123] *DE*, 3 Jan 1919.

Indeed, the need to complete the task the fallen had begun was a message that was repeated at many unveiling ceremonies. It was the heartfelt desire, held by not only the bereaved but by communities as a whole, to be reassured that their losses had not been for nothing that transformed the sacrifice of the fallen into a powerful weapon for social control. For it was to be in the actions of the living that the deaths were to find purpose. Unveiling ceremonies allowed the authorities to interpret the meaning of the collective sacrifice of the dead and to instruct the living as to how they could fulfil their duties to the fallen. Frequently stress was laid on just how much work was still to be done if some meaning was to be found in the sorrow of the war years. In his dedication address for the memorial to the fallen parishioners of River, the Bishop of Croydon warned those assembled that in recalling the past conflict they should not allow themselves to be complacent for "they were passing today through greater perils still. Not only is the well-being, the continuance of the Great Empire at stake, but even the world's civilisation, from unrest among ourselves and lack of fellowship."[124] Consequently, he urged everyone "to play their part just as the fallen in the war did".[125] At the same ceremony Colonel A. H. Marindin, commander of the Dover based 12th Light Infantry Brigade, was much more precise when outlining in his unveiling speech what was required of the present generation:

> On this day when we come to commemorate those who fell, I want to speak to you about those who came back. Those men I am talking of are standing at the corner of Market Square in Dover waiting for work. Out of work! Out of employment! I think on this occasion it is up to everyone here to make a solemn promise to himself that he will show his gratitude to the living by doing everything he can to find work to help those men who did so much for us.[126]

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[124] *DE*, 27 May 1921. At the time of the Bishop of Croyden's address the miners were into the third month of an acrimonious strike over enforced pay cuts. Although they had been abandoned by their Triple Alliance partners, the dockers and the railwaymen, in April 1921, rumours of strikes and worker agitation were still very much to the fore during the Spring and Summer of 1921. See P. Adelman, *The Rise of the Labour Party 1880-1945*, (London, 1972), pp.46-54.

[125] Ibid.

[126] Ibid. Adrian Gregory, noting that of the one million registered unemployed in 1922 approximately 600,000 were ex-servicemen, has pointed out that throughout the 1920s the unemployed man and the unemployed ex-serviceman were, more often than not, synonymous. Gregory, *Silence of Memory*, ch.2. Indeed, the official unemployment rate remained above 10% from 1923 until the onset of the Second World War. B. Alford, *Depression and Recovery: British Economic Growth 1918-1939*, (London, 1972).

A similar message was conveyed by the Bishop of Dover, H. C. Bilbrough, to the pupils of Dover College at a special assembly to commemorate the 180 Old Dovorians who had died in the war. Dedicating a memorial screen in the school chapel, Bilbrough stated that, "At the present time the nation was confronted with greater difficulties than, perhaps, ever before; everything was difficult and uncertain and if they were to reap the full fruits of peace it would only be through sacrifice."[127]

Indeed, the didactic nature of unveiling ceremonies was, as one might expect, particularly apparent in schools. The idiosyncratic practices and traditions which exist in all schools, though which are especially pronounced in boarding schools, the shared values and precise stratification and definition of community, meant that the loss of former pupils and the desire to emulate their achievements were particularly keenly felt. Mr. A. J. Lamidey, the secretary of the Old Boys' Association of Dover County School, was certain that the commemoratives window he had just unveiled to the thirty-one ex-pupils who had fallen in the fighting had been erected "not because you are afraid of forgetting them but because you wish to follow their example and to do them honour".[128] At the Duke of York's Royal Military School the Duke of Connaught, the president of the school, used the opportunity that the unveiling of the memorial cross provided not only to spell out what was expected of the present cohort but also to underline the institution's prevailing ethos. The cross of sacrifice would, he hoped, "increase that feeling of self-respect and that feeling of duty which has always been one of the characteristics of the Duke of York's School".[129] Indeed, it was not just fulfilling one's duty but fulfilling it in the correct manner that was the lesson to be learnt from the sacrifice of the alumni of the Duke of York's. In a passage redolent with the images of Newbolt's *Vitae Lampada* the chaplain of the school instructed the boys "to think of those who died for us, especially the Old Boys of the Duke of York's School, who played the game and fought magnificently and added fresh laurels to this school".[130]

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[127] *DE*, 14 Nov. 1919.
[128] *DE*, 29 Apr. 1921.
[129] *DE*, 30 Jan 1922.
[130] Ibid.

A sense of validation through sacrifice was also evident in the address of the Bishop of Dover when, at the unveiling of the memorial screen at Dover College, he asked the boys to recall "the war ended three years ago in which so many from Dover College laid down their lives for their country".[131] Yet, his focus was not the merits of the school but rather the import of religious faith. Linking the school's founder, the story of its patron saint and the memory of the Old Dovorians who had been killed in the war, the leitmotif of his speech was the centrality of service in everyday life. Thus, those present at the Thanksgiving ceremony in the school chapel were asked to,

> Go back to St. Martin, the story that everyone is familiar with. When still a soldier the service he did to the beggar man, and then, after his ordination, he became a great missionary bishop, giving his life to the service of others. Think of Canon William Bell and his life of service. He never wished for personal honour or praise. All he cared for was that he might do his best wisely to help others and to lay those foundations on which Dover College has been so successfully built. Think again of what the school means. The greatest teacher of the last century has defined the principle of education in these words. He said, "It is to train character for service". Education we know does not mean the cramming of a lot of facts into our heads. It means training to build up character. But we must not stop there. It is not sufficient to build character for personal gain or advantage, but to build up character for service and to be of greater use to others. Then we think of the men of the Navy and the Army who laid down their lives, service comes to mind before everything else. We speak of the Navy and the Army as the Services. We mean giving lives for the service of others; and on all sides the thought comes to us that the highest thing in life is not selfishness, but service.[132]

Having clearly established what each individual should be striving for as he went about his daily work, Bilbrough concluded by reminding his audience that the faith that underpinned these beliefs was of even greater relevance in the uncertainty of post-war Britain:

> Where did we all learn this vision of service? It came from our great Leader, our Lord and Master, our King, Jesus Christ. The great lesson of our Lord's teaching is a call to service. That is what our Christian religion means. It does not mean merely the

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[131] *The Dovorian*, 1921, p126.

[132] Ibid., p127. The unveiling of the memorial screen coincided with the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the school. To commemorate the occasion a plaque in memory of the first headmaster, Canon William Bell, was dedicated at the same Thanksgiving Service on 13 November 1921.

> saving of our souls, it does not mean getting blessings from God, which He gives us so freely, but it does mean service – service to God and service to your fellow men. In these difficult days, these days of disappointment and great reaction after the strain of war, people who were trying to form their lives without God's guidance come now to see that it is foolishness and they want help.[133]

At the dedication of the Dover County School memorial window in April 1921 Bilbrough was even more emphatic when advancing the role of Christianity in modern society. Drawing the congregation's attention to the window's central image of St. George he argued that it should be, "a call to you to not only do your duty to the full whatever state of life you may be called to, but also not to be ashamed before others of acknowledging that Jesus Christ is your master and that you are trying to serve him and live His life as He wished."[134] Aware that there were those who "may now be reluctant to acknowledge the role of religion in their lives for it might be thought effeminate", Bilbrough cited the war as the ultimate test of Christianity's worth and encouraged those who harboured any doubts to "take their minds back to the war and the faith of the great leaders of the nation in war".[135]

The intimacy of the sub-communities in Dover, both in terms of size and affiliation, enabled the Memorial Committees to proceed with their commemorative projects ahead of their more unwieldy civic counterpart. However, although the controlling

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[133] Ibid.

[134] *DE*, 29 Apr. 1921.

[135] Ibid. General Sir Herbert Plumer and Field-Marshal Sir Douglas Haig were both well known for their devout faith. See Geoffrey Powell, *Plumer: The Soldier's General*, (London, 1990), p.321 and George Duncan, *Haig as I Knew Him*, (London, 1966), p.126. At the unveiling of the memorial to the fallen of the Wesleyan Church in Dover, the mayor of Dover, C. E. Beaufoy, questioned the extent to which the professions of Christian belief which, of course, permeated the memorialisation of the war dead had, in fact, any substance to them. He told the congregation,
"They talked about Christian England, but he sometimes wondered where the Christianity came in. It was all very well to sit in comfortable pews and sing hymns and carry a big Bible under one's arm, but they must do Christian work in the social sphere of life, and see that people's lives were made happy and the country worth living in. It was for Christianity to 'go over the top' as willingly as those boys did. Preaching without practice was useless, and unless they were influenced by the spirit of their Master their efforts would be of no avail". *DE*, 7 May 1920.

officials were keen to proclaim the worth of the shared values and ethos that lay at the heart of their institutions' identity, they were also quick to seize on the rites of remembrance as an opportunity to ascribe meaning generally to the sacrifices of the war years. Thus, the rituals and language of remembrance at this localised level laid the foundations for the memorialisation work of the civic officials.

Chapter 6 Conclusion

Although Alan Borg and Bob Bushaway, when examining the construction of monuments in the aftermath of the First World War from the general and the specific respectively, have both stressed the role of the wider community in the process, the evidence of the memorialisation projects in Folkestone, Canterbury and Dover would seem to suggest that this involvement was carefully stage-managed and had, at best, a peripheral impact.[1] In all three boroughs not only was the lead taken by the municipal corporations, with the first official discussions of the issue being heard in the Council chambers and the incumbent mayors being automatically appointed to chair the Memorial Committees, but also the subsequent direction of the enterprises continued to be determined by a few civic dignitaries. Any public involvement was largely superficial and reactive. Thus, although in Folkestone and Canterbury open meetings were held with the nominal purpose of electing the members of the Memorial Committees, their remit was in fact limited to the ratification of the short-lists that had already been drawn up in closed Council sessions.[2] Indeed, so limited was the significance of the wider community's part in the decision-making process considered to be that in both Canterbury and Folkestone the Committees, having made a point of canvassing the views of the public over the form of the memorials, nonetheless felt able, without explanation, to set aside the popular choices.[3]

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[1] Alan Borg, in highlighting the lack of central direction in memorial construction in the aftermath of World War One, has viewed the movement at a local level as a genuine community undertaking. Similarly, Bob Bushaway has underlined the significance of the general public's input. In his case study of Colchester, he has placed the emphasis on collaboration, with the wider community and local government being viewed as equal partners in the memorialisation process. Borg, *War Memorials*, ch.5; Bob Bushaway, 'Name upon Name'.

[2] In Dover it was not until November 1922 that this gesture of democratic accountability was played out, the matter having been entirely the responsibility of the Council for the preceding three years. Thus, in employing the public meeting as a forum through which the Council's choice of Committee members could be endorsed, Folkestone, Canterbury and Dover adhered to the pattern identified by Alex King in his general survey of memorial construction in Great Britain. Alex King, *Memorials of the Great War in Britain*, pp.26-30.

[3] The choice of design was left entirely in the hands of the Committee in Dover. Ken Inglis, in his study of the memorialisation process in Cambridge, has noted a similar approach to open consultation being adopted by the city's controlling elite. Although the public were asked for suggestions as to the monument's form, the members of the Committee had already made the decision that the design should be one that celebrated victory rather than mourned

However, despite the cavalier approach towards public participation which all three Memorial Committees adopted, the need to have, or at least to be thought to have, popular backing for any proposed commemorative project was a fundamental recognised by all civic officials involved in the process. Loath as they were to follow true democratic procedures, many of the controlling elite were still quick to advance claims to represent the collective will in order to validate a favourite scheme. Although these claims were often based on the success or otherwise of appeals for subscriptions, they could also, not infrequently, assume a moral overtone with Committee members purporting to speak on behalf of sectional groups with a vested interest in the process, such as the bereaved or ex-servicemen. Indeed, in utilising the high moral ground as a democratic tool, differences of opinion could sometimes degenerate into personal attacks. Thus, in a debate over whether Canterbury City Council should use the rates as means of defraying the cost of erecting a civic memorial, Councillor Captain H. James a former mayor and chairman of the Memorial Committee, interrupted an opponent of the proposal with the acidic aside, "It is a very curious thing – speaking on behalf of the soldiers and ex-Service men – that the very men who protest against the war memorial are the men who did not serve in his Majesty's Army".[4]

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loss. Inglis, 'The Homecoming: The War Memorial Movement in Cambridge, England', pp.583-603.

[4] *KO*, 16 Dec. 1920. Underlining the sensitivity of this issue for those charged with overseeing the memorialisation process, James's comment provoked a vitriolic exchange in the Council chamber which the *Kentish Observer* was more than happy to report in full:
"Alderman Pope said he was too old and not able to serve.
Councillor Belsey: you could have gone to munitions.
Alderman Pope: I have two sons who have seen as much –
Councillor Belsey: I have four. They volunteered and were not conscripts.
Alderman Pope: These were not conscripts. One of them has the Long Service Medal. I do not want to stand here and be twitted. We very often hear people sounding their trumpets as to what they have done – but he did not know that they had done so much. Those of us who have had sons in the war had as much anxiety as many of those who served. There were some people who feathered their own nests.
Councillor James: I object to that. There is not a man who served this country during the war who came out better off. Whilst I was at Bournemouth in hospital after a breakdown a gentleman thought fit to twit me – "You are having the time of your life: you were never so well off." I volunteered and so did Councillor Belsey." Ibid.

For the Memorial Committee members, public backing, no matter how it was gauged, was essential to the success of the project on two fronts. From a practical viewpoint financial viability was dependent on community support. Yet, the controlling officials' concern went beyond the simple economic imperative of subscription lists, for they were fully aware that any memorial needed to be seen to have been the product of a collective effort if it was to have meaning as a community memory site. Thus, in Folkestone, Canterbury and Dover there was an insistence that the financing of the projects should remain entirely voluntary, with all three boroughs rejecting calls for part of the construction costs to be covered by the rates. Complementing the collective ritual of fundraising, and further underscoring the remembrance site's roots in the locality, was the drive to have the names of the fallen engraved on the memorial. The compilation of the lists of names of the war dead was placed at the very heart of the memorialisation process in all three boroughs, with the Memorial Committees insisting that nameplates be affixed to the monuments.[5] Indeed, in both Folkestone and Canterbury the Committee members were prepared to stick by their decisions on this issue despite expert advice to the contrary.

Undoubtedly, then, public participation in the civic ritual of constructing a war memorial was encouraged and, indeed, in many ways, was considered essential to the overall success of a commemorative project. Yet, paradoxically, by placing such an emphasis on the importance of collective involvement, the Memorial Committees in Folkestone, Canterbury and Dover merely underlined the superficiality of the community's role in the memorialisation process. Thus, although the rhetoric suggested otherwise, in all three boroughs little practical attention was paid to the communal rites of naming and fundraising. In both Folkestone and Dover, as a result of the Committees' dilatory approaches, the compilation of the names of the fallen had not been completed in time for the unveiling ceremonies and, hence, additional nameplates had to be affixed at later dates, while in Canterbury the controlling officials were content to unveil the city's memorial before sufficient funds were

[5] Although the Folkestone Memorial Committee initially decided against including the names of the fallen on the town's monument this was only because they had already compiled a civic Roll of Honour as part of Lord Plymouth's Local War Museums Association. The Committee's initial stance was reversed at a public meeting in January 1920.

available to complete the nameplates. It was much the same story when it came to fundraising. Both Dover and Canterbury failed to reach their targets of £1,200 in advance of the unveiling ceremonies and in both cases the Committee's lack of urgency seemed to be a major contributing factor. It was not until May 1920, well over a year since the formation of the Memorial Committee, that any serious fundraising initiatives were undertaken in Canterbury, while in Dover the finance sub-committee didn't meet until April 1923, a full four years after the idea of a remembrance site had first been raised in the Council. Interestingly, notwithstanding the more ambitious scope of the plans, the picture was a much rosier one in Folkestone, with over £1,000 being raised in the first year of the project and the final target of £2,600 being surpassed by the date of the unveiling. One possible explanation for this, beyond the more vigorous approach of the Memorial Committee, may lie in the fact that there was no other central memorial competing for the public's support. By way of contrast the civic schemes in Canterbury and Dover faced competition from the Kent County War Memorial and the Dover Patrol Memorial respectively. In both cases the municipal Memorial Committees were beaten to the gun when it came to issuing appeals for funds and so may well have found that the contributions of many potential subscribers had been diverted elsewhere.

For the local notables responsible for realising their borough's commemorative plans, the collective rites that underpinned their work were of only secondary importance, acting as means not ends. By ensuring that a civic remembrance site had a wider significance than simply acting as a focal point for personal grief, the public's participation in the construction of a memorial reinforced the elite's determination to retain control over its form and meaning. In Folkestone, Canterbury and Dover an extra edge was added to this determination, for the authorities viewed the Great War as a period to be recalled with pride rather than regret. Indeed, for the editor of the *Dover Express* the only regret seemed to be that the war was over. In an editorial marking the unveiling of the Dover Patrol Memorial, the paper's readers were reminded just how far the fortunes of the port had sunk since its wartime glory years;

> These are also regretful memories to Dovorians. They, seeing the importance of their port in wartime, naturally thought that it would not lose that importance as a Naval port in peace time, but in the two and a half years that have elapsed since the

> armistice those hopes have disappeared like a dream and Dover, the chief Naval strategic port in every war round our island, sinks back once more into the obscurity that has marked it after every previous naval war, and a town which has had to stand the very hard knocks of war time, sees the ships that are compelled by the hard facts of war to use it at such times go to the seaside ports in the West where war has never been a reality.[6]

It was a similar story for Folkestone. Having been propelled to national limelight as the embarkation point for troops and matériel during the war, the port never really recovered its pre-war position as a fashionable seaside resort once peace came. Thus, in his overview of the town's development F. W. Jessup could note that the Great War was "from a national point of view its finest period of history".[7] Canterbury, of course, had long since enjoyed prominence as the centre of the Anglican Church yet, as one would expect, it was only really in times of crisis that this distinction was fully thrown into relief. Thus, in all three boroughs the war memorial acted as a symbol of civic pride that resonated to the heart of the locality's perceived identity recalling, as it did, a period of national prominence that was fresh in the memory and yet seemed unlikely to be regained.

Hence, for the controlling officials, fired by a desire to promote civic prestige, it was the debates surrounding the form of any proposed commemorative site that commanded most of their attention. To these public figures it was in the choice of design that their community's past was reflected and present could be acclaimed. Thus, in Folkestone, Canterbury and Dover the Memorial Committees were insistent that any remembrance site should celebrate their borough's singular nature. The demand for a separate city not joint county memorial in Canterbury, the choice of the coat of arms of St. Martin not the Cinque Ports in Dover and the selection of an inscription focusing on the national not the local in Folkestone[8] were all moves that

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[6] *DE*, 29 Jul. 1921.

[7] F. W. Jessup, A *History of Kent*, p.11.

[8] The full inscription on the Folkestone war memorial reads: 'In ever Grateful memory of the many thousands of brave men who passed this spot on their way to fight in the Great War (1914-18) for righteousness and freedom and especially those of this Town who made the supreme sacrifice and whose names are here recorded.' This tension between national prominence and local remembrance was also apparent in the Folkestone Committee's drive

were underpinned by an eagerness to proclaim a unique civic identity.[9] Indeed, the editors of two of the local papers in Dover and Canterbury, when covering the unveiling of a memorial to the men of the Dover Patrol in April 1919, became so focused on commemoration as a vehicle for advancing the cause of their municipality that they seemed to lose sight of the ritual's underlying purpose and became caught up in an unseemly argument that was motivated solely by civic rivalry. Having already reported unfavourably on the unveiling of the memorial in St. George's Church in Canterbury, the editor of the *Dover Express* was not prepared to let bygones be bygones and launched into a stinging attack of the Cathedral City's commemorative work generally;

> They say that Canterbury seems a little nettled at being pulled up for allocating itself the monument for the St. George's Day expedition to Zeebrugge and Ostend. They say that their defence is that there was a St. George's Church at Canterbury and they were first in the field. They say that it sounds like the stories often told to a Judge at the Assizes. They say that some people seem to want to capture the Dover War Memorial in the same way.[10]

Replying the following week the editor of the *Kentish Observer*, though seemingly adopting a conciliatory approach, was, nevertheless, unable to resist the opportunity which the exchange presented to gloat about his home city's apparent triumph over its near neighbour;

> Of course all this is very childish, very silly and certainly 'not cricket'. We know Dover well enough to be convinced that Dovorians do not appreciate this sort of thing. As a matter of fact they are proud of the honour done to the Dover Patrol in the metropolitan city of the Empire and would be equally proud of similar

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for funds when it was decided, on the basis of the port's key role as the embarkation point for troops, to broaden the scope of the appeal and advertise in the national press and, indeed, abroad.

[9] By way of contrast, Daniel Sherman, in his examination of Great War commemoration in France, has noted that many villages opted for a mass produced figure of a poilu as a war memorial because of its very lack of individuality. Recognisable as a standard form, the figure was felt to embody the link between the nation and the local community. Sherman has gone on to state, however, that each monument was, nonetheless, rooted in its locality through the inscription of names of the fallen. Daniel Sherman, 'Art, Commerce and the Production of Memory in France after World War One' in J. Gillis (ed.) *Commemorations: the Politics of National Identity*, (Princeton, 1994), pp.191-205.

[10] *DE*, 2 May 1919.

> commemorations in whatever part of the world they might take place. Whatever the editor of our Dover contemporary might think about it, the fact remains that Canterbury has the 'E' flag and a fine mural tablet which is well worth Dover folk making a pilgrimage to view.[11]

At the unveiling ceremonies it was public ritual rather than personal devotion, civic pride rather than individual grief, which once again dominated proceedings. In all three boroughs the arrangements clearly signposted the occasion as a civic pageant for although a concerted effort was made to include various sectional groups it was the municipal officers who presided over the obsequies.[12] Indeed, the special enclosures that all three Memorial Committees ensured were set aside for the relatives of the men being commemorated reinforced rather than undermined the controlling elite's authority. In allotting the bereaved a passive role, their presence could be read as silent acquiescence, as an affirmation of the right of the Establishment to claim ownership of the memory of their loved ones.[13] Thus, the focus was not private loss and personal communion but collective duty and civic prestige. The latter was to be proclaimed through the choice of dignitary to officiate at the unveiling. All three Memorial Committees hoped to reflect their borough's standing by acquiring the services of a figure of national importance, although in fact, none of them was able to obtain their first choice with Dover settling for Sir Roger Keyes, Folkestone for Lord Radnor and Canterbury for Field-Marshal Haig.[14] The dedication addresses and

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[11] *KO*, 8 May 1919. The authorities in Canterbury had acquired, as a central part of the memorial, the flag that had been used to signal the start of the raid on Zeebrugge.

[12] Indeed, the very dates of the ceremonies in Canterbury, 10 October 1921, and Dover, 4 November 1924, indicated that the events were directly controlled by the civic authorities. In both cases the Memorial Committees were keen that the monuments should be unveiled before the local elections were held, thus ensuring that the incumbent mayors could have the honour of officiating at the rituals. This was not necessary in Folkestone as the chair of the Memorial Committee was a permanent post and did not change with the appointment of a new mayor.

[13] For more on the distinction between passive and active involvement in public rituals see Venetia Newall, 'Folk Tradition in an English Festival of Remembrance', *Folklore*, (1987), pp.314-319.

[14] Their first choices were the King for Canterbury and the Prince of Wales for Dover and Folkestone. As mentioned, Dover eventually had to settle for their third choice, Sir Roger Keyes. Canterbury did rather better in obtaining the services of Haig who was their second

acceptance speeches further underlined remembrance of the war dead as a centrally controlled collective rite with the local dignitaries concentrating on explaining and disseminating the memorial's perceived meaning and outlining the expectations that the living were now meant to meet. Hence, the rituals of unveiling served to cement the local elite's control of civic commemoration, a control that had been maintained throughout the memorialisation process.

For the most part, the process of constructing a memory site at the more immediate level of parish, school, workplace and club followed a similar pattern to that of its civic counterpart. It was, almost without exception, those who were already in positions of authority, such as the local vicar, headteacher, or club chairman, who took the lead and who directed proceedings throughout. The community's involvement was, once again, largely passive being restricted to responding to requests for funds, supplying details of the fallen and attending dedication services, with very few opportunities to have a direct input into the decision-making process being offered. At the unveiling ceremonies the emphasis remained on the collective rather than the individual as the memory of personal loss continued to be subsumed by the rhetoric of public celebration.

Yet, the more intimate nature of the ties that united communities at this localised level did result in some divergence from the general pattern of civic commemoration. From a practical viewpoint, the smaller scale of the enterprises meant that the whole process was much less problematic, with the two key communal rituals, the compilation of the names of the fallen and the collection of subscriptions, being much more manageable. In turn the debates over form, that proved such a stumbling block for members of civic Memorial Committees, were significantly less rancorous and protracted with, as a result of the more modest level of finances available, the most common choice being some variation on the commemorative plaque.

It was, however, at the unveiling ceremonies that this greater sense of belonging, of community identity, was most in evidence for, although stress was laid on the

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choice. Folkestone fared worst of all eventually making do with Lord Radnor, who, and one can only hope he never found out, was their eighth choice.

didactic capacity of the memorials and the duties of the living as citizens, it was, to a much greater degree than was apparent at the civic rituals, a feeling of pride that suffused the proceedings. For local leaders, the dedication of a remembrance site was viewed as a prime opportunity to restate the shared beliefs and values that underpinned the bonds of communal solidarity and to extol their worth on a wider stage. Thus, in many organisations great pride was taken in the scale of loss, a direct correlation being seen to exist between the numbers of dead and the standing of an institution.[15] By acclaiming its fallen as the embodiment of its value system, a community could stake its claim for wider recognition and acceptance. If its members were prepared to make the ultimate sacrifice on behalf of the greater good then so, it followed, should society be prepared to endorse its core beliefs, be they the principles that underscored a school's ethos or the teachings that lay at the heart of organised religion.[16] Hence, at the sub-civic level the rite of remembrance was essentially inward looking, the process being tightly focused on the intimate links that defined a community's sense of identity. Indeed, this very intimacy provided local Memorial Committees with a distinct advantage over their civic counterparts, for to many of the bereaved, and members of the wider community generally, commemoration was grounded in the immediate ties of community rather than the intermediate connections of citizenship. Thus, not only did the civic schemes in Folkestone, Canterbury and Dover suffer from the practical drawback of being second best when it came to issuing appeals for funds, but they also had to contend with the greater sense of belonging that was an intrinsic part of more localised projects.[17]

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[15] The link between scale of loss and level of honour was one that was frequently made at dedication services in schools, a fact that would seem to support David Cannadine's view that while the celebration of death was generally on the wane in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the glorification of death in active service was on the increase. Cannadine has seen this phenomenon as, in part, the consequence of the stridently athletic ethos of Victorian and Edwardian public schools where soldiering and games were equated. David Cannadine, 'War and Death, Grief and Mourning in Modern Britain', pp.187-252.

[16] Pat Jalland has noted that not only did the Great War deal a shattering blow to organised religion but it also forced it to adapt its doctrine of immortality, as it had to concede that all soldiers killed in action in a patriotic cause necessarily went to heaven irrespective of faith. Therefore, in the immediate aftermath of the war, religious leaders were keen to re-establish the Church's place in society by propagating its central messages of self-sacrifice and Resurrection. Pat Jalland, *Death in the Victorian Family.*

[17] Ken Inglis noted that the same problem existed for the members of the civic Memorial Committee in Cambridge. Inglis, 'The War Memorial Movement in Cambridge, England.'

The commemoration of the war dead in the boroughs of Folkestone, Canterbury and Dover was, then, a centrally controlled exercise with the lead being taken by public figures who, in many ways, treated the task as an extension of their official duties. Nonetheless, so deeply did the shock of bereavement permeate post-war society that opportunities for the inclusion of the wider community were thought to be essential if a memory site was to have meaning. The civic Memorial Committees in Folkestone, Canterbury and Dover all opted to hold public meetings to discuss their memorialisation plans. However, such open consultation rarely had an impact on the overall direction of the schemes and, indeed, the public's response was usually, at best, half-hearted, with the local press in all three boroughs reporting unfavourably on the low turnout for the meetings. Notwithstanding the surprise expressed by some officials at the public's apparent apathy, such uninterest was hardly unexpected for the whole process had the stamp of officialdom on it, with the pre-selection of Committee nominees and closed agendas doing little to encourage wider participation.[18] Thus, although the moves to construct memorials in honour of the dead of the First World War did, undoubtedly, match the heartfelt need of the wider community to mark the deaths of their loved ones, local remembrance sites, far from being the embodiment of a spontaneous outpouring of collective grief, were instead the product of a carefully orchestrated attempt by the established authorities to mould and direct the memory of the fallen.

[18] Thus, Councillors Stone and Powell, members of the Memorial Committees in Canterbury and Dover respectively, and Mr. A. F. Kidson, the secretary of the Folkestone Committee, were all critical of the public's poor response to civic memorialisation plans.

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Appendix 1

Town Plans of Folkestone, Canterbury and Dover and locations of memorials

Folkestone

Location: The East end of the Leas at the junction with West Terrace. (See plate 7)

The members of Folkestone War Memorial Committee were unanimous in their choice of the Leas for the location of the town's war memorial. No alternative was discussed. In Folkestone's heyday as a tourist destination the most prestigious hotels had been situated along the Leas. During the war years however, as the tourists disappeared, the promenade was taken over by the military with the soldiers on route to the Front marching the length of the Leas and then down the Slope Road by West Terrace to the seafront. Thus, by positioning the monument towards the East end of the Leas at the junction with West Terrace the Committee managed to choose a site that would remind visitors of not only the town's recent reputation as a fashionable seaside resort but also the key role it played in the war years as the most important staging post for men and materiel on the way to France and Flanders.

Canterbury

Location: In the Butter Market outside Christ Church Gate. (See plate 8)

Once the members of the Committee had opted for the erection of a monumental commemorative site, the Butter Market was the only location considered. In the heart of the city, the Butter Market had once been the city's main trading centre and is directly opposite Christ Church Gate, the main entrance to the precincts of the Cathedral. Thus, the site recommended itself to the Committee as one that was both sacred, with its proximity to the home of the Anglican Church, and visible, as nearly all visitors to the city would inevitably pass by on route to the Cathedral.

Dover

Location: In the forecourt of the Maison Dieu at the North end of Biggin Street. (See Plate 9)

The Maison Dieu remained the preferred choice for the location of the Dover civic war memorial even once the decision as to form had been radically altered from an indoor shrine to an outdoor monument. It had originally been the intention of the Memorial Committee to place the shrine inside the main hall but as the result of a volte-face in November 1922 the memorial was eventually situated in the open space at the front of the building towards the North end of Biggin Street. Dating back to the Thirteenth Century, the Maison Dieu was founded by Hubert de Burgh, who, as justiciar of England and Earl of Kent, had sent a combined fleet of the Cinque Ports to defeat the French off the coast of Dover in 1217. Originally a hostel for pilgrims the civic authorities had purchased the building in 1831 for use as a Sessions House and Town Hall. By linking the war memorial to such an historic building the Committee members were clearly signposting the monument as a civic site while

simultaneously recalling the borough's historic traditions as one of the bastions of England's coastal defences.

FOLKESTONE

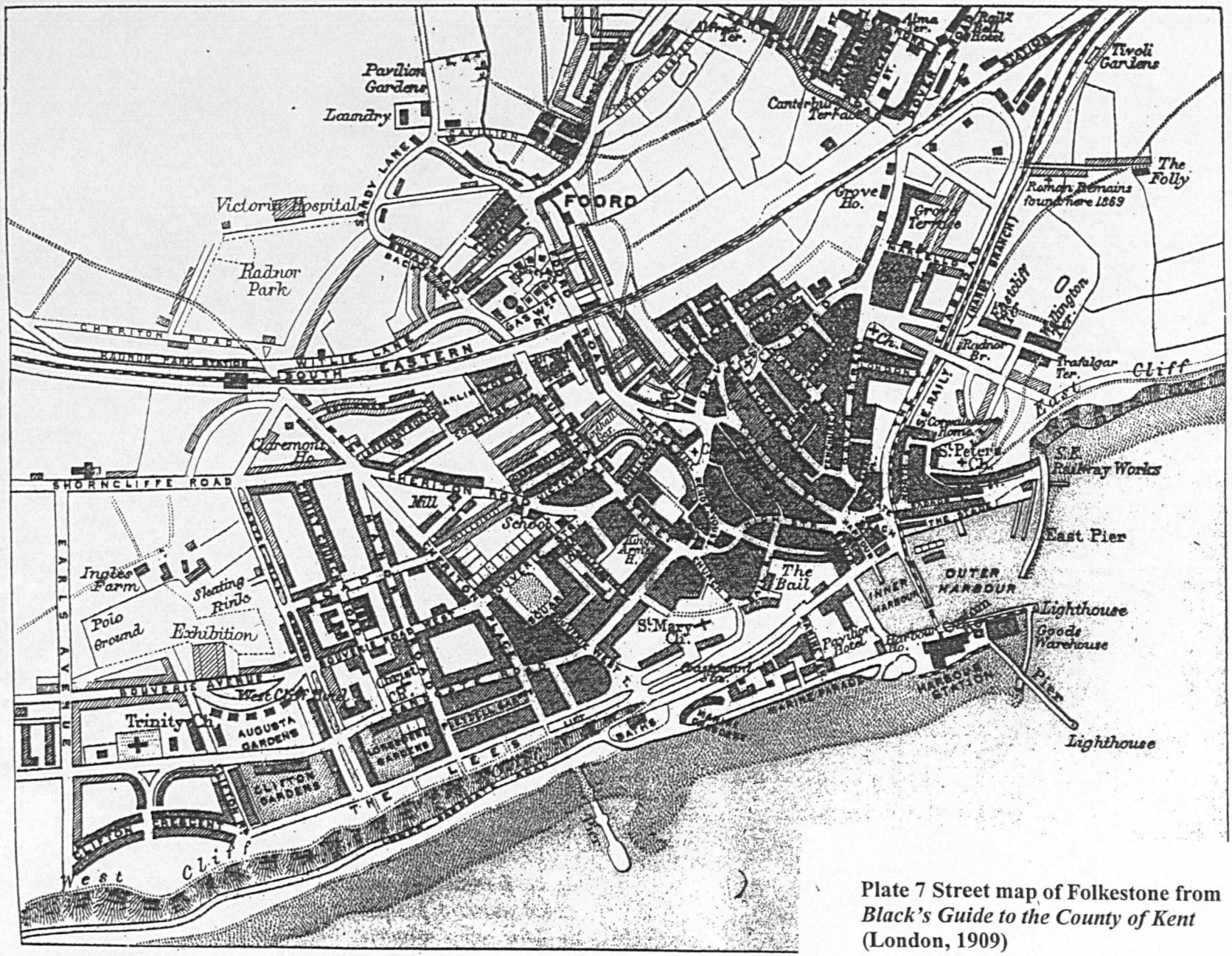


Plate 7 Street map of Folkestone from *Black's Guide to the County of Kent* (London, 1909)

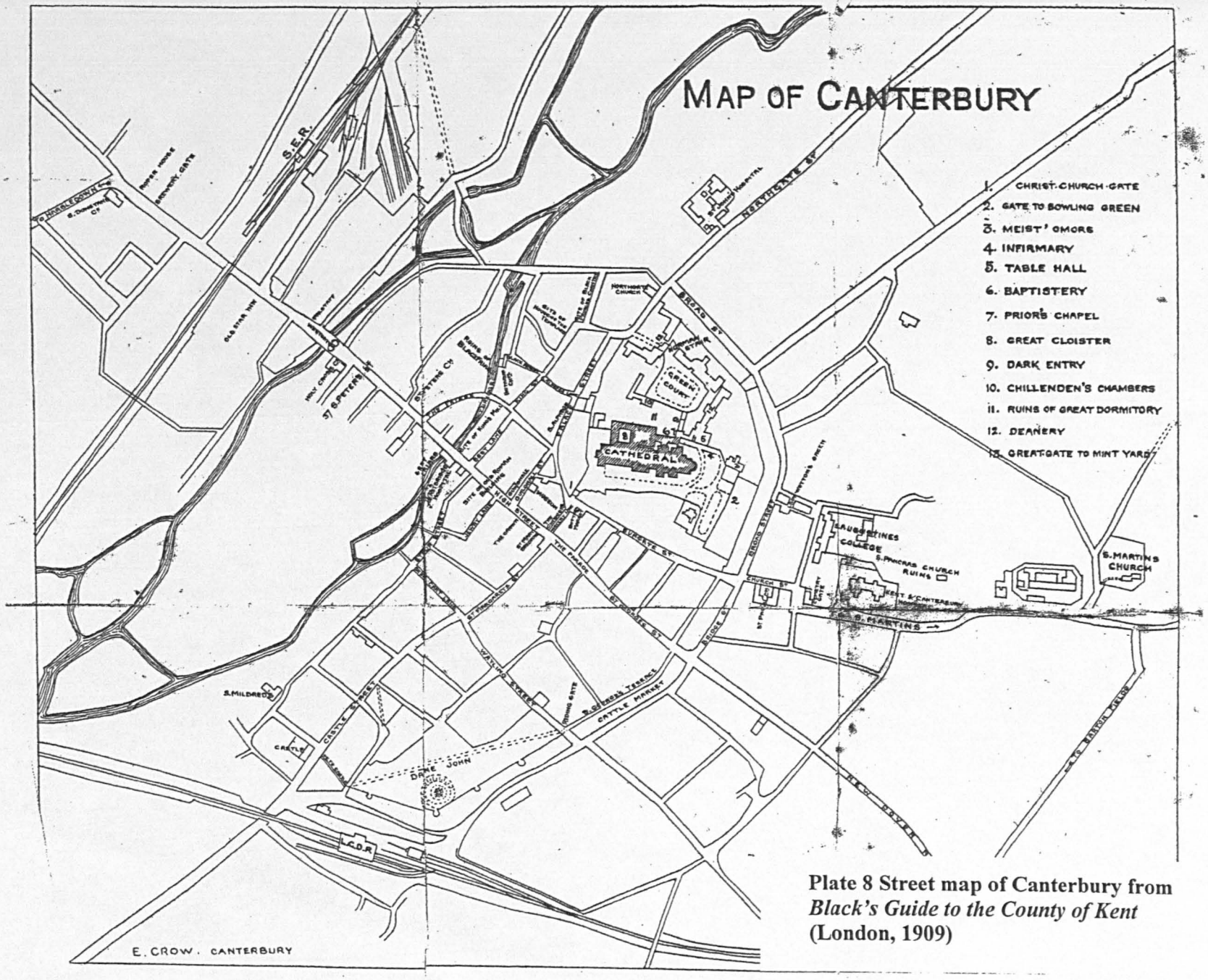


Plate 8 Street map of Canterbury from *Black's Guide to the County of Kent* (London, 1909)

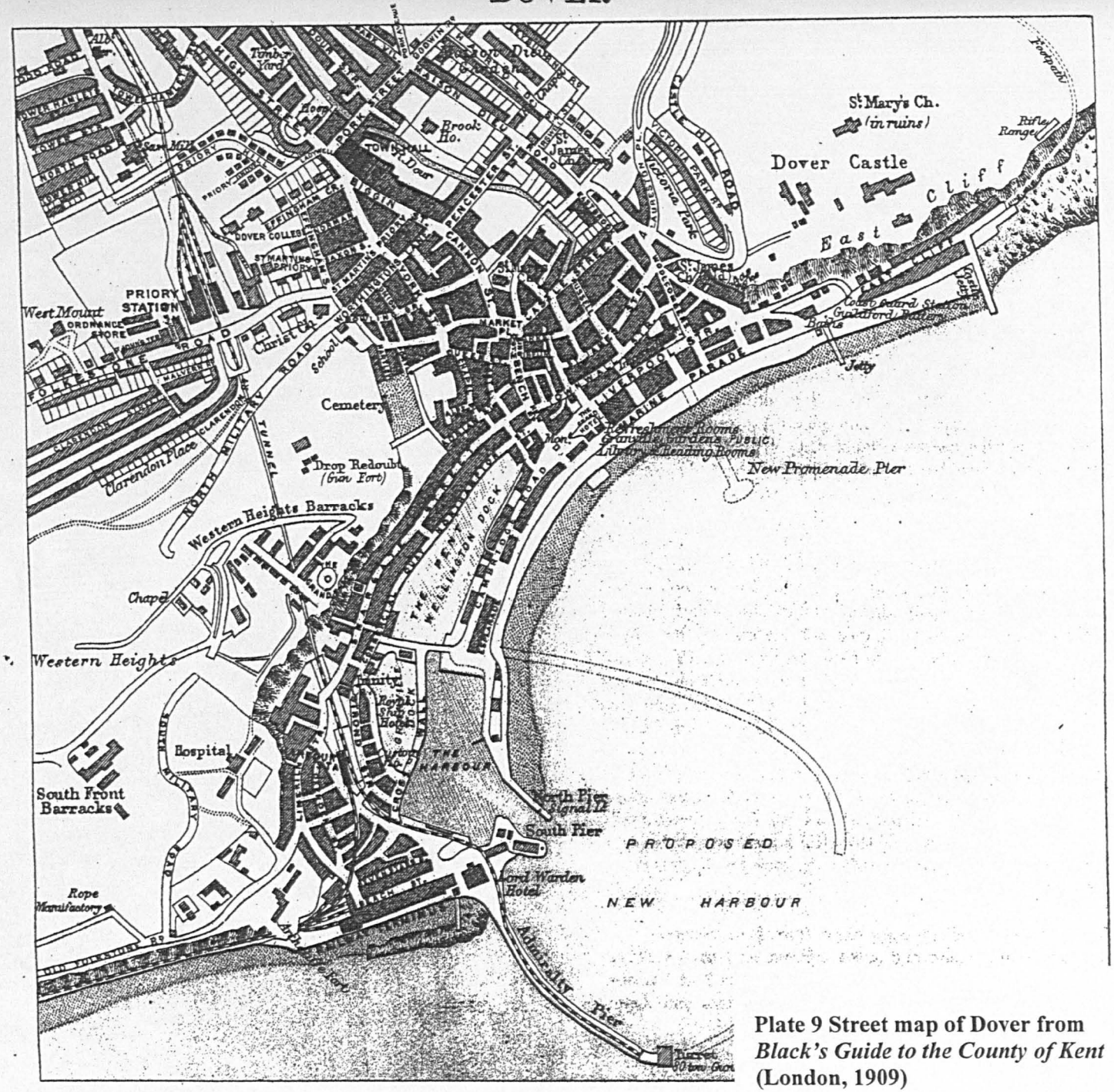


Plate 9 Street map of Dover from *Black's Guide to the County of Kent* (London, 1909)

Appendix 2

Summary of Key Proposals and Personnel in the Civic Memorialisation of Folkestone, Canterbury and Dover

Folkestone

Date unveiled: 2 December 1922
Unveiled by: Lord Radnor
Dedicated by: Canon P. Tindall, the Vicar of Folkestone
Designed by: Ferdinand Blundstone

Key Proposals

1. A Memorial Hall for ex-servicemen. (After a public meeting in March 1919 this was reduced to a fund for the dependants of the fallen)
2. A Triumphal Arch
3. A Monument incorporating a Cross (After the Committee had opted for this form, 3 designs were put on display for viewing by the public in February 1921, though no record remains of the two not chosen. It was customary for rejected designs to be returned to those who submitted them.)
4. A Nurses' Institute.

The Final Design

Aloft a central granite pedestal stands a bronze female figure. In her left hand she holds a Cross of Sacrifice with, half-way down, a draped Union flag. Crooked in her right arm is the Crown of Immortality. The inscription reads 'May their deeds be held in Reverence'.

Canterbury

Date unveiled: 10 October 1921
Unveiled by: Field-Marshal Douglas Haig
Dedicated by: Randall Davidson, the Archbishop of Canterbury
Designed by: Beresford Pite

Key Proposals

1. A Boys' Club
2. A Monument incorporating a Runic Cross (After the Committee had chosen this path in January 1920 3 designs by local artists were requested and a sketch of the winning market cross was printed in the local press. [see figure 1 p.248] Once again no record of the losing entries remains. Of course, the market cross was in turn abandoned.)
3. The conversion of All Saints' Church to a Public Meeting Hall
4. The renovation of Canterbury Castle

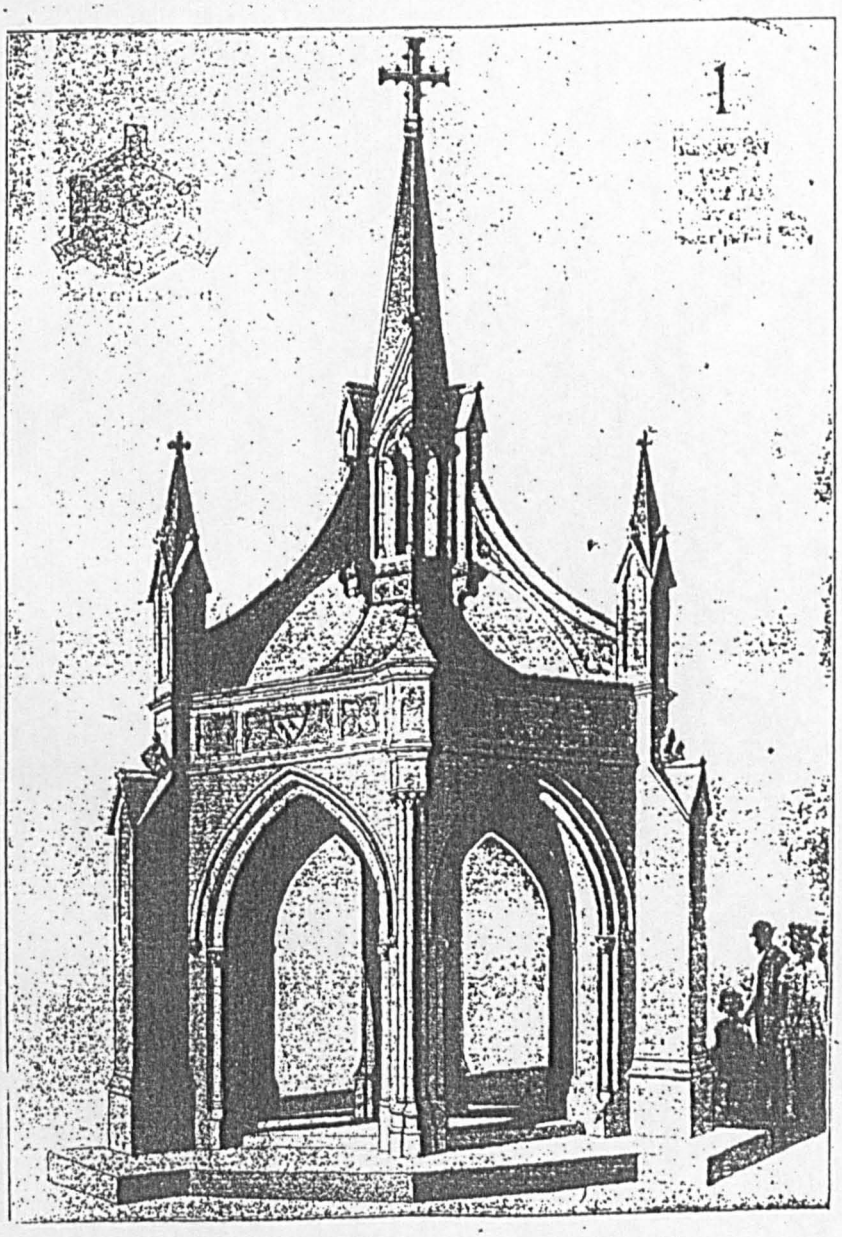
The Final Design

A thick central shaft in Doulting Stone is surmounted by a runic cross. There are four niches at the top of the shaft, one of which contains a figure of St. George in armour with the other three holding in turn a soldier, a sailor and an airman. Below the niches are four heraldic shields depicting the coats of arms of the Black Prince, the Cathedral, the City of Canterbury and the County of Kent. The inscription panel reads 'In Grateful Commemoration of the Officers, NCOs and Men of Canterbury who gave their Lives for God, King and Country in the Great War 1914-19. True Love of Life/ True Love by Death is Tried/ Live Thou for England/ We for England Died.'

Figure 1
J. Ogden's proposed design for the Canterbury Civic War Memorial
***KO* 8 April 1920**

CANTERBURY WAR MEMORIAL.

The suggested Market Cross to be erected on the site of the Marlowe Memorial.



Dover

Date unveiled; 5 November 1924
Unveiled by; Sir Roger Keyes
Dedicated by; Randall Davidson, the Archbishop of Canterbury
Designed by; Richard Goulden

Key Proposals

1. A Shrine inside the Maison Dieu and a Book of Remembrance
2. A Monument incorporating the Zeebrugge Bell outside the Maison Dieu. (After November 1922 the Zeebrugge Bell was dropped from the proposal. In February 1924 there were thirteen submissions in response to the Committee's competition, three of which were put on public display. As with Folkestone and Canterbury there are no details of the rejected proposals.)
3. A Maternity Home.

The Final Design

The memorial consists of two low wing walls and a central pedestal in Cornish granite. Standing aloft the central pedestal is the figure of a naked youth, arms outstretched to grasp a flaming cross. At the youth's feet lie a tangled mass of thorns. The inscription on the central pedestal reads 'In glorious memory of the men of Dover who gave their lives in the Great War 1914-1919', above which are the arms of the borough in bronze relief.