

MEMORIAL TEXT NARRATIVES IN BRITAIN
c.1890-1930

by

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ABSTRACT

This thesis seeks to explore the memorial texts that developed as a result of the First World War, composed primarily by those whose sons, husbands and fathers had died between 1914 and 1918. Visitors to the military cemeteries of the First World War are interested to read the inscriptions left by the bereaved at the foot of individual headstones, yet this aspect of post-war commemoration is still largely unexplored. This thesis seeks to explore these responses: by considering the process through which the bereaved were permitted to select inscriptions, the sources from which they derived consolation, and the narratives that they pursued throughout the post-war period to 1930. Parallel to these permanent headstone inscriptions are considered the ephemeral commemoration of the newspaper *in memoriam* column, a source of material that has received scant attention but which promises a rich glimpse into the conventions of early-twentieth-century mourning – conventions which are still resonant almost a century after the First World War broke out. To contextualise post-war responses, the thesis introduces commemorative practices used to remember those who died in the South African War and in the sinking of the *Titanic*, many of which were used again in the aftermath of 1918.

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INTRODUCTION

Harris wanted to get out at Hampton Church, to go and see Mrs Thomas's tomb.

'Who is Mrs Thomas?' I asked.

'How should I know?' replied Harris. 'She's a lady that's got a funny tomb, and I want to see it.'

I objected. I don't know whether it is that I am built wrong, but I never did seem to hanker after tombstones myself. I know that the proper thing to do, when you get to a village or town, is to rush off and enjoy the graves; but it is a recreation that I always deny myself. I take no interest in creeping round dim and chilly churches behind wheezy old men, and reading epitaphs. Not even the sight of a bit of cracked brass let into a stone affords me what I call real happiness.

I shock respectable sextons by the imperturbability that I am able to assume before exciting inscriptions, and by my lack of enthusiasm for the local family history, while my ill-concealed anxiety to get outside wounds their feelings.

*Jerome K. Jerome, Three Men in a Boat*¹

Playing it for laughs is not how we now conceive the Victorians' usual attitude to death. Born in 1859, Jerome K. Jerome was undoubtedly a 'Victorian', yet by the time of his death in 1927 he had witnessed significant changes in the way in which British society approached the subjects of death, bereavement, grief and mourning. He had lived with, and probably accepted, highly-ritualised codes relating to death and its aftermath, as demonstrated by the pervasive paraphernalia of Victorian mourning, the rise of the etiquette manual and an anxiety over visible respectability.² He had seen the Evangelical emphasis on 'good' and 'bad' deaths; lived in a period of pronounced demographic change, increased urbanisation and fluctuating mortality rates; and witnessed the shift in accepted methods of disposal – first within the garden cemetery movement and then in the legalisation and increasing use of cremation. His

¹ Jerome K. Jerome, *Three Men in a Boat* (London: Penguin, 2007), p. 63.

² Jerome experienced the death of both his parents in 1872, when he was 13.

whimsical account of Harris, George and ‘J.’ (to say nothing of the dog), travelling up the Thames from London to Oxford, was first published in 1889. John Wolffe argues that Jerome was writing during a decade of change. He presses the point that whereas in 1861 public reaction to Prince Albert’s death ‘lacked a commensurate ceremonial and ritual focus’, by the 1880s the situation had changed completely. The commemoration of Albert in stone and marble, notably in Sir George Gilbert Scott’s Hyde Park memorial unveiled in the early 1870s, helped this transition.³

The treatment of Mrs Thomas and her tomb covers no more than a few pages, but it suggests many of the concerns Victorians shared about death. It alludes to the disposal of the dead; the design of both whole cemeteries and individual graves; the practice of visiting cemeteries; social attempts at incorporating theology into accepted responses to bereavement; and the establishment of frameworks and standards of ‘proper’ behaviour surrounding bereavement. In popular terms the Victorians’ obsession with death has become as accepted as our own apparent enthusiasm to obscure it.⁴ We all ‘know’ that Queen Victoria never came out of mourning for Albert; that a complex web of mourning rituals commanded strict observance throughout society; and that the working-classes prioritised the dead over the living by saving for funerals – but not for weddings. We should as comfortably accept these

³ John Wolffe, *Great Deaths: Grieving, Religion, and Nationhood in Victorian and Edwardian Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 274-75.

⁴ In his book *The English Way of Death: The Common Funeral Since 1450*, Julian Litten recalls purchasing a batch of Art Deco mourning cards in 1987 and records the sales assistant’s reaction: ‘anything to do with death is morbid’. Litten notes that ‘[m]any people erect fences whenever conversation turns towards death, heaven and eternity, manoeuvring the discussion towards lighter topics’. See Litten, *The English Way of Death: The Common Funeral Since 1450* (London: Robert Hale, 2002), p. 1. My own experience echoes Litten’s. Interested enquiries about this research (when framed as ‘the commemoration of the First World War’) become slightly horrified reactions when framed as ‘the responses of the bereaved to the deaths of their sons during and after the war’.

statements at face value as we should glean our understanding of warfare on the Western Front from *Blackadder Goes Forth*. The escapades of Blackadder and company tell us much about the evolution (and intransience) of attitudes towards the war, but reveal little of the complexities of the situations depicted.⁵ All those unsmiling images of Queen Victoria ('a kind of Crape Deity') are supposed to tell us about the dictates of Victorian mourning.⁶ If we were to look further, they could tell us so much more: about the conventions of nineteenth-century royal photography; the iconography of a queen without a king; and the dual presentation and promotion of domestic and royal families. The hazard of accepting this rather one-dimensional view means that a more nuanced understanding of bereavement, grief and mourning can struggle to follow. While Queen Victoria was assiduous in her observance of mourning rituals, her self-imposed seclusion from public life fuelled republican discontent in the 1870s. Her subjects could only imitate her behaviour if they could afford to do so. Certainly, for ordinary working people it was out of the question. They could not indulge in a form of mourning hibernation when the income each family member contributed was vital to the household budget. When the Fabian Maud Pember Reeve documented the lives and budgets of working-class families in Lambeth, she noted that it was common for families whose income was 20s per week to save between 6d and 1s 6d for burial insurance. This figure, she noted, represented '2½ to 10 per cent of the whole household allowance'.⁷ Sometimes this weekly payment, typically 1d per child, was held over when the allowance handed over to the

⁵ Hence Haig with his dustpan, brush and packet of toy soldiers; the commanding general in a chateau miles behind the line; and a dugout which contains a microcosm of the British Army. See Gary Sheffield, *Forgotten Victory* (London: Headline Book Publishing, 2001), pp. 1-5.

⁶ John Morley, *Death, Heaven and the Victorians* (London: Studio Vista, 1971), p. 64.

⁷ Maud Pember Reeves, *Round About a Pound a Week* (London: G. Bell and Sons, 1913). Reprinted by Persephone Books (2008), p. 58.

wife was smaller than expected. The working-classes were indeed more likely to save for funerals than for weddings, but this was not necessarily prioritising death over life. Whereas there was a long tradition of funerary clothes, specific outfits designed or purchased for weddings did not begin to develop until the 1830s – and even a century later it was only in more affluent working-class families that ‘special clothes, transport, and celebrations’ started to appear.⁸ It is difficult to measure emotion: using material signs as a barometer is tempting but can be quite misleading. One may end up with a measurement of a person’s economic or social status rather than any emotional state. One cannot really compare Queen Victoria’s grief for Albert with that of an unnamed father whose six-month-old child had died of cholera in August 1911, and who, from a weekly wage of 24s, spent 1s on a black tie for the funeral.⁹ As Julie-Marie Strange rightly points out, ‘pragmatism in the face of grief [was not] tantamount to indifference’.¹⁰ The persuasive imagery of historical shorthand should be handled with care.

Two very broad themes dominate the historiography of Victorian responses to death. The slightly artificial nature of categorising such a large library of work means that, of course, the two themes often overlap. The first is concerned with documented human responses to death and bereavement: including the treatment of the body, the physical disposal of the corpse and the spiritual environment in which disposal took

⁸ Elizabeth Roberts, ‘The Lancashire Way of Death’, in Ralph Houlbrooke, ed., *Death, Ritual, and Bereavement* (London: Routledge, 1989), p. 190. The Victoria and Albert Museum’s collection of wedding apparel dates only from the 1830s, while Philip Delamore from the London College of Fashion dates the development of the classic white wedding dress from Queen Victoria’s wedding in 1840. See Delamore, *The Wedding Dress: A Sourcebook* (London: Pavilion Books, 2005), p. 14.

⁹ Pember Reeves, *Round About A Pound A Week*, p. 62.

¹⁰ Julie-Marie Strange, *Death, Grief and Poverty in Britain 1870-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p. 262.

place.¹¹ The second broad theme focuses on the materiality of death which recognised the role of the physical environment of the dead and the extensive range of funerary paraphernalia that was widely promoted.¹² Historians are, of course, never short of middle ground, and in particular Wolffe's work on the deaths of prominent figures in the Victorian and Edwardian periods, and Lou Taylor's costume and social history of mourning, both sit here.¹³

The impact of the First World War, improvements in the standard of living with the consequent decline in mortality rates, and a gradual professionalization of death management are three elements that provoked a twentieth-century debate about the profile of death. Philippe Ariès and Geoffrey Gorer both argue that as the idea of 'private life' was extended, death became obscured from public view. They cited the increasing numbers of people who died in hospital rather than at home. In the nineteenth century it had been common to die at home. The corpse was then laid out and placed in its coffin in the front (or sometimes, only) room until the funeral. One of Elizabeth Roberts's respondents (born 1898) recalled the death of her younger

¹¹ Douglas J. Davies draws on Arnold van Gennep and his work on rites of passage. See Davies, *Death, Ritual and Belief* (London: Cassell, 1997). Wolffe also draws on van Gennep's work, regarding the body 'as a microcosm of society'. Wolffe, *Great Deaths*, p. 4. Pat Jalland's research on upper-middle-class and aristocratic families resulted in *Death in the Victorian Family* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996) in which she focused on the Evangelical influence on death and dying. A 'good' death was one in which the dying person was spiritually prepared and reconciled. Joanna Bourke refers to this axis of death in her *Dismembering the Male* (London: Reaktion Books, 1996) – unsurprisingly focusing on the 'bad' deaths of the First World War.

¹² Mourning paraphernalia meant that remembrance of the dead person could be framed as a series of memorial texts and objects. See also J.S. Curl, *The Victorian Celebration of Death* (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 1972); J.S. Curl, *Death and Architecture* (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 2002); Hugh Meller and Brian Parsons, *London Cemeteries* (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 2008); Brian Parsons, *The London Way of Death* (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 2001); Sarah Rutherford, *The Victorian Cemetery* (Oxford: Shire Publications, 2008); Trevor May, *The Victorian Undertaker* (Oxford: Shire Publications, 2008); Nicholas Penny, *Mourning* (London: HMSO, 1981).

¹³ Wolffe, *Great Deaths*; Lou Taylor, *Mourning Dress: A Costume and Social History* (London: Routledge, 1983).

sister, who had died in hospital: '[t]hey brought her back home, and she was in the front room, the coffin was on chairs...The neighbours came and the children from school as well.'¹⁴ Roberts comments that in late nineteenth-century Lancashire it was unusual for a fourteen year-old not to have witnessed or to have attended a funeral. Ariès and Gorer also argue that the professionalization of death management was a crucial factor in obscuring death from public view. The respective roles of the undertaker, and the local woman who could be called upon to deliver babies and lay out the dead, had co-existed for several centuries.¹⁵ By the mid-nineteenth century undertakers would offer a range of standard funeral catering to different budgets. The itemised billheads provided by the undertakers show both a gulf in the materiality of death and the social significance this materiality represented.¹⁶ As business documents, one would not expect them to address the management of emotion. But as the nineteenth century turned into the twentieth, death management started to blend professionalism with domestic and religious language. Undertakers turned into funeral 'directors' who removed the corpse to a funeral 'home' or 'chapel of rest'. In adopting this language, business managers signalled their awareness of societal changes to death and bereavement. Traditional laying-out skills started with washing the body and placing pennies on the eyelids. Another of Elizabeth Roberts's respondents phlegmatically recalled:

...cotton wool up their nose and back-passage, and a nappy on, and a pair of stockings. There's many a man gone with a pair of silk stockings on when we

¹⁴ Elizabeth Roberts, *A Woman's Place: An Oral History of Working-Class Women 1890-1940* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1995), p. 20.

¹⁵ The earliest recorded undertakers seem to have appeared in the late seventeenth century, with their services relating more to coffin and cortege than to the corpse itself. See Litten, *The English Way of Death*, pp. 17-19.

¹⁶ See Maurice Rickards, *The Encyclopedia of Ephemera* (London: The British Library, 2000), p. 156.

couldn't find anything else...And a night-shirt or whatever they had. We would generally put them a clean one on...and put a book, a prayer book, under their chin to hold it. And if they had any teeth get them back in if you could.¹⁷

As Mary Bradbury observes, the women who knew how to lay out a corpse eventually died themselves and their skill passed from the known amateur to the unknown professional. Embalming started to be practiced in Britain from the beginning of the twentieth century.¹⁸

Until the professionalization of death management had evolved in the middle years of the twentieth century, the management of emotion appeared to stay within the semi-private confines of the family. As Jalland argues, emotion and its expression were both key to the Evangelical response to death: the 'emotional upsurge was reinforced by the literature, particularly the poetry, of the Romantic movement'.¹⁹ Emotion was not professionally managed but its semi-public display was key: in letters, diaries, memorials and actions (including metaphorical actions such as the drawing down of window blinds). The most literate forms of expression were relevant to the upper-middle and aristocratic classes, who had the means and time of display; but not an avenue open to ordinary working people: this remained an economic rather than a social or emotional one.

In contrast to the Ariès thesis, David Cannadine argues that death did not become hidden at all. Rather, he argues that it became ubiquitous, and cites the First World

¹⁷ Roberts, *A Woman's Place*, p. 189. The respondent was recalling her experience of the 1920s.

¹⁸ Mary Bradbury, *Representations of Death* (London: Routledge, 1989), pp. 16-17.

¹⁹ Jalland, *Death in the Victorian Family*, p. 4.

War as an accelerator of that ubiquity.²⁰ Disputing the therapeutic value of funerary paraphernalia, he claims that elaborate rituals and funerary furnishings impeded recovery from bereavement.²¹ John Morley argues that elaborate frameworks of mourning ‘succumbed before the vast numbers of the [war] dead...The stage had become too wide for propriety’.²² Reading personal accounts and letters of condolence, however, the extent to which propriety was sought is striking: perhaps that was all that was left. There was still comfort to be gained from the accepted materiality of death. As Vera Brittain recorded in her diary in March 1916, three months after the death of her fiancé: ‘Miss Lorimer...seemed very delighted to see me, and strangely moved by the sight of me in mourning; the reason of which she of course knew, even if my ring hadn’t told her’.²³ The decision to wear a mourning ring is not merely an example of Brittain following convention. In 1915 she declined to accept an engagement ring and would later recall her inward annoyance at the ‘label’ of engagement. The status of fiancée or sweetheart, however, was tenuous. It carried no official recognition – a fiancée was not recognised as next-of-kin by the Imperial War Graves Commission – and her position in her future family then existed precariously and through continuing goodwill.²⁴ Brittain’s diaries show that her post-war relationship with the Leightons was indeed delicate; she expected them to deny her copyright permission (which of course they, not she, owned) to reproduce

²⁰ ‘It is often said that death is hidden in contemporary society,’ observes Mary Bradbury, ‘but I am not so sure. As I trundled along behind the mourners I saw a funeral parlour I had failed to notice before and a signpost to the crematorium. If we look, we can see that the business of disposing of the dead is part of the urban landscape.’ *Representations of Death: A Social Psychological Perspective*, p. 5.

²¹ David Cannadine, ‘War and Death, Grief and Mourning in Modern Britain’, in J. Whaley, ed., *Mirrors of Mortality: Studies in the Social History of Death* (London: Europa, 1981), pp. 187-242.

²² Morley, *Death, Heaven and the Victorians*, p. 79.

²³ Vera Brittain, *Chronicle of Youth* (edited by Alan Bishop and Terry Smart, London: Gollancz, 1981), p. 318.

²⁴ See also Carol Acton, *Grief in Wartime* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007).

Roland's letters and poems in *Testament of Youth*. *In memoriam* notices show the semi-detached position of a fiancée. Her name would be recorded last in a list of bereaved, which would start with the soldier's parents and then be followed by his siblings and aunts and uncles. The fiancée would not be in receipt of the soldier's personal effects. Although in *Testament of Youth* Brittain recalls her arrival at the Leightons' cottage 'to find his mother and sister standing in helpless distress in the midst of his returned kit, which was lying, just opened, all over the floor'²⁵, in her introduction to *Chronicle of Youth* (published eleven years after Brittain's death), Clare Leighton provides a rather different account:

It is a cold morning in January and I am in the garden of our cottage in Sussex. My father is with me. I carry two heavy kettles. They are filled with boiling water, for we are about to bury the tunic – blood-stained and bullet-riddled - in which Roland has been killed....Father watches the windows of the house, for my mother must not see this tunic that Father has hidden from the packages of Roland's effects returned from France. I am to thaw the frozen earth so that it may be buried out of sight.²⁶

Brittain was not above distorting actual events for dramatic licence (notably in her 1933 account of her 'provincial young ladyhood' and struggle to get to Oxford) but, as Hilary Bailey concludes, perhaps she needed to be there when Roland's effects were returned, 'with the mother and sister of the dead hero, the trio of womenfolk going through a catharsis of mourning'.²⁷ Throughout her diaries and volumes of autobiography, Brittain indicated that a proper observance of mourning was important

²⁵ Vera Brittain, *Testament of Youth* (London: Gollancz, 1948), pp. 178-79.

²⁶ Brittain, *Chronicle of Youth*, p. 11. By the time Dr Alan Bishop approached Clare Leighton for the publication of *Chronicle of Youth* the friendship between Leighton and Brittain (who had died in 1970) had long since ended. Brittain's biographers suggest that a cause of the final rift was some unflattering descriptions of Mr and Mrs Leighton in *Testament of Experience*. See Berry and Bostridge, *Vera Brittain: A Life*, pp. 492-3.

²⁷ Hilary Bailey, *Vera Brittain* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1987), p. 33.

to her. She always remembered anniversaries and attached importance to the significance of flowers and memorial notices.²⁸

Vera Brittain's example suggests that, while the First World War accelerated the demise of certain forms of mourning (the strict sequestering of women, a physically restrictive clothing code, deathbed farewells and funeral ritual), it actually consolidated others. These responses included writing death and *in memoriam* notices, exchanging letters of condolence, and finding a surrogate grave to visit. There seems to have been a greater emphasis on words than actions – because the war placed fewer restrictions on words, while actions (such as holding a funeral, visiting the grave) were constrained by events. Cecil Harcourt Smith's entreaties to *The Times* and in his collection *Inscriptions Suggested for War Memorials* raised the profile of words, and their originating sources, in the process of commemoration.²⁹ These memorials were as public as had been the Evangelical responses to death in the late nineteenth century, but the basis on which they had built had altered somewhat. The Romantic strain that had characterised Evangelism had by no means disappeared.

In some ways, the First World War did fundamentally change the way in which bodies were treated in death. The gruesome impact that the tools of industrialised war wrought on the human body were captured in contemporary photographs, still on display in battlefield museums as at Hill 62 in Zillebeke.³⁰ The British government's

²⁸ Important and interesting as Vera Brittain's testimony is, it is as important not to consider hers a universal voice or experience.

²⁹ Cecil Harcourt Smith, *Inscriptions Suggested for War Memorials* (London: Victoria & Albert Museum, 1919). Harcourt Smith was the museum's director from 1909-24.

³⁰ An example of these contemporary photographs can be found at the Hill 62 Museum in Zillebeke.

policy of non-repatriation necessitated both the construction of cemeteries in battlefield areas and made impossible a funeral at home.³¹ The treatment of names in memorial environments provided a counterpoint to the treatment that bodies received in battlefield areas. If the First World War was a significant turning-point in the treatment of bodies in the twentieth century, then an arguably bigger one had been the Anatomy Act in 1834. Ruth Richardson's work on the Act has shown how the corpses of paupers could be treated as disposable commodities.³² Even when the corpses of the poor were treated with as much dignity as material circumstances allowed, the pauper's grave was a communal pit dug on the outskirts of the churchyard or cemetery, into which the corpse would be interred within insubstantial deal coffins. As Strange notes, 'flimsy wooden coffins decomposed quicker than those made of thick oak or lined in lead, enabling cemetery authorities to reuse the grave space after fourteen years or so'. She also points out that the uniform size of coffins had distressing consequences when a corpse was too big for the coffin.³³

If Jerome K. Jerome was using Mrs Thomas to highlight Victorian attitudes to death, her example presents a limited range of expectations. Mrs Thomas is ascribed no identity beyond her marital status and name; the existence of her 'funny tomb' suggests that it is unusual, probably entailed some expense and, therefore, indicates her status as a relatively wealthy woman. In deciding to find the tomb, Harris (who 'revels in tombs, and graves, and epitaphs, and monumental inscriptions') is following

³¹ In *The London Way of Death*, Brian Parsons slightly overstates this position by arguing that 'with so many men dying away from home there were no funerals to attend'. Funerals certainly changed form; many of the men and animals which would have been involved in a funeral cortege were enlisted in war service. See Parsons, *The London Way of Death*.

³² Ruth Richardson, *Death, Dissection and the Destitute* (London: Phoenix Press, 2001).

³³ Strange, *Death, Grief and Poverty*, p. 149.

an established Victorian tradition of visiting cemeteries.³⁴ The keeper at Hampton Church is ‘bewildered’ that Jerome does not want to ‘see the tombs’. Morley has vividly described the implications of intramural burial, citing ‘the intolerable smells [which, during services] arose through the planks of the chapel’.³⁵ Implications for public health prompted the development of ‘garden cemeteries’ such as Kensal Green (1833) and Highgate (1839). Philosophically they reflected the ideas of eighteenth-century landscapers such as Lancelot Brown and Humphrey Repton, evoking the ideal of pastoral landscape as Arcadia. In design terms they drew inspiration from the cemetery at Père Lachaise in Paris. The garden cemeteries represented a counterpoint to increasing urbanisation. Cannadine has described them as ‘Hampstead for the dead’, wide avenues displaying the most prominent (and expensive) monuments and narrower lanes showing more modest tombs.³⁶ Highgate’s catacombs attracted visitors on Sunday afternoons, and tours of both Highgate and Kensal Green now flourish again. In Jerome’s narrative, there is no ambiguity about Harris’s status as a tourist: ‘[he] said he had looked forward to seeing Mrs Thomas’s grave from the first moment that the trip was proposed – said he wouldn’t have joined if it hadn’t been for the idea of seeing Mrs Thomas’s tomb’.³⁷ Defending his own lack of interest in the churchyard, Jerome explains to the keeper that not only does his Uncle Podger have ‘a tomb in Kensal Green Cemetery that is the pride of all the countryside’, but also that his great-aunt Susan’s has a ‘headstone with a coffee-pot sort of thing in bas-relief upon it, and a six-inch white stone coping all the way round, that cost pounds’. The

³⁴ Jerome, *Three Men in a Boat*, p. 66. Interestingly, a prescribed code of etiquette when visiting cemeteries does not seem to have existed, there being no mention of one in any of the etiquette books consulted on the period.

³⁵ Morley, *Death, Heaven and the Victorians*, p. 38.

³⁶ Cannadine, ‘War and Death, Grief and Mourning in Modern Britain’, p. 192.

³⁷ Jerome, *Three Men in a Boat*, p. 66.

design of individual tombs and headstones in cemeteries such as Highgate and Kensal Green employed a recognised vocabulary of symbols, including crosses, urns, angels, clasped hands and broken columns. Great-aunt Susan's 'coffee-pot sort of thing' was probably a Greek or Roman urn. Signifying death, the urn fulfilled the same symbolic function as a cenotaph (denoting an empty tomb or sarcophagus).³⁸ This vocabulary, realised in relatively durable materials such as stone and marble, encouraged a general impression of the longevity of memory, while failing to acknowledge that such monuments were beyond the financial reach of many people. As far as the preservation of Victorian cemeteries are concerned, the twenty-first century view of such buildings is one of 'necessary rescue', a view fostered by popular television campaigns such as the BBC's *Restoration* programme (2003-06) and the establishment of 'Friends' organisations at Highgate or Kensal Green.³⁹ The cemeteries become universal metaphors of memory, when they speak really only for those who designed the site, who chose and paid for individual monuments. The vocabulary of monumental mourning resulted in an aesthetic environment that provoked widely contrasting reactions. To Hugh Meller, an architectural advisor to the Victorian Society and a curator to the National Trust, the garden cemeteries displayed a 'marvellous conjunction of artifice and nature'.⁴⁰ To Frederic Kenyon, director of the British Museum (1909-31), the military cemeteries needed to avoid resembling French communal cemeteries whose sites were packed even more closely than their English counterparts with a 'jumbled mass of individual monuments of all

³⁸ For a more detailed explanation of individual symbolism, see Arnold Whittick, *Symbols, Signs and Their Meaning* (London: Leonard Books Ltd, 1960), p. 286ff.

³⁹ In contrast to *Restoration*, Channel 4 broadcast *Demolition* (2005), inviting viewers to nominate which public structures should top its poll.

⁴⁰ Hugh Meller and Brian Parsons, *London Cemeteries* (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 2008), p. 19.

sorts and sizes and of all variety of quality'.⁴¹ In his capacity as advisor to the Imperial War Graves Commission, he recommended the use of 'orderly rows' of headstones which would 'have both dignity and inspiration'.⁴² The changing fashions and tastes in memorial architecture helped to reflect the complex attitudes to memory and commemoration.⁴³ The Imperial War Graves Commission's sites opened a new chapter in cemetery design, a chapter as influential as had been the garden cemetery movement the best part of a century earlier. As Francis, Kellaher and Neophytou acknowledge in their research on London cemeteries, the addition of a crematorium in the City of London Cemetery in 1965 'represented an equal, unsentimental system that treated everyone as equal in death, a philosophy that mirrored the earlier principles of the Commonwealth War Graves Commission'.⁴⁴ The kerb-free stones that, through the Commission's influence had become popular with cemetery managers, were not always willingly accepted by the bereaved. Potential buyers at the City of London Cemetery 'objected...because it did not prevent traffic over the grave'.⁴⁵ The changing interpretation of cemetery design illustrates the different emphases on memory: the polarisation between individual and collective, public and

⁴¹ Frederic Kenyon, *War Graves: How the Cemeteries Abroad Will Be Designed* (London: HMSO, 1918), p. 6.

⁴² Kenyon, *War Graves*, p. 6.

⁴³ The report published by the Select Committee on Environment, Transport and Regional Affairs in 2001 shows that these complexities still existed. According to a Home Office minister, burial policy 'was only exceeded in its importance by its difficulty'. *Eighth Report* (2001), introduction. See <<http://www.publications/parliament.uk/pa/cm200001/cmselect/cmevtra/91/9102.htm>> [accessed 28 August 2011] (para. 1 of 31).

⁴⁴ Doris Francis, Leonie Kellaher and Georgina Neophytou, *The Secret Cemetery* (Oxford: Berg, 2005), p. 44. The personal inscriptions allowed on IWGC headstones were not, however, 'sentimental' – but they could be emotional.

⁴⁵ Francis *et al*, *The Secret Cemetery*, p. 45.

private; while the reuse of individual graves is a reminder both of the shelf-life of memory and its social positioning within its host community.⁴⁶

The Commission's cemeteries were built on land acquired from the French and Belgian governments 'in perpetuity'. This led both to a commitment to maintain a particular form of commemoration, and a reluctance to question it. The idea of perpetual memory certainly did not originate with the Commission, but its cemeteries created a very public platform of endorsement. When Captains the Hon. John Colborne and Frederic Brine compiled a record of monument inscriptions from the Crimean War, they prefaced the volume with a plea for 'undying remembrance'.⁴⁷ The idea of perpetual memory struck a resonant chord with the public in the aftermath of the First World War, as shown by monumental and personal inscriptions.

The Commission trod new ground in its resolution to commemorate officers and other ranks in a uniform manner. Letters from the Western Front, now housed in the Imperial War Museum, show that the initial organisation of battlefield cemeteries by military units tended to run along the lines of rank, with officers buried in a separate section. Visitors to the complete Commission cemeteries are now accustomed to finding a brigadier-general buried next to a corporal. George Mosse argues that, in contrast with nineteenth-century memorials that focused on the heroic commander, a 'cult of the fallen soldier' developed in the post-1918 period. Catherine Moriarty, the

⁴⁶ See Paul Connerton, *How Societies Remember* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989); Maurice Halbwachs, *How Societies Remember* (edited by Lewis A. Coser, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992).

⁴⁷ John Colborne and Frederic Brine, *The Last of the Brave: or Resting Places of Our Fallen Heroes in the Crimea and at Scutari* (London: Ackerman & Co., 1857), p. v.

Imperial War Museum's first coordinator of the UK National Inventory of War Memorials and a leading authority on British figurative memorials, has extended the analogy with her examination of wartime portrait photography.⁴⁸

The principal limitation of the current historiography – and, indeed, of a summary such as this – lies in its repeated relation to the First World War. The war still tends to form an epilogue to the Victorian and Edwardian periods, suggesting that everything led inexorably to that point, or implying that 1914-18 was a watershed after which nothing could ever be the same. While this approach has not gone unchallenged, the war still appears explicitly as an epilogue in Jalland's *Death in the Victorian Family* (1996) and, more recently in Strange's *Death, Grief and Poverty in Britain 1870-1914* (2005). In fairness to Jalland and Strange, this may be a strategy favoured by their publishers' assessment of expectations of the reading public. Adrian Gregory comments that the working title to his most recent book, *The Last War*, was disallowed on the grounds that the public would assume the book was about the Second World War.⁴⁹ This thesis seeks to marry to the two historiographical themes and blend the wider historical period, showing how human responses and materiality were linked over a wider period. My aim is to explore the languages, patterns and sources used in memorial texts to those killed in the First World War. My particular focus is the personal inscriptions engraved in the cemeteries of the Imperial War Graves Commission in the period after 1918. I take issue with the idea

⁴⁸ Catherine Moriarty, 'Though in a Picture Only': Portrait Photography and the Commemoration of the First World War', in Gail Braybon, ed., *Evidence, History and the Great War: Historians and the Impact of 1914-18* (Oxford: Berghahn, 2003), pp. 30-47.

⁴⁹ Adrian Gregory, *The Last Great War: British Society and the First World War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008). It should be noted that Pat Jalland's latest book uses the timeframe 1914-1970. See Jalland, *Death in War and Peace: A History of Loss and Grief in England, 1914-1970* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).

of the war was a cultural watershed, arguing that the language and sentiments that were frequently expressed in memorial texts contradict this popular assumption. To provide historical context, I examine how a variety of civil and military disasters were commemorated in the years preceding the First World War: the commemoration of the South African War (1899-1902); the sinking of the *Titanic* (1912); the death and commemoration of Captain Scott (1912-23); and the mining disaster at Senghenydd (1913). From these four events I examine memorial inscriptions as well as a range of commemorative objects usually produced to raise funds for surviving dependents of those who had been killed.

I deliberately decided to take a qualitative, rather than quantitative, approach to my exploration of First World War headstones. Eleven military cemeteries form the sample: Birr Cross Roads, Hooge Crater, Menin Road South, Woods, Hedge Row, 1st Duke of Cornwall's Light Infantry (DCLI), Oak Dump, Ypres Ramparts, Ypres Reservoir, Chester Farm and Sanctuary Wood. All are sited in the former Ypres Salient which was familiar – in very different ways – to so many British soldiers and their families at home. David Lloyd has shown how potent was the name 'Ypres' in his study of battlefield tourism.⁵⁰ To Rudyard Kipling, one of the founder commissioners of the IWGC, 'there was no portion of the Empire and hardly any race within the Empire that was not represented among the vast cloud of witnesses to Freedom [*sic*] that lie on the Flanders front'.⁵¹ My selection included both battlefield and concentrated cemeteries. Some, such as Sanctuary Wood, had been established

⁵⁰ David Lloyd, *Battlefield Tourism: Pilgrimage and the Commemoration of the Great War in Britain, Australia and Canada, 1919-1939* (Oxford: Berg: 1998).

⁵¹ Commonwealth War Graves Commission (CWGC) Archives, WG 9. Kipling was responding to a letter written by Sir Fabian Ware in November 1917.

early in the war and subsequently enlarged; others, such as Birr Cross Roads, came into being in the late summer of 1917; whereas 1st DCLI had been in use only between April and July 1915. Common to all the cemeteries was that those with no known military distinction lay next to comrades who had been highly decorated. The individual cemetery registers tell many stories: not just of military exploits but also of pre-war lives, occupations and, implicitly, motivations to enlist.

Eight of the cemeteries contained more than 60% of known burials and one, Birr Cross Roads, fell just short of this percentage (59.2%). While Hooge Crater and Sanctuary Wood both had low percentages of known burials (39.5% and 31.9% respectively), their survey contributed over 1100 personal inscriptions to the overall sample, and many significant examples are included in the main text. In total, just over 40% of known burials in these cemeteries were engraved with a personal inscription. The obvious observation is how many identified headstones were not engraved with a personal inscription at all.

Aware of the thousands of men whose bodies were never recovered, and therefore who could never be given a personal inscription, I decided to explore the *in memoriam* notices placed for these ‘missing’ men. It transpired that there was a strong correlation between the missing and those *in memoriam* notices that appeared in newspapers. The two local newspapers that I use reflect two different English communities.⁵² The *Hampshire Independent* played an important part in recognising not only the men who were killed during the First World War, but also those who had

⁵² Although the majority of inscriptions are in English, I have tried to acknowledge the rich vein of Welsh and Gaelic texts that represented the many other soldiers who fought for Britain.

been lost on the *Titanic*. In 1915, the newspaper's *in memoriam* feature on the *Titanic* was just as prominent as the latest war news.⁵³ Seventy-eight casualties of the sinking were listed, suggesting that the working-class Southampton districts of Northam and St. Mary's were still badly affected by the disaster. In contrast, the *Birmingham Daily Mail* (re-titled the *Birmingham Mail* in 1917) represented an industrial conurbation which had expanded through its absorption of off-comers attracted by the prospect of work and financial opportunity.

Chapter 1 discusses the civil and military disasters of the pre-war years. Chapter 2 focuses on the development of the Imperial (now Commonwealth) War Graves Commission and, in particular, the commemorative relationship between bodies and names. In Chapter 3 the form and structure of individual memorial texts is explored, while Chapter 4 takes a look at some of the sources from which texts were selected. Chapter 5 explores individual texts through two parallel narratives: one that focused on the experience of wartime service and experience; another that centred around the state and experience of bereavement.⁵⁴

However, it might be fitting to leave the last word to the keeper of Mrs Thomas's grave, through his lament that 'one of the tombs...had some carved upon it that

⁵³ *Hampshire Independent*, Saturday 17 April 1915, p. 10.

⁵⁴ In 2008 the bodies of 250 British and Australian soldiers were discovered in a mass grave in Fromelles. Forensic archaeologists have been working to identify as many of the soldiers as possible, using DNA technology. Individual re-burials began in 2010. The Ministry of Defence expressed a hope that the descendants of those soldiers who could be formally identified would 'be able to add a personalised inscription on the headstone at a later date'. <<http://mod.uk/DefenceInternet/DefenceNews/HistoryAndHonour/FromellesExcavationEndsAfter250BodiesRecovered.htm>>. [accessed 28 February 2010] (para. 11 of 14).

nobody had been able to decipher'.⁵⁵ Thanks primarily to the efforts of the Commonwealth War Graves Commission, this is not a fate that is likely to befall those who are buried in the military cemeteries of the First World War.

⁵⁵ Jerome, *Three Men in a Boat*, p. 65.

CHAPTER 1

COMMEMORATIVE LANGUAGES 1890-1914

For late Victorian Britons, the years 1890 to 1899 formed part of the longest period of peace since the conclusion of the Crimean War in 1856. The colonial skirmishes of the British Army generally made little impression on the lives of ordinary people: one exception was the death of General Gordon in 1885. The lapidary inscription on his monument in St Paul's Cathedral announced that 'he died in the heroic attempt to save men, women and children from imminent and deadly peril'.⁵⁶ The general failure of the army to impress its exploits on wider public memory is partly explained by the historical, fiscal and romantic predominance of the Royal Navy.⁵⁷ The South African War (1899-1902) made a greater impact on the Edwardian public. Technological developments such as the electric telegraph meant that news from the war could be transmitted much more quickly than had previously been the case. The most significant factor in the perception and commemoration of the war, however, was the active service of volunteer units. Their involvement led to a national building programme of war memorials and the concept of volunteerism was often specifically cited in monumental inscriptions.⁵⁸

⁵⁶ Wolfe, *Great Deaths*, pp. 152-3.

⁵⁷ The vicarious thrill of a German invasion of England stoked the public's interest in espionage. Writers such as G.A. Henty, Rider Haggard and John Buchan all identified this interest. (Buchan's Richard Hannay was a serving army officer).

⁵⁸ Sir James Gildea, *For Remembrance and in Honour of Those who Lost their Lives in the South African War 1899-1902* (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1911).

As the introduction noted, in hindsight any discussion ending in 1914 implies the onset of the First World War. Edwardian Britons could not know this. The ‘crisis of 1914’ could well have meant division in Ireland or the concerns of militant suffragettes rather than unfolding events in southern Europe. Although the core of this thesis is the personal responses of the bereaved in the aftermath of the First World War, there would be little point in beginning this account in the post-war years. A ‘language of grief’ is an umbrella term, encompassing other important discourses of idealism, realism and epitaphic language. Without some insight into a Victorian ‘language of grief’ it is difficult to read the period in the aftermath of the First World War. Some telling examples of the Victorian language of grief can be found in the twenty years preceding the outbreak of war; some can be retraced further, to responses not only to Gordon’s death but also to the Duke of Wellington’s in 1852.⁵⁹

This chapter contextualises commemorative languages within the later Victorian and Edwardian period by examining some established civil and military responses to death, bereavement, grief and mourning. The theme of these responses introduces the dual narratives explored later in Chapter 5. Lapidary inscriptions provided examples of how ordinary people permanently commemorated the deaths of members of their own families. *In memoriam* notices allowed a level of fluctuating sentiment to be expressed in a semi-public manner on the anniversaries of deaths. The physical objects associated with commemoration, such as tablets, plaques and statues, give an indication of the public representation of attitudes to death, bereavement, grief and

⁵⁹ BBC Radio 4’s discussion programme, presented by Jonathan Freedland, *The Long View*, discussed the issues of remembrance, broadcast on 9 March 2010. See also Kirk Savage, *Monument Wars: Washington, D.C., the National Mall, and the Transformation of the Memorial Landscape* (London: University of California Press, 2009).

mourning. The commodification of Edwardian disasters in material objects such as plates, mugs, napkins and books represents another interesting line of enquiry. To focus the discussion of the commemoration discourses of idealism, realism and epitaphic language, four events from the 1890-1914 period are considered: the South African War, the sinking of the *Titanic*, public reaction to the death of Captain Scott and the explosions at the Universal Colliery, Senghenydd.

The 1911 Census recorded an increase of around four million people on the previous Census and a rise in the populations aged sixty-five and over. In the 1880s and 1890s life expectancy had improved for women and men respectively, and infant mortality dropped rapidly from the early years of the new century.⁶⁰ The period 1871 to 1913 had seen the death rate for England and Wales fall from 22.6 per 1,000 to 13.8 per 1,000. Urban mortality was usually higher than its rural counterpart, but the death rate in individual cities also varied: Birmingham and Nottingham fared much better than Manchester and Sheffield. Improvements in life expectancy between 1860 and 1914 were attributed to a rise in living standards and access to better food. By 1900 many hospitals listed departments employing the new technologies of X-ray, light and electrotherapy, and could prolong their patients' lives by a more sophisticated understanding of 'body cell structures, bacteriology and aseptic procedures'.⁶¹ As such, hospitals were transformed from 'mere prisons for the deviant and depositaries for the dying' to 'major agencies for the cure and prevention of disease'.⁶² Despite such improvements, a reluctance to send sick children to hospital still existed.

⁶⁰ Jose Harris, *Private Lives, Public Spirit: Britain 1870-1914* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1994), p. 50.

⁶¹ Steven Cherry, 'Medicine and Public Health, 1900-1939' in Chris Wrigley, ed., *A Companion to Early Twentieth Century Britain* (London: Blackwell, 2003), p. 408.

⁶² Harris, *Private Lives, Public Spirit*, p. 55.

Examining case studies from the north-west of England, Strange concludes that while hospitalisation could incur financial worries, the institutionalisation of a sick child ‘challenged parental authority, restricted access to offspring and ruptured relationships’.⁶³ The testimony of families also suggested their belief that, if the child were to die, it should die at home.⁶⁴ Despite improvements in infant mortality, the loss of babies and young children remained a source of grief for hundreds and thousands of parents.

As important as the death rates themselves were their causes. These varied according to the class, gender and occupation of the individual, but are usefully discussed under the broad headings of crime, illness and occupational risk. The headline criminals of the period, such as Jack the Ripper and Dr Crippen, distort the wider picture. Although the early Victorian years had been ‘wracked’ by high levels of serious crime, reported crimes such as murder and physical assault had fallen by more than half between 1870 and 1914.⁶⁵ Illness was a more common threat. Despite improvements in sanitation that had helped to combat outbreaks of water- and food-borne disease, illnesses such as tuberculosis, diphtheria, influenza, rickets and bronchitis remained serious hazards. Steven Cherry reports that of around 150,000 people who developed tuberculosis in 1900, sixty per cent of cases proved fatal.⁶⁶ Agriculture, mining and maritime occupations also carried serious risks. Between 1890 and 1914 twenty-one mining accidents occurred in Britain. Fatalities varied

⁶³ Strange, *Death, Grief and Poverty*, pp. 42-3.

⁶⁴ While this does not satisfy the Evangelicals’ description of a ‘good death’ (where the dying person was spiritually prepared for death the life hereafter), it was at least consistent with death occurring at home.

⁶⁵ Harris, *Private Lives, Public Spirit*, p. 210.

⁶⁶ Cherry, ‘Medicine and Public Health’, p. 406.

considerably, from twenty-five deaths at Wingate Grange Colliery in Durham in February 1909 to four hundred and thirty-nine deaths at Senghenydd in October 1913.⁶⁷

The 1871 Census had shown a vision of Britain as an industrialised nation that yet retained a strong agricultural base. Thirty years later that vision had vanished. The severe agricultural depression of the 1870s had forced many rural dwellers into towns and cities in search of employment, and by the turn of the century over eighty per cent of Britons lived in urban centres. The shift exacerbated existing problems associated with death and dying, which had their origins in early nineteenth-century urban migration.⁶⁸ Many parishes could not cope with an influx of new inhabitants. Overcrowding, couple with the problem of corpse disposal – acknowledged in this introduction – led to unsanitary burial arrangements. The threat to human health led to the introduction of garden cemeteries from the 1830s. Highgate, Kensal Green and the Glasgow Necropolis were all products of this new approach.

Highgate, in common with the other London cemeteries of its type, was established and run by a private company.⁶⁹ Burials were rarely threatened by the activities of the ‘Resurrectionists’ as the cemetery was established after the 1834 Anatomy Act.

⁶⁷ Helen and Baron Duckham, *Great Pit Disasters: Great Britain from 1700 to the Present Day* (Newton Abbot: David and Charles, 1973), pp. 205-07; Michael Lieven, *Senghenydd: The Universal Pit Village 1890-1930* (Llandysul: Gomer, 1994).

⁶⁸ In his book discussing back-to-back housing, Chris Upton acknowledges the problems of inner-city living. The problems were well-known at the time and the subject of some fairly graphic contemporary illustrations. The development of the last surviving court of back-to-back housing in Birmingham is now managed by the National Trust. See Upton, *Living Back-to-Back* (Phillimore & Co. Ltd., 2005).

⁶⁹ Norwood was established in 1838, Abney Park and Brompton in 1840 and Tower Hamlets in 1841. See Sallie Purkiss, *Using Memorials* (London: English Heritage, 1995); Meller and Parsons, *London Cemeteries*.

Tombstones, decorated with a wide range of funerary symbolism mentioned in this introduction, included plain vertical stele, recumbent slabs, Cotswold tombs and pedestal tombs. Markers were commonly designed with a ‘head’ and a ‘foot’, with many continuing the style by fashioning the whole tomb as a bed. This popular design not only created a defined physical space in which the corpse could lie, but also evoked the metaphor of sleep. Cemetery authorities also allowed burial in mausolea or mastaba.⁷⁰ These could be dedicated to a single individual or to a family group. A specially-designed mausoleum at Highgate held hundreds of coffins. This sort of arrangement became a sort of local tourist attraction; of St Martin-in-the-Fields, the *Sunday Times* reported that ‘crowds of ladies perambulated the vaults for some time, and the whole had more the appearance of a fashionable parade than a grim repository of decaying mortality’.⁷¹

Provincial cemeteries displayed an equal range of tombstones and funerary symbolism. Lodge Hill Cemetery was built at public expense in a south-west suburb of Birmingham in 1895. The original site included a chapel (now disused) in which services could be held. The cemetery was extended in the 1930s and a crematorium added, reflecting the growing acceptance of cremation before the Second World War. The pre-1914 cemetery may lack some of the opulence of Highgate but the range of styles is still diverse. Classical allusions continued, even to the extent of incorporating Doric or Ionic columns within gravemarkers. This reflected domestic

⁷⁰ The word *mausoleum*, meaning a magnificent tomb or monument, originates from the commemoration of Mausolos (died 353 BC) by his widow Artemesia at Halicarnassus. A *mastaba* originates from Egypt, featuring a tomb with two chambers: an outer chamber in which offering to the dead were made, and an inner chamber that contained an image of the deceased. The grave itself was buried below this structure. Sarah Rutherford makes the distinction between mausolea and mastaba in *The Victorian Cemetery* (Oxford: Shire, 2008).

⁷¹ Morley, *Death, Heaven and the Victorians*, p. 33.

architecture of the same period and provided an architectural suggestion of 'home' to the gravestone.

The themes introduced in tombstone designs were echoed in their lapidary inscriptions. These themes recur in Chapters 4 and 5 and include the denial of death, sleep, a sometimes provide expression of Christian faith, an emphasis on the family unit and a sense of absence, loss and separation. While some tombstones acknowledged death by simply recording the date of death, the greater preference was to employ a battery of euphemisms such as 'resting', 'passed away', 'asleep' or simply 'gone'.⁷² Each of these phrases could be reworked in many ways. The existence of these reworkings suggested the social and linguistic difficulties associated with bereavement. Lapidary texts, in common with other forms mourning, trod a conflicting line between making bereavement obvious while obscuring a too-obvious expression of grief.⁷³ The metaphor of sleep can be found in Psalms 127:2 ('He giveth his beloved sleep') and in poems by Elizabeth Barrett Browning (1806-61) and Sarah Doudney (1841-1926). Death as sleep also recurred in the form of 'rest' (compare 'rest in peace', 'at rest' and 'resting'). Other lapidary inscriptions stressed the existence and cohesion of the family unit by gathering several members linguistically on a single headstone. The First World War did not disrupt this tradition.

⁷² On the gravestones recorded by Colborne and Brine, the euphemism and popular metaphor 'asleep' was notable by its absence. In contrast, it was found regularly on headstones in Imperial War Graves Commission cemeteries after the First World War.

⁷³ For example, mourning dress and custom made it plain that a family had suffered a bereavement, yet female members were expected to remain isolated from society. John Galsworthy described this social tension through the character of Irene Heron in *A Man of Property* (1906).

Civil responses to death, bereavement, grief and mourning were not confined to the churchyard or cemetery. Over several decades Victorian and Edwardian society had refined a complex web of rituals and customs relating to death and the expression of grief.⁷⁴ While many of these customs focused on the relationship between the bereaved and wider society, at their centre was the renegotiation of the connection between the living and the recently dead. One of the most visible aspects of mourning was the clothing that women were required to wear. Although this was an instantly-recognised non-verbal form of a language of grief, whether it expressed grief or merely acquiescence to expected custom, has been disputed.⁷⁵ The duration of mourning fulfilled both functions, sending a signal to society as to the status of the deceased, while focusing the mourner's grief on the deceased. As early as the 1820s the firm Courtaulds had 'established a virtual monopoly of the manufacture of crape' and between the 1840s and 1860s it 'exploited the commercial potential of crape to the full, aided by the introduction of fashion magazines for middle-class women'.⁷⁶ The *Ladies Field*, *The English Woman's Domestic Magazine*, *The Queen* and the *Illustrated London News* all carried selections of mourning dresses and millinery, while several large mourning warehouses advertised nationally in newspapers. Peter Robinson's Court and General Mourning Warehouse 'became known as "Black Peter

⁷⁴ Different periods of mourning were stipulated for a woman mourning a parent, a child, an infant, a stepmother, a sibling, a brother- or sister-in-law, a grandparent, an uncle or aunt, a niece or a nephew, an uncle or aunt by marriage, a great-uncle or great-aunt, a first cousin, a second cousin, husband's relations, a daughter- or son-in-law, parents of a daughter- or son-in-law, parents of a first wife or a brother or sister of a first wife. Immediately following this exhaustive list, it was noted that 'much latitude is allowed to men with regard to the foregoing periods of mourning'. *Manners and Rules of Good Society; or Solecisms to be Avoided, by a Member of the Aristocracy* (London: Frederick Warne, 1887, reprinted in 1911), pp. 243-46.

⁷⁵ See Cannadine, 'War and Death, Grief and Mourning in Modern Britain', pp. 187-242.

⁷⁶ Jalland, *Death in the Victorian Family*, pp. 300-01.

Robinson” to distinguish it from its non-mourning branch’.⁷⁷ The *Illustrated London News* reported that the death of Prince Albert ‘plunged the nation into so deep and lasting regret [leading to] an almost incalculable demand for mourning’.⁷⁸ Lou Taylor wryly notes the profits that mourning warehouses must have made in this period. While she observes that the ‘Queen’s grief was shared by her subjects’, Victoria herself displayed an emotional and economic stamina for the observance of mourning that was not universally shared by her subjects. At the weddings of two of her children in 1862 and 1863 she appeared in deep mourning (a white cap and a black silk dress heavily trimmed with crape) - even though ‘all rules of etiquette...permitted and even encouraged widows to set aside mourning at weddings, so as not to cast a gloom over the proceedings’.⁷⁹ An etiquette manual of 1887 acknowledged that if a widow remarried, it had formerly been considered ‘imperative to be married in Widow’s Colours, grey or mauve’ but now ‘a tinge of colour’ was permissible.⁸⁰ Similarly, the ‘time-honoured custom of wearing crape [had] greatly declined’.⁸¹ In this respect, then, it would seem that Victoria was following her own wishes rather than setting a trend that everyone else was following.

⁷⁷ Judith Flanders, *The Victorian House* (London: HarperPerennial, 2003), p. 343.

⁷⁸ Taylor, *Mourning Dress*, p. 156.

⁷⁹ Taylor, *Mourning Dress*, p. 159. Both marriages took place within the standard period of mourning then expected of a widow (2½ years). A note of caution should also be sounded about using royal events as conclusive examples; the Prince of Wales’s marriage was as much a dynastic event as a domestic one, and while Princess Alice’s station was far inferior to her brother’s, her marriage to Louis of Hesse in July 1862 still held political significance.

⁸⁰ *Manners and Rules of Good Society*, p. 136.

⁸¹ *Manners and Rules of Good Society*, p. 242.

A language of realism

Britain's declaration of war in 1854 ended a period of peace that had lasted since 1815. The intervening years had not been a sea of calm, but for a generation of Britons the Crimean War was the first international military conflict that they had witnessed through the pages of a popular press. The battles at Alma, Inkerman and Sebastopol were reported in great detail; and the role of Florence Nightingale attracted huge interest. Memorials to the war took a number of forms. 'Alma' became a popular name for newborn girls; houses and roads were named after other battles.⁸² The cemetery at Cathcart's Hill shows a variety of style of gravemarker, and officers' had their own enclosed burial ground.⁸³ Alan Borg acknowledges the 'entirely traditional' incorporation of captured arms into commemorative monuments. At Cheltenham, for example, a Russian artillery gun captured at Sebastopol was proudly displayed: a potent metaphor for the cost of military victory over the 'Russian bear' (until the gun was requisitioned for scrap during the Second World War; the plinth now stands empty save for an explanatory plaque).⁸⁴ In London, the Guards' memorial at Waterloo Place was sculpted with metal from captured Russian guns.⁸⁵ The Royal Artillery Memorial at Greenwich, dedicated to 'the officers, non-commissioned officers and men', showed another allegorical figure of Victory, again flanked by two mortar guns. The considerable newspaper interest shown in the war

⁸² By searching for 'Alma Road', 'Inkerman Road', 'Crimea Road' and 'Sebastopol Road' in an online database of UK streets, it transpired that over 70 'Alma Roads', 9 'Inkerman Roads', 4 'Crimea Roads' and 2 'Sebastopol Roads' were listed. <<http://streetmap.co.uk>> [accessed 10 March 2010].

⁸³ Colborne and Brine, *The Last of the Brave*.

⁸⁴ Gildea notes that the South African memorial at Devonport Park comprised 'a massive base of grey Dartmoor granite, surrounded by low railings and surmounted by a Pompom' (machine-gun). Gildea, *For Remembrance and in Honour*, p. 38.

⁸⁵ Alan Borg, *War Memorials from Antiquity to the Present* (London: Leo Cooper, 1991), p. 127.

prompted the public to engage with the military conduct of the war, but this did not always translate into memorial designs, which were more likely to reflect a language of idealism, featuring allegorical figures of honour and victory. The cover for Colborne and Brine's 1857 compilation of lapidary inscriptions owed its design to both languages of realism and idealism. It featured a broken column inscribed 'Alma', 'Inkerman', 'Balaklava' and 'Sebastopol', draped with a laurel wreath, flanked by a sailor and a guardsman surveying a collection of military hardware. Similarly, the inscriptions listed inside borrowed from both commemorative languages. Specified causes of death were few, such as 'occasioned by a wound received in the trenches', 'died of cholera', 'killed by a fall', 'died of fatigue' and 'drowned in Kazatch Bay'. Usually death was expressed in the vocabulary of a language of idealism, as will be explored in a moment.

The burial practices of the South African War were more advanced than those implemented during the Crimean. Aside from Colborne and Brine's record of graves, little attention was paid to the graves of ordinary soldiers. Westminster School's Crimean memorial incorporated losses incurred during the Indian Mutiny, which followed the heels of the Crimean War. Although the British government 'was willing to provide small iron crosses to mark the graves of those not privately commemorated', the terms in which the war's commemoration was defined can be examined through the monumental and utilitarian memorials created throughout Britain in the 1910s.⁸⁶ The principal published source for monumental memorials was, and remains, Colonel Sir James Gildea's *For Remembrance and In Honour of*

⁸⁶ Thomas Laqueur, 'Memory and Naming in the Great War', in John Gillis, ed., *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), p. 152.

Those Who Lost their Lives in the South African War 1899-1902. Gildea (1838-1920) was an officer of the Royal Warwickshire Regiment who founded the Soldiers' and Sailors' Families Association in 1885.⁸⁷ The proceeds of the book went to the Royal Homes for Officers' Widows and Daughters that Gildea had founded in 1899. Although Gildea couched his reasons for compiling the book in the language of idealism – of more later – he was committed to the Victorian practice of private philanthropy. The role of private philanthropy (rather than state sponsorship) in relation to memorials to the dead, would be questioned with some vigour in the aftermath of the First World War.

A different interpretation of a language of realism developed at the end of the twentieth century. In 1998 the Anglo-Boer War Memorial Project was established under the auspices of the Victorian Military Society. Its stated aims were to record, catalogue and photograph all Anglo-Boer memorials worldwide, to compile a list of all those engrave on the memorials and to lobby for the memorials' preservation and study. The co-ordinators now share this data with the UK National Inventory of War Memorials, established since 1989 at the Imperial War Museum.

The existence of utilitarian memorials to the South African War suggests a similar interpretation of a language of realism. In 1900 Prince Christian Victor of Schleswig-Holstein, a grandson of Queen Victoria, died from disease in Pretoria. Although his death was marked both by a conventional statue outside Windsor Castle and inclusion as part of a regimental memorial in Plymouth, eighteen memorial cottages were built

⁸⁷ In 1919 this was renamed the Soldiers', Sailors' and Airmen's Families' Association.

throughout the UK.⁸⁸ A similarly utilitarian memorial was the installation of gas standards (later converted to electricity) in St Lawrence's Church in Alton, Hampshire; this was the memorial to the townsmen who had died in the war.⁸⁹

While newspapers attempted to reflect the reality of the South African War, a more recognisable reality was presented through the explosions at the Universal Colliery in Senghenydd. The explosions on 14 October 1913 constituted the worst mining disaster in British history, claiming 439 lives. It was not the only accident to occur at that colliery; an explosion twelve years earlier had killed 81 miners. The catalogue of mining accidents between 1890 and 1914 has already been acknowledged. While the name 'Senghenydd' prompted widespread associations of death and disaster for a few months, its wider impact was overshadowed by the dreadful ubiquity of such accidents, and the outbreak of the First World War less than a year later.

The coal seam at Senghenydd was known to be a particularly gassy one, but the 1913 disaster was attributed to an electrical spark igniting an excess of coal dust. Rescue attempts were seriously hampered by insufficient underground water supplies and difficulties in providing the trapped miners with a source of fresh air. The accident occurred shortly after eight o'clock in the morning, when almost a thousand men were in the mine. Fatalities were attributed to a variety of causes: direct exposure to the fire, suffocation through lack of clean air, and falling timbers within the mine's network of corridors. Rescuers brought bodies to the surface that were 'unrecognisable by the explosion that had torn their bodies apart and burnt their faces

⁸⁸ Mark Quinlan, *British War Memorials* (Hertford: Authors OnLine, 2005), p. 33.

⁸⁹ Quinlan, *British War Memorials*, p. 33.

away so that they appeared to be faceless'.⁹⁰ There was little room for a language of idealism under these circumstances; the scenes 'moved even men hardened to violent death'. In some cases women identified their husbands, sons and brothers by looking at them; in others, identification was possible only through personal possessions found on the bodies. The scale of the fatalities made an enormous impact not only on individual families, but also on whole streets. One woman, who had been widowed in September 1912, lost four sons in the disaster. An eight-year-old boy lost his father, grandfather, two brothers, two brothers-in-law and two uncles.⁹¹ Many other children were also orphaned. One man was killed in the mine alongside his two adult sons, leaving his eighteen-year-old daughter to bring up her six younger siblings. One rescuer, Will Fisher, recalled the aftermath of the disaster in a letter to his cousin. His language reflected the necessary pragmatism of the community:

A month has gone since this terrible calamity occurred; we have recovered 165 bodies so far; and 280 still remain below in that deadly atmosphere. Every possible difficulty faces us; roads are blocked here and there by falls of roof, ventilation doors blown down, thus disorganising ventilation altogether; consequently mining experts from all over the country are here devising ways and means of carrying ventilation in by erecting brattice sheets [a strong tarred cloth] here, & doors there to enable the workings and snatch away the bodies. Then the 'Dead March', what a nightmare. We draw on leather gloves, lift a body onto a sheet of 'brattice' cloth, wrap it up, then tie it on a stretcher. 'Off with it, boys', and what a journey, even to us, used to pit work. Through the murky gloom dimly lit by the swinging lamps carried by the bearers, broken timbers overhead, cracking with the continual squeeze; stumbling over the rough road with the swinging burdens, slipping on...

⁹⁰ Michael Lieven, *Senghenydd*, pp. 226-7.

⁹¹ Lieven, *Senghenydd*, p. 228.

Fisher then described the last part of the rescue operation:

Then across the colliery yard, lit by electricity, through groups of men and women. 'Who is it?' 'Don't know, indeed', on we go. To the mortuary, walls piled high with coffins; men come forward, noses and mouths covered; unwrap the body; calling out to a man with a book, 'Moleskin trousers, patch on left knee, nailed boots, piece on right heel', etc, etc, usually the only means of identification, as faces are unrecognisable.⁹²

The last body to be received from the mine was brought to the surface in May 1914, seven months after the disaster had occurred. The abhorrence attached to leaving bodies in the mine, and the importance of giving the dead a decent burial, were strongly-held views in mining communities.⁹³ Conditions in a mine did not, of course, always permit the recovery of everyone, and denied the bereaved 'the possibility of taking part in, or benefiting from, the funeral ritual'.⁹⁴ By 1913 patterns of life expectancy in England and Wales meant that parents could reasonably expect to predecease their children, but this expectation was muted in areas such as the mining valleys where the local economy was dependent on such a dangerous industry. There was little room for a language of idealism, as Michael Lieven has argued that the:

deaths not only forced on people the destruction of future potential in their children but also memories of youthful hopes burnt away by the acid of that hardship and despair which were almost inseparable from the human condition in that society. Many women must have mourned, not the husband whose personality had been tortured and warped, but rather the young man who had seemed her equal partner

⁹² This testimony was taken from the Gathering the Jewels website run by the National Library of Wales. <<http://education.gtj.org.uk/trails/coal/coal6b.php?lang=en>> [accessed 28 August 2011].

⁹³ See Lieven, *Senghenydd*, p. 236; Angela Gaffney, *Aftermath: Remembering the Great War in Wales* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1998), pp. 100-01.

⁹⁴ Gaffney, *Aftermath*, p. 101.

and with whom the possibility of happiness had seemed to be a realisable dream before it had withered with the bitterness of the years.⁹⁵

Maud Pember Reeves noted how idealistic hopes of her respondents were gradually ground-down by the realities of life in Lambeth:

The young couple who marry and live contentedly on 20s a week are usually members of families of at least four or five persons, and have struggled through their childhood on their share of an income which may have been anything from 20s to 25s or 26s a week. Their standard of comfort is disastrously low, and they do not for the first year or two realise that even two or three children will develop into a burden which is too great for their strength. It is not the greater number of children alone: it is the greater cost of accommodating, feeding, and clothing boys and girls as they get older which increases the strain. Moreover, the separation of interests soon begins to show itself. The husband goes to the same work – hard, long, and monotonous – but at least a change from the growing discomfort of the home. He gets accustomed to seeing his wife slave, and she gets accustomed to seeing him appear and disappear on his daily round of work, which gradually appeals less and less to her imagination, till, at thirty, she hardly knows what his duties are – so overwhelmed is she in the flood of her own duties and economies. Her economies interfere with his comfort, and are irksome to him; so he gets out of touch with her point of view.⁹⁶

The official commemoration of the two disasters at Senghenydd took decades to achieve. It was not until 1981 that a memorial was erected to the men who lost their lives in 1901 and 1913. The memorial's plaque did not indulge in flights of rhetoric, merely stating that:

This memorial commemorates the 439 men who died in the explosion at Universal Colliery Senghenydd on 14 October 1913 and the 81 men who died in the earlier accident in 1901.⁹⁷

⁹⁵ Lieven, *Senghenydd*, pp. 229-30.

⁹⁶ Pember Reeves, *Round About a Pound a Week*, p. 144.

⁹⁷ This variation of the town's spelling was used on the plaque. A photograph of the memorial can be found at http://senghenydd.net/senghenydd_now/memorial_plate_inscription.html [accessed 28 August 2011]. In contrast, Senghenydd's war memorial was a clock tower situated at a prominent road junction. It was unveiled in March 1921. It was surrounded by railings, at each corner being placed the small figure of a lion. (As an emblem of character and strength the lion would not have been out of place in a mining memorial.) On the memorial were engraved the names of the 61 men who were killed in the war, alongside a brass plaque which recorded the names of the clock tower's war memorial committee. The inscription read: THE / GREAT WAR / 1914-1918 / ERECTED BY / THE / SENGHENYDD / WAR MEMORIAL / COMMITTEE / THROUGH PUBLIC SUBSCRIPTION / IN MEMORY OF / FALLEN HEROES. See UK National Inventory of War Memorials, ref. 6791.

One reason for the overwhelming use of a language of realism in the commemoration of the disaster was that there was little to be gained from detailing the causes of death. Everyone in a mining community knew the hazards of the industry, and the unfortunate likelihood of their occurrence. For the families of miners there could be no mistaking the inevitable consequences of an explosion hundreds of metres below the surface. The memorial plaque to the accident at the West Stanley colliery in February 1909 included the text:

Farewell, farewell, no tongue can tell / How brave, how true, were those who fell /
We know you did your duty well / You heroes of the mine

However, this text was composed in 1995 and the plaque was unveiled by the footballer Kevin Keegan; it did not reflect the usual commemorative language of the time. It had more in common with the grand ideas of First World War memorials (duty, heroism, nobility) than with contemporary mining memorials. A contemporary monument was inscribed:

To the honoured / And loving memory / Of the seventy-five / Men and boys / Who
lost their lives / In the explosion / Which occurred at the / Maypole Colliery Abram /
Of the Pearson & Knowles / Coal & Iron Company Ltd / On the 18th August 1908

Some distinction could be detected in the language used to commemorate these disasters and that used to commodify them. The commodification of events at Senghennydd began less than one week after the explosions, as *The Times* reported (without irony):

...motor-cars, traps and brakes came from long distances, and curious men and women have descended on the stricken valley from every part of the South Wales Coalfield. Thousands walked over the mountains, and countless cyclists jeopardized their own and other people's lives in the congested roadway leading to the colliery. Senghennydd in its hour of sorrow, might well have been spared the intrusion of this

multitude. The visitors were not callous, but they were merely curious sightseers. When they were thirsty they formed up in long lines outside the public houses, which, of course, are closed all day on Sunday except to travellers. When they were hungry they crowded into provision shops, which wisely opened their doors to them.⁹⁸

The multitude was, in fact, making a practical contribution to the relief fund set up by the Miners' Federation. Objects were produced and sold in its aid, and collections were also set up in London, Cardiff and many small Welsh towns. The objects tended to be ephemeral: postcards, memorial cards, certificates and paper napkins were all produced. Printed paper napkins had first been recorded in Britain in 1887. Although generally associated with ceremonial and processional occasions, there is a probable link to older forms of street literature, such as accounts of public executions. The whole industry of street literature was an antecedent of the popular press.⁹⁹ Paper napkins could be printed quickly and sold cheaply.¹⁰⁰ More durable objects were fashioned from ceramic or cast in precious metals; for example, gold or silver brooches were manufactured following the Albion Colliery disaster in 1894.¹⁰¹ Since they needed to find a market to fulfil their function, objects tended to be more explicit than the matter-of-fact descriptions chosen for monumental memorials that were directed to the local community. As a result the colliery accident at Senghenydd was described as 'terrible' and a 'dreadful Calamity [*sic*]'. Despite mining communities' stoicism, there was no doubt that the loss of over 430 men and boys was indeed shocking.

⁹⁸ Lieven, *Senghenydd*, p. 234.

⁹⁹ Rickards, *The Encyclopedia of Ephemera*, p. 221, p. 315.

¹⁰⁰ They could commemorate the positive as well as the negative; for example, the first non-stop trans-Atlantic crossing by pilots John William Alcock and Arthur Whitten Brown was marked in this way in June 1919.

¹⁰¹ Ceri Thompson, Big Pit, National Mining Museum for Wales.

Other commodifiable objects dwelled more on the cautionary aspect of the disaster, acknowledging the likelihood of violent death but arguing that spiritual preparation was the best way of approaching the risks faced daily. One example was the memorial card printed for the banksman at Senghenydd, John Mogridge. It comprised a piece of folded white card, bordered in black and silver. The front was printed with a design of silver ivy leaves and the phrase ‘In Loving Memory’, while the inside right page displayed the printed text:

In Loving Memory / Of / JOHN MOGRIDGE / (The beloved husband of Helen Mogridge, / 69, High Street, Senghenydd), / Who lost his life at the Senghenydd Pithead, / October 14th, 1913. / Aged 29 Years. / Interred at Eglwysilan Churchyard on October 18th, 1913

The left hand page showed a studio portrait of Mogridge, dressed not in work clothes but his Sunday suit, alongside the following selections of text:

How hard it is to part so soon, / When life began to roam;
A sudden call, whilst in the Mine, / To join the heavenly home;
How sweet the change – eternal rest, / Beyond temptations all;
A serious less ‘tis for us – / “Be ready for such call.”

A sudden change – I in a moment fell, / I had no time to bid my friends farewell;
Make nothing strange; Death happens unto all, / My lot to-day – tomorrow, you may fall.

“Therefore, be ye also ready; for in such an hour as ye think not the Son of men cometh.” – Matthew xxiv., 14

Mogridge was fortunate in being given a decent burial in Eglwysilan churchyard; as a banksman he worked at the surface of the mine and as a result his body was not buried among the broken timbers. Memorial cards were produced singly for individuals such as Mogridge or collectively on behalf of all the miners that had

died.¹⁰² Being produced quickly after the disaster, they could reflect the rising death toll. One card from Senghenydd read:

“Boasts not of thyself of to-morrow; for thou knowest not what a day may bring forth.” / In Loving Memory / Of the / 434 Colliers / Who / Lost their Lives in the terrible colliery explosion / At / The Universal Pits, at Senghenydd, / On October 14th, 1913.

Other pit disasters prompted similar cards, such as this one from the Wellington Pit explosion in May 1910:

In Loving Memory / Of the / 137 Miners, (Men and Boys), / Who were lost in the dreadful Calamity / At the Wellington Pit, Whitehaven, / May, 11th, 1910 / R.I.P.¹⁰³

Memorial certificates were also produced quickly after a disaster. Usually printed on paper, they could also be pasted onto cardboard and framed for permanent display.¹⁰⁴ Certificates were composite pieces of commemorabilia, incorporating a visual (and sometimes generic) image of the colliery, a gravestone cross, a memorial poem, a breakdown of the disaster and a list of previous incidents. (That this list tended to include only those incidents where more than a hundred miners were killed suggests the frequency of explosions or the ghoulishness of the certificate manufacturers.)

¹⁰² Memorial cards were produced to be over-printed, or left blank for a handwritten details. They were produced *en masse* on occasions such as the death of the Prince Consort (1861); the loss of *HMS Captain* (1870), which capsized in the Bay of Biscay with the loss of over five hundred crew; and *HMS Princess Alice*, which collided with a steam collier in the Thames, with the loss of over six hundred lives in 1878.

¹⁰³ In 2010 the Beacon Museum in Whitehaven commemorated the centenary of the Wellington Pit disaster in which over 130 miners were killed. Among the exhibits were paper napkins that had been produced in the aftermath of the explosion, displaying similar memorial motifs to those objects produced in Senghenydd three years later. Although the men killed tend now to be remembered under the single heading of ‘miners’, these napkins made distinctions between ‘hewers’ and ‘shiftmen’, and also tended to record whether they were married or single. The note of marital status arguably increased the saleability of the napkins, produced as they were to raise funds for dependent wives and children.

¹⁰⁴ The Victoria and Albert Museum has a memorial certificate for the Prince Consort that was framed for this purpose.

The Edwardian period was something of a golden age of the commemorative postcard. While images of royalty were common and sold well, cards marking disasters were also often produced. An explosion at the Glebe Pit near Durham in February 1908 killed fourteen miners, and the faces of the dead were displayed on a commemorative postcard. It was probably the only time that they had been lifted from photographic anonymity. A similar technique was employed when, six months later, 75 miners were killed at the Maypole Pit. The following February an explosion at the West Stanley Colliery in Durham killed 168 miners, many of whose portraits were reproduced in postcard form. More unusually, the disaster produced a separate card that showed a group of thirty survivors. One of the earliest visitors to Senghenydd in 1913 was the Glasgow-based photographer W[illiam] Benton, who specialised in recording disaster scenes. At the Universal Pit he produced a series of twenty-five images, which depicted different aspects of the aftermath of the explosion. Each postcard was captioned, including: 'The Great Welsh disaster at Senghenydd. Removing some the victims'; 'The "Universal" Pit, Senghenydd. After the explosion of Oct. 16th, 1913'; 'The Welsh Pit Disaster Where over 400 Miners were entombed'; 'Sons & Brothers waiting at Senghenydd'; 'Welsh Pit Disaster. A Street in Senghenydd. A Victim in every House'. Images of these cards can be accessed via the Gathering the Jewels website, a collection of over 30,000 images of objects from museums, archives and libraries throughout Wales.¹⁰⁵ All

¹⁰⁵ The website address is <<http://gtj.org.uk/en/articles/postcards-depicting-the-colliery-disaster-at-sengehenydd-1913>> [accessed 28 August 2011]. Individual references for each of the postcards are as follows: 'The Great Welsh Disaster at Senghenydd. Removing some of the victims' (GTJ64207); 'The "Universal" Pit, Senghenydd. After the explosion of Oct. 16th, 1913' (GTJ64209); 'The Welsh Pit Disaster Where over 400 Miners were entombed' (GTJ64211); 'Sons & Brothers waiting at

bear Senghenydd postmarks, and the earliest mark is 22 October: little more than a week after the explosion. Used postcards attested not only to Benton's speed of production (hence making a mistake over the date of the disaster), but also that there was a clear market for cards of this type. It is not known whether Benton made any contribution to the disaster fund, but as a professional photographer turning a profit would have been his primary concern. The range of subject-matter shows that Benton had a canny idea of what would sell: a visual record of the consequences of industrial disaster. His images presented the dead not only as miners, but as sons and brothers; they combined industrial and domestic loss; they highlighted the joint suffering of humans and animals; they emphasised that death had universally touched the community; and their captions – largely rejecting the stoic language of realism in mining community memorials – employed words such as 'victims' and 'entombed'.

The poetry that decorated commemorative objects was shared between mining disasters; the same words highlighted a shared experience. The themes at Senghenydd also appeared at the Maypole Colliery near Wigan (1908) and at the Wellington Colliery near Whitehaven (1910). They survived the First World War to be reiterated at Busty Pit, near Consett (1923). These themes included the suddenness of death, faith in God's will, hope in a heavenly reunion and an emphasis on the importance of preparation for death and of living life well. Aspects of colliery explosions that were not explored by memorial texts included the cause of the disaster (e.g. an excess of coal dust as a cause of ignition), any allocation of blame or the

Senghenydd' (GTJ64213) and 'Welsh Pit Disaster. A Street in Senghenydd. A Victim in every House' (GTJ64217).

specific causes of death (suffocation, burns, injuries sustained through collapsing timbers). At Senghenydd one paper napkin was printed:

In health and strength they left their homes, / Not thinking death so near;
It pleased the lord to bid them come / And in His sight appear.

Death to them short warning gave, / Therefore be careful how you live,
Prepare in time, make no delay, / For who may know their dying day.

In prime of life they were cut down, / No longer could they stay;
Because it was the Saviour's will, / To call them hence away.

They have gone – the grave has received them, / 'Twas Jesus that called them away;
They have gone to the Lord that redeemed them / From night to the splendour of
day.¹⁰⁶

If a poem's original words did not quite fit the occasion, they could be changed. One commemorative illustration from Senghenydd depicted the figure of Britannia leaning protectively over one of Benton's images of the village. Along with the date of the accident there ran modified lines from John Donne's sonnet:

One short sleep past / They [we] wake eternally, / And Death shall be no more; /
Death thou shalt die!

In addition to poetry, commemorative texts also made use of other published sources – either directly attributed or a product of assumed knowledge. They did not allude to the circumstances of death at all; rather, they focused on the common experiences of the bereaved. These responses are discussed under their source headings in Chapter 4.

¹⁰⁶ A version of this poem is recorded on the chest tomb of two boys who drowned in the River Leadon in Gloucestershire in 1824. There is a sense of a cautionary tale, as their inscription reads: 'In perfect health we went from home / Not thinking that our Glass was run. / The running flood of water strong / It did our Bodies overcome / For God above who thought it fit / To lay our body in the Deep / Now parents dear forbear to mourn / We wait the Resurrection morn.' Hilary Lees, *Exploring English Churchyard Memorials* (Stroud: Tempus, 2002), p. 118.

Some surviving examples of individual commemoration took more durable forms than paper napkins or memorial cards. The National Museums and Galleries of Wales's collection centre at Nantgarw holds a plain glazed stoneware plate, decorated with a pattern of black roses. In a message fusing the voices of both the deceased and the bereaved, the plate reads:

IN / LOVING MEMORY OF / MY DEAR BROTHER / PHILLIP LOWER / AGED
22 YEARS / WHO WAS / KILLED / IN SENGHENYDD / EXPLOSION / OCT. 14
1913 / A SUDDEN CHANGE AND IN A / MOMENT FELL. I HAD NOT TIME /
TO BID MY FRIENDS FAREWELL / THINK NOT THIS STRANGE / DEATH
HAPPENS UNTO ALL. THIS / DAY WAS MINE TOMORROW YOU / MAY
FALL. / HE'S GONE TO REST

A language of idealism

While the discourse of realism was characterised by prosaic language, those of idealism and epitaphs involved elevated vocabularies. Low-key memorials underlined the terrible ordinariness of mining accidents. There was no element of fantasy about them: they were reasonably common, readily expected and, once they had occurred, the regular business of industry had to continue as before. Events such as the Crimean or South African Wars held more glamour: although they took place in landscapes unfamiliar to ordinary Britons and their daily reporting in the press lent a thrilling familiarity. There was a place for the elevated terminology of 'honour',

‘duty’ and ‘nobility’.¹⁰⁷ The disaster of *Titanic* and the death of Captain Scott, however, were lifted into the realm of fantasy.¹⁰⁸ Expeditions that imagined the shattering of the boundaries of human achievement, fusing personal qualities of skill, bravery and determination with technological expertise, and adding the vast powers of nature (the polar landscape; icebergs) were essential in unlocking a language of idealism. Reaching the South Pole or setting a new record in crossing the Atlantic were both material ideals, bound with moral ideals such as honour, chivalry and sacrifice. The former needed the latter; had the *Titanic* safely reached New York, or Scott not been beaten to the Pole by Amundsen, it is questionable how memorable these events would have become. Perhaps ‘heroic failure’ should be added to the list of moral ideals.

The British Army came close to defeat in South Africa, and it was perhaps appropriate that its memorials to the dead should focus on a language of idealism while fundamental military reform was planned from Whitehall.¹⁰⁹ Memorials took many forms: plaques, tablets, obelisks, crosses, figurative (allegorical and contemporary military/naval), stained glass windows, arches and utilitarian projects. The ideals they espoused were diverse but commonly-shared: patriotism, the glory of

¹⁰⁷ In discussing a language of idealism I am indebted to the work of Paul Fussell, whose idea of ‘high diction’ is crucial to the argument. See Fussell, *The Great War and Modern Memory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975).

¹⁰⁸ Writing in 1955, George Lyttelton recalled: ‘I remember the thing happening. I was dining with the H.M. and Mrs Warre came in, quivering slightly with age and dottiness, and said “I am sorry to hear there has been a bad boating accident” – an odd but very characteristic way of describing the sinking of the largest ship in the world and the death of 1400 people.’ Rupert Hart-Davis, ed., *The Lyttelton-Hart-Davis Letters: Correspondence of George Lyttelton and Rupert Hart-Davis 1955-56* (London: John Murray, 1978), pp. 38-9.

¹⁰⁹ The Territorial Force and the Special Reserve were both established as a result of the reforms following the South African War.

God, victory and peace, gallantry, and empire.¹¹⁰ Memorials erected to military units which had served in the war often combined the language of idealism with that of realism. The tablet erected to the Border Regiment in Carlisle Cathedral, for example, began its inscription:

TO THE GLORY OF GOD / AND IN MEMORY OF THE FOLLOWING
OFFICERS / NON-COMMISSIONED OFFICERS AND PRIVATES OF / AND
ATTACHED TO THE 1ST BATTALION / THE BORDER REGIMENT / WHO
LOST THEIR LIVES IN THE SERVICE OF THEIR / COUNTRY DURING THE
SOUTH AFRICAN WAR 1899-1902

The subsequent sections, headed KILLED IN ACTION, DIED OF DISEASE and VOLUNTEER COMPANY listed (primarily by rank; secondarily in alphabetical order) the names of those men who had died. At the bottom of the tablet were inscribed the words ERECTED BY SUBSCRIPTION. In contrast, the memorial at Penrith took the form of a winged bronze of 'Peace crowning the Heroes' followed by a list of names of the dead.¹¹¹ The Gateshead memorial displayed an identical figure. Unlike the Carlisle tablet, the Gateshead inscription borrowed strongly from a language of idealism:

SOUTH AFRICAN WAR. / 1899-1902. / In grateful remembrance of the Gateshead
men who lost / their lives in their Country's service. This Memorial was / erected by
their fellow-townsmen, October 1905. / How sleep the brave who sink to rest / By all
their Country's wishes blest! / By fairy hands their knell is rung, / By forms unseen
their dirge is sung. – *Collins* (Lines in 1746).¹¹²

The Beeston memorial in Nottinghamshire drew on another key ideal, namely that of empire. Listing the names of those five soldiers who were killed in the war, the

¹¹⁰ The Beeston monument was erected to the 'honoured memory' of local men. See Gildea, *For Remembrance and in Honour*, p. 167.

¹¹¹ Gildea, *For Remembrance and in Honour*, p. 31.

¹¹² Gildea, *For Remembrance and in Honour*, p. 51.

monument consisted of a female figure leaning on a column: hope rising from death.

The inscription read:

This Memorial was erected by public subscription / to the honoured Memory of Beeston Soldiers who / lost their lives during the Boer Campaign, 1899-1902, / in the cause of a United Empire.¹¹³

Southampton had only five memorials to the South African War. Two were plaques erected to the memory of sons who had died during the war; another was a lectern dedicated to a lieutenant who had been killed ‘at Tweebosch while gallantly serving his guns’¹¹⁴; and a fourth took the form of a boundary wall ‘erected to commemorate the / coronation of King Edward VII / and peace in South African / 1902’.¹¹⁵ The only collective monument was an obelisk erected in Southampton Old Cemetery and dedicated to ‘the memory of three members of the ambulance corps who died of enteric fever in the Boer [War]’.¹¹⁶

In contrast, Southampton commemorates the *Titanic* much more enthusiastically. Built by Harland and Wolff in Belfast, along with her sister ships *Olympic* and *Britannic*, *Titanic* belonged to the White Star Line. All three were intended to outclass Cunard’s finest steamers, *Lusitania* and *Mauritania*. Although *Titanic* was registered at Liverpool, White Star’s chief international port was Southampton and it was from here that she left on her maiden voyage on 10 April 1912. Shortly before

¹¹³ Gildea, *For Remembrance and in Honour*, p. 167.

¹¹⁴ Lieutenant T.P.W. Nesham, UK National Inventory of War Memorials, ref 21648.

¹¹⁵ St Mark’s Church Wall, UK National Inventory of War Memorials, ref 21584.

¹¹⁶ Southampton Volunteer Ambulance Corps, UK National Inventory of War Memorials, ref 21583. When the physical condition of the memorial was recorded for the inventory project, it was noted: ‘base with inscription on it. Obelisk did surmount it but is now missing. Pith helmet, sword and container is at the foot of the memorial’.

midnight on 14 April she struck an iceberg and sank in the early hours of the following morning. Seven hundred passengers and crew survived the sinking, but over 1500 did not.

Both the commemoration and commodification of the *Titanic* deserve far greater discussion than can be permitted here.¹¹⁷ Worldwide fascination only increased through the discovery of the wreck by marine explorer Robert D. Ballard in 1985, and in James Cameron's enormously successful 1997 film. In the plethora of books, magazine articles, films and television programmes of the sinking, much is made of the *Titanic* as a microcosm of the society that built her. While it is true that the ship was a temporary home to rich British (and American) businessmen as well as to working-class men and women seeking a different life in the New World, the memorials that Edwardian Britain erected to the dead chose not to embrace this diversity. Instead, they compartmentalised deaths into occupation or class. The principal UK locations for memorials are Southampton, Belfast and Liverpool: all ports, and therefore with a bias towards the commemoration of seamen.¹¹⁸ Other memorials are scattered on both sides of the Atlantic, including a statue of the ship's captain in his home town, Lichfield. Soon after the sinking, the image of Captain Smith was reproduced in wax and put on display at Madame Tussaud's. The following year he was joined by Captain Scott.

¹¹⁷ For an introduction, see James Guimond, 'The *Titanic* and the Commodification of Catastrophe', in Peter Gray and Kendrick Oliver, eds., *The Memory of Catastrophe* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004), pp. 79-90.

¹¹⁸ In this respect *Titanic* memorials continue a tradition of memorials to those merchant seamen, fishermen and others lost at sea.

A language of idealism was particularly evident in memorials to the *Titanic*. Her design had proved to be fallible, and her fate could not be redeemed by human action; it was sealed by an iceberg. Memorials and commemorative objects emphasised the principals' adherence to Edwardian codes of duty and heroism. The sinking was represented as an example of male self-sacrifice (particularly highlighted by accounts witnessing Bruce Islay escaping on a lifeboat) and the immutable forces of nature. The most prominent memorial in Southampton was situated in East Park, within sight of the civic centre. The memorial was erected to the ship's 'engineer officers' and, in a visual citation of a language of idealism, combined sculptural allegory with Biblical inscription. A winged angel was flanked by bronze reliefs depicting the ship's crew, above an inscription which read:

GREATER LOVE HATH NO MAN THAN THIS / THAT A MAN LAY DOWN
HIS LIFE FOR HIS FRIENDS / TO THE MEMORY OF THE ENGINEER
OFFICERS OF THE R.M.S. TITANIC / WHO SHOWED THEIR HIGH
CONCEPTION OF DUTY / AND THEIR HEROISM BY REMAINING AT THEIR
POSTS 15TH APRIL 1912 / ERECTED BY THEIR FELLOW ENGINEERS AND
FRIENDS / ON 22 APRIL 1914

A separate memorial to the ship's stewards was unveiled in Southampton in July 1915. The plaque followed the convention of identifying the dead by class or occupational status. It implicitly emphasised that the female victims of the sinking (the majority of whom were third-class passengers or crew) had scant official status in commemorative memorials. The memorial illustrated the tradition of noting civic officials' names over those to whom the memorial was erected, or through whose subscription the memorial had been paid. The plaque's text also reminded onlookers of the impact of the disaster on the lives of ordinary people living in Southampton. The majority of Sotonians who died on board were drawn from the town's

unglamorous Northam and St Mary's districts, which made the losses disproportionately dense in those areas.

THIS MEMORIAL WAS ERECTED IN MEMORY OF / THE CREW,
STEWARDS, SAILORS AND FIREMEN, / WHO LOST THEIR LIVES IN THE
SS TITANIC DISASTER / APRIL 15TH 1912. / IT WAS SUBSCRIBED FOR BY /
THE WIDOWS, MOTHERS AND FRIENDS OF THE CREW / ALDERMAN
HENRY BOWYER, MAYOR 1912-13

The earliest memorial in Southampton to the sinking was a plaque located at the city's library. Both the memorial and the library were destroyed during the Second World War. Soon after the wreck was discovered in 1985, local newspapers began to comment that the number of *Titanic* survivors was dwindling. It was in this atmosphere that a replica of the memorial was unveiled by survivors Eva Hart, Milvina Dean, Bert Dean and Edith Haisman. The inscription read:

IN MEMORY /OF THE HEROIC MUSICIANS / OF THE S.S. "TITANIC" / LOST
ON HER MAIDEN VOYAGE FROM / SOUTHAMPTON TO NEW YORK /
APRIL 15TH 1912 / W. HARTLEY / G. KRINS R. BRICOUX / W.T. BAILEY J.
WOODWARD / J.F. CLARKE J.L. HULME / P.C. TAYLOR / THEY DIED AT
THEIR POSTS LIKE MEN / ERECTED BY THE MEMBERS AND FRIENDS /
OF THE AMALGAMATED MUSICIANS / UNION SOUTHAMPTON BRANCH /
UNVEILED BY HIS WORKSHIP THE MAYOR / H. BOWYER R.N.R. / APRIL
19TH 1913

In focusing on the ship's musicians, Liverpool's memorial invoked a similar language of idealism. Both memorials emphasised the players' 'heroism' or 'bravery': not qualities that might usually be ascribed to musicians. As at Southampton, it was felt that these men embodied idealistic qualities such as steadfastness, duty and courage, and that the causes of the disaster did not preclude their expression. The memorial – another plaque – was set, appropriately, into the side of the city's Philharmonic Hall and unveiled in 1912.

THIS TABLET IS DEDICATED TO THE / MEMORY / OF / W. HARTLEY OF
DESBURY / BANDMASTER / W.T. BRAILEY [sic] OF LONDON / R. BRICOUX
OF LILLE, FRANCE / J.F. CLARKE OF LIVERPOOL / G. KRINS OF BELGIUM /
J.W. WOODWARD OF HEADINGTON / MEMBERS OF THE BAND ON BOARD
/ THE “TITANIC”; THEY BRAVELY / CONTINUED PLAYING TO SOOTHE
THE / ANGUISH OF THEIR FELLOW PASSENGERS / UNTIL THE SHIP SANK
IN THE DEEP / APRIL 14TH [sic] 1912. / COURAGE AND COMPASSION
JOINED / MAKE THE HERO AND THE MAN COMPLETE

The final lines particularly articulated the language of idealism. Extracted from a poem (‘The Campaign’) written by the Whig essayist Joseph Addison (1672-1719): ‘Unbounded courage and compassion join’d, / Tempering each other in the victor’s mind, / Alternately proclaim him good and great, / And make the hero and the man complete’.

Heroism and masculinity also featured in other *Titanic* memorials. Belfast, too, was affected by the sinking. Its contribution to the disaster narrative was an allegorical figure of peace at whose feet sat some of the victims. The memorial, unveiled in June 1920, took a didactic approach to commemoration, stating:

ERECTED TO THE IMPERISHABLE MEMORY OF / THOSE GALLANT
BELFASTMEN WHOSE NAMES ARE / HERE INSCRIBED AND WHO LOST
THEIR LIVES ON / THE 15TH APRIL 1912, BY THE FOUNDERING / OF THE
BELFAST-BUILT R.M.S. TITANIC, THROUGH / COLLISION WITH AN
ICEBERG, ON HER MAIDEN / VOYAGE FROM SOUTHAMPTON TO NEW
YORK. / THEIR DEVOTION TO DUTY AND HEROIC CONDUCT, /
THROUGH WHICH THE LIVES OF MANY OF THOSE / ON BOARD, HAVE
LEFT A RECORD OF CALM / FORTITUDE AND SELF-SACRIFICE WHICH
WILL / EVER REMAIN AN INSPIRING EXAMPLE TO / SUCCEEDING
GENERATIONS. / ‘GREATER LOVE HATH NO MAN THAN THIS, THAT A /
MAN LAY DOWN HIS LIFE FOR HIS FRIENDS.’

All the memorials implicitly acknowledged the impossibility of recovering the victims’ bodies, and explicitly demonstrated the importance of recording the names of the dead. Belfast’s memorial was erected within two years of the Armistice and its texts, in common with other *Titanic* memorials, fully used a language of idealism. In

that period the qualities of gallantry, a devotion to duty, heroic conduct, fortitude, steadfastness and self-sacrifice, were multiplying on monuments all over the United Kingdom. The difference was that these ideals were being used to commemorate military and naval losses from the First World War. Given the political situation in Ireland it was probably less controversial in 1920s Belfast to attribute these qualities to men who had died in an event removed from the overtones of the First World War. It was a further nine years before Belfast's own First World War memorial was erected.

The commodification of the sinking began within days of the news breaking. As at Senghenydd, the postcard was a convenient vehicle: cards that had been sent to travel agencies to publicise *Titanic's* maiden voyage were recalled and overprinted with an updated text. Images of the ship were in such short supply that *Olympic* was photographed instead. A variety of composite postcards were manufactured in the wake of the disaster. The first style of card showed *Titanic* alongside her statistics: length, displacement and details of the voyage; this style traded on the ship's supposed invincibility and infallibility of design, thus making the event itself even more shocking (and the postcard, arguably, more saleable). Another style of card focused on the ship's personalities. Captain Smith and wireless operator Jack Phillips, were singled out, thereby contrasting the traditional and technologically-forward roles of the ship's crew. The musicians were also the subject of dedicated postcards. Among the passengers, the death of W.T. Stead was noted, partly because a spiritualist medium had recently claimed to foresee his death. A third style of card evoked a language of idealism by depicting an angel hovering over the sinking ship and guarding the souls of the deceased. A fourth style focused on artists' impressions

of the sinking. One card featured a particularly mountainous iceberg, which was undoubtedly awe-inspiring but hardly palliative.

Other items were manufactured in the aftermath of the sinking, including books on the disaster with sensational titles such as *Sinking of the Titanic – the World’s Greatest Sea Disaster* or *The Sinking of the Titanic and Great Sea Disasters – Thrilling Stories of Survivors with Photographs and Sketches*. Products such as these were sold door-to-door, with the salesman’s dummy edition including a few select chapters and space inside to record customer orders. These sensationalist titles contrasted with the more dignified captions of some of the postcards, including ‘Nearer my God to Thee’: an allusion to the music apparently played by Hartley and his company as the disaster unfolded.

The unveiling of each memorial to the *Titanic* drew large crowds. Photographs of each ceremony received extensive media coverage and many of these images were released as postcards. The continuing placement of *in memoriam* notices to the victims of the disaster, even as the casualties of the First World War increased, suggests that the disaster was neither forgotten nor subsumed by the war as some historical accounts may suggest. In their use of a language of idealism, the *Titanic* memorials showed architects, sculptors and ordinary people a form of commemoration that could be used in the aftermath of the First World War.

Epitaphic language

The Scott narrative disaster is as well known as the story of the *Titanic*, and both made a great impact on Edwardian society. Although the two events occurred very close to one another - Scott died approximately a fortnight before the *Titanic* sank – his death did not become public knowledge until the return of the Royal Geographical Society's ship *Terra Nova* in February 1913.¹¹⁹ The huge news stories of *Titanic* and Scott's death resulted in memorial services at St Paul's Cathedral for the victims, and the sequence of events in both disasters was pored over endlessly. They quickly assumed the form of manageable disaster narratives: events that were removed from the experience of ordinary people, that had a tinge of glamour from their unknown locations, yet had consequences to which identification could be readily attached. It has been suggested that the disasters shared three principal similarities.¹²⁰ Using a language of idealism, both demonstrated heroism; both suggested evidence of chivalry and an emphasis on traditionally gendered roles; and both disasters pitted men against nature.

The death of Scott, and the way in which it was subsequently commemorated, also resonated strongly in epitaphic language. While Captain Smith of the *Titanic* could be held up as a moral example – going down with his ship, putting the welfare of his passengers and crew before his own – the question of inappropriate speed through the ice fields of the North Atlantic and the subsequent collision with an iceberg cast a slight shadow over his reputation. Smith was also approaching the end of his career, came from an ordinary middle-class background and did not possess the flair for

¹¹⁹ Henry Bowers and Edmund Wilson had died alongside Scott, while the remaining members of the party, Taff Evans and Titus Oates, had predeceased their companions.

¹²⁰ Max Jones, *The Last Great Quest* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), pp. 231-2.

public relations that Scott demonstrated. Nor had he been able to foresee the possibility of his own death; once the collision had occurred, the ship sank within hours. It seems unlikely that Smith would have wanted to leave a ‘message for the public’ but, by doing just that, Scott managed to set the tone of his own commemoration and to paper over the cracks of his Antarctic preparations. By composing a message for the public, Scott largely determined the terms of his immediate commemoration.

Things have come out against us, and therefore we have no cause for complaint, but bow to the will of Providence, determined still to do our best till the last.

But if we have been willing to give our lives to this enterprise, which is for the honour of our country, I appeal to our country men to see that those who depend on us are properly provided for.

Had we lived, I should have had a tale to tell of the hardihood, endurance, and courage of my companions which would have stirred the heart of every Englishman.

These rough notes and our dead bodies must tell the tale; but surely, surely, a great rich country like ours will see that those who are dependent on us are properly provided for.

Scott’s message exhorted personal qualities set within wider concepts, and by so doing conflated the languages of idealism, realism and epitaphic language. Amid his elevated vocabulary he clearly identifies the potential hazards left to his widow and young son. With no welfare state, Scott knows that he must still provide for them by creating an appeal to which ordinary people wish to contribute, or else utilise the private practice of philanthropy. His words work in tandem with his imagined corpse for maximum public effect – a potent combination illustrated in the military cemeteries of the First World War. He begins his message by hinting at the public school idea of ‘playing the game’, taken from Henry Newbolt’s ‘Vital Lampada’ (ironically, Scott was no public schoolboy, successfully cramming for entry to *HMS Britannia* at Dartmouth). Continuing to mine the language of idealism, he emphasises

self-sacrifice, the power of a greater cause and patriotic duty. Finally, he holds up the manner of the expedition as deserving qualities: ‘hardihood, endurance and courage’ – which links with the importance of ‘playing the game’. These moral qualities are key to epitaphic language. They define the commemoration of Scott, Bowers, Wilson, Evans and Oates. Examining some of the memorials erected to them, it is clear that epitaphic language was successful for decades.

The first memorial service was held in London on 14 February 1913. It followed the pattern of the *Titanic*’s service the previous year because – again – there were no bodies for form the focus of a funeral procession. The service was marked by traditional languages espousing the principled virtues of the dead explorers. Dean Inge read from 1 Corinthians 15: ‘Death has been swallowed up in victory. Where, O Death, is your victory? Where, O Death, is your sting?’

Scott’s message was as effective at influencing the disaster’s commemoration as it was at setting its monumental commemoration. Two days before the service at St Paul’s, the *Pall Mall Gazette* printed a drawing entitled, ‘Victory and Death’. It depicted the figure of Britannia surveying the polar summit, marked with a Union flag. In her hand is another message from Scott, stating, ‘I do not regret this journey, which has shown Englishmen can endure hardship, help one another and meet death with as great a fortitude as ever in the past’. The caption for the whole scene was a quotation from Tennyson (altered, as with the Donne quotation for the *Titanic*):

The white South [North] has thy bones; / And thous, / Heroic sailor-soul, / Art
passing as thy happier voyage now / Toward no earthly pole!¹²¹

The following day the *Pall Mall Gazette* printed another pencil drawing. This time it depicted the weeping figure of a woman in mourning dress, at whose skirts stood a forlorn boy in a sailor suit (presumably Kathleen and Peter Scott). The caption, ‘It shall now be *my* part to care for you’ was further supported by an extract from Scott’s message.¹²² Other examples of Scott memorabilia fused image and text. The memorial service produced a commemorative napkin, printed on fine crepe paper.¹²³ Produced by a London printer, it was designed as a keepsake:

In affectionate remembrance / The Antarctic Explorers / Who Lost Their Lives After
Having Discovered / The South Pole, March 29, 1912

No mention is made of Amundsen or the fact that the Norwegian had beaten Scott to the South Pole by little over a month, because that is not the purpose of the piece; rather, it is to applaud the sentiments and values articulated by Scott himself in his message. The main illustration of the piece feature Scott, a woman holding a small boy, polar dogs and a ship with its sails furled. Pictures and biographies of the other British explorers are included, accompanied by texts that explain:

The King honoured them by attending a Memorial Service at St Paul’s Cathedral on
Friday, February / 14th, 1913. / Captain Scott’s Last Message: These rough notes and

¹²¹ The illustration appeared in the *Pall Mall Gazette* on 12 February 1913. See Jones, *The Last Great Quest*, plate 39. This tradition continued after the First World War, with Tennyson again being adapted to suit the purposes of the bereaved.

¹²² Entitled ‘Britannia Consolatrix’, the illustration appeared in the *Pall Mall Gazette* on 13 February 1913. See Jones, *The Last Great Quest*, plate 17. Scott’s plea for his dependents had been successful. Kathleen Scott was also conscious of her material circumstances, remarrying and ending her life as Lady Kennet.

¹²³ With thanks to Dr Max Jones, author of *The Last Great Quest: Captain Scott’s Antarctic Sacrifice* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) for sharing this information.

our dead bodies must tell the tale; but surely, surely, a great rich country like ours will see that those who are dependent on us are properly provided for. / Captain L.E.G. Oates's Last Message: I am just going outside, and I may be some time. We knew that / Oates was walking to his death. We knew it was the act of a brave man.

Monuments to the explorers began to be erected soon after the disaster. By the end of 1913, fourteen separate memorials existed. They included three tablets to Oates, the formal display of Scott and Wilson's sledging flags in Exeter and Gloucester Cathedrals respectively, and a stained-glass window to all five men in the Royal Naval Barracks at Devonport. By 1925 a further nineteen memorials had been unveiled, ranging in form from statues and tablets to utilitarian projects such as an endowed bed at the Royal Hamadryad Hospital in Cardiff, a clock tower in the Welsh capital's Roath Park, to the Scott Polar Research Institute in Cambridge. Kathleen Scott sculpted a memorial to her late husband which epitomised epitaphic language. Depicting Scott alone, wearing sledging gear, it was unveiled at Waterloo Place in November 1915. By including an excerpt from his journal on the plinth, the memorial reinforced the primacy of Scott's own message and emphasised the significance of the written word on a visual memorial. This was further reiterated by the title of Louis Charles Bernacchi's biography of Oates, *A Very Gallant Gentleman*, published in 1933.¹²⁴

Reaction to the four events outlined in this chapter all deployed variation on a language of grief. The commemoration of the *Titanic* and Captain Scott continued

¹²⁴ The title of the book was also used as a personal inscription in the aftermath of the First World War. The absence of the appropriate final verification form means that it is impossible to state when this inscription was chosen. However, the process of selecting inscriptions continued well into the 1930s and it is possible that the book's title was instrumental in the choice of text. See appendix for the register entry of Second-Lieutenant Charles Ferguson, who is buried in Sanctuary Wood Cemetery.

throughout the First World War and into the 1920s. Memorials to different disasters competed for physical space: the *Titanic* memorial in Southampton is a matter of space from the city's cenotaph to the losses of the First World War. As a result of this physical and linguistic confluence it is less feasible to refer to defined 'pre-war' and 'post-war' commemorative languages than to acknowledge that different aspects of commemorative gradually gained prominence. Although the First World War would extend the influence of epitaphic language to established public discourses, post-war commemoration drew its inspiration from Victorian and Edwardian roots.

CHAPTER 2

NAMING NAMES AND BURYING BODIES

This chapter considers the expression of commemorative languages, not through the individual texts chosen by the bereaved, but through the design of the Imperial War Graves Commission cemeteries and the monuments erected in Britain between 1920 and 1930. The relationship between names and bodies, and the different ways in which both were defined and commemorated, is an important part of this discussion.

The memorial landscape of West Flanders

It would be difficult to envisage the memorial landscape of West Flanders without the presence of the Imperial War Graves Commission.¹²⁵ In Belgium alone there are 204,814 Commonwealth war dead recorded by name.¹²⁶ The design of the cemeteries, with their uniform headstones, Crosses of Sacrifice, Stones of Remembrance and stone shelters, was devised towards the end of the war and in its aftermath, and continued after 1945. The Commission is now an internationally-recognised organisation with its headquarters based in a purpose-built building in Maidenhead. Its president is HRH the Duke of Kent and its chairman the UK Secretary of State for Defence. In 2004 its director-general, Richard Kellaway, was

¹²⁵ In 1960 the Imperial War Graves Commission became the Commonwealth War Graves Commission (CWGC).

¹²⁶ This figure, which covers the First and Second World Wars, is taken from the CWGC Annual Report 2003-04, p. 48.

awarded the CBE. The Commission has produced an annual report since 1920, which in more recent years has been generously punctuated with colour photographs, reiterating its principles and illustrating its completed work and current projects. Its work is divided into five principal areas: United Kingdom, Northern Europe, France, Western Mediterranean and Outer (which covers all countries and territories not listed in the other four divisions). Member governments provide funding in proportion to the number of national war dead commemorated by the Commission: just one way in which bodies, and not just names, are integral to the Commission's work.¹²⁷

The other portion of the Commission's income can be sub-divided into two parts. The General Fund comprises donations and legacies directed to the Commission by members of the public. Although the total is relatively modest (approximately £68,000 in 2003-04), the funds are the Commission's own as opposed to government subsidies. The remaining portion of income is derived from the IWGC Endowment Fund. This was set up in the aftermath of the First World War with the intention that it would finance the Commission's work in perpetuity. The inter-war economic crisis and the absence of additional monies after 1945 meant that the fund has not achieved its original aim, but its investments in 2003-04 provided an annual income of around £671,000.¹²⁸

The contrast with the Commission's position in 1915, to which its origins can be traced, is acute. Fabian Ware, a former editor of the *Morning Post*, was too old for

¹²⁷ The contributions were listed as follows: United Kingdom, 78.43%; Canada, 10.07%; Australia, 6.05%; New Zealand, 2.14%; South Africa, 2.11%; and India, 1.2%. CWGC Annual Report 2003-04, p. 39.

¹²⁸ CWGC Annual Report 2003-04, pp. 39-40.

active service in 1914 and was instead given command of a mobile Red Cross unit. The unit's task was to locate, identify and record the graves of British servicemen. Ware was dismayed by the haphazard nature of wartime commemoration and lobbied for the establishment of an organisation, recognised by the army, which would record systematically the location and identity of war graves. As a result of his efforts, the Graves Registration Commission was founded in 1915 under Ware's leadership. One of the likely reasons for its founding was the memory of the South African War and the way in which graves during that period had been recorded and marked.¹²⁹

The Graves Registration Commission represented a significant step towards uniting bodies with names. The negotiated relationship between remembering bodies and remembering names was key to the post-war process of commemoration. The conduct of the war and its representation in Britain further influenced this relationship. Once the British government had in 1915 prohibited the repatriation of bodies for burial, the British public did not come into contact with death in war.¹³⁰ Although medical staff treated the injuries of men who had received a 'Blighty' wound, the public was shielded from the realities of regimental aid posts, advanced dressing stations, casualty clearing stations and base hospitals. The battery of euphemisms used to describe death did not reflect the kinds of death that men suffered. Death was 'obscene: Scottish Highland kilts were blown up and putrifying buttocks exposed. Men were roasted alive...It was like black magic: bodies continued

¹²⁹ Thomas Laqueur, 'Memory and Naming in the Great War', in John R. Gillis, ed., *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), p. 152.

¹³⁰ The non-repatriation order remained in force until the 1960s, at which it became apparent from the conflict in Borneo that permanent graves could not be guaranteed. See Martin and Mary Middlebrook, *The Somme Battlefields* (London: Penguin, 1994), p. 8.

walking after decapitation; shells burst and bodies simply vanished'.¹³¹ Unsurprisingly, this sort of image was not reproduced in the British press and it appears that soldiers chose not to describe such scenes in their letters home. Instead, death was represented in idealistic terms: the picture *The Great Sacrifice* depicted Christ hovering over the body of a young soldier, apparently asleep in death. The image was reproduced in *The Daily Graphic* in December 1914.¹³² The following year prints of a painting by G. Hillyard Swinstead, *The White Comrade*, were circulated for general sale. This image was also reproduced as a colour transfer for souvenir crested china on sale throughout Britain during and after the war.¹³³

Death was transmitted across the Channel through a variety of means, all of them linguistic. Most notorious was the telegram informing the next-of-kin that their son had been killed. The initial statement was brief, and contained no indication of the cause or sort of death the soldier had suffered: 'Regret to inform you Captain E.H. Brittain M.C. killed in action Italy June 15th.'¹³⁴ Letters of condolence followed this first notification, usually from the soldier's commanding officer or chaplain, and possibly also from his comrades. In addition, a bereaved family could also expect letters of condolence from other family members, friends and employers. Robert Graves was wrongly reported as killed in action in 1916. 'People with whom I had been on the worst terms in my life, wrote the most enthusiastic condolences to my mother,' he recalled in *Goodbye To All That*.¹³⁵ This was a period in which

¹³¹ Bourke, *Dismembering the Male*, pp. 213-4.

¹³² Bourke, *Dismembering the Male*, p. 213, plate 56.

¹³³ Bourke, *Dismembering the Male*, p. 232, plate 64.

¹³⁴ Brittain, *Testament of Youth*, p. 311.

¹³⁵ Robert Graves, *Goodbye To All That* (London: Penguin, 1960), p. 187.

ownership of a telephone was far from universal and when use of one tended to be restricted to factual or business use. The conventions of mourning, which even in the 1920s tended to exclude the bereaved from daily society, meant that letter-writing was a principal form of communication and use of time.¹³⁶ All these forms of communication dwelt on the name, rather than the body, of the deceased soldier.

Pre-war death and funerary rituals worked to transfer the deceased from the visible world of the living to the invisible world of the dead, the means ranging from intramural burial, burial in a churchyard or cemetery, burial at sea or (more unusually in this period) cremation. All these rituals were based on the managed, gradual disappearance of the body. The name accompanied the body until the body had disappeared. The First World War disrupted this pattern. Two extremes emerged: a soldier could vanish in a moment (usually due to close proximity to an exploding artillery shell), or his corpse, or parts of it, could linger on a battlefield. It was frequently impossible to reclaim the dead; and when it was, burial in a shallow grave coupled with repeated fighting over the same ground meant that corpses could be easily disturbed.

The government's non-repatriation order made the establishment of permanent cemeteries a necessity. One of the Commission's founding principles – also derived from the South African experience – was equality of treatment for all who had died, regardless of rank or civilian status. Although this principle of equality was

¹³⁶ Well into the 1920s contemporary etiquette continued to advise the bereaved to respond to written condolences on black-edged paper. Lady Troubridge, *The Book of Etiquette* (Surrey: The Windmill Press, 1926, reprinted 1931), p. 62. The act of writing and receiving letters arguably reinforced the conventions that they employed.

incorporated into the Commission's Royal Charter of May 1917 (as well as in its administrative structures), it initially proved difficult to apply universally. When Prince Maurice of Battenberg was killed in 1914 his mother, Princess Beatrice, expressed her wish that his body should be returned to Britain. The Commission prevailed, and Prince Maurice was buried in Ypres Town Cemetery beneath a standard headstone. Following the death of Second Lieutenant Robert Harker, 1st Battalion, North Staffordshire Regiment in March 1915, a member of his unit wrote to Harker's sister assuring her that there was 'a cemetery...where all the officers of our regiment who have been killed in action are buried...where he is buried is awfully nice, each grave has flowers planted and all the officers...are buried in the same part'.¹³⁷ Although bodies did not come back for burial in Britain, their names returned in a variety of ways. They were included in casualty lists, which appeared daily in the newspapers. They were evoked in letters of condolence; they appeared in a death notice and on the anniversary of death were commemorated with an *in memoriam* notice. Following the practice of memorials to the South African War, their names were included on local monuments. The name would appear on a list sent to the regimental adjutant, to satisfy military logistics; and, depending on the circumstances of the death and the sector in which it had occurred, it might be marked on a temporary wooden cross marking the original burial place. The closest physical approximation to the return of the physical body was the soldier's personal effects (as seen in the Introduction) – or, indeed, the return of the original wooden cross after the war.

¹³⁷ Papers of Second Lieutenant R.P. Harker, Department of Documents, Imperial War Museum.

If the war was successful at separating bodies from names, the Commission worked hard to reunite them in all possible cases. The Commission was set against establishing ‘false graves’, even to the extent of creating ‘special memorials’ within its cemeteries. These headstones marked the approximate resting places of the dead, and were engraved with superscriptions such as BELIEVED TO BE BURIED IN THIS CEMETERY, KNOWN TO BE BURIED IN THIS CEMETERY, or BURIED NEAR THIS SPOT. In a small number of cases the headstone commemorated not only the soldier whose name primarily appeared, but also that of a brother whose body had not been recovered and would not, therefore, receive a headstone of his own. It was also a metaphorical method of reuniting siblings posthumously. As the vast memorials to the missing illustrated, the union of body and name was in thousands of cases impossible. Many decades after the Armistice whole, and partial, sets of human remains continue to be drawn from the former battlefields, most notably in recent times at Fromelles.¹³⁸ Modern forensic technology has managed to identify some of the bodies and these began to be buried, with full military honours, in 2010.

Names in themselves were not enough to signify a unique identity, as searching for ‘John Smith’ on the Commission’s Debt of Honour database would quickly prove. However, the individualisation of names is most clearly represented in the Commission’s cemeteries. In the majority of cases each headstone displays one name. The impression created is that each soldier is given his own headstone and his own space. However, a closer examination of each cemetery reveals that this is not always the case. The majority of headstones are placed within a regularised space

¹³⁸ See Julie Summers, *Remembering Fromelles: A New Cemetery for a New Century* (Maidenhead: CWGC Publishing, 2010).

between each. In some cemeteries, such as Menin Road South, one or more headstone is placed much closer together: indicating that the soldiers were killed together and that the Commission could not accurately separate the sets of remains.

In the aftermath of the war, the Commission sent each next-of-kin a final verification form.¹³⁹ Its purpose was to check the veracity of personal information relating to the dead soldier, to confirm the address of the next-of-kin and to give the principal family an opportunity to choose a personal inscription for the headstone. The layout of the cemeteries and the final verification form showed that although names and bodies mattered, the military tone of commemoration was also important. To the extent that the headstone of a brigadier-general may be found next to that of a private (as with Brigadier-General Francis Aylmer Maxwell at Ypres Reservoir Cemetery), the principal of equality of treatment was observed.

Each completed cemetery or memorial was furnished with a register of the dead, compiled alphabetically to enable visitors to locate a particular grave quickly and easily.¹⁴⁰ Although these registers were often used as mere reference tools, they often exceeded this function. They were not merely lists of names drawn from army records and returned final verification forms. Register entries contained a wealth of additional information which supplemented the casualty's name and, in some cases, provided a reasonably detailed portrait of the soldier in question. Supplied by the

¹³⁹ The majority of final verification forms relating to First World War burials are no longer available. Final verification form 739, relating to Serjeant M. Williamson, Loyal North Lancashire Regiment, buried in London Cemetery and Extension, Longueval, is held in CWGC Archives.

¹⁴⁰ These comments relate to any of the printed cemetery registers produced by the CWGC and placed at the entry to the cemetery concerned. The registers were originally available for purchase from the Commission headquarters but staff now produce cemetery reports on request.

next-of-kin, the additional information could include family names and addresses, the casualty's school, university, civilian employment, citations of gallantry, date of enlistment, date of overseas posting and cause of death. In contrast, a register entry for a soldier whose final verification form had either not been returned or had not been supplemented usually occupied a single line. In these cases the entry stated his surname, Christian name or initials, rank and/or number, unit, age where known, date of death and plot, row and grave number. The following entries for Lance-Corporal Hill, Private John Cox and Captain Thomas Colyer-Fergusson illustrate the marked differences in individual registers.¹⁴¹

HILL, Lance Corporal, E., 63325, 20th Bn. Royal Fusiliers. 23rd November 1917. III. M. 35.¹⁴²

COX, Private John Robert, 21018. "D Coy. 6th Bn. King's Own Yorkshire Light Infantry. Killed in action 20th September 1915. Age 27. Son of John and Elizabeth Cox; husband of Christabel Rose (formerly Cox), of High St., Morcott, Uppingham. Enlisted Jan., 1915, went to France, 21st May, 1915. XI. E. 23.¹⁴³

COLYER-FERGUSSON, Captain, Thomas Riversdale, VC, 2nd Bn. Northamptonshire Regiment. 31st July 1917. Age 21. Son of Thomas Colyer Fergusson and the late Beatrice Stanley Colyer Fergusson, of Ightham Mote, Sevenoaks, Kent. Born in London. II. E. 1. An extract from "The London Gazette", No. 30272, dated 4th Sept., 1917, records the following:- "For most conspicuous bravery, skilful leading and determination in attack. The tactical situation having developed contrary to expectation, it was not possible for his company to adhere to the original plan of deployments, and owing to the difficulties of the ground and to enemy fire, Captain Colyer Fergusson found himself with a Serjeant and five men only. He carried out the attack nevertheless, and succeeded in capturing the enemy trench and disposing of the garrison. His party was then threatened by a heavy counter-attack from the left front, but this attack he successfully resisted. During this operation, assisted by his Orderly only, he attacked and captured an enemy machine gun and turned it on the assailants, many of whom were killed and large number driven into the hands of an adjoining British unit. Later, assisted only by his Serjeant, he again attacked and captured a second enemy

¹⁴¹ The entries cited are reproduced from the official registers produced and printed by the CWGC and placed at the entrance of the relevant cemetery.

¹⁴² Lance-Corporal Hill is buried at Menin Road South Cemetery and his headstone bears no personal inscription.

¹⁴³ Private Cox is buried at Ypres Reservoir Cemetery and his headstone bears no personal inscription.

machine gun, by which time he had been joined by other portions of his company, and was enabled to consolidate his position. The conduct of this officer throughout forms an amazing record of dash, gallantry and skills, for which no reward can be too great, having regard to the importance of the position won. This gallant officer was shortly afterwards killed by a sniper.”

These three casualties demonstrate how significantly a supplemented final verification form could alter a register entry. They also suggest that not all names were remembered equally. We know nothing more about Hill than his unit and date of death: even his Christian name and age are missing. Cox’s entry is presented as a miniature biography: birth, marriage, enlistment, training, active service, death. Aside from the phrase ‘killed in action’ the language is that of realism; but the effect – a married man who was killed within nine months of his voluntary enlistment – borrows from a language of idealism. Most conspicuous for its use of idealistic language, however, is the entry for Colyer-Fergusson. His family biography identifies him as an educated member of the gentry, as does his headstone’s personal inscription in Menin Road South Cemetery: MY SON, MY SON / NO REWARD CAN BE TOO GREAT. His commemoration is framed in explicitly military terms: his rank and his Victoria Cross are both prominently stated. The lengthy extract from the *London Gazette* utilises idealistic language to the full: Colyer-Fergusson is ‘brave’, ‘skilful’, ‘determined’; he ‘attacks’, ‘captures’ and ‘resists’. The extract develops an increasingly successful narrative of his military prowess, summarising his ‘dash, gallantry and skills’. The account ends with devastating abruptness: Colyer-Fergusson is killed by a sniper.

The facts of the deceased’s military service were rarely expressed as a personal inscription, but there are plenty of register entries that emphasised the manner in which service was fulfilled. Below are extracts from the register entries relating to

Captain H. Ackroyd, VC, MC of the Royal Army Medical Corps; Private Patrick Budgen, VC, 31st Battalion, Australian Infantry; and Brigadier-General Francis Aylmer Maxwell, VC, CSI, DSO, commanding 27th Infantry Brigade, 9th (Scottish) Division. Captain Ackroyd was killed on 11 August 1917. For his register entry at Birr Cross Roads Cemetery, his wife and father submitted an extract from the *London Gazette*:

For most conspicuous bravery. During recent operations Capt. Ackroyd displayed the greatest gallantry and devotion to duty. Utterly regardless of danger, he worked continuously for many hours up and down and in front of the line tending to the wounded and saving the lives of officers and men. In doing so he had to move across the open under heavy machine-gun, rifle and shell fire. He carried a wounded officer to a place of safety under very heavy fire. On another occasion he went some way in front of our advanced line and brought in a wounded man under continuous sniping and machine-gun fire. His heroism was the means of saving many lives, and provided a magnificent example of courage, cheerfulness, and determination to the fighting men in whose midst he was carrying out his splendid work.

Captain Ackroyd received both the Victoria Cross and the Military Cross before his death. This citation emphasises not only his military distinctions but also the manner in which he conducted himself: gallantry, devotion to duty and cheerfulness being most emphasised. All these qualities were to be chosen by the next-of-kin as personal inscriptions; ironically, Captain Ackroyd's body was interred as a special memorial and did not receive a personal inscription.

Private Budgen was killed in September 1917 at the age of 20. His next-of-kin, Thomas and Annie Budgen, also submitted an extract from the *London Gazette* to the Commission. His citation uses much of the same language as Captain Ackroyd's, but in addition there is a strong emphasis on volunteering:

For most conspicuous bravery and devotion to duty when on two occasions our advance was temporarily held up by strongly-defended 'pill-boxes'. Pte. Budgen, in

the face of devastating fire from machine guns, gallantly led small parties to attack these strong points and, successfully silencing the machine guns with bombs, captured the garrison at the point of the bayonet. On another occasion, when a corporal, who had become detached from his company, had been captured and was being taken to the rear by the enemy, Pte. Budgen, single-handed, rushed to the rescue of his comrade, shot one enemy and bayoneted the remaining two, thus releasing the Corporal. On five occasions he rescued wounded men under intense shell and machine gun fire, showing an utter contempt and disregard for danger. Always foremost in volunteering for any dangerous mission, it was during one of these missions that this gallant soldier was killed.¹⁴⁴

By the time Brigadier-General Maxwell was killed in September 1917 he had been awarded the Victoria Cross, the CSI and the DSO. Unusually, the citation referred to previous incidents in his military career but the same qualities were applauded: duty and gallantry. His personal inscription in Ypres Reservoir mirrored this theme: AN IDEAL SOLDIER AND / A VERY PERFECT GENTLEMAN / BELOVED BY ALL HIS MEN.

Lieutenant Maxwell was one of three Officers not belonging to “Q” Battery, Royal Horse Artillery, specially mentioned by Lord Roberts as having shown the greatest gallantry, and disregard of danger, in carrying out the self-imposed duty of saving the guns of that Battery during the affair at Korn Spruit on 31st March 1900. This Officer went out on five occasions and assisted to bring in two guns and three limbers, one of which he, Captain Humphreys, and some Gunners, dragged in by hand. He also went out with Captain Humphreys and Lieutenant Stirling to try to get the last gun in, and remained there till the attempt was abandoned. During a previous Campaign (the Chitral Expedition of 1895) Lieutenant Maxwell displayed gallantry in the removal of the body of Lieutenant-Colonel F D Battye, Corps of the Guides, under fire, for which, though recommended, he received no reward.

Many other register entries noted the antecedents and circumstances of military service. The month and year of enlistment suggested a man’s motivation or circumstances: a month in 1914 suggested that he was one of Kitchener’s ‘first hundred thousand’. A subtle potential existed between ‘enlisted’ and ‘volunteered’: while the former suggested motivations of duty, the latter hinted at overtones of

¹⁴⁴ Private Budgen’s headstone inscription in Hooze Crater Cemetery read THY WILL BE DONE NOT MINE.

sacrifice – remembering that all these entries were written and supplemented after the war. Some interesting examples (emphasised with author's italics) included:

CAMPBELL, Major, Colin. "C" Bty. 296th Bde. Royal Field Artillery. Killed in action 29th September 1917. Aged 37. Served in the South African Campaign as Lt., R.G.A. Son of Lt. D.A. Campbell, of Achanduin and Barbreck (late Royal Dublin Fusiliers and Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers), of Wickham Hall, Eye, Suffolk. *The sixth successive generation of his family to serve in the Navy or Army*. I. F. 15¹⁴⁵

GRAHAM, Gunner, John Ismay, 74312. "A" Bty. 124th Bde. Royal Field Artillery. Died of accidental injuries 18th March 1918. Age 21. Son of William George and Mary Graham, of Bothel, Aspatria, Cumberland. *Voluntary enlistment*. III. F. 23¹⁴⁶

EVANS, Cpl. Richard Maurice, 15089. 10th Bn. Royal Welsh Fusiliers. 9th Dec., 1915. Age 28. Son of Richard and Anne Elizabeth Evans, of 3, Narrow St., Llanfyllin, Mont. Native of Llanfyllin, Mon. *Came from Canada in order to enlist in 1914*. Sp. Mem. C. 17¹⁴⁷

BELFIELD, Private, Thomas Henry, 17195. 3rd Bn. Grenadier Guards. Killed in action 23rd April 1916. Age 23. Son of Thomas William and Selina Belfield, of Blenheim Villa, Park Rd., Chilwell, Notts. *Enlisted, Aug. 1914*. I. C. 51¹⁴⁸

GILES, Pte. Sydney William, 463765. 6th Coy. Canadian Machine Gun Corps. 8th Nov., 1917. Age 32. Son of Charles Samuel and Sarah Ann Giles, of 20, Wyndham St., Brighton, England; husband of Edna May Giles (nee Durling), of Myrtle Cottage, Common Rd., Stanmore, Middlesex, England. *Enlisted in Nov., 1914. Reverted from Cpl. in 1915 in order to go to the front*. III. B. 34¹⁴⁹

RUSSEL RENDLE, 2nd Lt. Anthony Darley. 9th Bn. Devonshire Regt. Killed in action 10th Oct., 1917. Son of Charles and Edith Russel Rendle. Born at Plymouth. *Served in O.T.C. Blundell's School, Tiverton. N.Z.E. Force at Gallipoli (2nd Bn. Canterbury Regt.), and in France, 1916: was recommended from there for a commission in Imperial Army*. I. B. 13

¹⁴⁵ Buried in Ypres Reservoir, Major Campbell's personal inscription reads IN LABOURS BY KINDNESS / HONOUR GOOD REPORT / AS DYING AND BEHOLD WE LIVE.

¹⁴⁶ Gunner Graham's inscription in Menin Road South Cemetery reads REMEMBERED BY ALL / BOTHEL, CUMBERLAND.

¹⁴⁷ Corporal Evans's headstone in Hedge Row Cemetery reads THEIR GLORY SHALL NOT / BE BLOTTED OUT. This inscription, selected by Rudyard Kipling, was engraved on the headstones of all special memorials.

¹⁴⁸ Private Belfield's headstone in Ypres Reservoir Cemetery reads: GREATER LOVE / HATH NO MAN THAN THIS / THAT HE GAVE HIS LIFE / FOR A FRIEND.

¹⁴⁹ Private Giles's headstone in Sanctuary Wood Cemetery reads REMEMBRANCE.

These supplemented entries underlined a number of issues that were clearly important to the next-of-kin, and which applied across the ranks: not just the date of enlistment, but also the relationship between Britain and her Dominions, and the idea of duty. The place of death was also significant. Since a large number of burials were concentrated into larger cemeteries once the war had ended, it was no longer quite true that the deceased lay where they had fallen. The explanation at the front of the cemetery register made it plain that the soldiers were not buried far from the site of their original exhumation, and the Commission applied to the next-of-kin for permission to remove the body. Many families decided to include the place of death in the register entry, as my own italics show in the following three entries:

BLACKWELL, Gunner, Neville Beenard [sic], 705233. "C" Bty. 210th Bde. Royal Field Artillery. Killed in action, *near Ypres*, 22nd September 1917. Age 24. Son of Harry Gratrix Blackwell and Mary Blackwell, of 20, Derwent Avenue, West Didsbury, Manchester. I. U. 24.¹⁵⁰

SLADEN, Lieutenant Colonel, St. Barbe Russell, 5th Bn., Commanding 1st Bn. The Queen's (Royal West Surrey Regt.). Killed in action *on the Passchendaele Ridge*, 12th March 1918. Age 45. Only son of the late Mr. And Mrs. St. Barbe Sladen, of Heathfield, Reigate, Surrey; husband of Dorothy St. Barbe Sladen, of Hampton Dene, Hereford. I. C. 79.¹⁵¹

BAYLIS, Private, Albert, 419518. 42nd Bn. Canadian Infantry (Quebec Regt.). Killed in action *at Hooge*, 25th May, 1916. Age 24. Son of John Charles and the late Ellen Baylis, of Epping, England. I. J. 17.¹⁵²

The Commission carried out an extensive process of concentration after the war. Its dual objectives were to free land so that it could be returned for civilian use, and to leave as few isolated graves as possible outside cemetery boundaries. Although most

¹⁵⁰ Gunner Blackwell's headstone in Menin Road South Cemetery reads: DUTY NOBLY DONE.

¹⁵¹ Lieutenant-Colonel Sladen's headstone in Ypres Reservoir Cemetery reads "I WILL SEE YOU AGAIN / AND YOUR HEARTS SHALL REJOICE" / ST. JOHN 16.22.

¹⁵² Private Baylis's headstone in Menin Road South Cemetery reads FOR SO HE GIVETH HIS BELOVED SLEEP.

families agreed to the Commission's concentration requests, some chose to erect their own private memorial over the grave. Over subsequent decades the cost of maintaining these private memorials has led many families to accept the Commission's open offer of re-interment under a standard headstone. A small number of private memorials remain in West Flanders. One of the most prominent is the Celtic cross erected to the memory of Second Lieutenant Thomas Keith Hedley Rae, which is situated just outside the boundary of Sanctuary Wood Cemetery. Rae was killed in action in July 1915 and has no known grave. His parents erected the memorial near the spot at Hooge, where he was last seen. Its inscription reads:

BE THY FAITHFUL UNTO DEATH I WILL GIVE THEE A CROWN OF LIFE

IN MEMORY OF KEITH RAE
2/LT 8/RIFLE BRIGADE
DEAREST LOVED YOUNGER SON
OF EDWARD AND MARGARET RAE
WHO DIED NEAR THIS SPOT
30TH JULY 1915 IN HIS 25TH YEAR
FIGHTING IN THE GREAT WAR FOR HUMANITY

CHRIST'S FAITHFUL SOLDIER AND SERVANT UNTO HIS LIFE'S END

IN MEMORY ALSO OF HIS BROTHER OFFICERS AND MEN
WHO FELL ON THE SAME MORNING AND AFTERNOON

The cross was set within a garden that Rae's parents regularly visited. By the 1960s, long after they had died, the garden had fallen into disrepair and the Commission suggested some alternative sites for the memorial. Consulting Rae's family, the present site was agreed and financial provision was made for the Commission to maintain the memorial.¹⁵³

¹⁵³ Barrie Thorpe, *Private Memorials of the Great War on the Western Front* (Reading: The Western Front Association, 1999), pp. 89-90.

In the closing months of the war a debate over the final appearance of the Commission's cemeteries was contested. The position of the Commission as acting *in loco parentis* was far from universally accepted. Many families sought permission to remove their sons' bodies for burial in the family plot back home; the Commission steadfastly refused. Despite this refusal, many families achieved their objective metaphorically. The son's name was engraved on a family headstone, to all intents and purposes as though he was buried in the plot. The date of death, when corroborated by the Commission's Debt of Honour database, suggests otherwise.¹⁵⁴ Other bereaved families objected that they could not erect monuments to their sons' graves. In 1919 Kipling composed an exposition of Commission policy entitled *The Graves of the Fallen*, illustrated by Douglas McPherson.¹⁵⁵ The pamphlet's aim was to win the public's support for the idea of the Commission, to reassure the bereaved that their sons' remains would be accorded due respect and to state the commemorative impetus that underpinned the Commission's work. McPherson's illustrations intended to show 'the cemeteries as they will appear when completed'.¹⁵⁶ They depicted sites very similar to the completed cemeteries: rows of uniform headstones set in a lawned environment with the Stone of Remembrance and the Cross of Sacrifice in place, ornamental cherry trees planted periodically between rows, low-growing shrubs and flowers at the foot of individual memorials. At the time they were drawn, such scenes were purely imaginary. Moreover, the decision to erect uniform headstones had not been finalised. The commissioners, who favoured a

¹⁵⁴ Examples may be found in Lodge Hill Cemetery in Birmingham, but the cemetery authorities requested that families' names should not be identified in this thesis.

¹⁵⁵ *Annual Report of the Imperial War Graves Commission 1919-1920* (London, HMSO, 1920), p. 13.

¹⁵⁶ Rudyard Kipling, *The Graves of the Fallen* (London: HMSO, 1919), p. i.

headstone on which a reasonable amount of personal information could be engraved, faced opposition from several aristocratic families. Lady Florence Cecil was a vocal opponent, arguing that the Cross represented not only the symbol for which their sons had died, but also the Christian faith which was the survivors' principal support through their bereavement. The Commission published its headstone design and displayed it in the House of Commons tearoom before the issue was debated in May 1920.¹⁵⁷ The original battlefield cemeteries, showing rows of wooden crosses were powerful images. The creation of the cemeteries, so closely approximating McPherson's drawings, showed how comprehensively the Commission ultimately won the argument.

Through *The Graves of the Fallen* the Commission had invited the public to make suggestions 'of every kind' as to the design of the cemeteries and monuments.¹⁵⁸ One mother's detailed response showed how central the importance of names was in the commemorative process:

I would suggest a stone of similar design to that described in the booklet as "The Stone of remembrance", Upon the front panel where the text is inscribed I would place a representation in relief as follows:- Running from the top left corner fragments of destroyed wire entanglements. In bottom left corner foreground a large shell hole partly buried by fallen debris bursting overhead and on ground. A township under bombardment and a fire or similar battle scene in top left hand corner. The stone would be surmounted by the figure of an Angel, bearing a large open scroll or book which is inscribed, "The book of Life" Rev. 20.10. Upon the upper edge or cornice above the plaque would be inscribed the text "For the trumpet shall sound and the dead shall be raised" 1 Cor. 15.32. And underneath the plaque or in some other suitable place might be inscribed the fact of the stone being in memory of those fallen heroes whose graves are unknown. The principal of my imaginary picture is of course the probably resting place of many unknown dead, that, is, in

¹⁵⁷ Hansard, Proceedings of the House of Commons, 4 May 1920, pp. 1929-1972.

¹⁵⁸ Kipling, *Graves of the Fallen*, p. 16.

shell holes filled in with shell fire, and the Angel is supposed to be recording the names in the book of life.¹⁵⁹

Another correspondent felt that the following formulation was appropriate for individual headstones:

Greater Love Hath No Man
Than This -
THOMAS ATKINS
La Bassee, March 13, 1915
JESU MERCY

He argued that ‘our Lord himself has laid down what is the highest point to which Christian Love can reach; and “Jesu Mercy” is therefore not a prayer but – if one may reverently say so – a challenge to His own words for the individual soul.’¹⁶⁰ The formulation underlines some key points. To this correspondent it was evidently important that each soldier should be named individually. If this was impossible, the surrogate ‘Thomas Atkins’ gave a superficial impression of individuality, while utilising its metaphorical power (Thomas Atkins as everyman). The other significant name in this formulation was that of the battle. Just as the naming of ‘Alma’ and ‘Inkerman’ roads showed in the aftermath of the Crimean War, names of battles enjoyed a high public profile in Britain. Their names acted as a kind of shorthand, representing, in many cases, the language of idealism: heroism, gallantry and nobility. They could also signify a premonition of bad news: the newspaper-reading public were well aware of the casualty figures associated with areas such as Ypres.

¹⁵⁹ CWGC Archives, WG 237/2, Catalogue Number 142, Box 1024. The correspondent’s original spelling and syntax have been retained in quotation.

¹⁶⁰ CWGC Archives, WG 237/3, Catalogue Number 143, Box 1024.

These two submissions suggest that there probably existed at least some sympathy with the Cecils' argument for a cruciform rather than a headstone. Religious imagery played an important role in the way in which the next-of-kin chose to commemorate their dead. The mother's complicated design was based on the recording of names and the Christian belief in resurrection. 'Reunion' was a concept that occurred in the personal inscriptions chosen by the next-of-kin and could be interpreted in both specifically Christian, and general, terms. To the father who submitted a headstone design, an expression of Christian faith was also central. Both correspondents appeared to take inspiration from the Passion of Christ, suggesting that his, in fact, was the most significant.

Despite Kipling's invitation for suggestions, the commissioners had largely decided on the designs they wished to see realised. Three leading architects had been appointed: Sir Edwin Lutyens, Sir Herbert Baker and Sir Reginald Blomfield.¹⁶¹ They had all visited the battlefields before the Armistice was signed. Drawing on the language of idealism, Blomfield issued a memorandum to his junior staff outlining his design principles in September 1918:

Two leading ideas should govern the design of the cemeteries: (a) the fit commemoration of those who have fallen in this tremendous war; (b) the abstract commemoration of the idea of sacrifice and heroic death for a great cause.¹⁶²

In addition to the architects, the Commission appointed Sir Frederic Kenyon as their architectural advisor. By 1917 Kenyon had built a formidable reputation as a classical

¹⁶¹ The appointments of Sir Robert Lorimer and Charles Holden followed in 1920.

¹⁶² Sir Reginald Blomfield, *Memoirs of an Architect* (London: Macmillan, 1932), p. 178.

and Biblical scholar and had become the director of the British Museum. One of his early duties was to write a report on post-war commemoration. Drawing on the Commission's founding principle of equality of treatment, his first consideration was the design and construction of the cemeteries. His report, published in 1918, considered every aspect of cemetery design from site selection and clearance, choice of grave-marker, to architectural and horticultural layout.¹⁶³ To commemorate individual casualties, Kenyon preferred the headstone to the cruciform as it gave greater scope for the inclusion of casualty information. He was not alone in arguing that the next-of-kin should not be permitted to erect their own monuments. In a letter to Sir Sidney Greville (private secretary to the King), the permanent secretary at the Ministry of Works remarked that they 'must make every effort to make these cemeteries as attractive as possible, and prevent them from becoming eyesores on the countryside of France through the hideous effigies relatives often have a tendency to erect'.¹⁶⁴ Although universal aesthetic principles were applied, different types of cemetery existed. Many wartime cemeteries were established by individual military units and the graves they contained were subject to opposing armies repeatedly contesting the same area of land. This resulted in shallow graves being disturbed and remains scattered. Although the Commission had urged chaplains to keep records of the individuals over whose burial services they officiated, and the locations of the graves, such records were bound to be patchy and incomplete, no matter how diligent chaplains were.¹⁶⁵ These battlefield cemeteries were most likely to be disturbed in the course of subsequent fighting, and therefore tended to have the highest

¹⁶³ Kenyon, *War Graves*.

¹⁶⁴ Laqueur, 'Memory and Naming in the Great War', p. 155.

¹⁶⁵ On the role of chaplains during the war, see Michael Snape, *God and the British Soldier: Religion and the British Army in the First and Second World Wars* (London: Routledge, 2005), pp. 101-3, 132.

proportions of unidentified, or partially identified, remains. Concentration cemeteries were designed and created after the war. Hooge Crater was an example of a concentration cemetery created in its own right.¹⁶⁶ The somewhat haphazard layout of the rear of Sanctuary Wood Cemetery identifies itself as a battlefield cemetery established during the war. After 1918 burials from other, smaller, cemeteries were concentrated to the site and these were laid out in a grid pattern.¹⁶⁷ Comrade cemeteries were located just behind the lines, while clearing cemeteries were attached to casualty clearing stations, further back. Base cemeteries, as at Étaples, were established near to larger base hospitals.¹⁶⁸

The register plans are an easy way to determine the type of cemetery. Sanctuary Wood's distinctive fan-shaped layout was one of Lutyens' designs. His Stone of Remembrance dominates the site, facing the visitor directly on entry. Considering Lutyens' wish that the cemetery should retain a non-denominational character, the route to the stone is reminiscent of a church transept, with the stone situated on three steps (traditionally representing faith, hope and charity). Blomfield's Cross of Sacrifice, which was produced in four different sizes to suit the scale of individual cemeteries, is the focus of the battlefield portion of Sanctuary Wood.

¹⁶⁶ There are a small number of original burials, recorded as special memorials near the entrance to the cemetery. The remaining 5,800 burials were concentrated from 11 other smaller cemeteries.

¹⁶⁷ Between 1927 and 1932 the contents of 23 other cemeteries were concentrated at Sanctuary Wood, from as far afield as Niewepoort on the Flemish coast. This allowed more land to be returned to civilian agricultural use. Michael Scott, *The Ypres Salient* (Norwich: Gliddon Books, 1992), pp. 45-46.

¹⁶⁸ The Middlebrooks' guide, *The Somme Battlefields*, is an excellent introduction to the layout of cemeteries.

There were two other important aspects of naming in the Commission cemeteries. One was the naming of the cemeteries themselves. Although the more graphic wartime identifiers, such as ‘Dead Cow Farm’, were not adopted as cemetery names by the Commission, many other associations remained. Local names were adopted (Blauwepoort Farm Cemetery), as well as aspects of local geography (Ravine Wood Cemetery, Woods Cemetery, Ypres Ramparts Cemetery). Local impressions lent their name to Sanctuary Wood Cemetery – although from summer 1916 that area was no longer anything approaching a sanctuary. In other cases, national or dominion affiliations were borrowed: Canada Farm Cemetery, Maple Leaf Cemetery. Military and wartime features inevitably became part of the nomenclature, leading to Tyne Cot Cemetery (named by the 50th (Northumbrian) Division), Suffolk Cemetery, Packhorse Farm Shrine Cemetery and Rifle House Cemetery (the latter’s earliest burials being members of the 1st Rifle Brigade).

The picture of pastoral serenity fostered over the course of the twentieth century could hardly be more different from the situation that faced the Commission’s principal architects in the immediate aftermath of the war. Blomfield recalled that on a visit to the Ypres salient the cemeteries ‘were often very difficult to find, as in many cases the roads shown on our maps had been obliterated by shell fire, and we had to leave our cars and wander what had been battle-fields in search of graves hastily made and planted everywhere’.¹⁶⁹ He noted ruefully that there was also ‘an excellent chance of the car getting bogged’. Similar problems faced the mobile gardening parties employed by the Commission. Blomfield observed that the battlefields ‘were just as

¹⁶⁹ Blomfield, *Memoirs of an Architect*, p. 176.

they had been left after action, with trenches, duckboards, broken shells, fuses and rifles and helmets scattered about on the ground'.¹⁷⁰ Units would travel from site to site, burying corpses, removing debris and levelling ground in preparation for the construction of permanent cemeteries. The mobile units were acutely aware of the reality of death on the battlefields, and the impossibility of identifying corpses by individual names. Headstones were consequently engraved with as much corroborated information as possible: 'a captain of the Great War', 'a private of the Royal Fusiliers' or 'an officer of the Great War'. Although they lacked a personal name, they would in time be buried in a horticultural environment whose names were unmistakably English. Paul Gough's observations that death in warfare had its own iconography of planting is particularly pertinent in the design of the Commission's cemeteries.¹⁷¹ The horticultural development of the cemeteries was influenced by garden designer Gertude Jekyll (1843-1932) who was a friend of, and pre-war collaborator with, Lutyens. Working alongside him, she advocated the use of plants whose name, appearance and scent would evoke an English cottage garden. In continuing to plant a variety of herbaceous perennials and floribunda roses, the Commission's gardens retain Jekyll's vision: modern varieties' names, such as 'peace' or 'remembrance' fuse the culture of commemoration with that of an English pastoral scene. When one of the Commission's correspondents suggested the planting of ivy in the cemeteries to supply quick-growing ground cover that could be kept trim, Sir Arthur Hill, director of Kew Gardens, noted in an internal memo that if the writer

¹⁷⁰ Blomfield, *Memoirs of an Architect*, p. 176.

¹⁷¹ Paul Gough, 'Conifers and Commemoration: the Politics and Protocol of Planting', *Landscape Research*, 21, 1996, 1, pp. 73-87.

referred 'to the common English weed of that name...I do not consider it in any way suitable'.¹⁷²

From the outset the Commission invited responses to its sites from the visitors who arrived in ever-increasing numbers. Each cemetery or memorial not only had its own register of entries, but also a visitors' book. It is greatly regretted – though understandable, due to restrictions on archive storage space – that these visitors' books were generally not retained by the Commission. Modern visitor books tend to be directive. Produced on lined paper, they thereby suggest that impressions should be committed to paper in a linear form rather than other observational forms, such as sketches. Their columns prompt the visitor for certain information (name, address and date) which is sometimes recorded, sometimes not. (Whatever the previous visitor, particularly someone from the same group, has chosen to record is often reiterated.) Name and date are most often included. The date reveals how many visitors a particular site receives; Sanctuary Wood Cemetery, for example, receives many more recorded visits than does Woods Cemetery, although both lie within a couple of miles of one another. Once these factual columns have been dealt with, the visitors' book then prompts for 'comments'. Not 'observations' or 'impressions': it is assumed that the visitor will have formed some sort of judgement on the site.

Just as visitors appear to reiterate their predecessors' choice of name and address information, it seems that they leaf through pages of the book reading entries before picking up their own pen. In his book *The Missing of the Somme*, Geoff Dyer

¹⁷² CWGC Archives, WG 237/2, Catalogue Number 142, Box 1024. Note from Sir Arthur Hill dated 10 July 1919.

observes that many of the comments are written by family members seeking a particular grave. In this sense, the function of the cemeteries has not changed since their initial construction. However, in the 1920s visitors were more likely to recall an actual relationship. Many decades later, visitors are making imagined relationships with great-grandfathers whom they have never known, but with whom they still identify through their comments. The introduction of the study of the First World War into the National Curriculum, and the consequent increase in battlefield visits, extends this imagined relationship as pupils are shown headstones of soldiers only a few years' older than themselves. The vastness of some of the sites regularly visited by school parties, such as Tyne Cot Cemetery, may well be intimidating to a young teenager. Writing in a visitors' book is one way of making an impression on a vast landscape and of authenticating personal responses to the landscape. Resulting comments may focus on the personal ('in memory of great-uncle Jack') or may respond to the wider war ('what a waste', 'never again', 'no more war'). This type of response is derived from a social viewpoint that regards death in war as a pointless waste rather than a grim necessity. It also reflects a society whose younger members have not, in any universal way, been called upon to make such a choice. Comments that regard the First World War as a 'waste' run counter to the spirit in which the cemeteries were constructed.¹⁷³ They also fall into the Blackadder School of History. Respondents are more likely to see the conflict as 'the First World War' but frame it idealistically as 'the Great War'. Sometimes visitors' responses react to the commemorative environment. These could include commenting on impeccable site

¹⁷³ See also J.M. Bourne, *Britain and the Great War 1914-1918* (London: Edward Arnold, 1989), p. 239.

maintenance; acknowledging metaphors of death ('rest in peace'); or recognising the military environment ('goodbye', 'sleep on, lads').

Dyer recognises the social value of visitors' books and the way in which visitors continue to contribute to the memorial environment of West Flanders. He comments:

Sometimes people's comments are so idiosyncratic as scarcely to make sense: 'The bloke on the tractor spoiled it for me by his reckless driving. Signed anon' – the unknown visitor. On 10 October 1992 at Tyne Cot Greg Dawson wrote, 'We really showed those fascists a thing or two!' Another person had drawn a Star of David and written, 'What about the 6 million Jews?' Beneath it someone else had written, 'Wrong war, mate'...An entry from 10 July 1986 [at Redan Ridge] expresses the characteristic sentiments of most visitors: 'It's a shame they must rest with a rubbish pit beside them.' Several pages on, after numerous endorsements of these remarks, the first dissenting voice appears: 'If visitors fail to recognise the true pathos behind their visits here only to latch onto the presence of a rubbish tip, then *their* presence here disgusts me.' This attempt to scotch the debate only inflames it. The characteristic tone becomes aggressively indignant: 'The rubbish is a thinly disguised insult to the memory of Pte. Tommy Atkins.' Adding injury to insult the next person to join in notes: 'It's now quite apt: human waste next to more of it.' Comments like this not only mean that from now on the ire of those offended by the rubbish is directed not only against the farmer who dumped it but against those who implicitly condone him – and who, in their turn, become steadily more aggressive in their responses: 'Sod the rubbish-tip – these men lived and died in it. Isn't rubbish a part of life?'¹⁷⁴

These, and other, responses in visitors' books help to illustrate how visitors are still reacting to the memorial landscape in West Flanders and beyond. The use of 'Tommy Atkins' in the passage above shows how central names continue to be.

Names and bodies in British memorials

¹⁷⁴ Geoff Dyer, *The Missing of the Somme* (London: Penguin, 1994), pp. 107-08.

The majority of British war memorials were designed and unveiled between 1920 and 1925. In contrast, the Commission's cemeteries in France and Flanders were not completed until 1934. The British memorials explored the relationship between names and bodies and they also performed a function that cemeteries could not. Many memorials were interpreted as surrogate graves by the bereaved. Often they were physically located at the centre of a community: in the market square, by the church, near the pub. In this way they became part of the community, and could be visited easily. Their surfaces were engraved with lists of names: those who had volunteered, those who had served, those who had died, those who had survived. In a similar way to the engraving of a man's name on a family gravemarker, the inclusion of his name on a community memorial signified his symbolic return. In contrast to Commission policy, which stated that a man could be commemorated once only, in their own communities the dead could appear several times: on a school memorial, a work plaque, a monument on the village green. By depicting the different facets of an individual's life in this visual form, it was one way of creating an epitaphic journey.

Lists of names could be ordered in different ways – and they were not always accurate. The UK National Inventory of War Memorial's handbook acknowledged from the start that 'original lists of names were compiled from memory and by word of mouth'.¹⁷⁵ One of the concerns prompting the establishment of the inventory in 1988 was the fact that some memorial represented the sole record of names. In some cases memorials had to be altered when a man's name was incorrectly listed as having died; in others, names that had been wrongly omitted had to be added. The name of

¹⁷⁵ *The War Memorials Handbook*, second edition, 2001, p. 12.

Private William Bond was engraved onto the Barrow-in-Furness memorial in 1987, after a descendant researching the family history discovered the omission.¹⁷⁶ Different war memorial committees chose to compile different sorts of lists.¹⁷⁷ The Scourie memorial chose to list names alphabetically by surname and/or initial. Names on the Menin Gate were shown by regimental unit and then by rank. At Knaresborough, separate lists were compiled for those who had served and died, and those who had served and returned. Sometimes names were not listed at all, but represented under an umbrella term, typically on regimental memorials but also on some community monuments as at Fareham. Stating the whole forename usually solved the problem of duplicated names, as the memorial lych gate of St Nicolas's Church, Kings Norton, Birmingham, illustrated.

In contrast to the French tradition of *monuments aux morts*, it was not uncommon to find memorials who listed survivors as well as the dead. The memorial at Stokesay made this distinction in its monumental inscription:

TO PERPETUATE THE GLORIOUS MEMORY OF / THE MEN OF THE
PARISH OF STOKESAY / WHO FELL IN THE GREAT WAR 1914-1918 / AND
WHOSE NAMES ARE INSCRIBED BELOW / AND IN GRATEFUL
REMEMBRANCE OF / THOSE OF THIS PARISH WHO ALSO / FOUGHT FOR
KING AND COUNTRY, / HAPPILY RETURNED AND WHOSE / NAMES ARE
INSCRIBED BELOW.

The examples quoted until now borrowed heavily from a language of idealism. They were united under an umbrella term ('the glorious memory' or 'grateful remembrance'). However, names could also prove to be contentious. On 29

¹⁷⁶ Derek Boorman, *At The Going Down of the Sun: British First World War Memorials* (York: The Ebor Press, 1988), p. 2.

¹⁷⁷ See Alex King, *Memorials of the Great War in Britain* (Oxford: Berg, 1998).

November 1921 Sir Robert Lorimer, an architect employed by the Commission, wrote to Colonel Durham at the Office of Works with a conundrum:

I have been doing a war memorial for the parish of [blank] which consists of a granite pillar surmounted by a cross set up on a high base on three sides of which there are to be bronze panels with the names of the fallen.

One of the men belonging to the parish was shot as a deserter in 1916 and he had I understand an unfortunate record. It was proposed to omit his name as being unsuitable for the Roll of Honour. The Ex-servicemen have created a disturbance and wish to insist on this man's name going on otherwise they say they will wreck the memorial. On the other hand if this man's name goes on the memorial they will not permit their sons' names to go on, - so there you are, a fine kettle of fish you will agree!¹⁷⁸

The letter was passed to Fabian Ware, who diplomatically pointed out that, under the circumstances, the executed soldier would have been given an identified grave. He continued:

These men are therefore buried in cemeteries and in the ordinary course of events headstones will be erected over their graves precisely similar to those over the other graves and bearing no indication of the circumstances of their death... If you give me the name and regiment of the man in question, I shall almost certainly find that his grave is being properly cared for by us and either has, or will have, an ordinary headstone over it without any evidence whatever of the circumstances of his death going down to posterity. This action on our part may satisfy his comrades.¹⁷⁹

Although this was a typically tactful response from Ware, it essentially failed to address the issue that Lorimer had raised. The problem concerned the recognition and identity of the executed soldier within his local community rather than his commemoration in a Commission cemetery. Ware was correct in his assertion of anonymity: three soldiers who were executed during the war were buried in Ypres Reservoir Cemetery, and neither their register entries nor their headstones suggested

¹⁷⁸ CWGC Archives, WG 1606, Catalogue Number 899, Box 1097.

¹⁷⁹ CWGC Archives, WG1606, Catalogue Number 899, Box 1097. Ware responded on 2 December 1921.

the circumstance or manner of their deaths. Until June 2001 there was no collective memorial for the 306 soldiers who were executed for military crimes between 1914 and 1918. The installation at the National Arboretum in Staffordshire represents each soldier with a wooden post bearing his name. The use of wooden posts and trees plays with the relationship between the living and the dead. Avenues of trees were chosen as memorials to the war, as at Brampton in Cambridgeshire.

As suggested in the previous section of this chapter, names did not automatically represent individual people. In 2003 a memorial to Australia's dead from both world wars was unveiled at Hyde Park Corner. The names, engraved in small lettering across the surface of the memorial, were the places throughout Britain and Australia from which individuals had volunteered to serve in the forces. Although legible in their own right, these names also blended into the names of battles strongly associated with the Australian Imperial Force: Pozières, Gallipoli, Villers Bretonneux. This citation of battle honour echoes older memorials such as that to the missing at Thiepval, where laurel wreaths were headed with these iconic names. These were not the only place names given significance as part of post-war commemoration. The UK has four listings under 'Ypres Road', six 'Menin Roads', and three 'Somme Roads', while 'Cambrai' and 'Zonnebeke' were both adopted as house names by families who had lost sons in the war.¹⁸⁰

¹⁸⁰ The wife of Fitter Elias Naself Keeami, 103rd Howitzer Battery, 3rd A.F.A., Australian Field Artillery, was listed as living at "Zonnebeke", Riverside Crescent, West Murrumbidgee, Sydney, New South Wales' in the register at Menin Road South Cemetery.

Just as Private Thomas Atkins could represent all soldiers, many British memorials expressed the relationship between bodies and names through the combined medium of figurative sculpture and named panels.¹⁸¹ Figurative sculptures were rarely acknowledged as having been based on a particular individual.¹⁸² In 1925 General Sir Ian Hamilton wrote to the *Morning Post* complaining of the Rupert Brooke effect: sculptors' models 'always showed the best-looking lads with delicate Greek features and smooth cheeks' which resulted nationwide in a 'sort of bastard Greek sculpture'.¹⁸³ The soldier may have lacked a named identity, but from his plinth he was supposed to speak not only for the names his monument displayed, but also the community in which he sat. Regimental memorials did not necessarily have to face this contradiction. The Duke of Cornwall's Light Infantry memorial at Bodmin had merely to represent his fellow comrades, while a clock tower served the needs of the civilian townsfolk. Neither the DCLI nor the Cameronians' memorial (depicting a soldier going over the top flanked by a machine-gunner and a dead comrade) had to conform to the Hellenistic ideal. The Cambridge memorial, sculpted by Tait McKenzie, had precisely this difficulty.¹⁸⁴

¹⁸¹ For further discussion of figurative First World War memorials, see Catherine Moriarty's work listed in the bibliography.

¹⁸² The 51st (Highland) Division memorial in Newfoundland Park is an exception. See Michael Young, 'L'Ecosais of the 51st (Highland) Division', *Stand To! The Journal of the Western Front Association* (Number 58, April 2000), pp. 10-11.

¹⁸³ In this context, 'nationwide' meant 'throughout England'. J.A. Black, 'Ordeal and reaffirmation: masculinity and the construction of Scottish and English national identity in Great War memorial sculpture 1919-30', in William Kidd and Brian Murdoch, eds., *Memory and Memorials: the Commemorative Century* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), pp. 75-91.

¹⁸⁴ For discussion of the Cambridge memorial, see K.S. Inglis, 'The Homecoming: the War Memorial Movement in Cambridge, England', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 27, 1992, pp. 583-605. See also Ana Carden-Coyne's argument that the 'classical body informed western identity, celebrating the beauty of muscularity as the exemplar of unity and wholeness'. Carden-Coyne, *Reconstructing the Body: Classicism, Modernism, and the First World War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), p. 112.

The Hellenistic ideal aside, soldiers were cast in a number of attitudes. Mourning soldiers stood with their rifles reversed and heads bowed, as at Streatham (1922), Enniskillen (1922), Rugby School (1922), Coedpoeth (1921) and Scourie (1926)¹⁸⁵. In this pose the soldier had to put aside the business of war to remember the dead. He was metaphorically leading the community's mourning. In many cases, the downward gaze of the soldier directs the onlooker's gaze to the names engraved around the base of the memorial, or to the inscription which provides a linguistic framework for remembrance. In the case of Streatham there is no list of names, but a laurel wreath with the dates 1914-1918 and the inscription TO / OUR GLORIOUS DEAD. The meaning of the personal pronoun is ambiguous: does ownership of the dead lie with the military community, or the wider community? The question of ownership is even more ambiguous in Enniskillen. As at Streatham, the inscription reads OUR GLORIOUS DEAD / 1914-1918, but around the plinth are recorded the names of six hundred County Fermanagh men, approximately half of whom served in the Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers. At the wreath-laying ceremony on 22 November 1987, two weeks after the IRA explosion, serving RIF soldiers are seen adopting the same pose as the sculpture, cementing the relationship between the memorial and the serving regiment.

In terms of identifying a language of grief, the mourning stance was most obvious; but whatever stance he adopted set the tone of the memorial. Soldiers could appear in parade-ground order, as at the Guards Division Memorial in London; or as though

¹⁸⁵ Images of Streatham, Enniskillen and Rugby School are taken from Derek Boorman, *A Century of Remembrance*. The image of Coedpoeth comes from Angela Gaffney, *Aftermath*. The photograph of Scourie comes from the present author's collection.

on active service, as at Oldham. They might be seen in the midst of battle (Bradford) or returning home (Cambridge); on active service (Portsmouth) or deep in thought (Huntingdon). Soldiers sometimes struck a pose of imagined reality that borrowed more from a language of idealism. The interpretation of clothing is another important aspect of figurative memorials. Although the Men of London and London & North-West Railway memorials depicted soldiers in soft caps, the steel helmet was more commonly shown in memorials at Port Sunlight, Clayton-le-Moors, Portsmouth, Royston, Bradford, Cambridge, Hoylake & West Kirby, Crompton, Sheffield, Huntingdon and Keighley. Memorials at Twickenham, Exeter and Newcastle feature a soldier in his iconic greatcoat, and perhaps most famously at the Royal Artillery Memorial in London. The design for the national memorial to the women of the Second World War, unveiled by the Queen in 2005, was widely criticised for depicting women's roles by a series of clothes hung up on pegs. Critics claimed that women were still being defined by what they wore rather than what they did; and that their roles were merely temporary – 'hung up' when the war ended.

The monumental inscription worked in conjunction with the figurative memorial. Here sculptors and architects happily utilised the language of idealism:

TO THE MEN OF / 1914-1918 WHO / WROUGHT FOR / MANKIND A GREAT /
DELIVERANCE [Huntingdon]

TO THE GLORY OF GOD / AND IN SACRED MEMORY OF / THE GALLANT
BOYS OF THE / PARISH OF BERSHAM WHO GAVE / THEIR LIVES IN THE
GREAT WAR / 1914-1919 [Coedpoeth]

IN REMEMBRANCE / OF THE BOYS / WHO FOUGHT AND DIED FOR US /
IN THE GREAT WAR [Lerryn, Cornwall]¹⁸⁶

Just as the visiting public continue to shape the memorial landscape of West Flanders with their written responses to cemeteries and memorials, so a new practice seems to have developed at the Menin Gate. It has become increasingly popular to wedge individual Royal British Legion poppies between the stone monoliths that create the memorial. This practice was not in evidence in the late 1980s/early 1990s when I started visiting the area. There are over 54,000 names on the Menin Gate of men who have no individual headstone, and although modern engraving techniques ensure that even the highest names are legible to the human eye, it would be impossible to leave a poppy next to one of these names. As a result, the names that are within reach of this practice act as surrogates for names that are out of reach. It illustrates how visitors continue to relate to memorials and names. The following chapter considers the form and function of memorial texts, including *in memoriam* notices that were placed for casualties who had no individual headstone.

¹⁸⁶ The memorial at Lerryn was a wall-mounted tablet and a memorial hall, rather than a figurative memorial.

CHAPTER 3

THE ISSUE OF HIERARCHY IN MEMORIAL TEXTS

OUR GLORIOUS DEAD
Rifleman Thomas Hale, 1st DCLI Cemetery

As this personal inscription suggests, the design of cemeteries and memorials in the 1920s helped to frame many individual responses to death, bereavement, grief and mourning. Arguably the most prominent memorial in the country was the Whitehall Cenotaph, unveiled as a temporary plaster monument in 1919 and replaced with a permanent replica the following year. These three words of inscription, as the previous chapter has shown, were enormously influential, conflating the languages of realism and idealism within an epitaphic context (a headstone). This chapter considers what constituted a ‘memorial text’: what form these texts took, where they were placed, and to whom they were directed. It then explores not only the texts’ inherent structural and hierarchical issues, but also the complexities of the groups that had to negotiate these issues: next-of-kin, bereaved family and friends, and fellow ex-servicemen. The post-war memorial landscape was a complex environment.

There was a wide range of responses to death during and after the First World War and many of these could argue their place as ‘memorial texts’. Although art, poetry, fiction and music were all used to express a language of grief, to consider all these responses within the context of this thesis would prove too unwieldy.¹⁸⁷ In this

¹⁸⁷ These different types of memorial text included Miss Oliver’s pastel, *The Somme Battlefield: Flowers Blooming Amongst the Graves* (1918; IWM Art 279); Will Longstaff’s painting, *The Menin Gate at Midnight* (1927); Siegfried Sassoon’s poem, ‘On Passing the New Menin Gate’; Marie Connor

chapter the term is restricted to four forms: the personal inscription chosen by the casualty's next-of-kin and engraved at the foot of his Commission headstone; the entry from the casualty's cemetery or memorial register; the *in memoriam* notice placed by bereaved family and friends on the anniversary of the casualty's death; and the personal correspondence exchanged between members of the bereaved in the aftermath of the casualty's death.

All these different memorial texts displayed hierarchical issues. As the Commission keenly appreciated, 'next-of-kin' did not necessarily represent the same group as 'bereaved'. The next-of-kin, with whom, of course, the Commission corresponded, was usually the wife of a married soldier and parent(s) of an unmarried soldier. The next-of-kin accepted legal and administrative responsibility for his estate and formed the soldier's primary mourners. The bereaved could be a far larger group, including children, siblings, grandparents, fiancée, uncles, aunts, nieces, nephews, in-laws, friends, neighbours, employers and employees, and comprised a secondary group of mourners. Memorial texts suggested the difficulties family members experienced in negotiating these hierarchical issues. In her first volume of autobiography, Vera Brittain had acknowledged the somewhat tense relationship she shared with her dead fiancé's family. Unsurprisingly, all parties found her marriage in 1925 particularly poignant. As Brittain recalled in *Testament of Experience*:

Leighton, *Boy of My Heart* (published anonymously, 1916); and the personal inscription of Second Lieutenant Hugh Gordon Langton in Poelcappelle British Cemetery, consisting of a piece of music, possible translations being 'many a heart is aching'. See <http://ww1graves.co.uk/ww1_cemeteries/ww1_cemeteries_p.asp> [accessed 12 April 2010] (para 3 of 46).

To the church I had carried the same variety of tall pink roses, with a touch of orange in their colouring and the sweetest scent in the world, which Roland had given me one New Year's Eve a lifetime ago. I offered them to Marie Leighton before going upstairs to put on my travelling dress...Long afterwards I learned that she had kept the bouquet untouched for years, though the roses were brown and withered, and their leaves had crumbled to dust.¹⁸⁸

In its diligent collation of final verification forms, the Commission created a particularly revealing picture of family hierarchies. It is always to be regretted that the Commission's storage space remained at a premium, for, just as visitor books were not kept until 1992, the majority of final verification forms relating to the First World War were destroyed in the 1960s and 1970s. The absence of the original forms means that one issue of hierarchy may remain contested. The register entries make it clear when the wife of a dead soldier remarried, but it is unclear whether her remarriage nullified her position as next-of-kin.

Memorial texts did not merely display the sometimes fractious relationships between the dead soldier's family members. The texts themselves suggested that a range of different audiences had been considered during their composition. Texts could speak to or from the bereaved; to or from the deceased; they could adopt the voice of God or they could adopt no identifiable voice at all.

¹⁸⁸ Vera Brittain, *Testament of Experience* (London: Virago, 1979), pp. 18-19.

Choosing a personal inscription

In his report for the Commission, Kenyon had emphasised his preference for uniform headstones, arguing that ‘rows of headstones in their ordered ranks carry on the military idea, giving the appearance as of a battalion on parade, and suggesting the spirit of discipline and order which is the soul of an army’.¹⁸⁹ The creation of military cemeteries made a profound impact on the form of lapidary inscriptions to the dead. In contrast to previous wars, there were now hundreds of thousands of individually-identified headstones to ordinary soldiers: and not on the other side of the world, as in the South African War, but across the Channel in West Flanders.¹⁹⁰ Their location in and around the former battlefields rendered explicit the connection between these men and the landscape in which they had died.¹⁹¹ If the next-of-kin wished to select a personal inscription for the headstone, it was usually displayed in one of these innovative Commission cemeteries. Although Kenyon supported the idea that the next-of-kin should be able to choose a personal inscription for their sons’ headstones, Ware, in a letter to the editor of *The Times*, wrote that ‘the feeling of the Commissioners that the proper and only possible place for special individual memorials was in the home, villages etc. of those who had fallen and not in the military cemeteries abroad’.¹⁹² By requesting personal inscriptions the next-of-kin were asserting their right permanently to influence post-war commemoration to their

¹⁸⁹ Kenyon, *War Graves*, p. 7.

¹⁹⁰ The emphasis on Flanders is retained because the personal inscriptions used in this thesis have been drawn from that area.

¹⁹¹ It was not only the British who felt this connection; see Peter H. Hoffenberg, ‘Landscape, Memory, and the Australian War Experience, 1915-18’, *Journal of Contemporary History*, 36, 1 (2001), pp. 111-31.

¹⁹² CWGC Archives, WG9. Ware wrote to Dawson on 21 November 1917, the day after the Commission had held its first meeting, in the knowledge that *The Times* would that day receive an account of that first meeting.

sons.¹⁹³ Their willingness to choose an inscription for display in the new cemeteries, and then to visit the grave, suggested their acceptance of the primacy of the physical landscape. Economic considerations aside, the act of selecting an inscription also signalled a willingness to commemorate their sons in a military context – even if, as we shall see later, the words they chose actually contradicted the military spirit of commemoration.

Kenyon dedicated a lengthy paragraph to the subject of headstone inscriptions. He firstly identified what became known as the ‘military inscription’ before developing his ideas about personal inscriptions. The paragraph from his report is quoted here in full.

The inscription carved on the headstone will give the rank, name, regiment and date of death of the man buried beneath it. There is some difference of opinion as to whether leave should be given to relatives to add anything further. It is clearly undesirable to allow free scope for the effusions of the mortuary mason, the sentimental versifier or the crank; nor can space be given for a lengthy epitaph. On the other hand it would give satisfaction in many individual instances to be allowed to add an appropriate text or prayer or words of dedication; and notably it is certain that in the case of members of the Roman Catholic communion there would be a strong desire to place a customary formula beneath the name. I am inclined, therefore, to recommend that leave should be given for a short inscription of not more than three lines, to be added on the application of the next-of-kin, or other person or organisation (such as a regiment or religious organisation) whose claim is approved by the Commission, and at the cost of the applicant; but that the inscription

¹⁹³ For many decades it has proved a subtle influence, as these personal inscriptions were not included as part of the official record of Commission cemeteries. They were absent from the Soldiers Died in the Great War data, published in book form in the years after the war, and then sold in CD form years later. Nor are these personal inscriptions included in the Commission’s current Debt of Honour online database, which otherwise give a full record of individual casualties of the war. However, the Commission is fully aware of the interest in personal inscriptions and is scanning its A3 foolscap schedules ready for inclusion in the Debt of Honour database. In the meantime, there is considerable, if haphazard, commentary on First World War websites and blogs, and John Laffin’s collection of Australian Imperial Force ‘epitaphs’ (as he chooses to call them), *We Will Remember Them* (Kenthurst, NSW: Kangaroo Press, 1995) is well worth reading.

must be of the nature of a text or prayer, and that the Commission shall have absolute power of rejection or acceptance.¹⁹⁴

During the war the Commission had already written to thousands of bereaved families informing them of their son's burial and grave, the location of the cemetery and the name of the nearest railway station. This information was enclosed in a cardboard folder alongside a photograph of the original wooden cross that was erected over the grave. The final verification forms issued by the Commission in the aftermath of the war were sent specifically to the casualty's next-of-kin. A final verification form was a wordy document; but then, it was the basis for much that followed: the establishment of each individual headstone, the Commission's headstone schedules, and a significant amount of administrative work not just compiling and distributing cemetery registers, but also answering innumerable enquiries from the bereaved. The following form was issued in February 1927 and the notes advised that:

The headstone will have engraved on it the naval or military inscription, the badge of the deceased's naval or military unit, the badge of the deceased's naval or military unit, and an emblem of his religious faith. The Commission would be obliged if you would kindly assist them by saying whether the above particulars, name, initials, honours, etc., are correct, in order that the naval or military inscription may be absolutely correct. A space "a" is provided on the opposite page for any corrections you may desire to make. If you wish the age to be engraved will you give particulars in the space on the opposite page after the word AGE.

In addition, a space has been reserved at the foot of the headstone, below the emblem of religious faith to allow for the engraving, at your own expense, of a short personal inscription or text of your own choice. It is regretted that special alphabets, such as Greek, cannot be accepted. The length of the inscription is limited by the space available on the headstone, and should in consequence not exceed 66 letters, the space between two words counting as one letter. For instance, if you choose 12 words, the total number of letters should not exceed 55, there being 11 spaces between the words. If you desire to use this space will you kindly write (clearly) the inscription or text you select in the space "b" opposite. A claim for the amount due from you in respect of the engraving of the selected inscription, will be sent to you in

¹⁹⁴ Kenyon, *War Graves*, pp. 9-10.

due course. The present price is 3½d. per letter, but this may be subject to future fluctuations in cost.

As Chapter 2 has already demonstrated, the final verification form was the basis for the register entry. The naval or military inscription stated the deceased's name, rank and/or number and unit. The next-of-kin could choose a Christian cross or Star of David, or to omit a religious emblem altogether. The Colyer-Fergussons showed the extent to which the final verification form could be amended; the range of this supplemented information is discussed later. The next-of-kin sometimes took the opportunity to underline the deceased's age by including it within the military inscription, and then reiterating it as his personal inscription. Thomas and Edith Brittain chose this device for their son Edward's headstone at Granezza Cemetery, which reads simply AGED 22. Although the issue of under-age recruits has become part of First World War popular mythology, there also existed cases of men who knocked a few years off their actual ages to satisfy recruitment criteria.

The final verification notes rather diluted Kenyon's specific recommendation that the personal inscription be a scriptural text or prayer. Although the official and unofficial influence of Christianity remained an important trope in post-war commemoration, the inscriptions discussed during the rest of this thesis illustrate the existence of a strongly secular thread.¹⁹⁵ As to the upper limit of 66 characters, this was not interpreted quite as plainly by the Commission as the notes suggested. No charge was made for punctuation. This is made clear by the headstone schedules the Commission

¹⁹⁵ In referring to the influence of 'official' and 'unofficial' forms of Christianity, I am using the arguments of John Wolfe in *God and Greater Britain: Religion and National Life in Britain and Ireland 1843-1945* (London: Routledge, 1994).

produced, and which, until the process of electronic scanning is complete, are still used to verify individual personal inscriptions. These A3 foolscap schedules were typed, with one copy for the stonemason and another as a permanent office copy. Consulting these schedules, an additional column can be seen to have been added in pencil, showing the calculated cost of each inscription. Staff were presumably preparing invoices to be sent to the next-of-kin. Recalculating these totals, it is clear that punctuation was simply not counted. As far as the upper limit was concerned, staff were also able to show flexibility. One bereaved father returned his form with the following choice of inscription:

Swift to its close ebbs out life's little day;
Earth's joys grow dim, its glories pass away;
Change and decay in all around I see:
O thou that changest not, abide with me!¹⁹⁶

This particular example shows the process of negotiation between the next-of-kin and Commission staff. The form shows how the secretary scored through the third and fourth lines, annotating 'agreed with NOK'. At first glance one might think that this amendment ensures that the chosen inscription now adheres to Commission policy; but of course, it doesn't. The first two lines come to a total of 86 characters (excluding punctuation) and for the text to stay within the prescribed limit the phrase 'its glories pass away' would have to be omitted. A discordant note would undoubtedly have been struck, and the rhyme lost. This example serves as a useful reminder that the process of censorship could be benevolent and flexible. We should

¹⁹⁶ CWGC Archives, France 1914-1918. F.V. Forms London Cemetery Extension L-Z. This final verification form relates to Serjeant M. Williamson, Loyal North Lancashire Regiment, who died on 9 September 1916.

remember that the secretaries charged with the work of reviewing inscription choices had, in all probability, lost sons themselves in the war. Employment with the Commission in the aftermath of the war must have exacted an emotional toll. Flexible though the Commission could be, it retained the veto recommended by Kenyon in his report. Without specific criteria for appropriate inscription choices, or the majority of final verification forms, it is difficult to identify the grounds on which texts were modified or rejected. The first reference to 'unsuitable texts' occurred in November 1918. At the commissioners' meeting, Ware informed the others that 'the secretaries had been compelled to refuse some doggerel verse which had been proposed'. Regrettably he neither specified who or what had compelled the secretaries, not what, in this case, was 'doggerel verse'. The sentiment, however, clearly supported Kenyon's distaste for 'sentimental versifiers'. Walter Long, Secretary of State for the Colonies, argued against the idea of censorship, pointing out that the bereaved 'could put up any inscription they liked on tombstones in an English Churchyard'. Ware's urbane response was that he sought permission 'to control the choice of inscriptions within reason' and the commissioners agreed.

From the archives it appears that only particularly striking choices were referred to the commissioners. Although this small number of texts contains some of the most memorable formulations chosen by the next-of-kin, the absence of most final verification forms means that it is no longer possible to discover those inscriptions that were only just wide of the mark and which needed only slight modification to become accepted. E.A. Box, representing the Australian government, referred to 'the immortal case of the lady who sent in an inscription commenting on the conduct of

the operation: “He was driven like a lamb to the slaughter”¹⁹⁷. Inscriptions such as these, which made a direct comment on the war itself, were rarely successful; nor were highly emotive phrases. Suzanne Evans has argued that the Commission ‘did not want words of revenge or great emotion’, which, taking into consideration Ware’s reservations about the role of the new cemeteries, seems to be an accurate assessment.¹⁹⁸ Looking at the inscriptions the board explicitly rejected, it can be argued that the Commission did not want texts that might prejudice international relations. As one inscription, brought to the commissioners’ attention in January 1922, expressed itself:

HIS LOVING PARENTS CURSE THE HUN

Ware explained that he had already written to the next-of-kin, inviting them to choose an alternative text. They had submitted:

WITH EVERY BREAK WE DRAW
WE CURSE THE GERMAN MORE;
MAY THE FRENCH AND BRITISH PAW
KEEP THE DEVILS IN THEIR PLACE
FOR EVERMORE.

On this occasion, the commissioners simply agreed that this choice could not be accepted, but other texts sometimes provoked a lively discussion – as with the following choice:

¹⁹⁷ Box had replaced Andrew Fisher, High Commissioner, who was listed as a commissioner in the first annual report (1920).

¹⁹⁸ Suzanne Evans, *Mothers of Heroes, Mothers of Martyrs: World War One and the Politics of Grief* (London: McGill University Press, 2007), p. 146.

GOD LOVETH A CHEERFUL GIVER
TUBERCULAR, YET IN A TRENCH HE DIED

On introducing the text, Ware explained to his colleagues that he had written to the casualty's next-of-kin to try to ascertain their precise meaning. The parents had responded that, in their opinion, their son should have been sent to a sanatorium to recover his health rather than have been accepted for military service. They added: 'it ought to shame...British ideas to pass such a lad into the Army'. The commissioners mulled other interpretations of the inscription. Sir Thomas Mackenzie, representing the New Zealand government, commented that the text was 'not consistent with the facts of the case...He did not die of tuberculosis'. Kenyon added that the soldier had been fatally wounded by a shell, leaving Ware reiterating that the text had been chosen 'as a protest against this boy having been taken although he was tubercular'. The board agreed that the parents should be invited to choose an alternative inscription and that Ware – in a role he often seemed to inhabit – should write them 'a tactful letter'. Unfortunately the chairman's notes did not identify the casualty concerned, making it impossible to know the final result of this particular case.

Although the final verification form issued to the next-of-kin of British soldiers did not include sample inscriptions, the form issued by the Anzac Agency in Australia did. These four inscriptions utilised both a language of idealism and epitaphic language; the bluntness of a language of realism was probably considered inappropriate for headstone inscriptions.¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁹ These sample texts display a combination of qualities that could be found on both public and private memorials.

HIS DUTY FEARLESSLY AND NOBLY DONE
EVER REMEMBERED

This inscription upheld the idea of war service as a dual duty owed to the nation and to the empire. At the time of the First World War Australia was a newly-defined nation, having achieved separate identity from Britain in 1901. However, many Australians were first-generation immigrants whose parents continued to live in Britain (as their register entries show). The qualities in this sample inscription are drawn from a language of idealism. They chime not only with Edwardian notions of war and chivalry, but also with the emerging myth of Australian war experience. This myth, discussed by Alistair Thomson in *Anzac Memories*, was represented by ‘the Digger’.²⁰⁰ The roles of soldier and bereaved are clearly drawn: the soldier is shown as fearless and noble, and the role of the bereaved is ever to remember. The gender roles implied in this inscription is consistent with many post-war memorials, whose depiction of women and children was an important, but supporting, part of sculpture groups.

GREATER LOVE HATH NO MAN THAN THIS
THAT HE LAY DOWN HIS LIFE

This inscription did not make sense in a pre-war civilian context but it was widely used in the commemoration of quasi-military losses such as Scott’s Antarctic expedition or the sinking of the *Titanic*. Taken, of course, from the Gospel of John, the fuller version used (‘for his friends’) is ambiguous: it could be interpreted literally or metaphorically. The text became one of the most widely-used inscriptions in the aftermath of the war.

²⁰⁰ Alistair Thomson, *Anzac Memories* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994).

DEARLY LOVED & SADLY MISSED
BY LOVING WIFE & SON GILBERT

In this inscription we enter the realm of epitaphic language. The use of the word 'love' is emphasised and in this context does not denote love of idealistic qualities such as duty or nation, but of family. Its domestic overtones served to emphasise personal grief, and to recognise that the deceased was less a chivalric warrior than a son, husband or father. The sense of grief is underlined by identifying roles (wife and named son); their identification draws attention to the absence of the deceased. This inscription also draws the onlooker into considering the idea that behind every headstone or missing name is a bereaved wife and son, thus increasing the pathos of epitaphic language. The cemeteries and memorials list the names of those who have died; this inscription invites the onlooker to consider all those who are left behind, questioning the nature of sacrifice. Women and children still occupy a supporting role in this text. Their role is to mourn, contrasting strongly with their wartime depiction of instigators of male sacrifice and service.

LOVING SON OF MR & MRS J BLANK OF ADELAIDE
SOUTH AUST. R.I.P.

This fourth sample inscription recognised that, where the next-of-kin was listed, it was often the parent(s). The formulation reminded the onlooker that this parental generation was the first realistically to expect to predecease their children. The text also acknowledged regional and national identity (the former particularly important in a country as vast as Australia) and a link between Australia and these 'foreign fields'.

It seems likely that the next-of-kin would have found some comfort and use in these sample inscriptions, but we should question how influential they became.

There is no record of public frustration at the restrictions on the length of inscriptions in the commissioners' monthly meetings. Payment was another matter entirely. The issue was first raised by Winston Churchill in reply to a Parliamentary question in July 1919. He agreed to ask the Commission whether it was prepared to give financial assistance to those families who could not afford a personal inscription. In the commissioners' meeting of October 1919, Fabian Ware acknowledged that although it was a 'very difficult and complicated matter', he and Kenyon agreed that poor families should rely on 'private generosity in their own neighbourhood'. This attitude reflected late Victorian and Edwardian views on philanthropy.²⁰¹

This discussion did not mark the end of the matter. Three months later, one of the items on the agenda was 'Method of collecting payments for personal inscriptions'. Harry Gosling, president of the Transport and General Workers' Union and a future Labour member of Parliament, had been absent from the July meeting. He objected vigorously to the idea that families should have to pay for personal inscriptions, arguing that it violated the Commission's own principle of equality of treatment. 'Supposing they have got only enough for three letters, what will they put on?' he asked.²⁰² Ware, Kenyon and Kipling all remained in favour of the original system of charging. Ware added that, in practice, there would be no-one who could not afford

²⁰¹ See also Adrian Gregory, *The Silence of Memory* (Oxford: Berg, 1994).

²⁰² As the Commission consistently declined to charge for punctuation, 'R.I.P.' would have qualified as a three-letter inscription. The advice on the final verification form, however, did not give this impression.

to pay: citing the working-class habit of saving for funerals, he argued that the government's decision to pay for the headstone and military inscription meant that families should have a surplus to pay for a personal inscription. Kipling interjected that some families had written asking to pay for the inscription. Kenyon reiterated his support for the idea of local philanthropy and voiced his suspicion that 'the least deserving people' would profit if payment were waived altogether. The meeting put these questions aside to discuss collection arrangements, but Gosling would not have it:

You are going to get into a muddle. You cannot take a text off once you have put it on, and once you let anybody off paying, nobody else will pay. You are not going to get the money, but you are going to treat the honest poor people – and there are some dishonest as well – unfairly, because they are not going to send in the text because they cannot afford to pay. The others will send it in knowing they will not have to pay, and you are not going to get the money. Would you take a widow into the County Court to recover the money?²⁰³

The *in memoriam* tradition

The crucial – if obvious – difference between personal inscriptions and *in memoriam* notices was that the former could only be chosen where an identified headstone existed.²⁰⁴ As a result, the tens of thousands whose bodies were never recovered but whose names were listed on vast memorials to the missing, were unable to be given a personal inscription.²⁰⁵ The Menin Gate and the screen wall at Tyne Cot alone listed

²⁰³ CWGC Archives, WG741. Proceedings of the commissioners' meeting 21 October 1919, p. 23.

²⁰⁴ The *in memoriam* tradition was also used to commemorate the missing of the *Titanic*. In 1915, the *Hampshire Independent* included a special section within the *in memoriam* column of the newspaper devoted to notices to the 1912 disaster. *Hampshire Independent*, Saturday 17 April 1915, p. 10. The composition of some of the notices is discussed in Chapter 4.

²⁰⁵ Cemetery visitors seem to be aware of this differentiation, often choosing to leave balsa wood 'in remembrance' crosses at headstones of the partially-identified (e.g. 'a captain of the Great War'). These crosses can be inscribed with generic messages such as 'lest we forget' or 'ever remembered'.

almost 90,000 names, and the significance of the separation of the deceased's body from his name has been considered in Chapter 2. *In memoriam* notices were particularly relevant to the individual commemoration of the missing, and possessed advantages that personal inscriptions lacked. The Commission worked tenaciously for the establishment of individual, authentic graves, checking the veracity of the information they held and working closely with the next-of-kin. It could not apply the same depth of resource to the commemoration of the missing, save for ensuring, as far as possible, that individual names were incorporated into the new memorial landscape on vast monuments. *In memoriam* notices helped to balance this inescapable inequality of treatment. Sheila Adams has made a ground-breaking contribution to both the significance and current understanding of *in memoriam* notices, arguing that they were written 'with reference to a shared framework of reality and facilitate the ability of the individual to maintain a sense of social and biological continuity during a period of transition following a death'.²⁰⁶ Most obviously, there was no upper character limit on *in memoriam* notices: they could – and did – vary considerably in length. While the financial resources of the bereaved probably determined the length of individual notices, a more subtle consideration also existed. The social conventions surrounding the composition of notices were different from those governing personal inscriptions. The conventions were undoubtedly strong: almost a century later, their influence remains paramount. When one considers the ways in which both spoken and written language forms have changed over the same period,

While these messages cannot address the identity of the deceased, they highlight public awareness that some casualties of the First World War have to remain unknown.

²⁰⁶ Sheila Adams, 'Women, Death and *In Memoriam* Notices in a Local British Newspaper' in Kathy Charmaz, Glennys Howarth and Allan Kellehear, eds., *The Unknown Country: Death in Australia, Britain and the USA* (London: Macmillan, 1997), pp. 98-112.

the consistency and influence of the *in memoriam* form appears even more marked. Taylor notes that notices printed in the Brighton *Evening Argus* in 1979 were ‘filled daily with verses and messages which have scarcely changed at all from those of the Victorian era’.²⁰⁷ Notices allowed a constant renegotiation between the bereaved (I specifically use this term in this context) and the deceased, permitting the expression of fluctuating emotions. While register entries revealed the wide range of family members who could constitute ‘next-of-kin’, they revealed this slowly, entry by individual entry. *In memoriam* notices displayed lists of bereaved family members akin to a tabloid headline: mothers, fathers, adoptive parents, foster parents, grandparents, children, siblings, aunts, uncles, cousins, nieces and nephews. To this list could be added friends, neighbours, employers, fiancées and even servants.²⁰⁸ Reflecting the dual narratives which are the subject of Chapter 5, *in memoriam* notices could reveal as much about the state and experience of bereavement as about the deceased himself. Notices allowed the bereaved their own space and identity. Free from the defining restrictions of the Commission, there was no requirement to justify one’s relationship to the deceased: hence a glance down a newspaper column could reveal multiple notices to one man. One notice from his wife and children; another from his parents; another from his siblings; yet another, perhaps, from his in-laws: in their entirety, a fascinating insight into how early-twentieth-century families presented themselves, not just within the context of mourning but as defined units. *In memoriam* notices inadvertently reveal how unfortunately restrictive the

²⁰⁷ Taylor, *Mourning Dress*, p. 167.

²⁰⁸ An *in memoriam* notice for Edith Mary Poole-Clayton, who died in Southampton in 1914, was placed by her ‘devoted maid’ Ellen Bertha Avens. *Hampshire Independent*, 14 August 1915, p. 10.

Commission's system was – even though its methodology was sound and the work achieved through it quite remarkable.

In contrast to personal inscriptions, *in memoriam* notices were an ephemeral memorial form. It is largely thanks to microfilm technology, and to institutions such as the British Newspaper Library at Colindale, that these texts have not disappeared altogether. Personal inscriptions, once chosen and agreed, were given a life in perpetuity, headstones being periodically re-engraved as the effects of weather impeded their legibility.²⁰⁹ Their disadvantage was that their sentiments were, literally, written in stone and could not be altered. *In memoriam* notices, however, could change from year to year, reflecting different voices and the fluctuating (or, as we shall see in a moment, constant) emotions of bereavement. Ephemeral newsprint might have been, but an extended reading of notices gives one the clear impression that the *in memoriam* column merited close attention by the bereaved. A striking phrase appears; in the following week it is echoed several times. This implies that the phrase struck a chord with the bereaved reading the newspaper, who decided that *that* was how they wished to express themselves in the notice they wanted to place. The acts of reading, noting and reiterating show that placing an *in memoriam* notice was a deeply important social act: the notice enabled the metaphorical return of the deceased to his local community. The popularity of reiterated phrases also suggests the anxiety the bereaved must have felt in composing texts: the importance of finding the 'right' phrase, a selection that expressed their feelings adequately while maintaining the established form of the overall piece.

²⁰⁹ The Commission initiated a programme of replacing the original Portland stone headstones with Botticino marble replacements, the latter being far more weather-resistant yet similar in appearance.

As with personal inscriptions, *in memoriam* notices could reflect the sentiments expressed on public monuments. Rifleman Hale's parents, living near Walthamstow, had demonstrated this link with their son's personal inscription. As Londoners they would have been conscious of the construction of the Whitehall Cenotaph. By echoing these sentiments, the bereaved signalled their acceptance of the monuments and the functions that they performed. In the case of *in memoriam* notices, an implied link with a permanent memorial negated the ephemeral nature of newspaper notices.

Although an *in memoriam* notice was a flexible memorial text, in one respect personal inscriptions enjoyed an advantage: they did not need to duplicate information found in the military inscription. (Of course, each name listed on a memorial to the missing also had a corresponding register entry.) In a format established before the First World War, *in memoriam* notices, therefore, had to fulfil the function of military and personal inscription combined. Notices always started – then, as now – with the surname, followed by Christian name(s), family affiliation (primarily in relation to the person placing the notice), followed by date and sometimes place of death. This factual part of the notice approximated the military inscription, while the text that followed could equate to a personal inscription. Sarah Edith Aldred (known as 'Sarah' or 'Sarah Jane' to her parents, but as 'Edith' to her husband) received a brace of separate notices over a number of years. It appears that William Aldred preferred simply to record the fact of his wife's death, while her parents chose to add a personal text in the form of 'gone but not forgotten'. In terms of family hierarchy, it is noticeable that William Aldred's notices make no reference to his wife's continuing

status as a daughter of Charles and Sarah Bullivant; while Charles and Sarah place Sarah's status as wife before that of daughter.

ALDRED. – In loving memory of Edith, dear wife of William H. Aldred, who died June 5, 1892.²¹⁰

ALDRED. – In loving memory of Sarah Jane, beloved wife of William Aldred, who died June 5th, 1892, at 11, West Bank, Fairfield, Manchester, daughter of Charles Bullivant, 67, South Road, Birmingham. Gone but not forgotten.²¹¹

ALDRED. – In affectionate remembrance of Sarah Edith, the [dear?] daughter of Charles and Sarah Bullivant, who died June 5, 1892. Gone but not forgotten.²¹²

ALDRED. – In memory of Edith, the dearly-beloved wife of W.E. Aldred, who died June 5, 1892.²¹³

ALDRED. – In loving memory of Sarah (Edith), daughter of the late Charles and Sarah Bullivant, who died June 5th, 1892. Gone but not forgotten.²¹⁴

ALDRED. – In memory of Edith, dearly-beloved wife of W.H. Aldred.²¹⁵

While many casualties of the war were remembered in a single year, some, as with Sarah Edith Aldred, were given a sequence of notices over an extended period. Stoker (First Class) Wesley Morley Lawrence was killed on 8 February 1917. *In memoriam* notices began to appear for him in the *Hampshire Independent* on the second anniversary of his death and continued to run until February 1923, when the paper ceased to trade under that title.

LAWRENCE. – In loving memory of Wesley Morley, eldest son of Wm. and Annie Lawrence, of Cadnam, who lost his life while serving in the Dover Patrol, the ship being sunk by mines on February 8th, 1917. From Dad, Mum, Sisters and Brothers.

²¹⁰ *Birmingham Daily Mail*, Monday 5 June 1893, p. 5.

²¹¹ *Birmingham Daily Mail*, Tuesday 5 June 1893, p. 4.

²¹² *Birmingham Daily Mail*, Wednesday 5 June 1895, p. 4.

²¹³ *Birmingham Daily Mail*, Thursday 6 June 1895, p. 4.

²¹⁴ *Birmingham Daily Mail*, Friday 5 June 1896, p. 4.

²¹⁵ *Birmingham Daily Mail*, Friday 5 June 1896, p. 4.

Rocks and storms I fear no more,
When on that Eternal Shore
Drop the anchor, furl the sail,
I am safe within the vale.²¹⁶

LAWRENCE. – In loving memory of Wesley, eldest sn of Wm. and Annie Lawrence, Cadnam, who lost his life while serving in the Dover Patrol. His ship ran a mine and sank on the 8th February, 1917.

He who plants within the heart
All this deep affection[s],
Giving when the form departs
Faceless recollection,
Will but clasp the unbroken chain
Closer when we meet again.²¹⁷

LAWRENCE. – In proud and loving memory of Wesley, eldest son of Wm. and Annie Lawrence, Cadnam, who went down with the “Ghurkha”, of the Dover Patrol, on the 8th February, 1917. – From Dad, Mum, Sister and Brothers.

Until we meet again! that is the meaning
Of familiar words that men repeat
At parting in the street.
Ah, yes, til then! but when Death intervening
Rends us asunder
With what ceaseless pain we wait for thee again.²¹⁸

LAWRENCE. – In loving memory of Wesley, eldest son of Wm. and Annie Lawrence, of Cadnam, who went down with H.H.S. “Ghurkha”, of the Dover Patrol, on the night of February 8th, 1917 – From Mum, Dad, Laura, Leslie and Cecil.

Believing, in the midst of our afflictions,
That death is a beginning, not an end,
We cry to them and send farewells
That better might be called predictions,
Being foreshadowings of the future
Thrown into the vast Unknown.²¹⁹

LAWRENCE – In loving memory of Wesley, eldest son of Wm. and Annie Lawrence, of Cadnam, who went down with H.H.S. Ghurkha, of the Dover patrol, on the night of February 8th, 1917. – From Dad, Mum, Laura, Leslie and Cecil.

“And the mother at home says, ‘Hark!
For his voice I listen and yearn

²¹⁶ *Hampshire Independent*, Saturday 8 February 1919, p. 8.

²¹⁷ *Hampshire Independent*, Saturday 7 February 1920, p. 10.

²¹⁸ *Hampshire Independent*, Friday 11 February 1921, p. 4.

²¹⁹ *Hampshire Independent*, Friday 10 February 1922, p. 4.

It is growing late and dark
And my boy does not return.²²⁰

There are many interesting aspects to this sequence of notices. Although substantially similar, they contain alterations and changes of emphasis that suggest that each notice was rewritten each year, suggesting that the annual placing of the notice was an important commemorative ritual for the Lawrence family. Wesley was commemorated within parallel identities: one civilian, the other naval. Although his rank, Stoker (First Class) is never explicitly recorded, his naval service onboard the H.M.S. *Ghurkha*, always is. This suggests that the Lawrence family remembered Wesley as their son and brother (indeed, his status as eldest son is repeatedly acknowledged) rather than as a member of naval personnel. The regular acknowledgement of *Ghurkha* is less a signifier of his naval status than acknowledgement of the fact that he died on active service. (A similar device exists in notices to soldiers, where their rank and regiment may not be mentioned, but they are stated to have died ‘at Ypres’ or to have been ‘killed in action’.) The sequence and content of notices strongly suggests that Wesley was greatly missed by his family. Unlike other examples, the Lawrences clearly identify their family as having six members: William, Annie, Wesley, Laura, Leslie and Cecil.²²¹ Although the eldest, Wesley, at 27, was unmarried. Unless there was a considerable age gap between Wesley and his siblings, it would be surprising if by 1923 they were all still unmarried; yet William and Annie’s formulation of ‘family’ does not allow for in-laws or children.

²²⁰ *Hampshire Independent*, Friday 9 February 1923, p. 4.

²²¹ There is a possibility that another sister died between 1919-20 as the family listing changes in 1920 from ‘sisters’ to ‘sister’.

Voices, identities and hierarchies

Separate structures were used in the design of personal inscriptions, register entries and *in memoriam* notices. We have already seen that the bereaved constituted a wide group and that they were not synonymous with the next-of-kin. While the authorship of *in memoriam* notices was explicit, the format of personal inscriptions allowed a range of possible voices to be heard at the graveside. Although texts were chosen by the next-of-kin, the range of devices they could employ was much wider. Texts could be voiced by the civilian bereaved, the military bereaved, the deceased, ambiguously in the third person or by God. With this range of voices, unsurprisingly, came a matching range of tensions and ambiguities, some of which will be highlighted in the rest of this chapter. Personal inscriptions were naturally hugely influenced by the upper character limit imposed by the Commission. Although Kenyon had recommended that inscriptions be arranged as a maximum of three lines, choices were often pragmatically arranged over four. If there was a norm, this was represented by the two-line inscription. It was common for each line to represent a different idea of sentiment. In this way, a hierarchy of the bereaved could be introduced. Alternatively, a two-line inscription could provide an inverted contrast. Below is a selection of single-, double- and multi-component texts:

HE DID HIS DUTY
R.I.P.²²²

²²² Private Harris is buried in 1st DCLI Cemetery.

This was a popular format, in which two different ideas were displayed: the notion of duty (which addressed the wartime context of the death) and the metaphor of death as sleep (a common device used on pre-war headstones).

TO OUR DEAR SON & BROTHER
PEACE IN YOUR GARDEN
OF SLEEP²²³

The central placing of both military and personal inscriptions meant that an idea could spill over onto the next line, as happened in the case of Private Corpe's inscription. There is nothing military in this inscription: by identifying the deceased in civilian terms, and again by invoking the idea of death as sleep, it could have been used in a civilian churchyard or cemetery. The use of the ampersand was not merely economical in terms of cost, but it ensured that the phrase 'to our dear son & brother' would not be split over two lines. By keeping both identities on the same line, the idea of a close-knit family unit is retained.

GONE²²⁴ / CALLED HOME²²⁵ / AT REST²²⁶

Given the perceived, and sometimes enforced, cost of choosing a personal inscription, it is perhaps unsurprising that the majority of choices were single-component texts. As these three examples show, they ranged from single words to simple phrases representing the state of death.

²²³ Private Corpe is buried in Birr Cross Roads Cemetery.

²²⁴ Rifleman Joynson is buried in Ramparts Cemetery.

²²⁵ Private Bagshaw is buried in Chester Farm Cemetery.

²²⁶ Gunner Cato is buried in Ypres Reservoir Cemetery.

LIFE'S WORK WELL DONE
LIFE'S CROWN WELL WON²²⁷

This inscription expressed a single idea, but presented it as a poetic contrast. As with so many personal inscriptions it illustrated how firmly they could be set in Christian doctrine (see Chapter 4).

LOVED & MOURNED
DUTY NOBLY DONE²²⁸

This inscription fuses the dual narratives of bereavement and wartime service, which are explored further in Chapter 5. In this case the feelings of Mr and Mrs Lumsden take precedence over the justification of the death, i.e. the fulfilment of duty.

FAITHFUL UNTO DEATH
HE GAVE HIS LIFE FOR OTHERS²²⁹

Exploring the idea of sacrifice the next-of-kin, Mr and Mrs Haggart, have clearly decided that it was their son who made the sacrifice. This interpretation was not uniformly adopted by the next-of-kin.

IN LOVING MEMORY
KILLED IN ACTION IN YPRES
SON OF MR & MRS BENNETT
OF BLACKPOOL²³⁰

An interesting example of a multi-component text, this inscription opens with a familiar phrase often found on civilian headstones. It then moves to a stark contrast

²²⁷ Private Alder is buried in Woods Cemetery.

²²⁸ Gunner Lumsden is buried in Hedge Row Cemetery.

²²⁹ Private Haggart is buried in Menin Road South Cemetery.

²³⁰ Private Bennett is buried in Menin Road South Cemetery.

of circumstance, adopting a military phrase and evoking a place name that was immediately associated with heavy fighting. So many British units served in Ypres that the name, along with that of Passchendaele and the Somme, became synonymous with the war. Ypres also became a primary destination in post-war battlefield tourism. The inclusion of Blackpool grounds the idea of British sacrifice in a foreign battlefield. It also lays claim to James Bennett as a British son, not merely yet another army private.

HE SLEEPS WITH AUSTRALIANS
HEROES ALL
FROM MOTHER AND NAN
R.I.P.²³¹

This inscription contains four different emphases, yet all four lines are capable of standing alone as memorial texts. The first line evokes the metaphor of death and sleep, while also stressing the keenly-felt nationality of 'Australia'. The second line presents an implicit defence, not perhaps of the war, but of the individuals who fought it. Coming immediately after the word 'Australians' it helps to underline that sense of fierce 'Digger' identity. 'Heroes all' also applies widely, not just to Gunner Dangar and his 'mates'. As with the Anzac Agency sample inscriptions, gender roles are reinforced within this text. Mother and Nan (Gunner Dangar was unmarried) fulfil the traditional female role of waiting and mourning. The fourth and final line concludes the text neatly as might have been found on a civilian headstone.

DEARLY LOVED SON
OF ADMIRAL BAYNES, WIMBLEDON
FAITHFUL UNTO DEATH

²³¹ Gunner Dangar is buried in Ypres Reservoir Cemetery.

LOVE IS STRONGER THAN DEATH²³²

This choice fuses military and civilian identities and, unusually, made more than one explicit reference to death. However, these references are confined to a Biblical context and do not directly address the war in which Captain Baynes died. These details are included in the register entry. Although the name ‘Kruiseeke’ did not rival ‘Ypres’ in terms of universal recognition, Henry and Isabel Baynes were making an association similar to Mr and Mrs Bennett of Blackpool. Denman Baynes was a Cambridge graduate and his parents endowed a research scholarship in his memory. The Denman Baynes Research Scholarship is today will available for a two-year term of maths or science subjects.²³³

As the texts above also illustrate, the next-of-kin and the bereaved were keen to emphasise the outstanding qualities of the deceased. Even the terse military phrase ‘killed in action’ held connotations of movement, heroism and dash; unsurprisingly, the banality of wartime experience was not mentioned. As the cartoons of Bruce Bairnsfather and *Punch* suggested, the bereaved were often in unavoidable ignorance of the realities of war.²³⁴ Two *in memoriam* notices placed in 1919 were typical in their composition:

WALTON. – In loving memory of my dear son, Wilfred J., 6th Royal Warwicks, killed in action June 28, 1916. Deeply mourned by mother, sisters and brothers.²³⁵

²³² Captain Baynes is buried in Hooge Crater Cemetery.

²³³ With thanks to Elizabeth Stratton, Archivist, Clare College, Cambridge, for this information.

²³⁴ See ‘The same old moon’ in Bruce Bairnsfather, *Fragments from France* (T&V Holt Associates, 1998), p. 36; *Punch*, 21 July 1915 in *Mr Punch in Wartime* (London: The Educational Book Company Ltd., n.d.), p. 62.

²³⁵ Wilfred Walton was 23 and unmarried at the time of his death and is commemorated on the memorial at Thiepval. *Birmingham Mail*, Saturday 28 June 1919, p. 8.

HAYDEN. – In fond and loving memory of my dear husband, Rifleman Frank W.H. Hayden, 17th London Regt., who was killed in action (France), November 29th 1917.
– From his loving Wife.²³⁶

Even the shortest of notice, such as Wilfred Walton's, suggested a social history. The omission of Walton's father suggests that he had predeceased his son and the reference to 'sisters and brothers' highlights the large family. Walton was unmarried and his mother, Harriet, was her son's next-of-kin. It is Harriet's voice that defines the mourning for Wilfred. Frank Hayden's notice follows similar lines and again, its voice is primarily feminine: in this case, it is that of Hayden's wife. Her identity is somewhat obscured as the CWGC Debt of Honour database lists no next-of-kin for Hayden. Both notices suggest that the First World War was a conflict in which men died and which women commemorated: but this is not the whole picture. Contradicting the idea of a female voicing of grief is the Victorian convention that the man, as head of the household, would both write and receive letters of condolence, thereby acting out residual mourning conventions by shielding his wife from the outside world.

Personal inscriptions were commonly chosen, negotiated and voiced by the civilian bereaved. The Commission's final verification form, after all, identified space for the deceased's parents and wife. The word 'widow' was rarely used, but it did appear in the inscription to Lance-Corporal J. McGlinchy at Birr Cross Roads Cemetery: THE LIGHT OF A WHOLE LIFE / DIES WHEN A LOVE IS DONE / FROM HIS WIDOW.²³⁷ The Commission did use the term in the final verification form, but stuck to the word

²³⁶ Frank Hayden is commemorated on the Cambrai Memorial. *Hampshire Independent*, Saturday 29 November 1919, p. 10.

²³⁷ This was a quotation from poet and critic Francis Bourdillon (1852-1921).

‘wife’ in public registers. The preferred phrase was ‘husband of Sarah Jones’, thus avoiding the necessity of acknowledging the issue. However, just as the Commission was keen to avoid ‘false graves’ in its cemeteries, it sought clarity in its register entries. Where a woman had remarried the entry would reflect this change of status by noting, ‘husband of Sarah Brown (formerly Jones)’. Nor did many personal inscriptions acknowledge a woman’s change of status in this way: inscriptions tended to read ‘from his loving wife’ rather than ‘from his loving widow’. *In memoriam* notices and register entries revealed the long list of relatives whose lives could be fractured by a single death in the war. It was impossible that a single personal inscription could articulate the feelings of all these people. In an attempt to satisfy the competing claims on the content of a personal inscription, a ‘spokesman text’ could be composed. There were two forms of spokesman text, and both were concise:

EVER REMEMBERED
BY ALL AT HOME

HE DIED THAT WE MIGHT LIVE

Both types of text declined to specify a particular voice. The word ‘home’ in the first inscription suggested specificity, but this proved to vanish under closer inspection. After all, ‘home’ could represent a wide range of locations, from the family house to the nation or even the empire; and ‘all at home’ could be interpreted similarly loosely, including only the deceased’s family or providing an umbrella for more distant relations, friends, neighbours, colleagues and employers. The upper limit of letters, even when sensitively and flexibly applied, prevented the listing of many individuals.

A spokesman text was not only socially inclusive, but also a more economical prospect.

Kenyon had anticipated that others beside the designated next-of-kin might apply to engrave a personal inscription. While no clear examples of this practice occurred in the cemeteries recorded, a headstone at Hooge Crater Cemetery fused the voices of civilian and military bereaved. Captain John Llewellyn, 3rd Battalion, London Regiment died in August 1917 and his headstone read:

“OUR NEVER TO BE FORGOTTEN
CAPTAIN AND LEADER”
COMPANY MESSAGE²³⁸

It is not possible to state exactly how this text came to be chosen. Captain Jones’s register entry listed only his father, John Emlyn Jones, as next-of-kin, his mother Marian having already died. Ostensibly the text was chosen by John Emlyn Jones and submitted to the Commission. Although there is a possibility that the battalion requested that this inscription be engraved, it is more likely that he lifted the phrase from a letter of condolence and attributed it to the company. The text suggests not only the pride that the father felt for his son, but also the pride and loss that Captain Jones’s military family felt.

Although in Captain Jones’s case military and civilian voices fused neatly, the right of expression of ex-servicemen caused some disquiet at the Commission. At the meeting on 20 April 1920 Ware explained to his colleagues that a group of ex-

²³⁸ See appendix for Captain Jones’s register entry.

servicemen had visited three completed cemeteries in France and had returned ‘very well satisfied’. However, the minutes highlighted the conflicting claims between civilian and military identity, particularly in an army that had prized the principle of volunteering and had finished the war as a citizen force rather than a standing professional army:

...great importance was attached to the inscriptions which had been placed on the wooden crosses by the men’s comrades. These inscriptions had been chosen by the men’s comrades themselves. They were often pathetic and appropriate, and the suggestion [by the ex-servicemen] was that they should be repeated on the headstones. He [Ware] had explained to the deputations that it was impossible to repeat them on the headstones in preference to the inscription selected by the next-of-kin, but he thought it might be possible to repeat them in the cemetery register and it was for the Commission to say if they approved of the suggestion.²³⁹

Ware suggested a compromise by which the original inscription might be included in the register entry. Although this was favourably received by some of the commissioners, the extra work it would entail for the Commission’s staff was pointed out and the idea was never implemented. It would be inaccurate to suggest that tension always existed between civilian and military voices, however. Lieutenant Alan Lloyd of the Royal Field Artillery was killed on the second anniversary of the outbreak of war. His servant, Gunner Manning, constructed a basic wooden cross, upon which he scratched the inscription:

HE DIED AS HE
LIVED
BRAVE AND FEARLESS
A TRUE BRITISH HERO

²³⁹ CWGC Archives. Minutes from 22nd Meeting to 31st Meeting. The extract is taken from the minutes of proceedings of the meeting of 20 April 1920, p. 6.

Lloyd's next-of-kin chose to retain the text almost entirely, having inscribed:

HE DIED AS HE LIVED
BRAVE AND FEARLESS²⁴⁰

Another device that the next-of-kin chose to use was to let the deceased voice their own inscriptions. The text in question might be a quotation from a last letter home or a fragment of recalled conversation. Some sounded more authentic than others; Private Homer's inscription below appeared to have been modelled on a traditional *in memoriam* notice than his actual words, while Private Attenborough sounds as though his voice was a device rather than a reflection of reality. The sentiments expressed through these and other texts mirrored the views and interests of the civilian bereaved rather than the soldiers themselves, but these inscriptions suggest that the circumstances of the death compelled the next-of-kin to incorporate their sons' voices. It is not a device that seems to occur in pre-war civilian cemeteries.

MOTHER I AM HAPPY
THOUGH 'T WAS HARD TO PART
STILL MY SPIRIT LINGERS
NEAR THY ACHING HEART²⁴¹

Private Leonard Homer, Sanctuary Wood Cemetery

FOR AUSTRALIA
FREELY I GAVE
MAY MY SACRIFICE
NOT BE IN VAIN²⁴²

Private Gerald Attenborough, Hooge Crater Cemetery

²⁴⁰ Malcolm Brown, *The Imperial War Museum Book of the Somme* (London: Macmillan, 1997). Photograph reference HU59401.

²⁴¹ See appendix for Private Homer's register entry.

²⁴² See appendix for Private Attenborough's register entry.

Private Attenborough's inscription is not alone in acknowledging the political interpretation of the cemeteries. Some next-of-kin explicitly noted the public nature of their private commemorations. A variety of devices were used: Lance-Corporal Chapman's text evokes the moral authority of the soldiers themselves; Gunner Batterby's merged the soldier's voice with post-war sentiment; and Private Craine's specifically evoked the honour of Belgium and Britain's treaty obligations to go to war on her behalf.

TELL ENGLAND YE WHO PASS
WE DIED FOR HER
AND HERE WE REST CONTENT²⁴³

Lance-Corporal Cecil Chapman, Hooge Crater Cemetery

MAY THIS SACRIFICE
BE A MEANS OF PROMOTING
PEACE THROUGHOUT THE LAND²⁴⁴

Gunner Charles Battersby, Ypres Reservoir Cemetery

THIS COUNTRY CALLED
AND HONOUR BADE HIM GO²⁴⁵

Private William Craine, Ypres Reservoir Cemetery

Ypres became a centre for battlefield tourism in the post-war period. Many people wished to follow in the footsteps of the King and Queen, who visited the former battlefields in 1922.²⁴⁶ Subsidised visits were made possible by charitable and

²⁴³ See appendix for Lance-Corporal Chapman's register entry.

²⁴⁴ See appendix for Gunner Battersby's register entry.

²⁴⁵ See appendix for Private Craine's register entry.

²⁴⁶ Frank Fox, *The King's Pilgrimage* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1922).

religious organisations.²⁴⁷ Many inscriptions appeared to be addressed to these abstract, unknown visitors, as in THY WILL BE DONE or HE GIVETH / HIS BELOVED SLEEP.²⁴⁸

The question of identity applied not only to the voices that defined memorial texts, but also to the deceased who could be at the centre of commemoration. The way in which they were represented was, of course, the choice of their next-of-kin. As a result the deceased were subject to marked changes of emphasis. It was not just a question of whether they were commemorated as sons, husbands, fathers or privates, sergeants or captains; there were also differences within a civilian concept of identity. Some deceased were presented in the shadow of their fathers or forefathers; others were shown in the light of their own conduct and achievements. The inscription of Captain Denman Baynes has already been shown, in which his father, Admiral Henry Compton Baynes featured prominently. Private Frederick Calderon, of the 2nd Battalion, Canadian Infantry, was a similar case. Although neither Baynes nor Calderon were very young men at the time of the deaths (32 and 42 respectively) and had settled into respected career paths (the Colonial Office and the Marine Department of Canada), both were commemorated in the shadow of their fathers. In Calderon's case, his father was a successful, if now considered minor, painter in the style of the Pre-Raphaelites and he became a Royal Academician in 1867. First impressions of his son's personal inscription might have suggested Calderon senior's

²⁴⁷ David Lloyd, *Battlefield Tourism: Pilgrimage and the Commemoration of the Great War in Britain, Australia and Canada, 1919-1939* (Oxford: Berg, 1998), pp. 38-39.

²⁴⁸ These were the inscriptions respectively of Gunner W. Baxter, buried in Menin Road South Cemetery, and Major Fountain Okey Colbourne Nash, buried in Birr Cross Roads Cemetery. See appendix for the register entries of Gunner Baxter and Major Nash.

hand, had he not died in 1898. Calderon's mother Clara was listed as next-of-kin and her choice of inscription may have been motivated to lift her son out of the relative anonymity of a military cemetery.

BORN IN LONDON
SIXTH SON
OF PHILIP H. CALDERON R.A.²⁴⁹

Calderon and Baynes were not the only casualties whose register entry or personal inscription profiled a family member prominently. Second Lieutenant Thomas Gent was given no personal inscription, but his register entry at Sanctuary Wood Cemetery noted that his father was 'His Honour the late Judge John Gent', while Thomas himself was an Oxford graduate.²⁵⁰ Lieutenant Edward Maule's father was 'a Clerk of the Peace, Hunts County Council'. Maule's personal inscription read FAITHFUL UNTO DEATH / DUTY / IN BELOVED AND UNFADING MEMORY.²⁵¹ Such distinctions were not the preserve of the officer class. Lance-Corporal Albert Brown was the son of 'Edward Brown (late Colr. Serjt. Coldstream Guards), of the Royal Hospital, Chelsea, London' and had been born in the Tower of London. His headstone in Hooge Crater had no personal inscription.²⁵² While Lieutenant Charles Caledon Egerton was given the simple inscription IN LOVING MEMORY, his register entry in Ypres Ramparts reminded visitors of the achievements of his father, 'Field Marshal Sir C.C. Egerton, G.C.B., D.S.O.'²⁵³ Lieutenant-Colonel Charles Atchison, DSO,

²⁴⁹ Private Calderon is buried in Woods Cemetery.

²⁵⁰ Second Lieutenant Thomas Gent is buried in Sanctuary Wood Cemetery.

²⁵¹ Lieutenant Edward Maule is buried in Hooge Crater Cemetery.

²⁵² Lance-Corporal Albert Brown is buried in Sanctuary Wood Cemetery.

²⁵³ Lieutenant Charles Caledon Egerton is buried in Ramparts Cemetery.

had attained the same rank as his father and his register entry mirrored his personal inscription in Menin Road South:

KILLED IN ACTION
GOM 6TH BATT K.O.Y.L.I.
STIRLING CASTLE
W. INVERNESS COPSE²⁵⁴

While some were partly overshadowed by their famous fathers, Private James MacGillivray and Gunner John McCarthy were firmly placed within the context of older wars. Private MacGillivray's parents lived in Montreal but their inscription for their son exuded pride in the family's older link with Culloden. Alexander MacGillivray was one of the Jacobite leaders.

A DIRECT DESCENDANT
OF THE YOUNG CHIEF
THAT FELL ON CULLODEN FIELD²⁵⁵

Gunner McCarthy's inscription evoked an image that was also used in the monumental memorial at Royston, Hertfordshire, where the uniformed soldier stood in front of a group of his military predecessors (a medieval knight, a bowman, an Elizabethan soldier, a Cromwellian Ironside, a mid-eighteenth century soldier and one from Waterloo).²⁵⁶ McCarthy's inscription read:

BELOVED SON
OF D. & M. McCARTHY
GRANDSON OF CPL. D. McCARTHY

²⁵⁴ Lieutenant-Colonel Charles Atchison, DSO, is buried in Menin Road South Cemetery.

²⁵⁵ Private Alexander MacGillivray is buried in Chester Farm Cemetery.

²⁵⁶ For a clear image of the Royston memorial, see Derek Boorman, *A Century of Remembrance* (Barnsley: Pen and Sword, 2005), p. 53.

(CRIMEA)²⁵⁷

The next-of-kin also used the register entry to record other details about the deceased, such as his school or university, sporting achievements and civilian occupation. As the army expanded, the extent to which it was becoming a citizen force became more obvious. Lieutenants Alan de Pennington and Christopher Hartley were solicitors in civil life, while Lieutenant John Newington was a barrister.²⁵⁸ Private F.T. Price and Second Lieutenants Leslie Humphries and Harry Rawlinson all worked in the banking sector.²⁵⁹ Private Gordon Barclay left his work on the railways, while Lance-Corporal John Caton and Driver Hugh Callan were schoolmasters.²⁶⁰ Postmen (Rifleman George Kidd), estate agents (Lance-Corporal A.B. Chamberlain) and master drapers (Private C. Tiddy) all enlisted.²⁶¹ The worlds of music and sport also contributed to the ranks: Private Charles Cosgrove was an organist and music teacher; Serjeant Jack Frith a cross-country runner for Grimsby Harriers between 1911-14; and Lance-Corporal Sam Wolstenholme was recorded as ‘an International Footballer’.²⁶² Last of

²⁵⁷ Gunner John MacCarthy is buried in Ypres Reservoir Cemetery. See also the personal inscription for Lieutenant Turner at Sanctuary Wood – SERVED THROUGHOUT BOER WAR / 3RD L.Y. / MENTIONED IN DESPACHES.

²⁵⁸ Lieutenant Alan de Pennington is buried in Birr Cross Roads Cemetery; Lieutenant Christopher Hartley is buried in Ypres Reservoir Cemetery and Lieutenant John Newington is buried in Woods Cemetery.

²⁵⁹ Private F.T Price is buried in Menin Road South Cemetery; Second Lieutenant Leslie Humphries is buried in Hooge Crater Cemetery and Second Lieutenant Harry Rawlinson is buried in Hooge Crater Cemetery.

²⁶⁰ Private Gordon Barclay is buried in Hooge Crater Cemetery; Private R.H. Lee is buried in Menin Road South Cemetery; Lance-Corporal John Caton is buried in Sanctuary Wood Cemetery and Driver Hugh Callan is buried in Hooge Crater Cemetery.

²⁶¹ Rifleman George Kidd is buried in Oak Dump Cemetery; Lance-Corporal A.B. Chamberlain is buried in Menin Road South Cemetery and Private C. Tiddy is buried in Ypres Ramparts Cemetery.

²⁶² Private Charles Cosgrove is buried in Hooge Crater Cemetery; Serjeant Jack Frith is buried in Hooge Crater Cemetery and Lance-Corporal Sam Wolstenholme is buried in Sanctuary Wood Cemetery.

all was Serjeant-Bugler Sydney Moxon's listing: 'King's Trumpeter, Member of Royal Society of Musicians, and a Free Mason'.²⁶³

Many other inscriptions made explicit the relationship between the next-of-kin and the deceased. Sometimes this was a matter of reflected identity, as when the relationship was listed within the register entry. The wide range of family relations has already been noted. Where the relationship was cited in the personal inscription itself, the deceased were principally restated as sons, husbands and fathers: civilian roles that their commemoration in military cemeteries might otherwise have threatened to overlook. The ordinary family links of which these inscriptions spoke re-emphasised the depth and range of wartime bereavement. Gerard de Groot might have felt the continuing existence of so-called 'surplus women' in Edinburgh as late as 1980, but the children of First World War casualties could, in fact, still be alive in the following century.²⁶⁴ Some next-of-kin chose to state bald facts, others elaborated on their view of the deceased's military service while still more indicated the depth to which they felt their loss. These responses are consistent with the two narratives of wartime experience and bereavement that are discussed in Chapter 5.

The maintenance of family hierarchies were evident in personal inscriptions and register entries. In Lieutenant-Colonel Sladen's register entry (see Appendix) it was noticeable that his late parents were listed before his surviving widow. This was consistent with the order in which names were requested on the final verification

²⁶³ Serjeant Sydney Moxon is buried in Woods Cemetery.

²⁶⁴ Gerard de Groot, *Blighty: British Society in the Era of the Great War* (London: Longman, 1996), p. 271.

form. As such, there were no surprises in the register entry for Lieutenant Alexander Henderson Miller:

MILLER, Lt. Alexander Henderson, 57th Bn. Australian Inf. Killed in action 25th Sept, m 1917. Age 32. Son of Alexander and Marian Miller; husband of Belle Miller, of "Wooragee", 28, Clendon Rd., Toorak, Victoria, Australia. Native of Berwick, Victoria.²⁶⁵

His personal inscription suggested a shift in the family hierarchy:

MY BELOVED HUSBAND
OUR DEAR SON
CHERISHED IN OUR HEARTS
FOR EVER

The inscription illustrates the position that Belle Miller was her husband's next-of-kin, to whom the Commission would have sent the final verification form and with whom they would have corresponded. She was able to use this position to assert her own voice as that of primary mourner: reading the headstone Miller is identified first as a lieutenant of the Australian Infantry, then as a husband and finally as a son (neatly reversing the order in which he assumed these roles in life). Alexander and Marian Miller are brought in at the second line of the inscription, while the third and fourth lines unify the whole text, representing the entire family.

Gender hierarchies also existed, as the personal inscription of Gunner Francis Gell. His register entry read:

²⁶⁵ Lieutenant Alexander Miller is buried in Hooge Crater Cemetery.

GELL, Gunner, Francis Joseph, 656. Australian Heavy Artillery. Killed in action 4th October 1917. Age 23. Son of Joseph and Jessie M. Gell, of Mercer St., Geelong, Victoria, Australia. I. E. 85.²⁶⁶

In contrast, his personal inscription stated:

GIVEN BY A LOVING FATHER
AND MOTHER
WITH PROUD BUT ACHING HEARTS

The ordering of the parents cannot be explained by practicalities. There was sufficient room for the stonemason to engrave ‘given by a loving father and mother’ on a single line and the register entry makes it clear that both parents were alive. The composition suggests a patriarchal approach to the inscription, with the first line taking precedence over the second as head of the household, before uniting in the third and final line. Different families, however, followed different conventions. To personalise their son George’s headstone in Ypres Reservoir Cemetery, John and Elizabeth Housham chose the simple text FROM MOTHER, while William and Margaret Lovell spoke with one voice on their son Frank’s headstone (also in Ypres Reservoir): OUR BRAVE BOY.²⁶⁷ In cases in which a parent had predeceased the son, the composition of the inscription could hint at the family’s altered status. Gunner John Hardy was unmarried at the time of his death and his father had predeceased him. His mother selected his inscription in Ypres Reservoir:

SADLY MISSED BY MOTHER
DAD AND BROTHER
BUT NOT FORGOTTEN²⁶⁸

²⁶⁶ Gunner Gell is buried in Ypres Reservoir Cemetery.

²⁶⁷ See appendix for register entries of Private Housham and Private Lovell.

²⁶⁸ See appendix for Gunner Hardy’s register entry.

This chapter has attempted to explore the diversity that existed in personal inscriptions, *in memoriam* notices and register entries. These apparently fixed memorial forms revealed much about the deceased and the bereaved, and gave some indication of how the bereaved negotiated the state and experience of bereavement. The next chapter considers some of the sources used to compile memorial texts.

CHAPTER 4

SOURCE AND SENTIMENT

'How very many passers by read what is written on the Church walls or in the cemeteries, and how much talk there is over the words in prose or verse, text or other quotation, which have been set up in public view.'

Suggestions for Gravestone Inscriptions and Designs (1909)²⁶⁹

This chapter begins by concerning itself with the significance of the written word. It examines the sources commonly used to compose memorial texts, and asks why a relatively small number of sources were repeatedly favoured. The following two chapters also address the variation in tone within the interpretation of the sources: although defiance, anger, resignation and despair are all represented, so are acceptance, love, friendship and pride. The sources used tried to provide a framework through which bereaved individuals and families could process their experience of bereavement, which could be expressed by defiance, anger, resignation and despair, but also by acceptance, love, friendship and pride. When considering the expression of sentiment in memorial texts, it is good to remember these observations:

The study of epitaphs is not morbid because the messages are usually of hope. They may bring moments of sadness, of a softening sympathy over the losses of so many infants, children and people in their prime, and feelings that in some ways we live in more fortunate times. But you read of good deeds, of kind people, of strange events, of comfort and cheerful optimism, of respect, admiration and love. How strange, these words carved in stone from long-forgotten people, who, as we think of them, live again.²⁷⁰

²⁶⁹ *Suggestions for Gravestone Inscriptions and Designs* (Canterbury: Gibbs and Sons, 1909), p. 8. Or, as George and Margaret Wilson phrased the inscription for their son George at Ypres Reservoir Cemetery: THOSE WHO THINK OF HIM TODAY / LOVED HIM BEST. See appendix for Private Wilson's register entry.

²⁷⁰ Betty Willsher, *Epitaphs and Images from Scottish Graveyards* (Edinburgh: Canongate, 1996), p. 11.

There is a good deal of emotion in the personal inscriptions engraved in Commission cemeteries; but there is also a good deal of restraint. This poses an interesting question: to what extent did the environment of the newly-created military cemeteries affect the well-established custom and practice of lapidary inscription?

The significance of the written word

The first thing to clear up is the basic terminology regarding engraved texts on headstones. John Laffin's view is that the texts engraved on Commission headstones are 'epitaphs', and his logic is clear: from the Greek *epi* (upon) and *taphos* (tomb). However, it is also possible to argue that not all inscriptions were, in fact, epitaphs to the deceased. Some next-of-kin took the opportunity of making a political statement about the commemoration of their loved ones and, as will be discussed in Chapter 5, the dual narratives that were pursued by these inscriptions did not always centre on the deceased. The Commission itself opted for the term 'personal inscription' which neatly address this ambiguity.

Pre-war monuments had made plain the importance of engraved words, with Scott's Waterloo Place memorial mediated through his own message. In Scott's case words were particularly significant because his body was never recovered. In the case of those who had achieved no public recognition, engraved words on a common headstone ensured that they were linguistically united with members of their family, and also that family relationships could be restated and recorded. Thus a woman was

often recorded as ‘wife’ or ‘daughter’ regardless of what other attainments she had reached in her lifetime. Engraved words formalised these relationships and also the role of the person requesting the engraving.

As anthologies of epitaphs suggest, the practice of writing, printing or engraving memorial texts was long-established. The tradition of these anthologies themselves also had a long history, the first collection of English epitaphs dating from 1631.²⁷¹ Willsher argues that throughout the eighteenth century ‘the headstone was the monument of the people’ and that inspiration for the inscriptions (which in the Scottish tradition tended to use both sides of the headstone) came from ‘the scriptures, the popular emblem books and the work of writers, scholars and poets’.²⁷² In this context, therefore, Cecil Harcourt Smith’s appeal in the letter pages of *The Times* to consider the selection of inscriptions recognised much older concerns. Smith, director of the Victoria and Albert Museum, implicitly empathised with the reservations his near-contemporary, Sir Frederic Kenyon had expressed to the Imperial War Graves Commission, and argued that:

long after the time when the great war [*sic*] will have become little more than a name in history, the monuments of it (or at least some of them) will survive, and future generations will look to these for something that may tell them of the spirit which prompted their erection; for the most part they will look in vain. They will find attached to these monuments merely a banal phrase or two repeated *ad infinitum*, mostly a bald, chilly, perfunctory statement of fact. What has happened? Have we, in whose tongue Shakespeare and Milton spoke, have become in this respect dumb

²⁷¹ David M. Wilson, *Awful Ends: The British Museum Book of Epitaphs* (London: The British Museum Press, 1992). Other modern collections include Geoffrey N. Wright, *Discovering Epitaphs* (Buckinghamshire: Shire Publications, 2004), Geoffrey Grigson, ed., *The Faber Book of Epigrams and Epitaphs* (London: Faber & Faber, 1977) and, relating specifically to the headstones of Australian casualties in the First World War, John Laffin’s anthology *We Will Remember Them* (Kenthurst, NSW: Kangaroo Press, 1995).

²⁷² Willsher, *Epitaphs and Images*, p. 9.

beasts? We take thought for the artistic side of our memorials, and even have begun to study the lettering of our inscriptions, but is there no appeal of art in noble prose, and is the occasion not worthy of it? May I, therefore, plead that some consideration at least be given to the claim of literature upon our monuments?²⁷³

Smith appealed for a publication that would act as ‘a storehouse from which intending memorialists may draw’. His aim was achieved through a book of lapidary inscriptions compiled with the Civic Arts Association’s exhibition of war memorial designs, held in London late in 1919. In the preface, Smith explained that the ‘present selection consists mainly of the suggestions sent in as a response to the letter’. However, the first page of the book stated with some irony that it had been ‘printed for official use only, and will not be placed on sale’.²⁷⁴ *Inscriptions for War Memorials* was not the first attempt to regulate lapidary inscriptions. In 1909 a slender volume was published with a prefatory note from Randall Davidson, the Archbishop of Canterbury, whose remarks (dated 10 December 1908 and addressed to the unnamed editors), ran:

I am very glad that you are publishing your useful and practical suggestions as to the Memorials and Inscriptions which we place upon the graves of our friends who have died in the faith and fear of God. I am certain that such suggestions are really wanted. The frequent inappropriateness of the Inscriptions in our Churchyards and Cemeteries is due I think to the fact that the mourners have not ordinarily at hand in their hours of sorrow any such suggestions as you are now making generally available. Those too who are responsible for the actual work of erecting or engraving Memorials will I believe be grateful to you and your colleagues. I cordially share that gratitude and heartily commend your little book.²⁷⁵

The book was divided into themed chapters, starting with fourteen pages of ‘General’ and fifteen pages entitled ‘Character and Circumstance’ before devoting two pages each to ‘Professions and Various Callings’, ‘Long Afflicted’, ‘Suddenly Called

²⁷³ Sir Cecil Harcourt Smith, *The Times*, Thursday 19 June 1919, p. 8.

²⁷⁴ *Inscriptions Selected for War Memorials* (London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1919), p. i.

²⁷⁵ *Suggestions for Gravestone Inscriptions and Designs* (Canterbury: Gibbs and Sons, 1909), p. 3.

Away’ and ‘Age’; four pages to ‘Children’ and finally one page to ‘Latin’. Although no definition of grief was offered, the editors deeply disapproved of doggerel, which they defined as ‘mean, undignified verse...Words ill-chosen may provoke ill-feelings or ridicule, teach error, or be flatteringly untrue, whilst loving care and knowledge may enable them to illuminate thought, preach the Gospel, and touch hearts for their blessing’.²⁷⁶ To emphasise their theme, they remarked:

It has been said that ‘a beautiful inscription is like a human voice across the centuries telling us, “You are not alone; others have thought and felt and suffered like yourselves”...The choice of words, then, is most important, and all will agree that the words should be simple, true and uplifting, and, as far as possible, brief. They should *never* be *ludicrous*. On a gravestone at Wood Ditton, near Newmarket, to the memory of an old man who died in 1753, the inscription begins: ‘My neighbours they perhaps will *laugh*, / When they do read my *epitaph*’. This ought not to be possible.’²⁷⁷

Etiquette guides, so eloquent and prescriptive, fell silent on the matter of headstone inscriptions. We can only extrapolate from their general and comprehensive advice about all other aspects of bereavement and funerals. Lady Troubridge felt that ‘amongst well-bred people simplicity now characterizes the funeral service everywhere’. On the subject of expressing grief, she remarked that it was ‘difficult to keep a firm hold over the emotions at such a time, and it is therefore wiser to see no one if there is a chance of breaking down...One chief rule to remember...is that sorrow is sacred’.²⁷⁸

²⁷⁶ *Suggestions for Gravestone Inscriptions and Designs*, pp. 8-9.

²⁷⁷ *Suggestions for Gravestone Inscriptions and Designs*, pp. 7-8.

²⁷⁸ Lady Troubridge, *The Book of Etiquette*, pp. 54-57.

The influence of Christianity

It is important to distinguish between the two interpretations of Christianity found in memorial texts: one which was theologically and faith-based, and another which was morally and culturally based. In highly generalised terms, British Christians have been depicted as theologically-strict early Victorians whose children turned into agonised doubters and who then morphed into the materialistic agnostics of the Edwardian era.²⁷⁹ While this generalisation does not recognise the web of denominations that comprised the Protestant, Catholic and Jewish faiths, the stereotype at least acknowledges the sometimes difficult relationship between scientific and religious interests in the developing nineteenth century. However, this relationship has little direct impact on the influence of Christianity in memorial texts. As Michael Snape has observed, British society was ‘identifiably and self-consciously Christian’.²⁸⁰ A person of ‘religious persuasion’ in this context could as easily be a practising Anglican, a Protestant Nonconformist, a Roman Catholic or a Jew; or, equally, a non-practising Christian whose church attendance was confined to principal dates in the church calendar and family christenings, weddings and funerals.²⁸¹ As Elizabeth Roberts notes of her respondents in north-west England, religion:

²⁷⁹ See Harris, *Public Lives, Private Spirit*, p. 150.

²⁸⁰ Michael Snape, *God and the British Soldier: Religion and the British Army in the First and Second World Wars* (London: Routledge, 2005), p. 20.

²⁸¹ These denominations are taken from the 1851 Religious Census for England and Wales as presented by John Wolffe in *God and Greater Britain*, p. 64. See Private Rose’s personal inscription in Menin Road South Cemetery, inscribed in Hebrew. Also MIZPAH on headstone of Gunner Charles John Hill Serjeant in Menin Road South Cemetery; and MIZPAH / GREATER LOVE / HATH NO MAN THAN THIS on the headstone of Corporal W.G. Staggs, Menin Road South Cemetery. Private Walter McClean Murray’s headstone in Hooge Crater Cemetery read RELIGION CHURCH OF IRELAND / AN IRISHMAN LOYAL TO DEATH / TO KING AND COUNTRY. See appendix for the register entries of these soldiers.

provided fundamental underpinning and comfort in what were often hard and troubled lives...Women in particular were concerned with 'loving thy neighbour'; a 'good' or 'Christian' person being seen as one who cared to the best of her ability for her family and neighbours...Most respondents accepted (and indeed acted upon) both the New Testament ethic of loving your neighbour and the Old Testament concept of justice, with its accompanying emphasis on the appropriateness of the punishment of sin.²⁸²

Frank Benson was the son of an iron moulder in a textile machinery firm who also acted as a local Anglican preacher. Mrs Benson presented her Christianity in the context of the existing parental authority she and her husband exerted over their children. Frank recalled that his mother's approach was different from his father's: '[she] would give us a religious talk in her own fashion. This was wrong and this was right and God wouldn't like us if we did this'.²⁸³ Mrs Benson seemed to interpret God in terms of parental, rather than sacred, authority; she may have thought that they would relate to this best. While the Church of England managed to appeal most successfully across class boundaries, a relationship between class and Nonconformist denomination has been observed, 'from the well-to-do Congregationalists and Wesleyans to the lower-class Baptists and respectable working-class Primitive Methodists'.²⁸⁴

Many of the war memorials that were erected in Britain in the early 1920s were inextricably linked with Christian influence, as were the Commission's own cemeteries.²⁸⁵ It is uncertain the extent to which they reflected a theological faith; as

²⁸² Roberts, *A Woman's Place*, p. 4.

²⁸³ Paul Thompson, *The Edwardians: The Remaking of British Society* (London: Routledge, 2004), p. 107.

²⁸⁴ Thompson, *The Edwardians*, p. 175.

²⁸⁵ Although Lutyens was keen that his cemeteries should be non-denominational, his Stone of Remembrance stood, altar-like, on three steps (a nod towards Christian reference) while Blomfield's Cross of Sacrifice was a potent symbol of Christian militarism.

Paul Thompson has observed, most Edwardians believed ‘imprecisely’ in a Christian God.²⁸⁶ As the headstone of Second Lieutenant Kenneth Gregor McMillan read: WE GIVE THANKS TO GOD / ALWAYS FOR THEE / MAKING MENTION OF THEE / IN OUR PRAYERS, while Private W.J. Doherty’s inscription in Chester Farm simply stated IN GOD WE TRUST.²⁸⁷ As towns and villages all over Britain still show, the simple cross was a popular memorial form and, as Catherine Moriarty has argued, was ‘generally regarded as a symbol of sacrifice and resurrection, rather than death’.²⁸⁸ Other memorials made the comparison between the ordinary soldier and Christ more explicit, as in the stained glass window at Bugbrooke in Northamptonshire, whose composition included a wounded soldier being supported by a sailor, kneeling in front of the crucified figure of Christ, while in the background depicted trenches and a burning village.²⁸⁹ These examples belonged to the Established church rather than Nonconformist chapels.

The memorial texts examined in this thesis suggest that, while some next-of-kin placed great emphasis on the exact book, chapter and verse of their selection, many others appeared to use Christianity in the way that Roberts’s respondents suggested – as a moral compass. The mother of Gunner T.J. Draper, who was listed in his entry as his only next-of-kin, forlornly requested NOTHING IN MY HAND I BRING / SIMPLY TO THY CROSS I CLING.²⁹⁰ For both serving soldiers and their relatives back at home,

²⁸⁶ Thompson, *The Edwardians*, p. 174.

²⁸⁷ Second Lt Kenneth McMillan is buried in Birr Cross Roads Cemetery. Private W.J. Doherty is buried in Chester Farm Cemetery.

²⁸⁸ Catherine Moriarty, ‘Christian Iconography and First World War Memorials’, in *The Imperial War Museum Review*, 6, n.d., p. 69.

²⁸⁹ Image taken from *The War Memorials Handbook* (second edition), p. 20.

²⁹⁰ Gunner T.J. Draper is buried in Ypres Reservoir Cemetery. The inscription is taken from the hymn ‘Rock of Ages’.

elements of superstition and the supernatural augmented more orthodox interpretations of Christianity. While the ordinary soldier was widely believed to have ‘got religion’, his relatives were absorbing stories such as the Angel of Mons.²⁹¹ Will Longstaff’s painting ‘The Menin Gate at Midnight’ showed the spirits of dead battalions rising to acknowledge the unveiling of the Menin Gate at Ypres. This image tapped powerfully into the psyche of the Australian bereaved: on its travels from city to city it was visually presented and received as something approaching a religious icon. The rise in the popularity of spiritualism reinterpreted the Christian idea of reunion and lent it a supernatural element.²⁹² The increasing number of séances in the wartime and post-war periods arguably had less to do with orthodox Christianity and more to do with the pain of absence, separation and loss. Sir Oliver Lodge’s choice of inscription for his son, killed at Ypres in 1915, acknowledged the growing popularity of spiritualism:

RAYMOND WHO HAS HELPED
MANY TO KNOW
THAT DEATH IS NOT THE END²⁹³

Reunion was expressed in different ways.²⁹⁴ There were two basically Christian interpretations, which mirrored the essential dichotomy expressed by the influence of

²⁹¹ The Angel of Mons is thought to have originated with Arthur Machen, whose story of angelic apparitions appearing over British troops at Mons was printed in the *Evening News* in September 1914. Winter argues that the ‘emotional mood of the first months of the war created the perfect atmosphere for such eschatological images, which were incorporated into sermons and religious publications in 1915’. Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 68. See also Adrian Gregory, *The Last Great War: British Society and the First World War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), p. 314, n.94.

²⁹² For further discussion on spiritualism, see, among others, Jenny Hazelgrove, *Spiritualism and British Society Between the Wars* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000); Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning*; Bourke, *Dismembering the Male*.

²⁹³ Second Lieutenant Lodge is buried in Birr Cross Roads Cemetery.

Christianity. The first relied on a specific knowledge of the Bible, and usually took the form of a direct quotation, or at least harnessed Biblical language. IN SURE AND CERTAIN HOPE / OF A RESURRECTION / UNTO LIFE ETERNAL read the headstone of Private Reuben Osborne, while that of Private William Fletcher assured the visitor that CHRIST SHALL CLASP / THE BROKEN CHAIN / CLOSER WHEN WE MEET AGAIN.²⁹⁵ The second interpretation used the promise of Christian reunion far more loosely, employing the concept as a contrast with death, and sometimes incorporating the metaphor of death as sleep; they were more likely to rhyme. Serjeant John Charles Henry Penrose's headstone in 1st DCLI Cemetery suggested that he had been brought up as a practising Christian: his inscription read HE DIED THAT THOSE HE LOVED / MIGHT LIVE / A TRUE CHRISTIAN / A LOVING SON, whereas the family of Gunner Henry Godden chose the less specifically Christian text HIS THE JOY / AND OURS THE PAIN / BUT ERE LONG / WE'LL MEET AGAIN.²⁹⁶ THE RESURRECTION SEAL / PROTECTS YOUR GRAVE / SLEEP IN PEACE said the headstone of Second-Lieutenant T. Heald, while AWAITING / A GLORIOUS RESURRECTION / TO ETERNAL LIFE was the promise on the headstone of Corporal John Edward Entwistle.²⁹⁷ WE SHALL MEET / IN A BETTER WORLD / MOTHER was the hope expressed on Private Charles Marcel Booker's headstone.²⁹⁸ Emma Smith, whose son Henry Nunns was killed in 1917, appeared to use the consolatory promise of reunion in the text she chose: JUST

²⁹⁴ See also SAY NOT GOODNIGHT / BUT IN SOME BRIGHTER CLIME / BID ME GOOD MORNING, the headstone inscription of Bombardier William Currin in Ypres Reservoir Cemetery.

²⁹⁵ Private Osborne is buried in Birr Cross Roads Cemetery; Private Fletcher is buried in Hooze Crater Cemetery. See appendix for their register entries.

²⁹⁶ Serjeant John Charles Henry Penrose is buried in 1st DCLI Cemetery; Gunner Henry Thomas Back Godden is buried in Ypres Reservoir Cemetery.

²⁹⁷ Second-Lieutenant T. Heald is buried in Ypres Reservoir Cemetery; Corporal John Edward Entwistle is buried in Menin Road South Cemetery.

²⁹⁸ Private Charles Marcel Booker is buried in Hooze Crater Cemetery.

BEYOND / THESE EARTHLY PARTINGS / WE SHALL SOON UNITED BE.²⁹⁹ The Hopkins family (save for Mr Hopkins senior, who had presumably predeceased his son) opted for a rhyming formulation that was also popular in the *in memoriam* columns: CHRIST WILL LINK / THE BROKEN CHAIN / CLOSER WHEN WE MEET AGAIN / FROM MUM, BROTHER AND SISTERS.³⁰⁰ Another such formulation was AT THE RIVER'S CRYSTAL BRINK / CHRIST SHALL JOIN / EACH BROKEN LINK / MOTHER.³⁰¹ Simple formulations such as REST IN PEACE / TILL WE MEET AGAIN³⁰² and DEVOTED IN LIFE / IN DEATH NOT DIVIDED³⁰³ also appeared. Perhaps one of the most simply expressed inscriptions of reunion was Caroline Wingate's choice for her husband: REUNION OUR ABIDING HOPE.³⁰⁴

Without a detailed understanding of how the next-of-kin selected and agreed their memorial texts, it is difficult to know whether they were practising Christians or merely sought from the faith moral and ethical guidance. What the selections certainly reveal, however, is a deep understanding and recognition of religious texts. Given the didactic climate of the mid and late nineteenth century, this should not come as a surprise. As Harris observes, 'evangelical styles of worship and behaviour transcended divisions between Establishment and dissent, and between High, Low and Broad Church. Sermons were long, ceremony austere, musical embellishment confined to psalms, Sabbath observance mandatory, Bible-reading and daily prayer common'.³⁰⁵ Harriet Vincent recalled growing up with her Nonconformist father:

²⁹⁹ Serjeant Henry Nunns is buried in Hooe Crater Cemetery.

³⁰⁰ Private T. Hopkins is buried in Ypres Ramparts Cemetery.

³⁰¹ Corporal Allan Topping is buried in Hooe Crater Cemetery.

³⁰² Private William Bristow is buried in Sanctuary Wood Cemetery.

³⁰³ Major James Leadbitter Knott is buried in Ypres Reservoir Cemetery.

³⁰⁴ Private H. Wingate is buried in Hooe Crater Cemetery.

³⁰⁵ Harris, *Public Lives, Private Spirit*, p. 169.

‘He’d have a big book on the table specially and we had to be stuck there. Oh – three times church Sunday.’³⁰⁶ In this general context it was not perhaps necessary for Henry and Mary Phillips to inscribe YE ARE THE LIGHT / OF THE WORLD / MATTHEW V.14; the book, chapter and verse would alone have probably been sufficiently recognisable.³⁰⁷ Such was the case at the headstone of Second Lieutenant Lancelot Nicholson: HEBREWS CHAP. 11 VERSE 10 or for Rifleman Frederick John Brown: HEB. 6-19.³⁰⁸ Biblical quotations were also presented without inverted commas, suggesting that the sentiment had been wholly accepted by the next-of-kin and that formal attribution was not necessary: IN QUIETNESS AND IN CONFIDENCE was the inscription chosen by Mrs Handley for her husband, Private Ernest Gordon Handley.³⁰⁹ A similar approach was adopted by the parents of Private Ernest Mosley Taylor: QUIT YE LIKE MEN. BE STRONG.³¹⁰ Inferring religious faith from church service attendance could be misplaced. Attendance did not necessarily impact on people’s beliefs, as these were likely to be the accumulated knowledge and (possibly loose) doctrinal acceptance from upbringing and past generations of family. It was this accumulated knowledge that made the use of inverted commas redundant (although some next-of-kin used them when also listing the book, chapter and verse reference). Use of the burial service from the Book of Common Prayer owed a debt to its Christian framework but also to the Christian ritual of the service. By engraving an inscription such as IN THE MIDST OF LIFE / WE ARE IN DEATH the next-of-kin was fulfilling – if

³⁰⁶ Thompson, *The Edwardians*, p. 98.

³⁰⁷ Private Percy Phillips is buried in Chester Farm Cemetery.

³⁰⁸ Second Lieutenant Nicholson is buried in Hooze Crater Cemetery and Rifleman Brown is buried in Menin Road South Cemetery. Hebrews 11:10 reads: ‘For he looked for a city which hath foundations, whose builder and maker is God.’ Hebrews 6:19 reads: ‘But, beloved, we are persuaded better things of you, and things that accompany salvation, though we thus speak.’

³⁰⁹ Private Ernest Gordon Handley is buried in Menin Road South Cemetery.

³¹⁰ Private Taylor is buried in Menin Road South Cemetery.

only in a metaphorical form – the liturgical flow of the funeral service they themselves had been unable to organise.³¹¹ THE LORD GAVE / AND THE LORD HATH TAKEN AWAY read the headstone of Private Robert Russell Sinclair, while that of Lieutenant-Colonel H.O.S. Cadogan’s promised UNDERNEATH / ARE THE EVERLASTING ARMS.³¹² OH DEATH / WHERE IS THY STING asked the headstone of Corporal Stephen Orme Gamble; “DEATH / IS SWALLOWED UP IN VICTORY” / 1 COR. XV.54 stated that of Second Lieutenant Wakefield Waldo Meade.³¹³ THOUGH I WALK / THROUGH THE VALLEY OF DEATH / I WILL FEAR NO EVIL was yet another text drawn from the burial service, as were FAITHFUL UNTO THE CALL / DEATH IS SWALLOWED / UP IN VICTORY and IN MY FATHER’S HOUSE / ARE MANY MANSIONS.³¹⁴

As we have seen in Chapter 2, hymnals also provided a popular source text for the next-of-kin. Contrary to the impression that historian Lionel Adey encountered in researching *Class and Idol in the English Hymn*, hymns in the 1920s did not constitute a ‘dead literary form’.³¹⁵ Not only were they familiar to the bereaved through their repeated singing at Sunday services, but they also fulfilled a similar role as did extracts from the burial service. As the next-of-kin of Corporal George William Realff chose to express it: ONWARD WE GO / FOR STILL / WE HEAR THEM

³¹¹ The inscription IN EVER LOVING MEMORY / IN THE MIDST OF LIFE / WE ARE IN DEATH was chosen for the headstone of Sapper Samuel George Oakins in Ypres Reservoir Cemetery.

³¹² Private Robert Russell Sinclair is buried in Chester Farm Cemetery; Lieutenant-Colonel Cadogan is buried in Hooze Crater Cemetery.

³¹³ Corporal Stephen Gamble is buried in Ypres Ramparts Cemetery; Second Lieutenant Wakefield Waldo Meade is buried in Sanctuary Wood Cemetery.

³¹⁴ These inscriptions belong to Private William Arthur Sharp of Menin Road South Cemetery, and Rifleman Harry Frank Grover and Lance-Corporal William Alexander Leitch, both of whom are buried in Birr Cross Roads Cemetery.

³¹⁵ Lionel Adey, *Class and Idol in the English Hymn* (Vancouver: University of Columbia Press, 1998), p. 245.

SINGING.³¹⁶ Ordinary soldiers reflected this familiarity in other ways. In April 1916 one man composed ‘A Soldier’s Timetable’ which read:

5.45 am.	Reveille,	Christmas Awake
6.30	Parade,	Art Thou Weary.
7.30	Breakfast,	Weekly wait & murmur not
8.15	Company Officers Parade,	“When we Cometh”
8.45	Manoeuvres,	“Fight the Good Fight”
11.15	Swedish Drill	“Here we suffer grief and pain”
1 pm.	Dinner	Come ye thankful people come
2.15	Rifle Drill	Go Labour On.
3.15	Lectures by Officers,	“Tell me the old old story”
4.30	Dismiss,	“Prais God from whom all blessing flow”
5	Tea,	What means the eager anxious throng
6	Free for the night,	Oh Lord how happy we should be
10	Last Post,	All are safely gathered in
10.15	Lights Out,	Peace Perfect Peace
10.30	Inspection Guard,	Sleep on beloved & take thy rest ³¹⁷

The singing of hymns was also an integral part of funerary ritual. Hymns were a core element in the unveiling of war memorials.³¹⁸ After attending three services on Sunday, Harriet Vincent added that she and her siblings would then ‘sit down Sunday night and sing hymns’ with their father.³¹⁹ The near-universal recognition of the three words ABIDE WITH ME meant that in metaphorical terms the next-of-kin had managed to inscribe an entire hymn on the headstone.³²⁰ Variations on the hymn included IN

³¹⁶ Corporal George William Realf is buried in Chester Farm Cemetery.

³¹⁷ Department of Documents, Imperial War Museum Misc. 98 Item 1485: ‘Humorous Soldier’s Timetable, April 1916’. Original spelling and punctuation retained.

³¹⁸ At the unveiling of the Birmingham Hall of Memory in July 1925, the assembly sang ‘O God our help in ages past’. The combined bands of the 5th and 6th Battalions of the Royal Warwickshire Regiment, as well as that of the City Police Band, played in nearby Victoria Square. The programme noted that the City of Birmingham Choir ‘will be located near the Police Band, and will sing:- “There is an Old Belief” (Hubert Parry) / There is an old belief, / That on some solemn shore, / Beyond the sphere of grief / Dear friends shall meet once more. / Beyond the sphere of Time, / And Sin and Fate’s control, / Serene in changeless prime, / Of body and of soul. / That creed I fain would keep, / That hope I’ll ne-er forgo. / Eternal be the sleep, / If not to waken so.’ Birmingham Central Library L 22.3 (Box) Royal Visits.

³¹⁹ Thompson, *The Edwardians*, p. 98.

³²⁰ Bombardier Martin Henry Collins’s headstone was engraved with this inscription in Menin Road South Cemetery.

LIFE IN DEATH / O LORD ABIDE WITH ME and ABIDE WITH ME / FAST FALLS THE EVENTIDE / LORD WITH ME ABIDE.³²¹ Other hymns also appeared: O VALIENT HEARTS read Major William James Rowan-Robinson's headstone, while Acting Bombardier J.E. Meighen's inscription continued O VALLIANT HEART / WHO TO YOUR GLORY CAME.³²² Private John Henry Briggs's inscription choice, PEACE PERFECT PEACE, was a popular choice, often engraved as part of a multi-component text.³²³ Henry and Fanny Herrington chose LEAD KINDLY LIGHT / LATIMER VILLAGE / CHESHAM, BUCKS for their son Sydney.³²⁴ JESU LOVER OF MY SOUL appeared on the headstone of Gunner H. Geyton.³²⁵ Continuing the theme of Christian militarism, I HAVE FOUGHT THE GOOD FIGHT appeared on the headstone of Private George Bartram, while ONWARD CHRISTIAN SOLDIER / HE FOUGHT THE GOOD FIGHT was chosen for Private Thomas George Burtoft.³²⁶ Henry and Janey Rogers commemorated their son Leonard with THROUGH THE NIGHT / OF DOUBT AND SORROW / ONWARD GOES THE PILGRIM BAND.³²⁷ Private William Grafton Lane Tritton was remembered with another well-known hymn: ROCK OF AGES CLEFT FOR ME.³²⁸ Albert and Emma Timms chose THY WAY NOT MINE O LORD for their son Edwin.³²⁹ The refrain from 'Now the labourer's task is o'er' was:

Father, in Thy gracious keeping

³²¹ These inscriptions belonged to Private Rendall in Birr Cross Roads Cemetery and Private Nelson Francis Skinner in Hooge Crater Cemetery respectively.

³²² Major Rowan-Robinson is buried in Sanctuary Wood Cemetery, while Acting Bombardier Meighen can be found in Ypres Reservoir. The original spelling of the inscriptions has been retained.

³²³ Private Briggs is buried in Sanctuary Wood Cemetery.

³²⁴ Corporal Sydney Herrington is buried in Hooge Crater Cemetery.

³²⁵ Gunner Geyton is buried in Ypres Reservoir Cemetery.

³²⁶ Privates Bartram and Burtoft are both buried in Birr Cross Roads Cemetery.

³²⁷ Private Leonard Parkes Rogers is buried in Menin Road South Cemetery.

³²⁸ Private Tritton is buried in Menin Road South Cemetery.

³²⁹ Private Edwin Timms is buried in Woods Cemetery.

Leave we now Thy servant sleeping.³³⁰

However, it appeared in various amended forms, including:

FATHER
IN THY GRACIOUS KEEPING
LEAVE WE NOW
THIS SOLDIER SLEEPING

Sapper G. Dunn, Ypres Ramparts Cemetery

SAVIOUR IN THY KEEPING
LEAVE WE NOW
OUR LOVED ONE SLEEPING

Private Albert Metcalfe, Hooge Crater Cemetery

HEAVENLY FATHER IN THY KEEPING
LEAVE WE NOW OUR DEAR, DEAR ONE SLEEPING

Lance-Corporal Claudius Claremont Pell, Hooge Crater Cemetery

Traditional and contemporary literature

One reason for the preponderance of Christian inscriptions is that these were the sources to which most people had access. Vera Brittain's juvenile 'novels' illustrated her 'intensely religious sentiment' and extensive quotation from hymns, the Anglican Prayer Book and Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*.³³¹ Reading material at home, of course, varied dramatically. Brittain recalled that her parents' stock of books:

³³⁰ *Hymns Ancient and Modern* (London: William Clowes and Sons, Ltd., 1924), p. 341.

³³¹ Brittain's biographers make this observation of her childhood in Macclesfield between 1895 and 1905. Berry and Bostridge, *Vera Brittain: A Life*, p. 27.

consisted solely of a few yellow-back novels, two or three manuals on paper-making, and a large tome entitled *Household Medicine*, in which the instructions were moral rather than hygienic. Lest anyone should suspect the family of being literary, these volumes were concealed beneath a heavy curtain in the chill, gloomy dining-room. My father was once told by a publisher's traveller that the Pottery towns held the lowest record for book-buying in England. Being a true son of his district, which has an immense respect for "brass" but none whatever for the uncommercial products of a poetic imagination, he remained faithful in Cheshire as in Staffordshire to his neighbourhood's reputation.³³²

It is worth remembering that Brittain was not above exaggerating her family's philistinism in order that her own (undoubted) academic industry compared favourably. However, her continuing list of the books to which she *did* have access – Dickens, Andrew Lang, L.T. Meade, Wilkie Collins, Besant and Rice as well as the poetry of Longfellow and Matthew Arnold – reveals that she was more fortunate than many of her contemporaries.³³³ Although the English tended to prefer newspapers over books, daily papers were still purchased by only a fifth of the population, and then usually the Sunday edition alone. Public libraries lent fewer than two books a head per year. This was not due to illiteracy rates, which counted only 5% of the adult population as unable to read or write – but a preference towards other leisure activities such as gardening, keeping pets or playing cards.³³⁴ As well as these generalised observations, Thompson allows us a glimpse into the reading habits of ordinary families. Sidney Ford, whose family's social status was lower than that of the Brittain's, recalled that his parents encouraged him to read, but that the 'books in the house were very much edited by my mother. I was only allowed to read good

³³² Brittain, *Testament of Youth*, p. 17.

³³³ Andrew Lang (1844-1912) is best known as a collector of folk and fairy tales; Wilkie Collins (1824-89) was credited with writing the first English detective novel, *The Moonstone*. L.T. Meade wrote a series of popular girls' stories under the pseudonym of Elizabeth Thomasina Meade Smith (1854-1914); Walter Besant (1836-1901) collaborated with James Rice (1843-82) on a series of novels.

³³⁴ Thompson, *The Edwardians*, p. 171.

books and I was only allowed to read religious books on Sundays'.³³⁵ Frank Benson counted himself lucky to be enrolled at the local Carnegie library, a welcome source of 'Henty stories, adventure stories, school stories of the time. I was allowed to read them in the house, these were all right, because they were out of the public library'.³³⁶ He also remembered his parents reading the Bible together in the evening.³³⁷ Similarly, the books in Harriet Vincent's house were 'chiefly religious'; and Will Askham's father read his children stories or passages from the Bible.³³⁸ Emmie Durham's literary diet was even more sparse: growing up in East London, the family 'kept no more than two books, and took only a weekly paper'.³³⁹

Against this apparently limited backdrop, then, is revealed a surprisingly wide range of literature that as considered suitable for the task in hand. Shakespeare and Donne appeared, as did Wordsworth, Anna Letitia Barbauld and Thomas Campbell; Tennyson, W.E. Henley, Walt Whitman and Longfellow brought the nineteenth century to a close, while poems from Rupert Brooke, Henry Newbolt and Laurence Binyon represented the twentieth. With the obvious exceptions of Brooke, Newbolt and Binyon, many of these poets were included in Francis Palgrave's *Golden Treasury*, first published in 1861 and successively updated and reissued. Although Rupert Brooke's romantic popularity secured his position in some quarters as 'The War Poet'³⁴⁰, it is uncertain how universal was his appeal. Vera Brittain recorded a

³³⁵ Thompson, *The Edwardians*, p. 86.

³³⁶ Thompson, *The Edwardians*, p. 108.

³³⁷ Thompson, *The Edwardians*, p. 108.

³³⁸ Thompson, *The Edwardians*, pp. 98, 130.

³³⁹ Thompson, *The Edwardians*, p. 135.

³⁴⁰ Vera Brittain, *Chronicle of Youth* (London: Gollancz, 1981), p. 314.

letter she had received from Marie Connor Leighton in June 1915, enclosing some handwritten quotations from Brooke's 'The Soldier' and requesting:

Will you let me have them back when you have read them? Because I cannot do without them, until I get the book. For they are Roland all over. They are just what he might have written. The last lines in particular ['If I should die, think only this of me'] cut through me like so many knife-stabs with their truth in the matter of likeness to him.³⁴¹

It was all very well for Marie Connor Leighton to make this comparison, but by no means can the author of a long sequence of melodramatic romances for the pre-war *Daily Mail* be presented as a typical source of her time. (If in doubt, two books give a measure of this extraordinary woman: her biography of Roland, published anonymously; and the account of her life as seen through the eyes of her daughter Clare.³⁴²) There was, however, no denying the power of Brooke's writing. His *Poems* had gone through ten impressions by November 1915 and his *Life and Letters* (complete with a memoir by Sir Edward Marsh) had gone through twenty impressions by 1931. Brooke's evocation of 'a foreign field' and the pouring of the 'red sweet wine of youth' both appeared as personal inscriptions.³⁴³ These quotations, alongside excerpts from poems memorialising Culloden, the Crimea or the Crusades, showed how the First World War was being imagined by the next-of-kin. This was allied to the power of 'big words' – honour, right, liberty, a just cause. This elevated vocabulary is discussed in the following chapter.

³⁴¹ Brittain, *Chronicle of Youth*, p. 212.

³⁴² *Boy Of My Heart*, 1916; Clare Leighton, *Tempestuous Petticoat* (London: Gollancz, 1948).

³⁴³ The probability that different source texts appealed to different audiences was highlighted by Captain Alan Young (1895-1988). In an interview with *The Times* to mark the seventieth anniversary of the outbreak of the war he was asked, 'If you had read somebody such as Wilfred Owen in 1916 or 1917, or Rupert Brooke, what would you have thought about what they were writing then?' Young replied: 'I don't know. I think we might have thought they had made rather heavy weather of it.' *The Times*, Friday 3 August 1984, p.10; obituary, *The Times*, Thursday 29 July 1988, p. 16.

Literature was both reiterated and personalised, with certain quotations finding repeated favour. Tennyson's line from 'Ode on the Death of the Duke of Wellington', 'The path of duty was the way to glory:' was quoted correctly on the headstones of Private Frank Sowden and Second Lieutenant Andrew Yuill Pollock Johnston; but it was modified on the headstone of Private Frederick Gardner: THE PATH OF DUTY / LEADS THE WAY TO GLORY.³⁴⁴ Another popular line from Tennyson was taken from 'Break, Break, Break': 'But O for the touch of a vanish'd hand, / And the sound of a voice that is still!' This line was not exactly mirrored on the headstone inscriptions collected, appearing instead in these various forms:

OH FOR THE TOUCH
OF THE VANISHED HAND
AND THE SOUND OF THE VOICE
THAT IS STILL³⁴⁵

Rifleman William Henry John Baldery, Hooge Crater Cemetery

O FOR THE TOUCH
OF A VANISHED HAND
& THE SOUND OF A VOICE
THAT'S STILL³⁴⁶

Lance-Corporal J. Morton, Birr Cross Roads Cemetery

O FOR THE TOUCH
OF THE VANISHED HAND
OF THE SOUND OF THE VOICE
THAT IS STILL³⁴⁷

Private F.J. Jones, Woods Cemetery

³⁴⁴ Private Frank Sowden and Second Lieutenant Andrew Yuill Pollock Johnston are both buried in Hooge Crater Cemetery; Private Frederick Gardner is buried in Ypres Reservoir Cemetery.

³⁴⁵ See appendix for Rifleman Baldery's register entry.

³⁴⁶ See appendix for Lance-Corporal Morton's register entry.

³⁴⁷ See appendix for Private Jones's register entry.

O FOR THE TOUCH
OF A VANISHED HAND
THE SOUND OF A VOICE³⁴⁸

Lance-Corporal John Leonard Caton, Sanctuary Wood Cemetery

FOR A SHAKE
OF A VANISHED HAND
& THE SOUND OF A VOICE
THAT'S STILL³⁴⁹

Private Matthew Joyce, Hooge Crater Cemetery

OH FOR A TOUCH
OF THE VANISHED HAND
AND A SOUND OF THE VOICE
THAT IS STILL³⁵⁰

Bombardier Herbert Alfred Russell, Hooge Crater Cemetery

These variations suggested that the quotation was well-known and being quoted from popular memory rather than from a printed source. Although not 'accurately' quoted, there is no automatic sense that they were being deliberately altered; it may have been that the next-of-kin believed that they were providing a true citation. These headstone inscriptions suggest also that the sentiment behind the line - the anguish of absence in grief - struck a chord with the next-of-kin. The parents of Wesley Lawrence, whose sequence of *in memoriam* notices was discussed in Chapter 3, had also taken some licence with Longfellow's words, capitalising 'death' for additional emphasis and producing the lines 'Ah, yes, til then! but when Death intervening / Rends us asunder / With what ceaseless pain we wait for thee again' instead of Longfellow's 'Ay, yes,

³⁴⁸ See appendix for Lance-Corporal Caton's register entry.

³⁴⁹ See appendix for Private Joyce's register entry.

³⁵⁰ See appendix for Bombardier Russell's register entry.

till then! but when death intervening / Rends us asunder, with what ceaseless pain / We wait for the Again!’³⁵¹ The *in memoriam* notice turned Longfellow’s poem from a belief in a theological Resurrection to a personal reunion (still possibly based in heaven) between Wesley and his family. Perhaps it was no surprise that Longfellow should appeal. In a pocket-sized edition of Longfellow’s poetry, published in 1909, the lecturer and critic Oliphant Smeaton recognised one of the functions of Longfellow’s poetry by asking: ‘Does not the very spirit of all domestic consolation abide in these stanzas?’³⁵²

Other literary sources appeared to have been chosen for similar reasons: they expressed the experience of bereavement, or highlighted the chasm between life and death. It is interesting that these next-of-kin did not choose to assuage their grief, or remember their loved ones, through a traditional telling of the Christian story. Thus at the headstone of Private Donald Henry Gale Morison we find Shakespeare’s *Cymbeline* telling us THOU THY WORLDLY TASK / HAST DONE / HOME ART GONE / AND TA’EN THY WAGES, while Second Lieutenant Allen Rhys Griffiths’s headstone consoled ONE SHORT SLEEP PAST / WE WAKE ETERNALLY / AND DEATH SHALL BE NO MORE.³⁵³ These inscription choices did not, of course, necessarily mean a rejection of Christian faith, but it is interesting that the relatively more recent voices of Shakespeare and John Donne were given precedence over conventionally scriptural sources.

³⁵¹ Oliphant Smeaton, *Longfellow and His Poetry* (London: George G. Harrap & Co. Ltd., 1909), p. 130

³⁵² Smeaton, *Longfellow & His Poetry*, p. 87. Oliphant Smeaton (1856-1914) was best known for his work on Shakespeare and he lectured at Heriot-Watt College, Edinburgh (Heriot-Watt received its university charter in 1966).

³⁵³ Private Morison is buried in Hooge Crater Cemetery; Second Lieutenant Griffiths in Ypres Ramparts Cemetery.

The father of Bombardier William Currin, MM, and Private Frank Keam focused their inscription choices on the experience of bereavement. SAY NOT GOODNIGHT / BUT IN SOME BRIGHTER CLIME / BID ME GOOD MORNING, asked Currin's, quoting Anna Letitia Barbauld. Keam's next-of-kin chose a particularly popular quotation from Barbauld's contemporary, Thomas Campbell: TO LIVE IN HEARTS / WE LEAVE BEHIND / IS NOT TO DIE.³⁵⁴ God is completely absent from this formulation, which was also adopted in *in memoriam* columns. Robert and Marie Connor Leighton chose an inscription for their son Roland from W.E. Henley: GOOD NIGHT, SWEET FRIEND, GOODNIGHT / TILL LIFE AND ALL TAKE FLIGHT, / NEVER GOOD-BYE.³⁵⁵ Here was an implicit denial of death – not as clear as Sir Oliver Lodge's text for his son Raymond, but both expressive of the devastating experience of bereavement.

The influence of the martial context was clear from some inscriptions. Sir Walter Scott was chose to voice the inscription for Private James Wheeldon in Ypres Reservoir Cemetery: SLEEP ON DEAR SON / THY WARFARE'S O'ER / THY HANDS SHALL BATTLE / HERE NO MORE. This inscription blended an implicit Christian faith with a romantic idea of what war involved.³⁵⁶ In similar terms, Lea in Ypres Reservoir Cemetery was remembered as A HAPPY WARRIOR while Private Leonard Everard Mayne was remembered by Robert Browning's line ONE WHO NEVER /

³⁵⁴ Bombardier William Currin, MM, is buried in Ypres Reservoir Cemetery. Perhaps surprisingly his father, the Rev. J.P. Currin of Sarasota, Florida, did not choose a specifically Christian text, but one that acknowledged a less theologically correct belief in resurrection. Private Frank Keam is buried in Hooze Crater Cemetery.

³⁵⁵ William Ernest Henley, *Poems* (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1921), p. 111. Second-Lieutenant Leighton is buried in Louvencourt Cemetery.

³⁵⁶ Private James Wheeldon is buried in Ypres Reservoir Cemetery.

TURNED HIS BACK / BUT MARCHED BREAST FORWARD.³⁵⁷ Norah Kathleen Moore chose to draw on Walt Whitman for her husband's inscription: Lieutenant-Colonel Atherstan Moore's headstone read "SAIL FORTH! / STEER FOR / THE DEEP WATERS ONLY! / RECKLESS, O SOUL, EXPLORING!"³⁵⁸

The quasi-military analogies continued with references to Henry Newbolt's 1911 poem 'Vitaï Lampada' for both Private H.C. Robinson and Corporal Victor Edwin Watts.³⁵⁹ Private Robinson received HE ALWAYS PLAYED THE GAME while Corporal Watts's text was the slightly shorter HE PLAYED THE GAME. Three (near) quotations from Rupert Brooke were discovered: THERE'S SOME CORNER / OF A FOREIGN FIELD / THAT IS FOREVER ENGLAND obviously appealed to the widowed mother of Lieutenant Herbert Arnold Saportas in Chester Farm Cemetery, while a similar choice, A CORNER OF A FOREIGN LAND / THAT IS FOREVER ENGLAND was engraved on the headstone of Private James Quigley.³⁶⁰ Another of Brooke's popular poems was used by the father of Private Walter Norbury Rowbotham: THESE Poured OUT / THE RED SWEET WINE OF YOUTH / GAVE UP THE YEARS TO BE and arguably made a memorable contribution to the post-war idea of a lost generation.³⁶¹ Neither family who chose Laurence Binyon's 'For the Fallen' wished to alter the syntax of the poem, as had happened with Tennyson's 'Break, Break, Break'. Second Lieutenant John Alexander Kirk and Bombardier Lawrence Eade both received the inscription AT THE

³⁵⁷ Private Leonard Everard Mayne is buried in Woods Cemetery.

³⁵⁸ From his poem 'Passage to India'. See *The Complete Poems of Walt Whitman* (London: Wordsworth Poetry Library, 2006), p. 313.

³⁵⁹ Private H.C. Robinson and Corporal Victor Edwin Watts are both buried in Menin Road South Cemetery.

³⁶⁰ Lieutenant Herbert Arnold Saportas is buried in Chester Farm Cemetery, while Private James Quigley is to be found in Hooze Crater Cemetery.

³⁶¹ Private Rowbotham is buried in Hooze Crater Cemetery.

GOING DOWN OF THE SUN / AND IN THE MORNING / WE WILL REMEMBER THEM, but Private William Atkinson's next-of-kin chose to personalise the same line: AT THE GOING DOWN OF THE SUN / AND IN THE MORNING / WE WILL REMEMBER HIM, thus transforming an appeal for the collective memory of the fallen into a highly personalised example.³⁶² In a choice that mirrored the plinths of community war memorials, the parents of Private Arthur Lionel Robinson selected a line from Kipling's 'Recessional' and framed much of the debate that will be discussed in the next chapter: LEST WE FORGET.³⁶³ This debate was framed in terms of a number of 'polarised axes' and will also continue to examine how pre-war and post-war memorial practices combined to produce the personal inscriptions displayed in the military cemeteries.³⁶⁴

³⁶² Second Lieutenant Kirk is buried in Hooze Crater Cemetery; Bombardier Eade in Sanctuary Wood Cemetery; and Private Atkinson in Woods Cemetery.

³⁶³ Private Robinson is buried in Chester Farm Cemetery.

³⁶⁴ Gregory, *The Last Great War*, p. 292.

CHAPTER 5

CONSTRUCTED REALITIES

THEY THAT ARE TRUE OF HEART
SHALL BE GLAD
LOVE, DUTY, HONOUR, FAITH

Lieutenant Stephen Christy, Ypres Reservoir Cemetery

The early 1920s saw an unprecedented level of monument building, unrivalled even by previous standards set by the death of Queen Victoria and the end of the South African War. In Britain, where the majority of memorials were erected by 1925, architects and sculptors were engaged on a wide range of commissions: halls, arches, figurative sculpture, crosses and tablets, as well as utilitarian projects such as village halls, recasting of bells and almshouses. In the former battlefields, the principal architects of the Imperial War Graves Commission, Lutyens, Baker and Blomfield, were charged with the design of individual cemeteries and memorials to the missing. Many of these projects played a key role in cementing the ‘invented tradition’ of annual commemorations on 11 November.³⁶⁵ They helped to define the war and identify its multiple meanings: why (and for what) it had been fought, the essential principle of the commemoration of everyman, the depiction of bodies and the remembrance and recitation of names. Powerful though many of the monumental designs undoubtedly were, they were also required to carry a linguistic statement identifying some of these meanings. Even the Whitehall Cenotaph, a monument so potent that due to public clamour its temporary plaster form had to be replaced with a

³⁶⁵ Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, eds., *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

permanent version in stone, required the inscription THE GLORIOUS DEAD.³⁶⁶ Chapter 4 has introduced the significance of the written or engraved word on memorials. These inscriptions represented ‘constructed realities’, being composed as the bereaved struggled to find a fitting form of commemoration for what they had recently experienced: Henry and Ethel Christy crystallised these realities neatly into their son Stephen’s personal inscription.³⁶⁷ These constructed realities drew on pre-war languages of idealism, realism and epitaphic language, as well as ‘real’ languages such as Gaelic, Welsh and Latin.³⁶⁸ They also drew from personal correspondence, newspaper reporting of the war and doubtless private and unrecorded conversations about individual perceptions of the war. These constructed realities can be better appreciated through the development of two narratives, one that focused around the ideas of wartime service and experience, the other around the state and experience of bereavement. Both narratives marked out their own territory within the realm of the memorial texts that this thesis has been discussing, and where values such as ‘sacrifice’ or ‘duty’ appear, their treatment and interpretation was distinctly different. This influenced the tone of the resulting language of grief.

³⁶⁶ Penelope Curtis, ‘The Whitehall Cenotaph: an accidental monument’, in *The Imperial War Museum Review*, 9, 1994, pp. 31-41.

³⁶⁷ In this context ‘the bereaved’ represents a wider group (including the next-of-kin).

³⁶⁸ Thanks are due to the University of Birmingham for arranging the translation of the Latin, Welsh, Gaelic, French, Hebrew and Swedish personal inscriptions quoted in the text.

‘We salute, honour and remember you’: the wartime narrative³⁶⁹

The wartime narrative took the deceased as its central focus, constructing his image and perception using several key elements. His military position was crucial to the narrative, as this reinforced the military inscription already engraved on the headstone by the Commission. (In the cases where there was no personal inscription it is worth checking the register entry, as this could be supplemented at no charge to the next-of-kin.) The deceased’s method of entry into the army was also important: whether he had volunteered or enlisted (and if the latter, the month and year of his enlistment was an important part of the narrative too, sending signals as to the deceased’s commitment to ideals such as patriotism, duty and honour; ‘duty’ did not want to be sullied by implications of reluctance, which might be inferred from conscription). Finally, the manner of the deceased’s service and/or death was crucial to the wartime narrative. It did not suit the narrative to admit, as soldiers did much later, that trench warfare involved a high degree of monotony and boredom (acknowledged in one of Bairnsfather’s early cartoons).³⁷⁰ Instead, the deceased were commemorated with the ideals of gallantry, nobility, sacrifice and duty that were largely the imagined response of civilians: how they imagined warfare or what lessons they drew from the war, rather than an individual soldier’s perspective. (Again, another of Bairnsfather’s cartoons, ‘The same old moon’, neatly captured this dichotomy between military

³⁶⁹ The original punctuation and layout of Private T.S. Dodd’s personal inscription is TO DEAR SYD / WE SALUTE / HONOUR & REMEMBER YOU. He is buried in Hooge Crater Cemetery.

³⁷⁰ A split-screen cartoon entitled ‘That Sword’ captioned ‘How he thought he was going to use it’ [charging with drawn sword towards the enemy] and ‘and how he did use it [toasting bread over a brazier].’ Tonie and Valmai Holt, eds., *The Best of Fragments from France by Capt. Bruce Bairnsfather* (T&V Holt Associates, 1998), p. 17.

banality and civilian romanticism.³⁷¹) It was important to the bereaved that their sons had died for an ideal or a purpose; hence a ‘soldier’ could be transformed into a ‘warrior’ and his military service could be justified by ideals such as right, liberty, justice or honour. Public war memorials tended to subscribe to the vocabulary favoured by the wartime narrative. The war was presented as a necessary and worthwhile conflict, one that both demanded and deserved commemoration. This process began in the early months of the war, as unofficial street memorials appeared.³⁷² Although the war had evoked gallantry, heroism and the ideal of voluntary service in support of one’s country, it had also introduced military conscription and had incurred the harsh realities of total war.³⁷³ These negative aspects were absent from lapidary inscriptions. TREADING THE PATH OF DUTY AND SACRIFICE was part of a longer inscription at Winchester College, whose memorial was unveiled in 1924. The memorial plaque at Lerryn, Cornwall stated IN REMEMBRANCE / OF THE BOYS / WHO FOUGHT AND DIED FOR US / IN THE GREAT WAR / 1914-1918, while a roadside cross at Lydham, Shropshire declared TO THE GLORY OF GOD / WHO GAVE US THE VICTORY / IN THE GREAT WAR / AUG.1914 TO NOV. 1918. The Hoylake and West Kirby memorial adopted a phrase from Kipling when it asked WHO STANDS IF ENGLAND FALLS? / WHO DIES IF ENGLAND LIVES? While the monument at Reigate and Redhill, unveiled in 1923, was stamped with the values COURAGE / HONOUR / SELF-SACRIFICE.

³⁷¹ Another split-screen cartoon that depicted a young woman leaning out of her window at night saying ‘And to think that is the same dear old moon that’s looking down on him!’ while in the pane below, a grizzled Tommy on a wiring party in no man’s land complained, ‘This blinkin’ moon will be the death of us’. Holt, *The Best of Fragments from France*, p. 36.

³⁷² Alice Goodman, *The Street Memorials of St Albans Abbey Parish* (Hertford: St Albans and Hertfordshire Architectural and Archaeological Society, 1987).

³⁷³ Immanuel Geiss, ‘Reflections on Total War in the Twentieth Century’, in Peter Liddle, John Bourne and Ian Whitehead, eds., *The Great World War 1914-45: Volume 2* (London: HarperCollins, 2001), pp. 452-475.

These inscriptions tended to present a partial view of a community's war experience. There was not enough room on a memorial to reflect the multiple effects of war; the task of the finished inscription was to unite as many of these disparate strands and present them in a socially acceptable format. (Some memorials, as at Stokesay and Knaresborough, tried to reflect the contrasting emotions of grief for the dead and happiness at the return of survivors.) The reflection of these inscriptions within the wartime narrative, adopted by those who were composing texts for individual Commission headstones, suggests the success of monumental inscriptions. Without documentary evidence it is, of course, impossible to prove that a monumental inscription was the basis for a particular personal inscription as it appeared to do with Rifleman Thomas Hale at 1st DCLI Cemetery. It is, however, impossible to deny that the unveiling of war memorials in the 1920s were popular media events, covered comprehensively in the local and national press. Souvenir programmes were produced for at least some unveiling ceremonies which detailed not only the inscriptions on the monument but also the hymns to be sung, thereby revealing the framework of remembrance adopted by that particular memorial. Monuments came into being in different ways: commissioned through public funds, endowed by wealthy individuals or funded by commercial bodies. Catherine Moriarty has shown how many communities came under pressure to support local projects, noting that in Lewes those households who had not contributed to the memorial fund 'were sent a letter stating that their name did not appear on the list'. It must have been difficult to

withstand such forceful fundraising.³⁷⁴ The ubiquity of public subscription suggests that people both understood and supported the conventions of remembrance. Having made a financial contribution, it seems feasible that an interest in the memorial's design, inscription and progress might then follow.

Alex King's work on war memorials in Britain in the 1920s has focused in part on the composition of memorial committees.³⁷⁵ Although he notes that their structure was 'intended to make them representative of the local community', their emphasis leaned towards the generation of Victorians born in and around the 1860s (in broad terms, the parents of those who were killed in the war). These individuals tended to comprise local gentry, the MP and civic officials, often excluding ex-servicemen, women, and the wider bereaved.³⁷⁶ War memorial committees, therefore, tended to comprise men in whose best interests it was to justify the prosecution of the war and the maintenance of the (increasingly fragile) *status quo*. Although many committee members were too old to have seen active service, they would have lost sons in the war and as such understood the memorial's function as a surrogate grave based in the local community. The messages the memorials endorsed did not speak of social

³⁷⁴ Catherine Moriarty, 'Private Grief and Public Remembrance: British First World War Memorials' in Martin Evans and Ken Lunn, eds., *War and Memory in the Twentieth Century* (Oxford: Berg, 1997) pp. 129-30. In the same contribution Moriarty makes an interesting observation that, in public inscriptions, memory was 'always described in positive terms: the loss of a loved one was to be viewed as a glorious and meaningful sacrifice rather than a painful, pointless loss. Thus we never read of "regretful memory", "angry memory" or "broken-hearted memory"' (p. 137). However, in the semi-private realm of personal inscriptions, voices of real pain could be heard. Ellen Butterfield chose as her husband's inscription EVER IN OUR THOUGHTS / BY HIS BROKEN-HEARTED WIFE / AND FAMILY, while the headstone of Lance-Corporal Charles Mestrez was inscribed MY JOY-BRINGER GONE / OVER THE SUN / A BLACK CLOUD CAME / I AM LEFT ALONE. Rifleman Albert Butterfield is buried in Oak Dump Cemetery; Lance-Corporal Mestrez in Menin Road South Cemetery.

³⁷⁵ Alex King, *Memorials of the Great War in Britain* (Oxford: Berg, 1998).

³⁷⁶ Angela Gaffney also acknowledges this point in *Aftermath: Remembering the Great War in Wales* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1998).

fracture or intimate grief; indeed, such statements might well have been considered in poor taste. They tended to echo the monumental inscriptions of memorials to the South African War: a very different war, but the only recent martial precedent available. The Gateshead memorial was raised by public subscription to the 'grateful memory' of the townsmen who died and accorded GLORY TO GOD: HONOUR TO THE DEAD. PEACE AFTER VICTORY, while Leicester's memorial displayed 'Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends'.

The mid-Victorian generation was also imbued with the ethos of the 'good death'. Although death in the First World War had proved to be spectacularly bad in many cases, the idea of spiritual preparation remained persuasive. The 'good death' remained an important supporting concept in the wartime narrative. Chapter 4 has shown the consistent reliance on Christian texts in personal inscriptions. Although still set in a firmly Christian context, both in terms of physical environment and linguistic framework, the emphasis of memorial texts shifted from spiritual preparation to martial ideals of glory, honour and heroism. These ideals, familiar to readers of boys' adventure stories and tales of pre-war espionage, not only bolstered the personal qualities of the deceased but also helped to support the justification of the war's conduct. By questioning the ideals behind a good death one might risk undermining the reason for a loved one's demise.

Inscriptions helped to underpin patriotism and a sense of social cohesion. Memorials emphasised a national justification for the war: after all, its citizen army had 'answered her country's call'. DIED FOR HIS COUNTRY, declared the headstone of Private T. Mather, while Alfred and Lucy Chaston chose DULCE EST PRO PATRIA

MORI for their son Edward's headstone in Ypres Reservoir Cemetery.³⁷⁷ TELL ENGLAND YE WHO PASS / WE DIED FOR HER / AND HERE WE REST CONTENT read the headstone of Lance-Corporal Cecil St George William Chapman, while Private T.E. Barrow's headstone announced in similar fashion TELL BRITAIN / FAITHFUL TO HER HE FELL / AND RESTS CONTENT.³⁷⁸ Following the sinking of HMS *Mary Rose* in October 1917 in which Engineer Lieutenant-Commander William Cleghorn died, one of widow Hilda's correspondents wrote: 'I can only say that from the beginning to the end, the story...is one of the usual British pluck, heroism, bravery and dogged determination to fight until the end', adding that the 'enemy were in vastly superior forces, which, of course, only makes the gallantry of the whole ship's Company infinitely more conspicuous. Each man was a hero.' Lieutenant Freeman wrote separately to Hilda Cleghorn, assuring her that William's death was a loss 'both to the Country and the Navy as well'.³⁷⁹ In extending his sympathies to the father of Second Lieutenant A.R. Williams, who was killed in action in August 1917, Aubrey Manaton suggested, 'I know you may say of your son, in the words of Leslie Coulson – which I often apply to my own brother – that he was "Very proud and glad / To do this thing

³⁷⁷ Private Mather is buried in Menin Road South Cemetery; Lance-Corporal Chaston is buried in Ypres Reservoir Cemetery. See appendix for their register entries.

³⁷⁸ Lance-Corporal Chapman is buried in Hooze Crater Cemetery; Private Barrow is buried in Ypres Reservoir Cemetery. See appendix for their register entries. The inscription TELL ENGLAND, YE WHO PASS THIS MONUMENT, / WE DIED FOR HER, AND HERE WE REST CONTENT was chosen by author Ernest Raymond for one of his protagonists of *Tell England: A Study in a Generation* (London: Cassell and Company Ltd., 1928). First published in February 1922, *Tell England* rivalled Brooke's poetry in popularity. It was reprinted twenty times between February 1922 and December 1923, issued in a 3s 6d edition the following February, and as a pocket edition in June 1928.

³⁷⁹ Papers of Engineer Lt-Comm. W.H. Cleghorn, RN, Department of Documents, Imperial War Museum. A similar note of martial pride was displayed in the personal inscription of Lieutenant Wilbur John, who was attached to the newly-formed Royal Air Force and killed exactly four months after the service had been renamed from the Royal Flying Corps. His headstone in Hooze Crater Cemetery read 1915-1918 / KILLED IN AIR FIGHT.

for England's sake'''.³⁸⁰ The close relationship shared by Britain with her Dominions has been observed by Ken Inglis.³⁸¹ It was also expressed through personal inscriptions: HE HEARD THE EMPIRE CALLING / AND HIS EAGER FOOTSTEPS CAME, stated the headstone of Private Horace Higgs, who joined the 10th Battalion, Australian Infantry.³⁸² His fellow Australian, Private Phillip Peterson Jolly, was commemorated with the lines HE GAVE HIS LIFE / FOR THE EMPIRE / HE COULD GIVE NO MORE.³⁸³ Gunner David William Hoelter's headstone read WHERE DUTY LED HE FOLLOWED / ONE OF AUSTRALIA'S NOBLE SONS, while HE DIED FOR KING AND COUNTRY was Driver Thomas Kelly's personal inscription.³⁸⁴ It was a sentiment that united different parts of the empire. FOR HOME AND EMPIRE read the headstone of Serjeant George Boden, a Cheshire man, while Serjeant Leonard Woulidge was remembered with IN ANSWER / TO HIS COUNTRY'S CALL / HE NOBLY DID HIS DUTY.³⁸⁵

Personal correspondence shows that the bereaved reassured one another through the combination of wartime ideals and military slang picked up from their sons' letters and also from newspaper reports. The war was sometimes presented as an extension of a Henty novel, with accounts peppered with phrases such as 'the counter-attack',

³⁸⁰ Papers of Second Lieutenant A.R. Williams, Department of Documents, Imperial War Museum. Leslie Coulson was a Fleet Street journalist before the war and in September 1914 joined the 2nd Bn. Royal Fusiliers. He served in Gallipoli and France before being killed in October 1916 during the Battle of the Somme. A posthumous book of poems, *From an Outpost and Other Poems*, was published in 1917 and sold 10,000 copies in less than a year. See Brian Gardner, ed., *Up the Line to Death* (London: Methuen, 1989), pp. 165-66.

³⁸¹ K.S. Inglis, *Sacred Places: War Memorials in the Australian Landscape* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2001).

³⁸² Private Higgs is buried in Hooze Crater Cemetery.

³⁸³ Private Jolly is buried in Hooze Crater Cemetery.

³⁸⁴ Gunner Hoelter and Driver Kelly are both buried in Menin Road South Cemetery. See appendix for their register entries.

³⁸⁵ Serjeant Boden is buried in Menin Road South Cemetery; Serjeant Woulidge is buried in Hooze Crater Cemetery. See appendix for their register entries.

‘the fight’, ‘the rear-guard action’, ‘moments of hottest fighting’, or ‘a bad cutting up with crumps’. Sharing and reiterating this vocabulary may have allowed fathers, who were too old to enlist themselves, to connect with their sons’ military service. Women were not necessarily excluded. Private J. Matthews, who was killed on 19 July 1915, was recommended by his commanding officer for the Victoria Cross. Writing to his widow, Major Greenway regretted that ‘though I fear that those in higher authority have not awarded that honour to him, I think I cannot tell you better of his end than by copying my remarks which accompanied my recommendation’.³⁸⁶ Following the death of Lieutenant William John Campbell Sangster, his comrade Lieutenant David Waddell wrote to his father:

The whole of that fateful morning your son was his own self. Full of good spirits and no sign of fear except one time when he came down to me [and] his men had had a bad cutting up with crumps and had lost a lot, and just for a short time he was rather crestfallen, but he soon got over it. I will give you a short description of it as far as I was concerned when I got to the German lines. I was standing at the mouth of a communication trench between their 2 and 3 lines when Jack came down and said ‘Hallo, Waddell, old sport, you’re here.’ I said, ‘Yes, and how are you getting on?’ He said ‘All right, we’re holding them all right.’ Then I asked if we would be able to stick it till night. He laughed and said ‘All right!’ I then asked him if he had got anything and he showed me a German automatic pistol. I had some glasses and other things, so we told each other how we had found them. After that he said he would go up again and see what was happening. I went to see if I could do any consolidating. Then they began to shell us like fury. Any work then was impossible as shell splinters were hurtling all over the place and men getting hit right and left. Jack came down just after and told me his men were getting badly cut up and he wanted reinforcements which we sent for but the messenger never got there. When Jack came down again he said ‘Have A. Coy. come yet?’ I said ‘No.’ ‘Well, he said, ‘we’re washed out, only you and I are left now. Hop’s gone [Captain James Garland Hopkinson], Dawson blown up [Second Lieutenant John Dawson], and others nothing seen of them.’ He stayed with me a bit then, and after that the shelling stopped a bit, so I then went back to get on with my trench and that is how I got through, as I had not got half way across before the counter-attack came, and I saw no more of poor Jack.³⁸⁷

³⁸⁶ Papers of Private J. Matthews, Department of Documents, Imperial War Museum.

³⁸⁷ Papers of Second Lieutenant W.J.C. Sangster, Department of Documents, Imperial War Museum.

Neither slang nor doggerel were considered to represent a sufficiently dignified vocabulary for personal inscriptions, but military terminology was certainly accepted. THE STRIFE IS OVER / THE BATTLE DONE stated the headstone of Lance-Corporal William Pritchard while KILLED IN ACTION / JESU MERCY was the message emerging from the headstone of Chaplain the Rev. B.C. Ruck-Keene.³⁸⁸ The cause of a fatality was rarely acknowledged except in a minority of register entries (for example: burns, gas, accidental death, died of wounds and killed in action), and death was not presented as particularly painful or unusually lingering. While it is hard to believe D.C. Robinson's account of Second Lieutenant Mercer's death ('unfortunately a bullet came along and hit him in the stomach, he seemed to be in no pain at all'), Horace Waterall came closer than most correspondents when he admitted to a comrade's sister that 'poor dear old Bob was shot through the head this morning and died this afternoon without regaining consciousness'.³⁸⁹ Otherwise, death tended to be immediate: Lieutenant Maurice Mowbray, according to his commanding officer, was 'killed outright by a shell', another correspondent adding that he died 'instantaneously'.³⁹⁰ Private Matthews was also recorded to have died immediately.³⁹¹ Death was framed in language that civilian recipients could understand: glory, right, honour, duty and purpose.³⁹² Personal correspondence was not, as a rule, placed within the public sphere and was therefore accepted as a framework in which writers and recipients could question or discuss the meaning of

³⁸⁸ Lance-Corporal Pritchard and the Rev. Ruck-Keene are both buried in Ypres Reservoir Cemetery. See appendix for their register entries.

³⁸⁹ Papers of Second Lieutenant Robert Percy Harker, Department of Documents, Imperial War Museum.

³⁹⁰ Papers of Major J.L. Mowbray, Department of Documents, Imperial War Museum.

³⁹¹ See letter from Major C.D.R. Greenaway to Mrs Matthews, 15 August 1915. Papers of Private J. Matthews, Department of Documents, Imperial War Museum.

³⁹² Although the public were used to encountering death, it was the wartime context with which they were broadly unfamiliar.

the war. This, however, usually occurred within same-sex correspondence. It is possible to argue that men tended to use the wartime narrative in their letters and women the bereavement narrative, although this was not a clearly defined distinction. In this respect the letters of condolence sent by Marie and Robert Leighton to Thomas and Vera Brittain in 1918 are worth examining. Writing following the death of Edward Brittain on 15 June 1918, it is notable that, following the convention of the time, both letters were composed along gender lines: Marie Leighton to Vera Brittain, Robert Leighton to Thomas Brittain. This seems to determine the structure of their letters: while Marie Leighton makes a single reference to ‘victory’ and devotes the rest of her letter to empathetic expressions of condolence, Robert Leighton’s letter owes much to the wartime narrative, employing empathy no less than his wife’s letter but using instead the vocabulary of ‘gloriously’, ‘the hour of victory’, ‘our sons were brave’, ‘they so nobly sacrificed their precious lives’, and ‘bright young lives that are gone’.

Keymer, [?] June 1918

My dear, dear Vera,

What can I say to you? We were all laughing last evening – about 5.30 – when the telegram came and as I more than half expected one from Jack I never thought of Edward and felt no alarm – and that made the shock the worse – I never did anything after for the evening. Robert was here, too, as well as Evelyn [her younger son], and, of course, Clare. There’s no need for me to say that we all send deep and great sympathy. But as for me – I knew him so well, lately, and loved him so much! It’s horrible. I think of his handsome dark head falling back – oh are you sure, quite sure? Isn’t there any possibility of a mistake?

And you – oh, I turn my thoughts away as yet when they get anywhere near the subject of what it means to you.

Is your mother strong enough again to stand it? I must write her at Purley. Yes, I can see that it is a good thing that she is there. Thank Heaven at least that he died helping to get a victory. I had just posted a letter to him yesterday. He had come to mean so much that his going will make a lasting difference – a piece of one’s life taken away, so that things can never be quite the same again. And there – the

‘Three’ [Roland Leighton, Victor Richardson and Edward Brittain were nicknamed ‘the Three Musketeers’ in their schooldays at Uppingham] are gone!

I feel too much blinded and choked to write more now. Tell your father – won’t you – how much our hearts are with him?

Yours with love always,

Marie³⁹³

Keymer, 24 June 1918

My very dear friend,

You have not need, I am certain, to be assured of my deep and earnest sympathy with you. I who have passed through the same harrowing ordeal know only too well what it means to a father to be deprived thus abruptly of the son in whom his highest hopes and expectations have rested. However much we may have dreaded the coming of such a fatality to our dear Edward, the dread has always been tempered by a soothing faith that he would be spared to us and that his good fortune would follow him throughout the whole terrible war; and now that the cruel worst has happened it is very hard indeed to realise the awful truth that we shall never, never see him again. But with the anguish that is now in our hearts there is a proud consolation in knowing that he met his death gloriously in the hour of victory in one of the greatest and most decisive battles of this great war. He would not have us grieve. Let us then be brave, as our sons were brave; let us be thankful that it has been our privilege to give our sons to our country and to the cause for which they so nobly sacrificed their precious lives. It was all that we could do, you and I. We should either of us eagerly have given up his own life if by doing so his boy might live; but we could not make the choice and it only remains to us to bear our own burdens bravely and to make them lighter by the sweet and loving memory of the bright young lives that are gone.

I have had no particulars beyond the announcement in Vera’s telegram. It was good of her to let us know so promptly. Dear Vera. Not many women have suffered more than she has suffered in this war. I grieve for her and for her mother, as I grieve for you.

Believe me always

Yours most sincerely

Robert Leighton³⁹⁴

³⁹³ Alan Bishop and Mark Bostridge, eds., *Letters from a Lost Generation* (London: Little, Brown and Company, 1998), pp. 399-400.

³⁹⁴ Bishop and Bostridge, eds., *Letters from a Lost Generation*, pp. 400-01.

Just as ‘victory in one of the greatest and most decisive battles of this great war’ placed Edward Brittain’s as a ‘good death’, so did the correspondence between Lieutenant Sangster and his parents. Subsequent letters were then exchanged between Mr and Mrs Sangster and their friends and acquaintances. Lieutenant Sangster was serving in France when he was reported missing after an attack on 25 September 1915.³⁹⁵ His parents compiled and edited a bound volume of letters, reproduced in typescript, after news of his death came through in March 1916. Although the volume is vulnerable to the errors and deliberate omissions of its editors, it still conveys the different viewpoints of its military and civilian contributors. The volume opens with one of Lieutenant Sangster’s own letters from August 1915, describing soldiers’ attitudes to death:

One gets accustomed to the common sight of seeing spades by moonlight and an officer standing with 4 men in the wood behind the trench saying what is necessary and that briefly too amid the rain of bullets. There are many of these crosses in the wood behind the trench, and I never see them without thinking of the hymn for All Saints’ Day, ‘For All the Saints’...One is brought very near to the realities of life in the job and gets a very clear sense of perspective and proportion, in fact it separates the wheat of life from the chaff...There is a fine sense of camaraderie among men who face death together every night and every day, and one has to be a fatalist as well as an optimist.

One of the striking features of the memorial volume is this opening admission by Sangster himself, which contrasts strongly with the way in which he is commemorated – as ‘a true follower of Jesus Christ’. In the accounts of his last days

³⁹⁵ Lieutenant Sangster’s name is commemorated on the Menin Gate and the only piece of supplemented information stated ‘M.A. (Aberdeen), Medical Student’.

Sangster is implicitly characterised as a ‘happy warrior’, a description assigned to Private Harry Noel Lea by his mother May Caroline.³⁹⁶

It was in this communication trench that I came across Lieutenant Sangster [wrote Private William Troup to Mr Sangster] at the head of a few men and another officer with him. Unfortunately, I do not know this officer’s name, the only thing I remember about him being that he was very white-faced. When I reached him your son was throwing bombs, and at his command I passed him up a bag of bombs. I had newly done so when I looked over the parapet just in time to see a German in the act of throwing a bomb at us. I at once ducked my head and down came the bomb with its fatal results... The bomb struck your head, I think killing him instantaneously...in every way I found him to be relied upon, one who knew how to and who discharged his duties. He fell in the fulfilment of these duties and we soldiers know how to honour him dead.³⁹⁷

There are many interesting aspects to this letter. Unlike the personal inscription of Lance-Corporal L.W. Brooks (A SOLDIER / FOR KING AND COUNTRY ONLY) Sangster is portrayed as an ‘authentic’ soldier rather than one who had signed up for the duration of the war only (even though his memorial entry at the Menin Gate shows that he was a medical student rather than a professional soldier).³⁹⁸ His conduct contrasts well with that of the unnamed ‘white-faced officer’, being depicted as a man

³⁹⁶ Private Lea’s inscription in Ypres Reservoir Cemetery simply read A HAPPY WARRIOR. See appendix for his register entry.

³⁹⁷ The initial inscription engraved on the headstone of Captain Alan Lloyd by his servant, Gunner Manning, suggests that honouring the dead was an important part of military life. Even under difficult circumstances, burial rites were maintained if at all possible. Jack Sangster referred to this himself in a letter of August 1915, while other soldiers included details of burial in their letters of condolence. They were probably conscious that they were fulfilling what would in peacetime have been a traditionally family ritual. ‘I collected a party & we buried Pte. J. Matthews close to the place where he so gallantly fought & died, & erected a cross over his grave,’ wrote Company Sergeant-Major A.H. Hobbs (Papers of Private J. Matthews, Department of Documents, Imperial War Museum). ‘I know [your son’s grave] is marked by a cross,’ wrote Sydney Belsham of 2nd Battalion, Wiltshire Regiment (Papers of Lieutenant W.B.P. Spencer, Department of Documents, Imperial War Museum). ‘The cemetery where he is buried is awfully nice, each grave has flowers planted and all the officers of the 64th are buried in the same place,’ reassured Horace Waterall, 1st Battalion, North Staffordshire Regiment, writing after the death of R.P. Harker in March 1915 (Papers of R.P. Harker, Department of Documents, Imperial War Museum). Joanna Bourke also acknowledges the importance of the burial ritual, noting that ‘[c]onventional rites of civilian burial could not be maintained in wartime: but, wherever possible, some form of ritual was enacted.’ *Dismembering the Male*, p. 216.

³⁹⁸ Lance-Corporal Brooks is buried in Ypres Reservoir Cemetery. See appendix for his register entry.

of action ('throwing bombs' has a hint of a sporting metaphor about it) and having the manner of an officer ('at his command I passed him up a bag of bombs'). His injuries are swiftly fatal, leaving him to die in the course of his military duties. A similar implication was made in the personal inscription of Lieutenant-Colonel Charles Ernest Atchison, DSO, whose widowed mother requested that his headstone read KILLED IN ACTION / GOM 6TH BATTN K.O.Y.L.I. / STIRLING CASTLE / W. INVERNESS COPSE.³⁹⁹ (It is also worth noting that Australian casualties were routinely recorded in cemetery and memorial registers as having been 'killed in action'.)

There is little evidence that Lieutenant Waddell subscribed to the idea of a 'good death' as might have been defined by civilian correspondents. Instead, his use of the word 'glory' is tempered by the description 'work', an inference being that war was in one way just another job that had to be undertaken (in others, that 'work' was a form of explicitly Christian duty). This interpretation was to be found in personal inscriptions also, such as to Corporal H.D. Turner (HIS WORK NOBLY DONE).⁴⁰⁰ The bereaved next-of-kin tended to use 'glory' as a justification of their loved one's service, linking it to a higher purpose: HE DIED GLORIOUSLY / AND GALLANTLY / FOR HIS COUNTRY / AND FOR HUMANITY read the headstone of Lieutenant Samuel Barr.⁴⁰¹ Private William Watson's inscription declared that HE DIED / FOR ENGLAND'S HOPE AND GLORY, while Private Henry Hodge's parents similarly felt that their nineteen-year-old son had also died FOR ENGLAND'S GLORY.⁴⁰² Reflecting Britain's Christian

³⁹⁹ Lieutenant-Colonel Atchison is buried in Menin Road Cemetery. See appendix for his register entry.

⁴⁰⁰ Corporal Turner is buried in Menin Road South Cemetery. See appendix for his register entry.

⁴⁰¹ Lieutenant Barr is buried in Hooge Crater Cemetery. See appendix for his register entry.

⁴⁰² Private Watson is buried in Hooge Crater Cemetery; Private Hodge is buried in Menin Road South Cemetery. See appendix for their register entries.

ethos, next-of-kin such as Ellen Haywood chose “STRENGTHENED WITH ALL MIGHT / ACCORDING TO HIS GLORIOUS FLOWER.” / COL. 1.11 for her husband John’s headstone, while THOU HAST CROWNED HIM / WITH GLORY AND HONOUR was the choice of Fred and Susannah Dukes for their son.⁴⁰³ In contrast, James and Charlotte Craigie emphasised the frustrations of ‘waiting and watching’ (following the expression of one personal inscription) by declaring HONOUR IS THEIRS / WHO FOR THEIR COUNTRY DIED / BUT FOR US / THE GLORIOUS EXAMPLE.⁴⁰⁴

The Sangster correspondence showed the significance of meaning to the bereaved. It was important that Lieutenant Sangster died *for* a purpose as well as *how* he had died (in this case, ‘gloriously’). In a similar vein was the personal inscription IN LOVING MEMORY / OF MY ONLY CHILD / WHO LAID DOWN HIS LIFE / FOR RIGHT.⁴⁰⁵ (Private Frank Mauer, Hooge Crater.) The Sangster correspondence also highlights the importance of the manner of a man’s service. Sangster’s commanding officer commented that ‘25th September was a hard test, and we had nothing but admiration for his coolness and bravery during the whole of that fearful day’. Lieutenant Waddell hoped that his ‘poor account of the glorious work your son did that fateful day will make your burden a little lighter to carry’.⁴⁰⁶ Being commemorated on the Menin Gate meant, of course, that he was allowed no personal inscription, and given the values that were highlighted and appreciated in the correspondence it would have been interesting to read the terms of such a text. It was just as important to Lieutenant

⁴⁰³ These two inscriptions relate to the headstones of Private Haywood and Lance-Corporal Dukes, both buried in Hooge Crater Cemetery. See appendix for their register entries.

⁴⁰⁴ Driver Craigie is buried in Sanctuary Wood Cemetery. See appendix for his register entry.

⁴⁰⁵ Private Mauer is buried in Hooge Crater Cemetery. See appendix for his register entry.

⁴⁰⁶ Waddell himself was killed on 6 April 1917. Re: the comment ‘with the men’, see personal inscriptions of Brigadier-General Maxwell in Ypres Reservoir Cemetery and Captain Jones in Hooge Crater Cemetery.

Sangster's comrades and senior officers that his death was imbued with meaning. The army sense of community and camaraderie was strong (D.C. Robinson of the King's Own Regiment wrote from his convalescence to Mrs Mercer that he longed 'to be with my Regiment again'), but any military writer would have been conscious that he himself might meet a similar death. As Company Sergeant-Major A.H. Hobbs wrote to the widow of Private Matthews, 'if it comes to my turn I hope I shall die fighting as gallantly & courageously as he did'.⁴⁰⁷ While Waddell's account of Sangster's character was brief and unsentimental, the letter sent to Mr Sangster by Lieutenant-Colonel Edward Watt in March 1916 was more elaborate. It required empathy and imagination to write a letter of condolence. Although commanding officers realised that the bereaved often wanted to know the circumstances of their loved one's death, they presented details within a framework that emphasised the deceased's personal popularity with all ranks, his gallant, heroic or noble conduct, the view that he had been considered a good soldier and a good example to others, that his death had been relatively quick, and that he was much missed.

I had much to do with Jack when he joined, and no better office justified his selection. He was so keen about everything and so willing to learn. His spirit was always splendid and I know he made many friends who loved him for his wholehearted enthusiasm. In the end he made the supreme sacrifice, and we trust not in vain. It is young men like him who are surely and certainly breaking the power of a ruthless enemy. We are proud of them and we shall never forget them. The price of victory is terrible, but is there not consolation in thinking of the cause for which it is paid?⁴⁰⁸

Whether there was consolation to be gleaned for Mr and Mrs Sangster is unclear, but the terms of Watt's question recognisably appeared in the personal inscriptions

⁴⁰⁷ Papers of Private J. Matthews, Department of Documents, Imperial War Museum.

⁴⁰⁸ Papers of Second Lieutenant W.J.C. Sangster, Department of Documents, Imperial War Museum.

chosen by other next-of-kin. HE MADE / THE SUPREME SACRIFICE / AND NOW / ENJOYS THE SUPREME REWARD read Private James Young's headstone.⁴⁰⁹ IN EVER LOVING MEMORY / OF MY DEAR HUSBAND / LOVE'S SUPREME SACRIFICE commemorated Gunner George Colburn, while Serjeant Harold Hayes's headstone declared HE LIES A HERO / HE SACRIFICED HIS LIFE / FOR KING AND COUNTRY / MOTHER.⁴¹⁰ As we have seen in some of the rejected inscription choices, 'breaking the power of a ruthless enemy' would have been unlikely to pass through the Commission's censor, but the 'wholehearted enthusiasm' that Watts attributed to Sangster found an echo in Sapper James Gilchrist's inscription HE CAME AND WENT / AND NEVER CEASED TO SMILE.⁴¹¹

In March 1916 it was confirmed that Lieutenant Sangster had indeed been killed in the previous autumn. 'We know,' declared the Reverend William Dick at Skene Street Congregational Church, 'that Lieutenant Sangster died as he lived, a true hero, a true man, and a true follower of Jesus Christ. He has now gone to a very high service, and it is glorious to think of it.' One of Mr Sangster's correspondents reiterated much of Reverend Dick's emphasis when he wrote:

Your son has died nobly and gloriously for his country, and perhaps there is nothing in the way of sacrifice more noble and fine than that of a young life given in defence of a righteous cause [wrote James Carle]...I have specially noted the brave spirit you have both displayed amidst a time of deep anxiety, and I have observed at once the peace you have received from the supreme Father...Be brave and ever trust, and always remember that to the Christian 'there is no death'.

'What seems so is transition,
This life of mortal breath is but

⁴⁰⁹ Private Young is buried in Chester Farm Cemetery. See appendix for his register entry.

⁴¹⁰ Gunner Colburn is buried in Ypres Reservoir Cemetery; Serjeant Hayes is buried in Hooge Crater Cemetery. See appendix for their register entries.

⁴¹¹ Sapper Gilchrist is buried in Ypres Reservoir Cemetery. See appendix for his register entry.

The suburb of the life Elysian
Whose portal we call death.’

We shall meet again in the better land, and we shall praise Him for all the experiences through which we are passing now – difficult though they may be to understand now.⁴¹²

These sentiments were in perfect harmony with the wartime narrative. THEY NEVER FALL / WHO DIE IN A GREAT CAUSE read Lieutenant Christopher Hartley’s headstone; A NOTABLE EXAMPLE / TO SUCH AS BE YOUNG / TO DIE WILLINGLY / AND COURAGEOUSLY / R.I.P. was the choice for Private J.H. Hopkins in Hooze Crater Cemetery; A BRAVE YOUNG LIFE / WHICH PROMISED WELL / AT THE WILL OF GOD / A HERO FELL declared the headstone of Sergeant George Buffery in Ypres Reservoir Cemetery.⁴¹³ HIS DEAR ONES MOURN / BUT ARE PROUD THAT HE / DIED FOR HIS COUNTRY was the inscription for Private Edward Williams, while Private Clifford Porter’s headstone, also in Sanctuary Wood Cemetery, read IN LOVING MEMORY / OF A GALLANT SON / WHO GAVE HIS ALL / FOR HIS COUNTRY.⁴¹⁴ Carle’s comment that the experiences of the war were difficult to comprehend also found expression by William and Ellen Parks for their twenty-two year-old son Charles: SOMETIME WE’LL UNDERSTAND.⁴¹⁵

⁴¹² In common with the parents of Wesley Lawrence, Carle identified Longfellow as an appropriate source text. Oliphant Smeaton had argued that Longfellow’s poems could ‘afford comfort to other fireside mourners’. Smeaton, *Longfellow and His Poetry*, p. 87.

⁴¹³ Lieutenant Hartley and Sergeant Buffery are both buried in Ypres Reservoir Cemetery; Private Hopkins is buried in Hooze Crater Cemetery. See appendix for register entries.

⁴¹⁴ Both Private Williams and Private Porter are buried in Sanctuary Wood Cemetery. See appendix for their register entries.

⁴¹⁵ Private Charles Parks is buried in Hooze Crater Cemetery. See appendix for his register entry.

‘We miss you our son’: the bereavement narrative⁴¹⁶

Whereas the wartime narrative relied on idealistic concepts to construct its version of reality, many texts in the bereavement narrative showed the range of personal emotions that comprised the experience of losing a loved one. The narrative took a broadly different structure from its wartime counterpart. Although the loss of a loved one was central to the composition of both narratives, the deceased themselves did not always appear as the main subject of the bereavement narrative, appearing in many texts only as a shadowy personal pronoun. When the deceased did appear in the memorial texts he was commemorated as a family member (usually a son, husband or father, but sometimes a brother⁴¹⁷), never as a soldier, a warrior, a commander or a hero (it is possible to argue that this status was already amply represented through the military inscription on the headstone). Instead, other discussions were aired: the related nature of loss (defined variously as absence, separation and death) and reunion (discussed in Chapter 4). Many of the personal inscriptions found under this narrative might well have been found in a civilian churchyard or cemetery, so divorced were they from the military environment in which they were physically located. The two narratives notionally shared some theoretical territory: both were concerned with the ideas of sacrifice and duty, but they interpreted these ideas very differently indeed. Overall, the language used in the bereavement narrative was much more muted than

⁴¹⁶ The full inscription chosen by William and Emily Facer for their son Edward’s headstone read: WE MISS YOU OUR SON / MAY YOU REST IN PEACE. Private Facer is buried in Menin Road South Cemetery. See appendix for his register entry.

⁴¹⁷ IN LOVING MEMORY / OF OUR DEAR BROTHER / SADLY MISSED / BUT NOT FORGOTTEN read the headstone of Private Charles Flynn in Birr Cross Roads Cemetery. See appendix for his register entry.

that employed in the wartime narrative. These were generally not sentiments deemed appropriate for engraving on war memorials.

Lance-Corporal William Anderson was killed on 23 April 1917, leaving his wife Agnes and baby daughter. He was initially posted as missing in action. His commanding officer, Captain Greer wrote to Mrs Anderson in the terms of the wartime narrative, assuring her that Lance-Corporal Anderson had:

died a hero's death, and all in "A" Company feel his loss very much. I am relieved in the thought that he did not suffer at all. Your husband was very popular with all ranks, and we all miss him very much. I know that no words of mine can relieve your great distress, but I hope you will get some consolation out of the fact that you and your husband have paid the price of Empire.⁴¹⁸

Echoing the custom of addressing letters of condolence to members of the same sex, but perhaps also realising the empathetic chasm that he faced, Captain Greer asked his fiancée to write to Mrs Anderson. Within a week Dorothy Cartwright fulfilled the request. Rather like Mrs Leighton, she paid only lip-service to the ideas of the wartime narrative, referring briefly to king and country. Although Miss Cartwright's style could be as florid as Mrs Leighton's, there were signs that she did not find the ideas of the wartime narrative adequate consolation:

My fiancé, Capt. J.M. Greer, has written me of your terrible terrible trouble & I am writing you these few lines to let you know I really do feel for you, I know the awful anxiety, every day & every night, the same question running through our minds, 'I wonder where he is now' I wonder what is happening, oh God I do know, but all we poor women get is to wait, wait, wait, dreading each post & telegraph boy we see, will bring us the worst news.

⁴¹⁸ Papers of W.M. Anderson, Department of Documents, Imperial War Museum. It is worth noting that Captain Greer attributed the price of Empire to both Lance-Corporal *and* Mrs Anderson.

You are one of the poor brave women who have given their all, their mate, the one person, to look up to & your baby's father, I don't know how to console you, what can I say? The people who have no ties fighting for them would say, well he died for his King & Country, yes he did & God rest his soul, but I know what this awful thing means to you & I cannot take your hand & try & console you but please always remember that, I understand & know at the present moment what you are suffering, & if this is any consolation to you I shall be so glad.

Miss Cartwright's letter shows how the bereaved, and not the deceased, were at the linguistic centre of the bereavement narrative. Her vocabulary contrasts strongly with some of Mrs Matthews's correspondents, one of whom wished her well 'in the battles of life'⁴¹⁹, and with one of Mrs Mercer's, Ruby Ward, who seemed to have charged herself with discovering the circumstances of Second Lieutenant Mercer's death. In one letter Ward reported that Mercer had been 'wonderfully brave, & never knew what fear or thought for himself was. He would go & fetch the wounded man in himself.' In a subsequent letter she returned to her theme, assuring Mrs Mercer that her enquiries had confirmed that Mercer 'had been killed during an attack on a village about 2.30 and that it was while dragging a wounded Tommy into a ditch that he was shot. So you see he gave his brave young life to save another. Oh! how God must love such noble deeds, & how great must be His Reward.'⁴²⁰ The state and experience of bereavement was contradictory. It could lead one to struggle to express a wide range of emotions associated with the loss of a loved one; it tried to define the different forms that 'loss' could assume; and, without the often capitalised props of Right, Justice, and Freedom, some sort of adequate meaning had to be teased out of the language and circumstances. For those who relied on the bereavement narrative, there was no 'noble and great cause' that could provide a wider meaning for their

⁴¹⁹ Papers of Private J. Matthews, Department of Documents, Imperial War Museum.

⁴²⁰ Papers of Second Lieutenant E.C. Mercer, Department of Documents, Imperial War Museum.

losses.⁴²¹ There was little available in the way of elevated language to express bereavement. The ideal of sacrifice demonstrated some of these difficulties. Within its wartime counterpart, sacrifice might straightforwardly read HE MADE / THE SUPREME SACRIFICE / AND NOW / ENJOYS THE SUPREME REWARD.⁴²² After all, the often-used text from the New Testament, ‘Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends’ was used in both full and abbreviated forms on public war memorials up and down the country. It spoke of Christian sacrifice, and found echoes in personal correspondence (Lieutenant Sangster was publicly described as ‘a true hero, a true man, and a true follower of Jesus Christ’.⁴²³) Within the wartime narrative, sacrifice was represented by the soldier himself, giving his life *for* an ideal such as freedom, nation or liberty, or within a real as opposed to an abstract situation. Within the bereavement narrative, it was represented by the next-of-kin. Sacrifice could be given both willingly and reluctantly. The wartime propaganda poster ‘Women of Britain say “Go!”’ was in marked contrast to personal inscriptions that said sadly AN ONLY SON / WE HAD NO MORE TO GIVE⁴²⁴ or THE ONLY SON OF HIS MOTHER / AND SHE A WIDOW.⁴²⁵ Poignant were the texts that articulated a parent’s loss, given that a real expectation had emerged in the early twentieth century that parents might routinely predecease their children; even sadder were the inscriptions

⁴²¹ The phrase is taken from G. Byland’s letter to Mrs Matthews. Papers of Private J. Matthews, Department of Documents, Imperial War Museum.

⁴²² Personal inscription of Private James Young (buried in Chester Farm Cemetery), cited earlier in this chapter.

⁴²³ Remarks made by Rev. William Dick on Sunday 5 March 1916. Papers of Second Lieutenant W.J.C. Sangster, Department of Documents, Imperial War Museum.

⁴²⁴ AN ONLY SON / WE HAD NO MORE TO GIVE is the personal inscription of Lieutenant John Walker, buried in Menin Road South Cemetery. See appendix for his register entry.

⁴²⁵ THE ONLY SON OF HIS MOTHER / AND SHE A WIDOW was the personal inscription of Private Robert Stanbridge in Chester Farm Cemetery. See appendix for his register entry. See also Nicholas Hiley, “‘Kitchener Wants You’ and “‘Daddy, what did YOU do in the Great War?’”: the Myth of British Recruiting Posters’, *The Imperial War Museum Review*, 11, 1997, pp. 40-58.

which suggested that the real sacrifice was being made by babies and small children who would never know their fathers. GONE BUT NOT FORGOTTEN / FROM HIS LOVING WIFE / AND BABY PEGGY read the headstone of Lance-Corporal Arthur Ockelford in Ramparts Cemetery; EVER REMEMBERED BY / HIS LOVING WIFE AMELIA / AND CHILDREN / CLEMENT AND EDNA MAY noted that of Private Clement Hackett in Menin Road South Cemetery; and Private Robert Howard's headstone in Hooge Crater Cemetery recorded him as the BELOVED HUSBAND / OF BARBARA HOWARD / AND FATHER / OF IVAN AND MAISIE. One of Agnes Anderson's correspondents sympathised with her little girl's plight: 'poor little mite, I don't expect that she can yet realise what she & you have lost'. In Agnes's own words, as she appealed for more information from her husband's regiment, 'our dear little Girl asks constantly for Her Dada to come home it is a terrible time for us all at Present'.⁴²⁶ Edith Wolstenhume was an elderly lady by the time that she was able to select a personal inscription for her father. Acknowledging the lost decades, she composed THE SEARCH HAS ENDED / I KNEW NOT WHERE YOU LAY / REST IN PEACE DEAR FATHER / EDITH 8TH OCTOBER 1993.⁴²⁷

These examples show that, with its focus on the next-of-kin rather than the deceased, the bereavement narrative was able to redefine relationships in the way the wartime narrative could not. The Commission's upper limit on characters made it difficult to address both narratives in a single inscription. Harry and Annie Hurst decided to

⁴²⁶ Papers of W.M. Anderson, Department of Documents, Imperial War Museum. Susan R. Grayzel argues that it was 'not surprising, given the centrality of motherhood to women's wartime roles...that sorrowing mothers occupied so prominent a position' in postwar commemorations. Grayzel, *Women's Identities at War: Gender, Motherhood, and Politics in Britain and France During the First World War*, pp. 241-42.

⁴²⁷ Gunner J. Wolstenhume is buried in Hooge Crater Cemetery. See appendix for his register entry.

unite themselves and their two children under the text OUR ONLY SON BERT / DEARLY LOVED AND SADLY MISSED / BY MUM, DAD & SISTER.⁴²⁸ Elsie Yelland realised that she would not be buried alongside her husband, so chose to join him linguistically: ALBERT / LOVED HUSBAND OF ELSIE / SO DEARLY LOVED / SO DEEPLY MOURNED.⁴²⁹ Henry and Eliza Pears appeared to address their choice of text directly to their son: WITH ACHING HEARTS / AND MEMORIES SWEET / WE THINK OF YOU DEAR TOM, although the syntax of the line reflected a traditional memorial formulation rather than vernacular speech.⁴³⁰ All these texts fell into an anthropocentric tradition, in which they addressed the deceased.

As soon as a man had enlisted, his family was required to accept his absence: originally at training elsewhere in Britain before being posted abroad for active service. As the register entry of Private John Cox shows, listed at Ypres Reservoir Cemetery, this period could be remarkably short (five months). As soon as he was posted on active service the uncertainty and anxiety that Dorothy Cartwright identified would have begun. Vera Brittain gave some indication of the stresses this could produce. ‘One is always waiting, waiting, in this war,’ she recorded irritably in her diary in October 1915, before arguing with Roland Leighton over a lack of letters received. A tremendous blow as Leighton’s death later that year undoubtedly was, other families were forced to address other interpretations of loss. Writing to her husband’s regiment, Agnes Anderson wondered whether ‘it be possible that my Dear Husband is a Prisoner (would to God it might be so)?’ Her sister Jessie also cherished

⁴²⁸ Private Leonard Bertie Hurst is buried in Hooze Crater Cemetery. See appendix for his register entry.

⁴²⁹ Private Albert Yelland is buried in Hooze Crater Cemetery. See appendix for his register entry.

⁴³⁰ Rifleman Thomas Pears is buried in Oak Dump Cemetery. See appendix for his register entry.

the idea, reminding Agnes that ‘we read it daily in the papers’. From the sources available it is not possible to ascertain whether Jack Sangster’s mother harboured a similar hope, but once confirmation of his death had been received one of her correspondents expressed her relief ‘that at last your awful strain is relieved and your anxiety removed. To know at last that your dear boy has been in the Homeland all through these long months, and not, as was feared, a prisoner of war, or wounded and lonely.’⁴³¹ Australian and Canadian next-of-kin voiced a grief widely felt in the Dominions: loss represented not only by death, but compounded by geographical distance. FAR FROM THOSE / THAT LOVED HIM / IN A HERO’S GRAVE HE LIES read the headstone of Private Thomas Beverick.⁴³² TOO FAR AWAY / THY GRAVE TO SEE / BUT NOT TOO FAR / TO THINK OF THEE declared that of Private John Holdroyd.⁴³³ IN LOVING MEMORY FROM / DEAR ONES ACROSS THE SEA promised Private Ernest Harper’s next-of-kin.⁴³⁴ Geography was used not only as a device to emphasise distance, but also to emphasise the origins of the deceased or the community he had left (and to which he remained a member). These communities could vary widely, including nation, county, town and street. OF RUGBY / WARWICKSHIRE, stated the headstone of Private W. Clarke; REMEMBERED BY ALL / BOTHEL, CUMBERLAND was engraved for Gunner John Graham; while at Hooge, the mother of Private C.A. Ash was even more specific: FROM HIS LOVING MOTHER / EDITH ASH / RIVERSLEY RD.,

⁴³¹ Clara Shepherd writing to Mrs Sangster, March 1916. Papers of Second Lieutenant W.J.C. Sangster, Department of Documents, Imperial War Museum. It is quite possible that Mrs Sangster had hoped, while in receipt of no firm news, that her son had become a prisoner of war, and that Clara Shepherd was simply trying to console her. It appears that certainty was preferred to uncertainty, even if certainty was the worst news.

⁴³² Private Beverick is buried in Hooge Crater Cemetery. See appendix for his register entry.

⁴³³ Private Holdroyd is buried in Menin Road South Cemetery. See appendix for his register entry.

⁴³⁴ Private Harper is buried in Birr Cross Roads Cemetery. See appendix for his register entry.

NUNEATON.⁴³⁵ While these texts implicitly emphasised the civilian status of the deceased, individual register entries could make this connection even more clearly, as has been demonstrated in Chapter 3.

‘When Death comes it does not mean we forget’: the confluence of the two narratives⁴³⁶

While the two narratives explored very different aspects of the war, they shared a concern for its remembrance. THEIR NAME LIVETH FOR EVERMORE was chosen by Kipling for the Stone of Remembrance, but there were distinctions in the interpretations of remembrance which were reflected in the structure of the two narratives that this chapter has been exploring. Some personal inscriptions expressed remembrance in the grand terms of a wider historical perspective, while others defined memory to be the preserve of those who had actually known the casualty. A DUTY NOBLY DONE / FRANCE WILL NOT FORGET declared the headstone of Private William Justin; HIS MEMORY / SHALL LIVE FOR EVER / IN THE LAND HE LOVED / AUSTRALIA was the choice for Fitter Elias Keeami.⁴³⁷ The next-of-kin of Gunner Henry Johnstone connected remembrance of their son not to broader justifications for the war, but to the gap that they evidently felt in their own home: SWEET IS THE

⁴³⁵ Private Clarke is buried in Birr Cross Roads Cemetery; Gunner Graham in Menin Road South Cemetery and Private Ash in Hooze Crater Cemetery. See appendix for their register entries.

⁴³⁶ The quotation derives from the Welsh personal inscription for Second Lieutenant Griffith Owen, buried at Sanctuary Wood Cemetery. His full inscription read: OF BRYNGWENALIT / DOLGELLY, N. WALES / ‘A DDUG ANGAU NI DDWG ANGOF’ and has been interpreted as ‘From Bryngwenalit, Dolgellau, N. Wales / “When Death comes it does not mean we forget”’.

⁴³⁷ Private Justin is buried in Hooze Crater Cemetery; Fitter Keeami is buried in Menin Road South Cemetery. See appendix for their register entries.

MEMORY / OF A SON SO DEAR / WE OFTTIMES WISH / THAT HE WAS HERE.⁴³⁸ Watts and Alice Roper commemorated their son Stuart with the text THE REMEMBRANCE OF HIS LIFE / REMAINS A BLESSING / TO HIS FRIENDS.⁴³⁹ There were also variations in the perceived longevity of remembrance. While the headstones of Private William Burton declared NEVER SHALL THY MEMORY FADE and that of Gunner Albert Steele stated HIS MEMORY / LIVES FOREVER, ambivalence about the likelihood of remembrance was also expressed.⁴⁴⁰ AS LONG AS LIFE / AND MEMORY LAST / I WILL REMEMBER THEE declared the headstone of Private Edward Cherry.⁴⁴¹

Some families challenged the idea of perpetual memory in their inscription choices by framing commemoration in terms of ‘forgetting’. NOT FORGOTTEN assured the headstone of Private Thomas Gilbert; NEVER FORGOTTEN BY THOSE / WHO LOVED HIM was the emphasis placed on the headstone of Gunner Alexander Austin.⁴⁴² Private Albert Harris’s inscription was something of a plea: FORGET ME NOT.⁴⁴³ While one of the most popular inscriptions was GONE BUT NOT FORGOTTEN, Kipling’s linguistic influence was also evident in inscriptions such as that for Lance-Corporal J. Gardner: LEST WE FORGET.⁴⁴⁴ This appeared to strike a chord with some members of the next-of-kin. While the headstone of Private F. Crease was engraved OH! WONDERFUL MEMORY / NEVER TO FADE and Gunner R. Jackson’s assured onlookers

⁴³⁸ Gunner Henry Johnstone is buried in Menin Road South Cemetery. See appendix for his register entry.

⁴³⁹ Private Stuart Roper is buried in Menin Road South Cemetery. See appendix for his register entry.

⁴⁴⁰ Private William Burton and Gunner Albert Steele are both buried in Hooge Crater Cemetery. See appendix for their register entries.

⁴⁴¹ Private Cherry is buried in Hooge Crater Cemetery. See appendix for his register entry.

⁴⁴² Private Gilbert is buried in Menin Road South Cemetery; Gunner Austin is buried in Birr Cross Roads Cemetery. See appendix for their register entries.

⁴⁴³ Private Harris is buried in Woods Cemetery. See appendix for his register entry.

⁴⁴⁴ Lance-Corporal Gardner is buried in Hooge Crater Cemetery. See appendix for his register entry.

that MEMORY IS A FLOWER / WHICH NEVER FADES, there seems to have been no universal confidence that the deaths of these soldiers would be remembered in perpetuity.⁴⁴⁵ LET THOSE WHO COME AFTER / SEE TO IT / THAT HIS NAME / BE NOT FORGOTTEN read the headstone of Private Ernest Yoxall, reflecting the priorities of the wartime narrative; and reflecting those of the bereavement narrative, the text for Private Albert Pacey sadly noted SOME MAY THINK / THAT WE FORGET HIM / WHEN AT TIMES / WE ARE APT TO SMILE.⁴⁴⁶

While Gaelic and Welsh represented living geographical communities, Latin tended to represent the intellectual communities of public schools and universities. It would be a mistake to assume that Latin inscriptions *per se* were the prerogative of the officer class: far more important were the sentiments that they expressed.⁴⁴⁷ Although the inscription PATER INMANUS TUAS / SPIRITUM SUUM COMMENDAMUS decorated the headstone of Second Lieutenant T.H.H. Wood – whose supplemented register entry showed that he was the son of the Rev. Clifford Cunningham Wood and a student of modern history at Oxford – the concern of the text was undoubtedly the role of Christian faith (‘Father, we commend his spirit into your hands’).⁴⁴⁸ Gunner Maurice Benjamin’s register entry gave no particular indication of wealth or privilege; but his personal inscription also placed its emphasis on the Christian belief

⁴⁴⁵ Both Private Crease and Gunner Jackson are buried in Hooge Crater Cemetery. See appendix for their register entries.

⁴⁴⁶ Private Yoxall is buried in Ypres Reservoir Cemetery; Private Pacey is buried in Ramparts Cemetery. See appendix for their register entries.

⁴⁴⁷ Elizabeth Vandiver considers at length the influence of classical literature on the poetry of the First World War. She notes that ‘uses of Latin and classical references are frequent enough to suggest... that the editors (whether officers or “other ranks”) of trench and regimental journals assumed that popular culture included enough classical knowledge that...references, parodies, and even occasional serious uses of classics would not leave the non-officer reader bewildered’. Vandiver, *Stand in the Trench, Achilles: Classical Receptions in British Poetry of the Great War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), p. 110.

⁴⁴⁸ Second-Lieutenant Wood is buried in Ramparts Cemetery. See appendix for his register entry.

of reunion “SPES TUTISSIMA CAELIS” (‘the surest hope is heaven’).⁴⁴⁹ Unlike the Latin texts, Gaelic and Welsh inscriptions consolidated geographical links. They emphasised ideas of distance, absence and reunion. We have already seen how Australian personal inscriptions often emphasised the pain of distance between home and battlefield; but, of course, they expressed these thoughts in English. Chapter 3 acknowledged Private Alexander MacGillivray’s inscription in Chester Farm Cemetery which emphasised links to Culloden; an equally bold statement was made by Donald and Margaret McCrimmon for their son Alexander following his death in September 1917. His register entry at Hooze Crater Cemetery followed the standard format prompted by the Commission, but included a single supplementary entry, ‘Native of Isle of Skye, Scotland’. Alexander’s Highland identity was emphasised by his personal inscription:

CHA TILL E GU BRATH
GU LA NA CRUINNE

Translated as ‘he will not return until the day of judgement’, it was taken from an old song called – appropriately enough – ‘MacCrimmon’s Lament’, concerning a soldier who never returned from Culloden.⁴⁵⁰ This was a rare, but not unique example of the lament: Donald and Mary McNaughton, living in lowland Glasgow, also chose to quote from it for their son Duncan’s headstone.⁴⁵¹

⁴⁴⁹ Gunner Maurice Benjamin is buried in Sanctuary Wood Cemetery. See appendix for his register entry.

⁴⁵⁰ See appendix for Private McCrimmon’s register entry. David Stevenson, *The Hunt for Rob Roy: The Man and the Myths* (John Donald Ltd., 2004).

⁴⁵¹ Second Corporal Duncan McNaughton’s headstone read: CHA TILL E TUILL LEADH (translated as ‘he will not return any more’). He is buried in Menin Road South Cemetery. See appendix for his register entry.

It is striking that the majority of personal inscriptions were composed in standard English. The absence of most final verification forms means that it is impossible to ascertain the Commission's role in any form of standardisation; but from those forms that remain, and the minutes of the commissioners' monthly meetings at which they discussed exceptional inscription choices, there is no surviving suggestion that King's English was ever mentioned, let alone insisted upon. Although mothers were referenced variously as 'mother', 'mum' and 'mamma' and fathers as 'father', 'dad' and 'daddy', this did not betray any hard evidence of dialect – if anything, merely a sense of informality or a particular family's custom and practice over naming. It is left to an Australian voice, namely that of William and Bessie Cole, to reflect a single relaxation of standard English. William Cole, who was killed in action in September 1917, was remembered not as a private in the Australian Infantry, but as SON O'MINE.⁴⁵² Perhaps, for all the influence of pre-war languages of idealism and realism and epitaphic language, for all the use of wartime and bereavement narratives, this last inscription summarised the essential loss suffered by many families. Lance-Corporal Charles Trott died in October 1917, leaving his parents and wife Florence. His headstone recorded:

LOVED, HONOURED, MOURNED
A SORROW TOO DEEP FOR WORDS⁴⁵³

⁴⁵² Private William Cole is buried in Hooge Crater Cemetery. See appendix for his register entry.

⁴⁵³ Lance-Corporal Charles Trott was killed in October 1917 and is buried in Ypres Reservoir Cemetery. See appendix for his register entry.

CONCLUSION

There is a tomb in Shepperton churchyard, however, with a poem on it, and I was nervous lest Harris should want to get out and fool round it. I saw him fix a longing eye on the landing-stage as we drew near it, so I managed, by an adroit movement, to jerk his cap into the water, and in the excitement of recovering that, and his indignation at my clumsiness, he forgot all about his beloved graves.

*Jerome K. Jerome, Three Men in a Boat*⁴⁵⁴

As this thesis began with Mrs Thomas's tomb, it seems appropriate to end it at Shepperton churchyard. Harris might well have been manoeuvred into forgetting about the tomb with a poem engraved on it, but this is certainly not the case with the inscriptions engraved on Commonwealth War Graves Commission cemeteries around the world. The Commission's annual report, published in November, shows the care and attention its officers devote to their work worldwide. Enquiries continue to flow into the headquarters at Maidenhead; and whereas for decades Commission staff have answered queries about personal inscriptions by painstakingly checking the A3 foolscap headstone schedules, plans are in place to incorporate this information into the existing Debt of Honour database. This is still very much an issue of relevance: the descendants of those men buried and subsequently exhumed at Fromelles have been given the opportunity of selecting personal inscriptions. Working in conjunction with another invaluable historical resource, the National Inventory of War Memorials at the Imperial War Museum, this additional layer of access will bring together the theory and practice of a language of grief further into the academic and public domain. Together with established collections of letters, such as those held at the Imperial War Museum, our definition and understanding of a language of grief is

⁴⁵⁴ Jerome K. Jerome, *Three Men in a Boat*, pp. 77-78.

surely still in development. This research has tried to show that the discourses of idealism, realism and epitaphic language are important components of a language of grief.

The memorial texts that have been considered in this thesis have illustrated many complexities associated with loss and grief. It is wholly valid to combine the two established approaches towards the commemoration of the First World War. The political approach, epitomised by the work of Eric Hobsbawm and Benedict Anderson, tends to place too much emphasis on memorials as an official version of the war.⁴⁵⁵ The psychological approach, epitomised by the work of J.M. Winter, can focus too closely on the response of the bereaved to war memorials, ceremonies and ritual. I have sought to argue that the Commission cemeteries, and memorials such as the Whitehall Cenotaph, provide a framework from which individual responses could draw. Certainly it would appear that the reiteration of certain phrases ('greater love hath no man', 'our glorious dead', and the invocation of Fussell's concept of 'high diction' represented by words such as 'duty', 'honour' or 'right') supports the political argument. But the next-of-kin were evaluating their responses to bereavement long after most of the memorials to the dead had been erected. The remaining final verification forms relating to burials at London Cemetery Extension at Longueval show that choices were still being mediated in 1937. While the cemetery architecture could prompt the high diction responses identified by Fussell, individual personal inscriptions could quietly contradict this wartime narrative. Florence Paul,

⁴⁵⁵ Hobsbawm and Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition*; Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1991)

whose husband John was killed in July 1916, requested the inscription DID HE DIE IN VAIN? on the final verification form posted to the Commission in south London in July 1937.⁴⁵⁶ Personal inscriptions could silently contradict these great repositories of collective memory, by expressing the raw emotions associated with bereavement: broken-heartedness, the anguish of a loved one dying far from home or far from family; the grief of a wife now widowed or that of fatherless small children; or, stinging, the grief of the first generation of parents who could have reasonably expected to have pre-deceased their children, and who now had to revert to an older demographic trend. These memorial texts show us the extent to which lives were fractured as a result of the First World War. Not only the lives of parents, wives and children, but also adopted parents, foster parents, siblings, grandparents, aunts, uncles, cousins, nieces and nephews. All these relationships were to be found in personal inscriptions or individual cemetery register entries.

This thesis has been dominated by the ideas of memory: individual, collective and social memory, and the idea of shelf-life. For all the postmodern age's obsession with memory and the 'memory boom' of the twentieth century, historians continue to struggle to find consensus over the issues of remembrance and commemoration.⁴⁵⁷ Goebel acknowledges not only the ubiquity of 'memory' but also the difficulties of pinning down its meanings and uses as a historical term.⁴⁵⁸ Rowlands's observation that the objectification of memory takes 'a number of different forms ranging from land to artefacts and bodies' is particularly relevant. Arguing in the mid-1990s that

⁴⁵⁶ CWGC Archives, France 1914-1918, F.V. Forms, London Cemetery Extension, Longueval.

⁴⁵⁷ Sherman, *The Construction of Memory in Interwar France*, p. 1; Winter, *Remembering War*, p. 17.

⁴⁵⁸ Goebel, *The Great War and Medieval Memory*, pp. 14-23.

‘images, words and things are therefore bound up in the objectification of memory in ways that elicit forms of remembering and means of forgetting’, he successfully predicted the broadening of the current historiography on memory.⁴⁵⁹ Maggie Andrews, Charles Bagot Jewitt and Nigel Hunt’s recently-published companion volume to symposia organised by the National Memorial Arboretum, *Lest We Forget: Remembrance and Commemoration*, suggests the plethora of directions which the current historiography on remembrance seeks to pursue. The volume’s many contributors contest familiar ground and extend existing debates but also broaden the historical and geographical boundaries of remembrance. In many ways this is a natural extension of the Remembrance Day rituals: the deaths of the last soldiers of the First World War and the dwindling numbers of Second World War veterans have allowed the baton of remembrance to pass from the twentieth century’s world wars to the twenty-first century’s conflicts in Iraq and Afghanistan.

I have argued that the Commission cemeteries are repositories of collective memory, but I also recognise that they can be seen as repositories of collected, individual memories. While their design, construction and state funding privileged certain representations of the war, this thesis has shown that there were two very different narratives in existence: the wartime narrative and the bereavement narrative. It is entirely credible to wonder whether it was possible for these military cemeteries, with their uniform headstones suggesting ‘a battalion on parade’, to support two such different interpretations of the war.⁴⁶⁰ The inscription of personal texts at the foot of

⁴⁵⁹ Michael Rowlands, ‘Memory, Sacrifice and the Nation’, *Cultural Memory*, 30, Winter 1996-97, p. 8.

⁴⁶⁰ Kenyon, *War Graves: How the Cemeteries Abroad will be Designed*, p. 7.

individual headstones shows clearly that it was. Never mind that the Commission's secretaries declined inscription choices such as GOD LOVETH A CHEERFUL GIVER / TUBERCULAR, YET IN A TRENCH HE DIED. Historians continue to discuss the frameworks of memory, but in crucial respects they are following in the footsteps of the next-of-kin, who through their inscription choices deftly illustrated an understanding of individual, collective and socially-framed memory. The preoccupation with memory juxtaposed with the anguish of forgetting, the influence of public monumental inscriptions and the inclusion of 'spokesman' texts which voiced a sentiment on behalf of a wider family or community group, suggests that the next-of-kin were struggling to clarify and articulate their understanding of memory, just as historians are doing now. The oft-cited tranquillity of the cemeteries can be shattered if you bend down and read inscription after inscription. Although there is a good deal of repetition – 'in loving memory', 'gone but not forgotten', 'at rest' and 'gone' – there is also a good deal of hope and positivity: 'ever remembered', 'never shall thy memory fade', 'fond memories cling'. As Betty Willsher observes, 'the study of epitaphs is not morbid because the messages are usually of hope'.⁴⁶¹ The frequent reiteration of the promise of reunion underscores that message of hope.

The substance of these memorial texts becomes more relevant as the centenaries of the First World War approach. I hope that these anniversaries will help to reveal the variety of sentiments engraved as personal inscriptions, and that further work will be undertaken exploring the process by which they were selected and mediated. The

⁴⁶¹ Willsher, *Epitaphs and Images from Scottish Graveyards*, p. 11

almost invisible role of the Commission secretaries, many of whom must have experienced wartime bereavement, would be an intriguing subject to pursue. I have tried to suggest that the categorisation between the political and psychological schools of thought is less important than the narratives that the bereaved pursued. Many of the motifs of the wartime and bereavement narrative echo the Victorians' preoccupation with the 'good death'. Dying for one's country and doing one's duty are all evocative of the good death, and the well-established notion of death as sleep probably helped to evade some of the horrible realities of actual death in the First World War. Promising continually to remember is also a positive message. It was the last service the bereaved could perform for the deceased.

This thesis is only a small contribution to a discussion of a language of grief. I have attempted to show how established were the roots of this language, how they were embedded in personal responses to civilian deaths and in public responses to wider disasters. It is perhaps a mark of the changes the First World War wrought in society that stability and continuity were sought in so many of its linguistic responses. Events such as the South African War, the sinking of the *Titanic*, the death of Captain Scott and the mining disaster at Senghenydd showed that familiar frameworks – death as sleep, the promise of reunion, the striving for meaning in death and the incomprehensibility of bereavement – were well established before 1914 and were key in helping to articulate post-1918 responses. The shelter offered to other commemorative discourses is evidence of the complexity of a language of grief. Indeed, while the idea of a language of grief initially suggests that expressions of loss

were paramount in the narratives pursued, the bereaved seemed more disposed to clothe their sorrow in metaphor and continue their own searches for wider meaning.

APPENDIX

REGISTER ENTRIES AND PERSONAL INSCRIPTIONS

Inscriptions in languages other than English are followed by an italicised translation.

Cemeteries marked * fall outside present author's fieldwork.

No	Register Entry	Cemetery	Personal Inscription
1	<p>ACKROYD, Captain H., V.C., M.C., Royal Army Medical Corps, attd. 6th Bn. Royal Berkshire Regt. 11th August, 1917. Age 40. Son of Edward Ackroyd, of Southport; husband of Mabel R. Ackroyd, of Link Lodge, Malvern Link. An extract from "The London Gazette", dated 4th Sept., 1917, reads as follows:- "For most conspicuous bravery. During recent operations Capt. Ackroyd displayed the greatest gallantry and devotion to duty. Utterly regardless of danger, he worked continuously for many hours up and down and in front of the line tending the wounded and saving the lives of officers and men. In so doing he had to move across the open under heavy machine-gun, rifle and shell fire. He carried a wounded officer to a place of safety under very heavy fire. On another occasion he went some way in front of our advanced line and brought in a wounded man under continuous sniping and machine-gun fire. His heroism was the means of saving many lives, and provided a magnificent example of courage, cheerfulness and determination to the fighting men in whose midst he was carrying out his splendid work. This gallant officer has since been killed in action." Sp. Mem. 6.</p>	Birr Cross Roads	[None]
2	<p>ALDER, Rifleman, Charles, 4446. 1st Bn., London Irish Rifles. 15th November, 1916. Age 21. Son of Charles and Susannah Maria Jane Alder, of 1, Burrup Place, Doris St., Kennington, London. III. D. 13.</p>	Woods	LIFE'S WORK WELL DONE / LIFE'S CROWN WELL WON
3	<p>ASH, Private, C.A., 28816. 2nd Bn. Hampshire Regt. Killed in action 2nd October, 1918. Age 18. Son of Mrs. Edith Ash, of 57, Riversley Rd., Nuneaton. XVII. L. 17.</p>	Hooge Crater	FROM HIS LOVING MOTHER / EDITH ASH / RIVERSLEY RD., NUNEATON

No	Register Entry	Cemetery	Personal Inscription
4	ATCHISON , Lieutenant Colonel, Charles Ernest, D.S.O., King's Shropshire Light Infantry. Killed in action at Stirling Castle, Inverness Copse, 24 th August, 1917. Age 42. Son of Mary I.A. Atchison, of Elm House, Catisfield, Fareham, Hants, and the late Lt. Col. C.H. Atchison, R.A. I. C. 36.	Menin Road South	KILLED IN ACTION / GOM 6 TH BATTN K.O.Y.L.I. / STIRLING CASTLE / W. INVERNESS COPSE
5	ATKINSON , Private, William, 420132. "B" Coy. 16 th Bn. Canadian Inf. (Manitoba Regt.). Killed in action 18 th April, 1916. Age 38. Son of William and Anna Atkinson, of Horsforth, Leeds, England; husband of Florence Atkinson, of 210, College St., St. James, Winnipeg, Manitoba. IV. A. 1.	Woods	AT THE GOING DOWN OF THE SUN / AND IN THE MORNING / WE WILL REMEMBER HIM
6	ATTENBOROUGH , Private, Gerald, 5540. 18 th Bn. Australian Inf. Killed in action 20 th September, 1917. Age 26. Son of Mark and Jane Bell Attenborough, of Walbundrie Soldiers' Settlement, New South Wales. Born at Nhill, Victoria. XIV. F. 11.	Hooge Crater	FOR AUSTRALIA / FREELY I GAVE / MAY MY SACRIFICE / NOT BE IN VAIN
7	AUSTIN , Gunner, Alexander, 131602. 12 th Bty., 35 th Bde. Royal Field Artillery. 9 th October, 1917. Age 27. Son of Mary Austin, of 18, Cranbrook Rd., Reddish Lane, Gorton, Manchester. II. D. 7.	Birr Cross Roads	NEVER FORGOTTEN BY THOSE / WHO LOVED HIM
8	BAGSHAW , Private, H., 2881. 1 st /6 th Bn. Sherwood Foresters. 21 st September, 1915. Age 17. Son of Harriet Bagshaw, of 5, Railway Cottages, Whaley Bridge, Stockport. I. B. 5.	Chester Farm	CALLED HOME
9	BALDERY , Rifleman, William Henry John, A/201334. 8 th Bn. King's Royal Rifle Corps. 24 th August, 1917. Age 27. Son of Mrs E.A. Baldery, of Godfrey Works, Godfrey St., Chelsea, London. XVIII. B. 7.	Hooge Crater	OH FOR THE TOUCH / OF THE VANISHED HAND / AND THE SOUND OF THE VOICE / THAT IS STILL
10	BARCLAY , Private, Gordon Lewis, 57456. 1 st Bn. Canterbury Regt., N.Z.E.F. Killed in action 2 nd February, 1918. Son of the late Mr. and Mrs. W. Barclay, of Dunedin; husband of Emma Francis Barclay, of Hornby, Christchurch, New Zealand. A member of Christchurch Railway Staff for many years. V. A. 10.	Hooge Crater	[None]
11	BARR , Lieutenant, Samuel Tudor. 3 rd Hussars. 23 rd February, 1915. Age 31. Son of Sir James and Lady Barr, of Otterspool Bank, Aigburth Vale, Liverpool. Sp. Mem. A. 8.	Hooge Crater	HE DIED GLORIOUSLY / AND GALLANTLY / FOR HIS COUNTRY / AND FOR HUMANITY

No	Register Entry	Cemetery	Personal Inscription
12	BARROW , Private, T.E., 275059. 1 st /7 th Bn. Manchester Regt. 8 th September, 1917. Age 20. Son of Mr. C. Barrow, of Laurel Villa, Hazelhurst Rd., Worsley, Manchester. I. E. 59.	Ypres Reservoir	TELL BRITAIN / FAITHFUL TO HER HE FELL / AND RESTS CONTENT
13	BARTRAM , Private, George, 633668. 20 th Bn. London Regt. 15 th September, 1917. Age 43. Husband of Mrs M. Bartram, of 1, Linnell Rd., Upper Edmonton, London. IV. B. 7.	Birr Cross Roads	ONWARD CHRISTIAN SOLDIER / HE FOUGHT THE GOOD FIGHT
14	BATTERSBY , Gunner, Charies [sic] Caton [sic], 42764. 301 st Siege Bty. Royal Garrison Artillery. 7 th August, 1917. Age 22. Son of Alice Battersby, of 14, Lancaster Rd., Leytonstone, London, and the late Charles Eaton Battersby. I. D. 53.	Ypres Reservoir	MAY THIS SACRIFICE / BE A MEANS OF PROMOTING / PEACE THROUGHOUT THE LAND
15	BAXTER , Gunner, W., 75401. 9 th Coy., 3 rd Bn. Tank Corps. 6 th September, 1917. Age 21. Husband of Elsie Baxter, of 140, Tintern Avenue, Westcliffe-on-Sea. II. D. 12.	Menin Road South	THY WILL BE DONE
16	BAYLIS , Private, Albert, 419158. 42 nd Bn. Canadian Infantry (Quebec Regt.). Killed in action at Hooge, 25 th May, 1916. Age 24. Son of John Charles and the late Ellen Baylis, of Epping, England. I. J. 17.	Menin Road South	FOR SO HE GIVETH HIS BELOVED / SLEEP
17	BAYNES , Captain, Denman, L.H., M.C. 115 th Siege Bty., Royal Garrison Artillery. Mentioned in Despatches. Killed in action at Kruseeke, 14 th October, 1918. Age 32. Son of Admiral Henry Compton Baynes and Isabel Baynes, his wife, of 9, Lauriston Rd., Wimbledon, London. Educated at Clifton College, and Clare College, Cambridge. Civil servant, Colonial Office. XX. J. 3.	Hooge Crater	DEARLY LOVED SON / OF ADMIRAL BAYNES, WIMBLEDON / FAITHFUL UNTO DEATH / LOVE IS STRONGER THAN DEATH
18	BELFIELD , Private, Thomas Henry, 17195. 3 rd Bn. Grenadier Guards. Killed in action 23 rd April, 1916. Age 23. Son of Thomas William and Selina Belfield, of Blenheim Villa, Park Rd., Chilwell, Notts. Enlisted, Aug., 1914. I. C. 51.	Ypres Reservoir	GREATER LOVE / HATH NO MAN THAN THIS / HE GAVE HIS LIFE / FOR A FRIEND
19	BENJAMIN , Gunner, Maurice Duncan, 32061. 14 th Bty., 5 th Bde. Australian Field Artillery. 26 th August, 1916. Age 30. Son of David and Rose Stanley Benjamin, of 'Finnvola', Lawes St., Hamilton, Brisbane. V. S. 1/5.	Sanctuary Wood	"SPES TUTISSIMA CAELIS" "THE SUREST HOPE IS HEAVEN"

No	Register Entry	Cemetery	Personal Inscription
20	BENNETT , Corporal, James Arthur, 4236. 8 th Bn. The Buffs (East Kent Regiment). 15 th January, 1916. Age 19. Son of Mr and Mrs John Henry Bennett, of Copthurst Farm, Holmfirth, Huddersfield. I. C. 2.	Menin Road South	IN LOVING MEMORY / KILLED IN ACTION AT YPRES / SON OF MR & MRS BENNETT / OF BLACKPOOL
21	BEVERICK , Private, Thomas, 419. 22 nd Coy. Australian Machine Gun Corps. Killed in action 17 th September, 1917. Age 34. Son of Frank and Mary Beverick. Born at Jonowae, Queensland. XIII. K. 1.	Hooge Crater	FAR FROM THOSE / THAT LOVED HIM / IN A HERO'S GRAVE HE LIES
22	BLACKWELL , Gunner, Neville Beenard [sic], 705233. "C" Bty. 210 th Bde. Royal Field Artillery. Killed in action, near Ypres, 22 nd September, 1917. Age 24. Son of Harry Gratrix Blackwell and Mary Blackwell, of 20, Derwet Avenue, West Didsbury, Manchester. I. U. 24.	Menin Road South	DUTY NOBLY DONE
23	BODEN , Serjeant, George, M.M., 15525. 1 st /4 th Bn. Cheshire Regt. Killed in action at Zantvoorde, 7 th October, 1918. Age 22. Son of Charles and Annie Boden, of 8, William St., Northwich, Cheshire. II. N. 10.	Menin Road South	FOR HOME AND EMPIRE
24	BOOKER , Private, Charles Marcel, 20859. 9 th Bn. Devonshire Regt. 16 th October, 1917. Age 26. Son of Charles Edward and Jeanne Marie Booker (<i>née</i> Blanc), of 18, Rue St. Georges, Paris. VII. K. 16.	Hooge Crater	WE SHALL MEET / IN A BETTER WORLD / MOTHER
25	BRIGGS , Private, John Henry, 141866. "C" Coy. 42 nd Bn. Canadian Inf. (Quebec Regt.). 25 th March, 1916. Age 28. Son of Charles Briggs; husband of Lily May Briggs, of R.R. No. 4, Owen Sound, Ontario. Born at Grimsby, England. Sp. Mem.	Sanctuary Wood	PEACE PERFECT PEACE
26	BRISTOW , Private, William, 2992. 1 st /4 th Bn. Lincolnshire Regt. 31 st July, 1915. Age 22. Son of Robert Bristow, of Old Quarrington, Sleaford, Lincs. II. M. 16.	Sanctuary Wood	REST IN PEACE / TILL WE MEET AGAIN
27	BRITAIN , Captain, Edward Harold, MC. 11 th Bn., Sherwood Foresters (Notts. and Derby Regt.). 15 th June, 1918. Age 22. Son of Thomas Arthur and Edith Mary Britain, of 10, Oakwood Court, Kensington, London. I. B. 1.	Granezza Cemetery*	AGE 22
28	BROOKS , Lance-Corporal, L.W., 12/1199. 2 nd Bn. York and Lancaster Regt. 20 th July, 1916. Age 27. Son of the late George and Annie Brooks, of Rotherham. I. D. 33.	Ypres Reservoir	A SOLDIER / FOR KING AND COUNTRY ONLY

No	Register Entry	Cemetery	Personal Inscription
29	BROWN , Lance-Corporal, Albert Victor, 4943, DCM. No. 3 Coy., 2 nd Bn. Coldstream Guards. 5 th November, 1914. Age 26. Son of Edward Brown (late Colr. Serjt. Coldstream Guards), of the Royal Hospital, Chelsea, London. Born in the Tower of London. IV. J. 8.	Sanctuary Wood	[None]
30	BROWN , Rifleman, Frederick John, S/28484. 2 nd Bn. Rifle Brigade. Died of wounds 31 st July, 1917. Age 20. Son of Frederick and Sarah Brown. Born at Down, Ampney, Glos. II. E. 12.	Menin Road South	HEB. 6-19
31	BUDGEN , Private, Patrick, 3774, V.C. 31 st Bn. Australian Inf. Killed in action 28 th September, 1917. Age 20. Son of Thomas and Annie Budgen, of "Hotel Wells", Tweed Heads, New South Wales. Born at Gundurimba, New South Wales. An extract from "The London Gazette", No. 30400, dated 26 th Nov., 1917, records the following:- "For most conspicuous bravery and devotion to duty when on two occasions our advance was temporarily held up by strongly-defended 'pill-boxes'. Pte. Budgen, in the face of devastating fire from machine guns, gallantly led small parties to attack these strong points and, successfully silencing the machine guns with bombs, capturing the garrison at the point of the bayonet. On another occasion, when a corporal, who had become detached from his company, had been captured and being taken to the rear by the enemy, Pte. Budgen, single-handed, rushed to the rescue of his comrade, shot one enemy and bayoneted the remaining two, thus releasing the Corporal. On five occasions he rescued wounded men under intense fire and machine gun fire, showing an utter contempt and disregard for danger. Always foremost in volunteering for any dangerous mission, it was during the execution of one of these missions that this gallant soldier was killed:. VIII. C. 5.	Hooge Crater	THY WILL BE DONE NOT MINE
32	BUFFERY , Sergeant, George Henry, 168. 36 th Australian Heavy Artillery. Killed in action 4 th October, 1917. Age 25. Son of William and Mary Buffery; husband of Mary Buffery, of 37, Derby St., Watson's Bay, New South Wales. I. F. 63.	Ypres Reservoir	A BRAVE YOUNG LIFE / WHICH PROMISED WELL / AT THE WILL OF GOD / A HERO FELL

No	Register Entry	Cemetery	Personal Inscription
33	BURTOFT , Private, Thomas George, 16062. 10 th Bn. West Yorkshire Regt. Killed in action 1 st November, 1915. Age 26. Son of Herbert and Isabella Burtoft, late of Usworth, Co. Durham; husband of Elizabeth Kitwood (formerly Burtoft), of 364, South Eldon St., Tyne Dock, South Shields. Sp. Mem. 2.	Birr Cross Roads	I HAVE FOUGHT THE GOOD FIGHT
34	BURTON , Private, William, 290810. 1 st Bn. Bedfordshire Regt. and Hunts. Cyclist Bn. 26 th October, 1917. Age 36. Husband of Frances Bella Burton, of 11, Kenwood Rd., Lower Edmonton, London. VIII. L. 17.	Hooge Crater	NEVER SHALL THY MEMORY FADE
35	BUTTERFIELD , Rifleman, Albert Robert, 374649. 8 th Bn. London Regt. (Post Office Rifles). Killed in action 14 th July, 1917. Age 35. Son of Humphrey and Elizabeth Butterfield; husband of Ellen Butterfield, of 143, Huxley Rd., Leyton, London. J. 5.	Oak Dump	EVER IN OUR THOUGHTS / BY HIS BROKEN-HEARTED WIFE / AND FAMILY
36	CADOGAN , Lieutenant-Colonel, H.O.S. 1st Bn. Royal Welsh Fusiliers. 30 th October, 1914. Age 46. Son of the Rev. Edward Cadogan, of Wicken, Northants; husband of Evelyn Violet Crispin (formerly Cadogan), of Little Salterns, Beaulieu, Hants. IXA. L. 11.	Hooge Crater	UNDERNEATH / ARE THE EVERLASTING ARMS
37	CALDERON , Private, Frederic Elwyn, 8190. 2 nd Bn. Canadian Inf. (Eastern Ontario Regt.). Killed in action 3 rd April, 1916. Age 42. Son of Philip H. Calderon (Royal Academician), and Clara Marianne Calderon (nee Storey). Educated at Rugby. Worked in the Marine Department of Canada, 1907-1914. Born in London. II. G. 11.	Woods	BORN IN LONDON / SIXTH SON / OF PHILIP H. CALDERON R.A.
38	CALLAN , Driver, Hugh Anthony, 165341. 105 th Bty., 22 nd Bde., Royal Field Artillery. Killed in action 6 th October, 1917. Age 33. Son of Patrick and Mary Agnes Callan, of South Bank, Yorks.; husband of Matilda Callan (née Connelly), of 106, Granville Rd., Middlesborough. Teacher at St. Mary's Schools, Middlesborough. Student at Hammersmith, 1905-07. XVII. B. 3.	Hooge Crater	WE HAVE LOVED HIM IN LIFE / LET US NOT FORGET HIM / IN DEATH

No	Register Entry	Cemetery	Personal Inscription
39	CAMPBELL , Major, Colin, "C" Bty. 296 th Bde. Royal Field Artillery. Killed in action 29 th September, 1917. Age 37. Served in South African Campaign as Lt., R.G.A. Son of Lt. Col. D.A. Campbell, of Achanduin and Barbreck (late Royal Dublin Fusiliers and Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers), of Wickham Hall, Eye, Suffolk. The sixth successive generation of his family to serve in the Navy or Army. I. F. 15.	Ypres Reservoir	"IN LABOURS BY KINDNESS / HONOUR GOOD REPORT / AS DYING AND BEHOLD WE LIVE"
40	CATO , Gunner, R., 63521. 31 st Siege Bty., Royal Garrison Artillery. 10 th March, 1918. Age 35. Husband of Florence May Harris (formerly Cato), of 22, Akerman St., Tring, Herts. III. C. 25.	Ypres Reservoir	AT REST
41	CATON , Lance-Corporal, John Leonard, 17668. "C Coy. 7 th Bn Border Regt. 7 th September, 1915. Age 27. Son of Henry and Isabella caton, of 8, Lattrigg St., Silloth, Cumberland. Born at Isel, Cockermouth. Assistant Master, Child's Hill Council School, Hendon. Trained at Chester College. Sp. Mem.	Sanctuary Wood	O FOR THE TOOOUCH / OF A VANISHED HAND / THE SOUND OF A VOICE
42	CHAMBERLAIN , Lance-Corporal, A.B., 235126. 1 st /4 th Bn. King's Own Yorkshire Light Infantry. Died of wounds 21 st June, 1918. Age 29. Son of John H. and Sarah Chamberlain; husband of Mary Chamberlain, of 3, East Place, Mansfield Rd., Carrington, Notts. Estate Agent. I. U. 26A.	Menin Road South	REST IN PEACE
43	CHAPMAN , Lance-Corporal, Cecil St. George William, G/68658. 11st Bn The Queen's. Killed in action 1 st October, 1918. Age 19. Son of William and Carrie Southin Chapman, of 53, Northcroft Rd., West Ealing, Middlesex. XIV. G. 6.	Hooge Crater	TELL ENGLAND YE WHO PASS / WE DIED FOR HER / AND HERE WE REST CONTENT
44	CHASTON , Lance-Corporal, Edward Alfred, 204734. 15 th Bn. Hampshire Regt. 14 th October, 1918. Age 22. Son of Alfred Edward and Lucy Waters Chaston, of 'Triscombe', Edgar Rd., Winchester. II. C. 10.	Ypres Reservoir	DULCE EST PRO PATRIA MORI
45	CHERRY , Private, Edward Ernest, 4156. 31 st Bn. Australian Infantry. Killed in action 26 th September, 1917. Age 20. Son of Ettrick James and Amelia Theresa Cherry, of Cooyar, Queensland. Born at Pitsworth, Queensland. XI. C. 5.	Hooge Crater	AS LONG AS LIFE / AND MEMORY LAST / I WILL REMEMBER THEE
46	CHRISTY , Lieutenant, Stephen. 1 st Bn. Irish Guards. 12 th July, 1916. Age 20. Son of Henry E. and Ethel M. Christy, of Lordington, Emsworth, Hants. I. D. 79.	Ypres Reservoir	THEY THAT ARE TRUE OF HEART / SHALL BE GLAD / LOVE, DUTY, HONOUR, FAITH

No	Register Entry	Cemetery	Personal Inscription
47	CLARKE , Private, W., 12092. 6 th Bn. Dorsetshire Regt. 5 th November, 1915. Age 26. Son of Edward Thomas and Martha Clarke, of Rugby. IV. A. 9.	Birr Cross Roads	OF RUGBY, WARWICKSHIRE
48	COLBURN , Gunner, George Alfred, 705434. 'A' Bty. 210 th Bde. Royal Field Artillery. Killed in action 12 th September, 1917. Son of Thomas and Sophia Colburn, of Manchester; husband of Nancy Colburn, of 29, Illsley Rd., Erdington, Birmingham. I. A. 28.	Ypres Reservoir	IN EVER LOVING MEMORY / OF MY DEAR HUSBAND / LOVE'S SUPREME SACRIFICE
49	COLE (served as 'BELL'), Private, William George, 3234. 53 rd Bn. Australian Infantry. Killed in action 26 th September, 1917. Age 19. Son of William and Bessie Cole, of 155, Gore St., Fitzroy, Victoria, Australia. VI. D. 19.	Hooge Crater	SON O'MINE
50	COLLINS , Private, James Albert, 203042. 1 st /4 th Bn. York and Lancaster Regt. 29 th November, 1917. Age 24. Son of John Albert and Amelia Collins, of Sheffield. III. B. 2.	Hooge Crater	WHAT A MAN SHOULD BE / AND THAT HE WAS
51	COLLINS , Bombardier, Martin Henry, 7985. 6 th A.F.A. Bde Australian Field Artillery. Killed in action 21 st September, 1917. Age 27. Son of Henry and Isabel Collins; husband of Clariss W. Collins, of The Post Office, Milson's Point, Sydney, New South Wales. Native of Richmond, Victoria, Australia. I. J. 32.	Menin Road South	ABIDE WITH ME

No	Register Entry	Cemetery	Personal Inscription
52	<p>COLYER-FERGUSSON, Captain, Thomas Riversdale, VC, 2nd Bn. Northamptonshire Regiment. 31st July, 1917. Age 21. Son of Thomas Colyer Fergusson and the late Beatrice Stanley Colyer Fergusson, of Ightham Mote, Sevenoaks, Kent. Born in London. II. E. 1. An extract from "The London Gazette", No. 30272, dated 4th Sept., 1917, records the following:- "For most conspicuous bravery, skilful leading and determination in attack. The tactical situation having developed contrary to expectation, it was not possible for his company to adhere to the original plan of deployments, and owing to the difficulties of the ground and to enemy fire, Captain Colyer Fergusson found himself with a Serjeant and five men only. He carried out the attack nevertheless, and succeeded in capturing the enemy trench and disposing of the garrison. His party was then threatened by a heavy counter-attack from the left front, but this attack he successfully resisted. During this operation, assisted by his Orderly only, he attacked and captured an enemy machine gun and turned it on the assailants, many of whom were killed and large number driven into the hands of an adjoining British unit. Later, assisted only by his Serjeant, he again attacked and captured a second enemy machine gun, by which time he had been joined by other portions of his company, and was enabled to consolidate his position. The conduct of this officer throughout forms an amazing record of dash, gallantry and skills, for which no reward can be too great, having regard to the importance of the position won. This gallant officer was shortly afterwards killed by a sniper."</p>	Menin Road South	MY SON, MY SON / NO REWARD CAN BE TOO GREAT
53	<p>CORPE, Private, G., 7221. "A" Coy. 1st Bn. Lincolnshire Regt. 1st November, 1914. Age 25. Son of George A. and Jane Isabel Corpe, of 9, Smyrks Rd., Old Kent Rd., London. I. E. 41.</p>	Birr Cross Roads	TO OUR DEAR SON & BROTHER / PEACE IN YOUR GARDEN / OF SLEEP

No	Register Entry	Cemetery	Personal Inscription
54	COSGROVE , Private, Charles Septimus, TF/205448. 10 th Bn. Royal West Kent Regiment. Killed in action 21 st September, 1917. Age 38. Son of John and Emily Cosgrove, of Middlesborough; husband of Amy Bertha Cosgrove, of 128, Clarendon Rd., Middlesborough. Organist and Music Teacher. XI. E. 8.	Hooge Crater	GRANT HIM O LORD / ETERNAL REST
55	COX , Private, John Robert, 21018. "D Coy. 6 th Bn. King's Own Yorkshire Light Infantry. Killed in action 20 th September, 1915. Age 27. Son of John and Elizabeth Cox; husband of Christabel Rose (formerly Cox), of High St., Morcott, Uppingham. Enlisted January, 1915, went to France, 21 st May, 1915. XI. E. 23	Ypres Reservoir	[None]
56	CRAIGIE (Served as 'WARREN'), Driver, William, 42764. 3 rd Bde. Can. Field Artillery. 30 th April, 1915. Age 29. Son of James and Charlotte Craigie, of 34, Glebemount Avenue, Toronto. III. G. 4.	Sanctuary Wood	HONOUR IS THEIRS / WHO FOR THEIR COUNTRY DIED / BUT FOR US / THE GLORIOUS EXAMPLE
57	CRAINE , Private, William Henry, 7093. 8 th Bn. Australian Infantry, A.I.F. Killed in action 4 th October, 1917. Age 22. Son of Thomas Henry and Sarah Jane Crainer, of 4, Washington St., Toorak, Victoria, Australia. VIII. B. 24.	Ypres Reservoir	THIS COUNTRY CALLED / AND HONOUR BADE HIM GO
58	CREASE , Private, F., 260327. 12 th Bn. Gloucestershire Regt. 31 st October, 1917. Age 19. Son of Edward and Alice Maud Crease, of 65, Providence Place, Mill Lane, Bedminster, Bristol. VII. F. 17.	Hooge Crater	OH! WONDERFUL MEMORY / NEVER TO FADE
59	CURRIN , Bombardier, William, M.M., 42667. 3 rd Bde., Canadian Field Artillery. 11 th November, 1917. Age 27. Son of the Rev. J.P. Currin, of Sarasota, Florida, U.S.A. I. 1. 125.	Ypres Reservoir	SAY NOT GOODNIGHT / BUT IN SOME BRIGHTER CLIME / BID ME GOOD MORNING
60	DANGAR , Gunner, Frank Henry, 653. 36 th Group, Australian Heavy Artillery. Killed in action 4 th October, 1917. Age 23. Son of Francis Henry and Catherine Ester W. Dangar, of 62A, George St., Sydney, New South Wales. I. F. 67.	Ypres Reservoir	HE SLEEPS WITH AUSTRALIANS / HEROES ALL / FROM MOTHER AND NAN / R.I.P.
61	De PENNINGTON , Lieutenant, Alan. 4 th Bn. East Lancashire Regt. 4 th September, 1917. Age 31. Son of John de Pennington, of Scarsgarth, Blackburn. He was LL.B. (London) and a Solicitor at Blackburn. III. A. 15.	Birr Cross Roads	[None]

No	Register Entry	Cemetery	Personal Inscription
62	DODD , Private, T.S., 242545. 18 th (Lancashire Hussars) Bn. The King's Liverpool Regt. 31 st July, 1917. Age 19. Son of Thomas and Ada Dodd, of 64, Mulgrave St., Liverpool. I. F. 5.	Hooge Crater	TO DEAR SYD / WE SALUTE / HONOUR & REMEMBER YOU
63	DOHERTY , Private, W.J., 409328. 13 th Bn. Canadian Inf. (Quebec Regt.). Killed in action 19 th April, 1916. Age 32. Son of William H. And Mary Doherty, of Kentville, King's Co., Nova Scotia. I. K. 13.	Chester Farm	IN GOD WE TRUST
64	DRAPER , Gunner, T.J., 95855. 1 st /36 th Div. Ammunition Col., Royal Field Artillery. 29 th September, 1918. Age 25. Son of Mrs Draper, of 9, Highfield, Forest Row, Sussex. V. B. 1.	Ypres Reservoir	NOTHING IN MY HAND I BRING / SIMPLY TO THY CROSS I CLING
65	DUKES , Lance-Corporal, Norman, 266844. "D" Coy., 1 st /8 th Bn. West Yorkshire Regt. Killed in action 17 th November, 1917. Age 21. Son of Fred and Susannah Dukes, of 52, Compton Crescent, Harehills Lane, Leeds. Born at Scarborough. XIII. K. 12.	Hooge Crater	THOU HAST CROWNED HIM / WITH GLORY AND HONOUR
66	DUNN , Sapper, G., 63285. 3 rd Tunnelling Coy. Canadian Engineers. 20 th September, 1917. Age 33. Son of Michael and Catherine Dunn. Born at Liverpool, England, J. 15.	Ramparts	FATHER / IN THY GRACIOUS KEEPING / LEAVE WE NOW / THIS SOLDIER SLEEPING
67	EADE , Bombardier, Lawrence, 55752. 51 st Bty. Royal Field Artillery. 20 th November, 1914. Age 24. Son of Alfred and Georgina Eade, of The Home of Rest, Graffham, Sussex; husband of Ethel Eade, of 35, Durdham St., Benwell, Newcastle-on-Tyne. III. H. 27/34.	Sanctuary Wood	AT THE GOING DOWN OF THE SUN / AND IN THE MORNING / WE WILL REMEMBER THEM
68	EGERTON , Lieutenant, Charles Caledon. 2 nd Bn. Duke of Wellington's Regt. Killed in action 18 th April, 1915. Age 28. Son of Field Marshal Sir C.C. Egerton, G.C.B., D.S.O.; husband of Madeleine Egerton, of "The Staithe", Mudeford, Christchurch, Hants. E. 1.	Ramparts	IN LOVING MEMORY
69	ENTWISTLE , Corporal, John Edward, B/1407. 8 th Bn Rifle Brigade. Died of wounds 5 th July, 1915. Age 28. Son of John Edward and Margaret Ann Entwistle, of 148, Bolton Rd., Kearsley, Bolton. II. O. 19.	Menin Road South	AWAITING / A GLORIOUS RESURRECTION / TO ETERNAL LIFE

No	Register Entry	Cemetery	Personal Inscription
70	EVANS , Corporal, Richard Maurice, 15089. 10 th Bn. Royal Welsh Fusiliers. 9 th December, 1915. Age 28. Son of Richard and Anne Elizabeth Evans, of 3, Narrow St., Llanfyllin, Mont. Native of Llanfyllin, Mont. Came from Canada in order to enlist in 1914. Sp. Mem. C. 17.	Hedge Row	THEIR GLORY SHALL NOT / BE BLOTTED OUT
71	FACER , Private, Edward Arthur Henry, 6738. 2 nd Bn. Australian Infantry, A.I.F. Died of wounds 22 nd September, 1917. Age 21. Son of William and Emily Facer, of Brewarrina, New South Wales. I. T. 37.	Menin Road South	WE MISS YOU OUR SON / MAY YOU REST IN PEACE
72	FERGUSON , Second-Lieutenant, Charles Edgar. General List and 22 nd Squadron. Royal Flying Corps. 18 th October, 1917. Age 25. Son of George and Harriet Ferguson, of 20, Villa Road, Nottingham. Born at Warsaw. III. K. 21.	Sanctuary Wood	A VERY GALLANT GENTLEMAN / VIVIT POST FUNEA VIRTUS
73	FLETCHER , Private, William, 5148. 1 st Bn. Lancashire Fusiliers. 28 th September, 1918. Age 28. Son of Mrs. Nelson, of 18, French Road, Blackburn. I. H. 16.	Hooge Crater	CHRIST SHALL CLASP / THE BROKEN CHAIN / CLOSER WHEN WE MEET AGAIN
74	FLYNN , Private, Charles, 5571. 17 th Bn. Australian Inf. Killed in action 20 th September, 1917. Age 27. Son of James and Margaret K. Flynn. Native of Lennoxton, Stirlingshire, Scotland. III. C. 25.	Birr Cross Roads	IN LOVING MEMORY / OF OUR DEAR BROTHER / SADLY MISSED / BUT NOT FORGOTTEN
75	FRITH , Serjeant, Jack, 11717. "B" Coy., 8 th Bn. Lincolnshire Regt. 4 th October, 1917. Age 24. Son of John and Mary Ellen Frith, of 57, Taylor St., New Cleethorpes, Lincs. Cross country runner, Grimsby Harriers (1911-14). XIII. G. 15.	Hooge Crater	HOW SHALL WE PRAISE / THE BRAVE/ ALL THAT THEY HAD THEY GAVE
76	GAMBLE , Corporal, Stephen Orme, 4485. 1 st (West Lancs.) Field Coy. Royal Engineers. Killed in action 30 th April, 1915. Age 31. Son of Samuel and Mary Gamble, of Sherdley Villa, Green End, Sutton, St. Helen's, Lancs. H. 16	Ramparts	OH DEATH / WHERE IS THY STING
77	GARDNER , Private, Frederick, 1863. 4 th Australian Pioneers. Died of wounds 28 th September, 1917. Age 19. Son of Frederick I. and Annie Gardner, of Goid St., Bairnsdale, Victoria, Australia. I. F. 34.	Ypres Reservoir	THE PATH OF DUTY / LEADS THE WAY TO GLORY
78	GARDNER , Lance-Corporal, J., 64038. 13 th Bn. Canadian Infantry (Quebec Regt.). 13 th June, 1916. Age 20. Son of J.W. and N. Gardner (née Swailes), of 5772, Sherbrooke St. West, Montreal. Born at Horsforth, Leeds, England. Sp. Mem. C. 2.	Hooge Crater	LEST WE FORGET

No	Register Entry	Cemetery	Personal Inscription
79	GELL , Gunner, Francis Joseph, 656. Australian Heavy Artillery. Killed in action 4 th October, 1917. Age 23. Son of Joseph and Jessie M. Gell, of Mercer St., Geelong, Australia. I. E. 85.	Ypres Reservoir	GIVEN BY A LOVING FATHER / AND MOTHER / WITH PROUD BUT ACHING HEARTS
80	GENT , Second-Lieutenant, Thomas Samuel. 7 th Bn. The Rifle Brigade. 24 th July, 1915. Age 21. Son of Harriet F. Gent, of Little Sutton, Thorkhill Rd., Thames Ditton, and His Honour the late Judge John Gent. Educated at Oxford University. II. B. 13.	Sanctuary Wood	[None]
81	GEYTON , Gunner, H., 156105. 107 th Siege Bty. Royal Garrison Artillery. 9 th November, 1917. Husband of Annie Pentith Geyton, of 89, Lee Smith St., Hedon Rd., Hull. I. I. 131.	Ypres Reservoir	JESU LOVER OF MY SOUL
82	GILBERT , Private, Thomas, 14199. 10 th Bn. Sherwood Foresters (Notts & Derby Regt.). 19 th November, 1915. Age 22. Son of William Gilbert, of 51, Ray St., Heanor, Derbyshire. III. C. 20.	Menin Road South	NOT FORGOTTEN
83	GILCHRIST , Sapper, James Duncan, 76510. VI Corps Signal Coy. Royal Engineers. Killed in action 24 th September, 1915. Age 21. Son of Andrew and Jessie Ann Riddel Gilchrist, of 8, Burnbank Terrace, Glasgow. Born at Aberdeen. XI. C. 15.	Ypres Reservoir	HE CAME AND WENT / AND NEVER CEASED TO SMILE
84	GILES , Private, Sydney William, 463765. 6 th Coy. Canadian Machine Gun Corps. 8 th November, 1917. Age 32. Son of Charles Samuel and Sarah Ann Giles, of 20, Wyndham St., Brighton, England; husband of Eda May Giles (<i>née</i> Durling), of Myrtle Cottage, Common Rd., Stanmore, Middlesex, England. Enlisted in Nov., 1914. Reverted from Cpl. in order to go to the front. III. B. 34.	Sanctuary Wood	REMEMBRANCE
85	GODDEN , Gunner, Henry Thomas Back, 102221. 58 th Siege Bty., Royal Garrison Artillery. 30 th September, 1917. Age 35. Son of Charles and Elizabeth Godden, of Southdene, South Canterbury; husband of Maud Lilian Godden, of 21, Sackville Crescent, Ashford, Kent. I. G. 15	Ypres Reservoir	HIS THE JOY / AND OURS THE PAIN / BUT ERE LONG / WE'LL MEET AGAIN
86	GRAHAM , Gunner, John Ismay, 74312. "A" Bty. 124 th Bde. Royal Field Artillery. Died of accidental injuries 18 th March, 1918. Age 21. Son of William George and Mary Graham, of Bothel, Aspatria, Cumberland. Voluntary enlistment. III. F. 23	Menin Road South	REMEMBERED BY ALL / BOTHEL, CUMBERLAND

No	Register Entry	Cemetery	Personal Inscription
87	GRIFFITHS , Second-Lieutenant, Allen Rhys. 53 rd Bty. 2 nd Bde. Royal Field Artillery. Killed in action, 9 th August, 1915. Age 22. Son of Llewellyn Edward and Bertha Mina Griffiths. I. 2.	Ramparts	ONE SHORT SLEEP PAST / WE WAKE ETERNALLY / AND DEATH SHALL BE NO MORE
88	GROVER , Rifleman, Harry Frank, S/21236. 2 nd Bn. The Rifle Brigade. Killed in action 18 th August, 1917. Age 30. Son of Alma Grover, of Kilburn, London; husband of May Emma Bullock (formerly Grover), of 214, King St., Port Colborne, Ontario. IV. B. 6.	Birr Cross Roads	FAITHFUL UNTO THE CALL / DEATH IS SWALLOWED / UP IN VICTORY
89	HAGGART , Private, John, D.C.M., 53595. 43 rd Bn. Machine Gun Corps (Inf.) Killed in action 30 th August, 1917. Age 24. Son of James and Margaret Haggart, of 27, Hillside St., Edinburgh. II. D. 7.	Menin Road South	FAITHFUL UNTO DEATH / HE GAVE HIS LIFE FOR OTHERS
90	HALE , Rifleman, Frederick Thomas, 2466. 'G' Coy., 1 st Bn. Queen Victoria's Rifles. 21 st April, 1915. Age 22. Son of Thomas Gardiner Hale, and Beatrice Mary Hale, of 26, Woodriffe Rd., Leytonstone, London. D. 20.	1 st DCLI	OUR GLORIOUS DEAD
91	HANDLEY , Private, Ernest Gordon, 80900. 43 rd Field Amb. Royal Army Medical Corps. 22 nd August, 1917. Husband of E.L. Handley, of 2, Clifden Rd., Brentford, Middx. II. A. 3.	Menin Road South	IN QUIETNESS / AND IN CONFIDENCE
92	HARDY , Gunner, John, 150639. 146 th Heavy Bty. Royal Garrison Artillery. Killed in action 29 th September, 1917. Age 24. Son of Jan Ann Greenway (formerly Hardy), of 860, Stockport Rd., Longsight, Manchester, and the late William Hardy. I. B. 67	Ypres Reservoir	SADLY MISSED BY MOTHER / DAD AND BROTHER / BUT NOT FORGOTTEN
93	HARPER , Private, Ernest George, 2663. 30 th Bn. Australian Infantry. Killed in action 25 th October, 1917. Age 20. Son of Alice Harper, of 'Valetta', Tunh St., Bay Rd., North Sydney, New South Wales, and the late Ernest Harper. Native of Launceston, Tasmania. IV. C. 3.	Birr Cross Roads	IN LOVING MEMORY FROM / DEAR ONES ACROSS THE SEA
94	HARRIS , Private, Albert John, 612384. 19 th Bn. London Regt. Killed in action 11 th July, 1917. Age 22. Son of John Harris (late South Wales Borderers) and Ellen Harris, of 155, London Rd., Dover. III. E. 25.	Woods	FORGET ME NOT
95	HARRIS , Private, Frank Stanley, 17638. 1 st Bn. Duke of Cornwall's Light Inf. Killed in action 10 th June, 1915. Age 27. Son of Robert Alfred and Sarah Jane Harris, of 131, Station Rd., Forest Gate, London. A. II.	1 st DCLI	HE DID HIS DUTY / R.I.P.

No	Register Entry	Cemetery	Personal Inscription
96	HARTLEY , Lieutenant, Christopher. "C" Bty. 210 th Bde. Royal Field Artillery. Killed in action 1 st September, 1917. Age 31. Son of William Harry and Gertrude Hartley, of Fencegate, Burnley; husband of Dorothy Chernocke (formerly Downes), of Aspley Guise, Beds. B.A. Oxon and Solicitor of Colne, Lancs. I. D. 62.	Ypres Reservoir	THEY NEVER FALL / WHO DIE IN A GREAT CAUSE
97	HAYES , Serjeant, Harold Horace, 1756. 4 th Australian Pioneers. Killed in action 29 th September, 1917. Age 29. Son of John and Adelaide Hayes, of Corner of May St. And Hardgrave Rd., South Brisbane, Queensland. Born at Herberton, North Queensland. XIV. D. 1.	Hooge Crater	HE LIES A HERO / HE SACRIFICED HIS LIFE / FOR KING AND COUNTRY / MOTHER
98	HAYWOOD , Private, John George, 57718. No. 3 Coy., 18 th (Lancashire Hussars) Bn. The King's Liverpool Regt. 4 th December, 1917. Age 35. Husband of Ellen Haywood, of 47, Milner St., Newark. X. D. 5.	Hooge Crater	"STRENGTHENED WITH ALL MIGHT / ACCORDING TO / HIS GLORIOUS FLOWER." / COL. 1. 11
99	HEALD , Second-Lieutenant, Thomas Penrose. 6 th Squadron, Royal Flying Corps. Killed in action 13 th October, 1917. Age 25. Son of Mrs. S.J. Heald, of 37, Victoria Park Road West, Canton, Cardiff, and the late George Thomas Heald. I. H. 44	Ypres Reservoir	THE RESURRECTION SEAL / PROTECTS YOUR GRAVE / SLEEP IN PEACE
100	HERRINGTON , Corporal, Sydney, 36344. 1 st Bn. Duke of Cornwall's Light Inf. 4 th October, 1917. Age 19. Son of Henry and Fanny Herrington, of 29, Latimer, Chesham, Bucks. XII. J. 9.	Hooge Crater	LEAD KINDLY LIGHT / LATIMER VILLAGE / CHESHAM, BUCKS
101	HIGGS , Private, Horace, 3707. 10 th Bn. Australian Inf. Died of wounds 7 th October, 1917. Age 33. Son of Henry and Eunice Higgs; husband of Mary Higgs, of "Omar", Bevington Rd., Glen Osmond, South Australia. XVI. D. 3.	Hooge Crater	HE HEARD THE EMPIRE CALLING / AND HIS EAGER FOOTSTEPS CAME
102	HILL , Lance-Corporal, E., 63325, 20 th Bn. Royal Fusiliers. 23 rd November, 1917. III. M. 35	Menin Road South	[None]
103	HODGE , Private, Henry Aldric Strickland, 17506. "A" Coy. 1 st Bn. Royal Fusiliers. Died of wounds 19 th January, 1916. Age 19. Son of E. Wolstan Hodge and Elizabeth Ann Hodge, of "The Anchorage", 12, Magdala Rd., Cosham, Hants. Native of Barbados, B.W.I.I.D.	Menin Road South	FOR ENGLAND'S GLORY

No	Register Entry	Cemetery	Personal Inscription
104	HOELTER , Gunner, David William, 32578. 10 th Bde. Australian Field Artillery. Killed in action 16 th September, 1917. Age 22. Son of Charles John and Margaret Mary Hoelter, of 21, Peel St., Bendigo, Victoria, Australia. Native of Melbourne, Victoria. II. A1. 17.	Menin Road South	WHERE DUTY LED HE FOLLOWED / ONE OF AUSTRALIA'S NOBLE SONS
105	HOLDROYD , Private, John Thomas, 5370. 22 nd Bn. Australian Infantry, A.I.F. Died of wounds 16 th September, 1917. Age 37. Son of George and Elizabeth Holdroyd; husband of Laura Holdroyd, of Wonthaggi, Victoria, Australia. Native of Yorks., England. I. Q. 38.	Menin Road South	TOO FAR AWAY / THY GRAVE TO SEE / BUT NOT TOO FAR / TO THINK OF THEE
106	HOMER , Private, Leonard, 57174. 12 th Bn North Staffordshire Regt. 11 th September, 1918. Age 23. Son of James and Lucy Homer, of 24, New St., Pendlebury, Manchester. V. D. 35	Sanctuary Wood	MOTHER I AM HAPPY / THOUGH 'T WAS HARD TO PART / STILL MY SPIRIT LINGERS / NEAR THY ACHING HEART
107	HOPKINS , Private, J.H., 6 th Bn. Duke of Cornwall's Light Infantry. Killed in action 23 rd August, 1917. Age 20. Son of Mr. and Mrs. C. Hopkins, of 23, Longford St., Regent's Park, London. VII. A. 9.	Hooge Crater	A NOTABLE EXAMPLE / TO SUCH AS BE YOUNG / TO DIE WILLINGLY / AND COURAGEOUSLY / R.I.P.
108	HOPKINS , Private, T., 1912. 4 th Bn. Royal Fusiliers. 1 st April, 1918. Son of Mrs. Hopkins, of 174, Church St., Deptford, London. F. 4.	Ramparts	CHRIST WILL LINK / THE BROKEN CHAIN / CLOSER WHEN WE MEET AGAIN / FROM MUM, BROTHER AND SISTERS
109	HOUSHAM , Private, George Graham, 9373. 2 nd Bn. Royal Berkshire Regiment. Killed in action 25 th September, 1915. Age 26. Son of John and Elizabeth Housham, of 96, Reginald Rd., Bexhill, Sussex. VI. H. 9.	Ypres Reservoir	FROM MOTHER
110	HUMPHRIES , Second-Lieutenant, Leslie Glendower. 4 th Sqdn. Royal Flying Corps. 16 th September, 1917. Age 19. Son of John and Sarah Humphries, of 69, Springfield Rd., King's Heath, Birmingham. Formerly of Lloyds Bank, Ltd., Leamington. XII. K. 18.	Hooge Crater	[None]
111	HURST , Private, Leonard Bertie, 327358. 1 st /4 th Bn. Suffolk Regt. Killed in action 26 th September, 1917. Age 20. Only son of Harry and Annie Hurst, of "Lynden Lea", Lees Rd., Hillingdon, Middx. Born at St. John's Wood, London. VII. A. 13.	Hooge Crater	OUR ONLY SON BERT / DEARLY LOVED & SADLY MISSED / BY MUM, DAD & SISTER
112	JACKSON , Gunner, R., 199217. 115 th Siege Bty. Royal Garrison Artillery. 14 th October, 1918. Age 37. Husband of Mrs A.B. Jackson, of 53, Yorkshire St., West End, Morecambe, Lancs. XX. J. 2.	Hooge Crater	MEMORY IS A FLOWER / WHICH NEVER FADES

No	Register Entry	Cemetery	Personal Inscription
113	JOHNSTON , Second-Lieutenant, Andrew Yuill Pollock. 5 th Bn. King's Own Scottish Borderers. 5 th October, 1917. Age 21. Son of Andrew Y. and M. Johnston, of 7, High St., Lochmaben, Dumfriesshire. IXA. A. 2.	Hooge Crater	THE PATH OF DUTY / WAS THE WAY TO GLORY
114	JOHNSTONE , Gunner, Henry Harris, 705757. "B" Bty. 190 th Bde. Royal Field Artillery. Killed in action 29 th September, 1917. Age 31. Son of Mr. and Mrs. T.M. Johnstone, of 144, Church Lane, Gorton, Manchester. II. H. 27.	Menin Road South	SWEET IS THE MEMORY / OF A SON SO DEAR / WE OFTTIMES WISH / THAT HE WAS HERE
115	JOLLY , Private, Phillip Peterson, 75. 31 st Bn. Australian Inf. Killed in action 26 th September, 1917. Age 26. Son of Alexander and Isabella B. Jolly. Born at Richmond River, New South Wales. XIII. G. 2.	Hooge Crater	HE GAVE HIS LIFE / FOR THE EMPIRE / HE COULD GIVE NO MORE
116	JONES , Private, F.J., 11019. 1 st Bn. Royal Fusiliers. 19 th November, 1915. Age 31. Son of Mrs. Emily Jones; husband of Eliza Jones, of 6, Calcutta Street, Limehouse, London. I. A. 1.	Woods	O FOR THE TOUCH / OF THE VANISHED HAND / OF THE SOUND OF THE VOICE / THAT IS STILL
117	JONES , Captain, John Llewelyn Thomas. "D" Coy., 3 rd Bn. London Regt. (R. Fus.) Killed in action 16 th August, 1917. Age 22. Son of John Emlyn Jones, of "Berwynfa", Pinner Rd., North Harrow, Middx., formerly of "Berwynfa", Marylands Rd., W.9 and Dee Mount, Llangollen, N. Wales, and the late Marian Emlyn Jones. IV. D. 5.	Hooge Crater	"OUR NEVER TO BE FORGOTTEN / CAPTAIN AND LEADER" / COMPANY MESSAGE
118	JOYCE , Private, Matthew, 7258. 16 th Bn. Australian Inf. Died of wounds 1 st October, 1917. Age 38. Son of the late Matthew and Mary Ann Joyce. Born at Eaglehawk, Victoria, Australia. XVI. A. 4.	Hooge Crater	FOR A SHAKE / OF A VANISHED HAND / & THE SOUND OF A VOICE / THAT'S STILL
119	JOYNSON , Rifleman, Harry Lindsay, 2044. 6 th Bn. The King's Liverpool Regt. Killed in action 18 th April, 1915. Age 23. Son of John Henry and Agnes Jane Joynson, of 32, Garrard Rd., Wallasey, Cheshire. F. 2.	Ramparts	GONE
120	JUSTIN , Private, William Jacob, 5587. 19 th Bn. Australian Infantry. Killed in action 9 th October, 1917. Age 25. Son of Jacob and the late Sarah Justin. Born at Paddington, New South Wales. XV. D. 17.	Hooge Crater	A DUTY NOBLY DONE / FRANCE WILL NOT FORGET
121	KEAM , Private, Frank, 16862. 9 th Bn. Devonshire Regt. Killed in action 26 th October, 1917. Age 21. Son of William and Emma Keam, of Ruby Villa, Trezaise, Roche, Cornwall. VIA. J. 19.	Hooge Crater	TO LIVE IN HEARTS / WE LEAVE BEHIND / IS NOT TO DIE

No	Register Entry	Cemetery	Personal Inscription
122	KEEAMI , Fitter, Elias Naself, 2504. 103 rd Howitzer Bty., 3 rd A.F.A. Bde. Australian Field Artillery. Died of wounds 15 th November, 1917. Age 35. Son of Elias Keeami and Julia Keeami; husband of Elizabeth Keeami, of 'Zonnebke', Riverside Crescent, West Marrickville, Sydney, New South Wales. Native of Mount Lebanon, Syria. III. M. 23.	Menin Road South	HIS MEMORY / SHALL LIVE FOR EVER / IN THE LAND HE LOVED / AUSTRALIA
123	KELLY , Driver, Thomas, 16078. 12 th A.F.A. Bde. Australian Field Artillery. Died of wounds 27 th September, 1917. Age 23. Son of William and Sarah Ann Kelly, of Lang Lang, Victoria, Australia. II. H. 12.	Menin Road South	HE DIED FOR KING AND COUNTRY
124	KIDD , Rifleman, George, 371263. 8 th Bn London Regt. (Post Office Rifles.) Killed in action 20 th July, 1917. Age 23. Son of James and Matilda Kidd, of 21, Abbot St., Belfast. A Postman. E. 3.	Oak Dump	A VOLUNTEER FROM ULSTER
125	KIRK , Second-Lieutenant, John Alexander. 5 th Bn. King's Own Scottish Borderers. 13 th October, 1918. Age 24. Son of John and Agnes Kirk, of 45, Galloway St., Maxwelltown, Dumfries. XVIII. L. 8.	Hooge Crater	AT THE GOING DOWN OF THE SUN / AND IN THE MORNING / WE WILL REMEMBER THEM
126	KNOTT , Major, James Leadbitter, DSO. 10 th Bn. West Yorkshire Regt. (Prince of Wales's Own). Killed in action 1 st July, 1916. Age 33. Son of Sir James Knott, 1 st Bart., and Lady Knott, of Close House, Wylam-on-Tyne. V. B. 15	Ypres Reservoir	DEVOTED IN LIFE / IN DEATH NOT DIVIDED
127	LEA , Private, Harry Noel, 3419. 17 th Bn. Australian Inf., A.I.F. Died of wounds 14 th October, 1917. Age 21. Son of May Caroline Lea, of Beecroft Rd., Cheltenham, New South Wales, and the late Henry Arkell Lea. I. H. 12.	Ypres Reservoir	A HAPPY WARRIOR
128	LEIGHTON , Lieutenant, Roland Aubrey. 1 st /7 th Bn. Worcestershire Regt. Died of wounds 23 rd December, 1915. Age 19. Son of Robert and Marie Connor Leighton. Postmaster of Merton College, Oxford. 1. B. 20.	Louvincourt *	GOOD NIGHT, SWEET FRIEND, GOOD NIGHT / TILL LIFE AND ALL TAKE FLIGHT / NEVER GOODBYE
129	LEITCH , Lance-Corporal, William Alexander, 15688. 1 st Bn. Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers. 29 th September, 1918. Age 27. Son of Sarah Leitch, of 27, Pine St., Waterside, Londonderry, and the late William A. Leitch. III. D. 1.	Birr Cross Roads	IN MY FATHER'S HOUSE / ARE MANY MANSIONS

No	Register Entry	Cemetery	Personal Inscription
130	LODGE , Second-Lieutenant, Raymond. 2 nd , attd. 3 rd Bn. South Lancashire Regt. 14 th September, 1915. Age 25. Son of Sir Oliver and Lady Lodge, of Normanton House, Salisbury. Born at Liverpool. II. D. 5.	Birr Cross Roads	RAYMOND WHO HAS HELPED / MANY TO KNOW / THAT DEATH IS NOT THE END
131	LOVELL , Private, Frank Bertram, 17226. 9 th Bn. Cameronians (Scottish Rifles). 17 th October, 1915. Age 20. Son of William Thomas and Margaret Lovell, of Rishton, Blackburn. VI. B. 10.	Ypres Reservoir	OUR BRAVE BOY
132	LUMSDEN , Gunner, J., 650876. "C" Bty. 86 th Army Bde., Royal Field Artillery. 28 th July, 1917. Age 27. Son of William and Ann Lumsden, of 185, Great Northern Rd., Woodside, Aberdeen. Native of Banchory, Kincardineshire. Sp. Mem. B. 7.	Hedge Row	LOVED & MOURNED / DUTY NOBLY DONE
133	MCCARTHY , Gunner, John, 868. 36 th Group, Australian Heavy Artillery. Killed in action 4 th October, 1917. Age 24. Son of Daniel and Margaret McCarthy, of Silas St., East Fremantle, Western Australia. I. F. 71.	Ypres Reservoir	BELoved SON / OF D. & M. MCCARTHY / GRANDSON OF CPL. D. MCCARTHY / (CRIMEA)
134	MCCRIMMON , Private, Alexander, 7294. 1 st Bn. Australian Infantry. Killed in action 16 th September, 1917. Age 46. Son of Donald and Margaret McCrimmon. Native of Isle of Skye, Scotland. I. G. 4.	Hooge Crater	CHA TILL E GU BRATH / GU LA NA CRUINNE <i>HE WILL NOT RETURN UNTIL THE DAY OF JUDGEMENT</i>
135	MCGLINCHY , Lance-Corporal, J., 29485. 9 th Bn. Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers. Killed in action 29 th September, 1918. Age 27. Son of J.J. McGlinchy, of Glasgow; husband of Margaret McGlinchy, of 104, Main St., Bridgeton, Glasgow. III. D. 1.	Birr Cross Roads	THE LIGHT OF A WHOLE LIFE / DIES WHEN A LOVE IS DONE / FROM HIS WIDOW
136	MCMILLAN , Second-Lieutenant, Kenneth Gregor. 33 rd Bty., 33 rd Bde. Royal Field Artillery. Killed in action 16 th August, 1917. Age 19. Son of Mr. A. and Mrs B.E. McMillan, of "Kinharvie", Ormonde Rd., Branksome Park, Bournemouth. III. A. 22.	Birr Cross Roads	WE GIVE THANKS TO GOD / ALWAYS FOR THEE / MAKING MENTION OF THEE / IN OUR PRAYERS
137	MCNAUGHTON , Second Corporal, Duncan, 48504. 89 th Field Coy. Royal Engineers. Killed in action 10 th July, 1915. Age 29. Son of Donald and Mary S. McNaughton, of 31, Gardner St., Partick, Glasgow. II. O. 22.	Menin Road South	CHA TILL E TUILL LEADH <i>HE WILL NOT RETURN ANY MORE</i>

No	Register Entry	Cemetery	Personal Inscription
138	MACGILLIVRAY , Private, James Duncan Montgomery, 448179. 14 th Bn. Canadian Inf. (Quebec Regt.) Killed in action 25 th April, 1916. Age 41. Son of James and Barbara MacKerracher MacGillivray, of Montreal. II. D. 18.	Chester Farm	A DIRECT DESCENDANT / OF THE YOUNG CHIEF / THAT FELL ON CULLODEN FIELD
139	MAUER , Private, Frank Theodore, 5380. 24 th Bn. Australian Infantry. Killed in action 4 th October, 1917. Age 24. Son of Franz and Agnes Henrietta Mauer, of Boolarra, Victoria, Australia. XIX. L. 16.	Hooge Crater	IN LOVING MEMORY / OF MY ONLY CHILD / WHO LAID DOWN HIS LIFE / FOR RIGHT
140	MAULE , Lieutenant, Edward Barry. 18 th Bn. Highland Light Infantry, attd. Royal Flying Corps. Killed in air combat, 6 th February, 1917. Age 24. Younger son of John Percy Maule, Clerk of the Peace, Hunts County Council and of Mrs Percy Maule, The Views, Huntington. Educated at Acham School, Eastbourne, and at Uppingham. XV. L. 13.	Hooge Crater	FAITHFUL UNTO DEATH / DUTY / IN BELOVED AND UNFADING MEMORY
141	MAXWELL , Brigadier-General, Francis Aylmer, V.C., C.S.I., D.S.O., 18 th King George's Own Lancers Commanding 27 th Inf. Bde., 9 th (Scottish) Division. Killed in action 21 st September, 1917. Age 46. Son of Thomas Maxwell, M.D., and Violet Sophia Maxwell; husband of Charlotte Alice Maxwell. I. A. 37. An extract taken from the London Gazette records the following: "Lieutenant Maxwell was one of three Officers not belonging to "Q" Battery, Royal Horse Artillery, specially mentioned by Lord Roberts as having shown the greatest gallantry, and disregard of danger, in carrying out the self-imposed duty of saving the guns of that Battery during the affair at Korn Spruit on 31 st March 1900. This Officer went out on five different occasions and assisted to bring in two guns and three limbers, one of which he, Captain Humphreys, and some Gunners, dragged in by hand. He also went out with Captain Humphreys and Lieutenant Stirling to try to get the last gun in, and remained there till the attempt was abandoned. During a previous Campaign (the Chitral Expedition of 1895) Lieutenant Maxwell displayed gallantry in the removal of the body of Lieutenant-Colonel F D Battye, Corps of Guides, under fire, for which, though recommended, he received no reward."	Ypres Reservoir	AN IDEAL SOLDIER AND / A VERY PERFECT GENTLEMAN / BELOVED BY ALL HIS MEN

No	Register Entry	Cemetery	Personal Inscription
142	MAYNE , Private, Leonard Everard, 19257. 2 nd Bn. Canadian Inf. (Eastern Ontario Regt.). Killed in action 10 th July, 1916. Age 20. Son of Edith Everard Mayne, of "Con Mer", Bexhill-on-Sea, England and the late Henry W. Mayne, L.D.S. Native of Plymouth. II. B. 8.	Woods	ONE WHO NEVER / TURNED HIS BACK / BUT MARCHED BREAST FORWARD
143	MEADE , Second-Lieutenant, Wakefield Waldo. 6 th , attd. 3 rd Bn. Worcestershire Regt. 20 th June, 1915. Age 19. Son of Wakefield and Hannah Meade, of Kingscliffe, Hale Lane, Mill Hill, Middlesex. II. F. 34.	Sanctuary Wood	"DEATH / IS SWALLOWED UP IN VICTORY" / 1 COR. XV. 54
144	MEIGHEN , Acting Bombardier, J.E., 308633. 32 nd Bty. 8 th Bde. Canadian Field Artillery. 29 th November, 1917. Age 28. Son of W.A. and Julia T. Meighen, of 92, Isabella St., Toronto, Ontario. Native of Perth. III. B. 17.	Ypres Reservoir	O VALLIANT HEART / WHO TO YOUR GLORY CAME
145	MESTREZ , Lance-Corporal, Charles Joseph, 5374. 1 st Coy. Australian Tunnelling Corps. Killed in action 25 th September, 1917. Age 35. Son of Charles Joseph and Lucie Mestrez, of Alpha, Queensland. Native of Port Douglas, Queensland. I. S. 35.	Menin Road South	MY JOY-BRINGER GONE / OVER THE SUN / A BLACK CLOUD CAME / I AM LEFT ALONE
146	METCALFE , Private, Albert, 29142. 8 th Bn. East Lancashire Regt. 8 th October, 1917. Age 32. Husband of Nancy Metcalfe, of 110, Lambeth St., Blackburn. VIA. D. 19.	Hooge Crater	SAVIOUR IN THY KEEPING / LEAVE WE NOW / OUR LOVED ONE SLEEPING
147	MILLER , Lieutenant, Alexander Henderson. 57 th Bn. Australian Inf. Killed in action 25 th September, 1917. Age 32. Son of Alexander and Marian Miller; husband of Belle Miller, of 'Wooragee', 28, Clendon Rd., Toorak, Victoria, Australia. Native of Berwick, Victoria. XIII. J. 10.	Hooge Crater	MY BELOVED HUSBAND / OUR DEAR SON / CHERISHED IN OUR HEARTS / FOR EVER
148	MORISON , Private, Donald Henry Gale, G/21235. 'D' Coy., 7 th Bn. The Buffs. Killed in action 3 rd August, 1917. Age 19. Son of Donald and Helen Morison, of 256, Cranbrook Rd., Ilford, Essex. Born at Bombay, India. XXI. D. 12.	Hooge Crater	THOU THY WORLDLY TASK / HAST DONE / HOME ART GONE / AND TA'EN THY WAGES
149	MORTON , Lance-Corporal, J., 79252. 31 st Bn. Canadian Inf. (Alberta Regt.). Died of wounds 6 th April, 1916. Age 41. Son of John and Mary Morton, of Launceston, Cornwall, England; husband of Laura May Morton, of 14, Oxford Grove, Ilfracombe, Devon, England. I. A. 26.	Birr Cross Roads	O FOR THE TOUCH / OF A VANISHED HAND / & THE SOUND OF A VOICE / THAT'S STILL

No	Register Entry	Cemetery	Personal Inscription
150	MOXON , Serjeant-Bugler, Sydney Harvey, 2488. 1 st Bn. P.W.O. Civil Service Rifles. Killed in action 25 th October, 1916. Age 38. Son of George J. And Eliza Moxon. King's Trumpeter, Member of Royal Society of Musicians, and a Free Mason.	Woods	[None]
151	MURRAY , Private, Walter McLean, 22891. 9 th Bn. Royal Irish Fusiliers. 30 th September, 1918. Age 21. Son of J. And M. Murray, of Rockcorry, Co. Monaghan. VI. J. 1.	Hooge Crater	RELIGION CHURCH OF IRELAND / AN IRISHMAN LOYAL TO DEATH / TO KING AND COUNTRY
152	NASH , Major, Fountain Okey Colborne. 5 th Bn. Northumberland Fusiliers. 27 th April, 1915. Age 37. Son of Joseph Nash, R.I.; husband of Ella H. Nash, of 35, Wheeley's Rd., Edgbaston, Birmingham. A.M.I.C.E. [Associate Member of the Institute of Civil Engineers] III. B. 20.	Birr Cross Roads	HE GIVETH / HIS BELOVED SLEEP
153	NEWINGTON , Lieutenant, John. 3 rd , attd. 1 st Bn. East Surrey Regt. Killed in action 22 nd May, 1915. Age 26. Son of Capt., C.G.H. and Mrs Newington. Barrister-at-law. Served in the Inns of Court Officers Training Corps. I. B. 12.	Woods	BE THOU FAITHFUL UNTO DEATH / AND I WILL GIVE THEE / A CROWN OF LIFE
154	NICHOLSON , Second-Lieutenant, Lancelot. "A" Coy., 9 th Bn. Yorkshire Regt. Killed in action 20th September, 1917. Age 24. Son of Matthew and Elizabeth I. Nicholson, of 3, Bath Terrace, Seaham Harbour, Co. Durham. VII. F. 11.	Hooge Crater	HEBREWS CHAP. 11 VERSE 10
155	NUNNS , Serjeant, Henry, 12309. 9 th Bn. King's Royal Rifle Corps. 16 th October, 1917. Age 19. Son of Mrs Emma Smith, of 8A, Davis St., Cubitt Town, Poplar, London. VII. H. 2.	Hooge Crater	JUST BEYOND / THESE EARTHLY PARTINGS / WE SHALL SOON UNITED BE
156	OAKINS , Sapper, Samuel George, 177585. Depot Royal Engineers transf. to (421646) 20 th Coy. Albour Corps. 11 th November, 1917. Age 34. Son of John Thomas and Emma Oakins, of Little Gaddesden; husband of Ethel E. Oakins, of 36, Little Gaddesden, Berkhamstead. I. 1. 20.	Ypres Reservoir	IN EVER LOVING MEMORY / IN THE MIDST OF LIFE / WE ARE IN DEATH
157	OSBORNE , Private, Reuben, 3421. 1 st Bn. Royal Newfoundland Regt. Died of wounds 28 th September, 1918. Age 20. Son of John and Frances Osborne, of Grand Bank, Burin, Newfoundland. Native of Fortune Bay, Newfoundland. II. A. 6.	Birr Cross Roads	IN SURE AND CERTAIN HOPE / OF A RESURRECTION / UNTO LIFE ETERNAL

No	Register Entry	Cemetery	Personal Inscription
158	PACEY , Private, Albert Edward, 9744. 2 nd Bn. East Yorkshire Regt. 4 th February, 1915. Age 22. Son of Alfred and Rebecca Pacey, of 10, New Rd., Woodston, Peterborough. B. 17.	Ramparts	SOME MAY THINK / THAT WE FORGET HIM / WHEN AT TIMES / WE ARE APT TO SMILE
159	PARKS , Private, Charles John, 21735. 1 st Bn. East Surrey Regt. 6 th November, 1917. Age 22. Son of William and Ellen Parks, of Shorts Farm, Biddenden, Kent. VIII. B. 10.	Hooge Crater	SOMETIME WE'LL UNDERSTAND
160	PEARS , Rifleman, Thomas, 321185. 1 st /6 th Bn. London Regt. (City of London Rifles). 9 th July, 1917. Age 22. Son of Henry and Eliza A. Pears, of 308, Hackney Rd., London, E.2. H. 7.	Oak Dump	WITH ACHING HEARTS / AND MEMORIES SWEET / WE THINK OF YOU DEAR TOM
161	PELL , Lance-Corporal, Claudius Claremont, 5452. 11 th Bn. Australian Inf. Killed in action 20 th September, 1917. Age 26. Son of George and Elizabeth Pell. Native of Dongarra, Western Australia. V. G. 8.	Hooge Crater	HEAVENLY FATHER IN THY KEEPING / LEAVE WE NOW OUR DEAR, DEAR ONE SLEEPING
162	PENROSE , Serjeant, John Charles Henry, 9486. 1 st Bn. Duke of Cornwall's Light Inf. Killed in action 19 th May, 1915. Age 23. Son of Mrs. Martha Jane Penrose, of 29, Castle St., Truro, Cornwall. C. 9.	1 st DCLI	HE DIED THAT THOSE HE LOVED / MIGHT LIVE / A TRUE CHRISTIAN / A LOVING SON
163	PHILLIPS , Private, Percy, A/28693. 7 th Bn., Canadian Inf. (British Columbia Regt.). 5 th May, 1916. Age 26. Son of Henry Richard and Mary Hannah Phillips, of 37, Rodney Rd., Great Yarmouth, England. II. D. 4.	Chester Farm	YE ARE THE LIGHT / OF THE WORLD / MATTHEW V.14
164	PORTER , Private, Clifford, 7947. 1 st Bn. Scots Guards. 30 th November, 1914. Age 24. Son of Fred Porter, of 6, Kliffen Place, Coronation Rd., Halifax. II. K. 5.	Sanctuary Wood	IN LOVING MEMORY / OF A GALLANT SON / WHO GAVE HIS ALL / FOR HIS COUNTRY
165	PRICE , Private, F.T., 510474. 2 nd /2 nd (London) Field Amb. Royal Army Medical Corps. 16 th August, 1917. Age 23. Son of Mr H.T. and Mrs S. Price, of Greyhound Hotel, Builth Wells, Brecknorshire. Employee of "The London and Provincial Bank Ltd." II. F. 22.	Menin Road South	GREYHOUND HOTEL / BUILTH WELLS / WALES
166	PRITCHARD , Lance-Corporal, William Henry, 490189. 467 th Field Coy. Royal Engineers. 27 th September, 1917. Age 33. Husband of Ethel Mary Pritchard, of 138, Newgate Lane, Mansfield, Notts. I. F. 12.	Ypres Reservoir	THE STRIFE IS OVER / THE BATTLE DONE
167	QUIGLEY , Private, James, 14006. 10 th Bn. King's Own Yorkshire Light Inf. Died of wounds 4 th October, 1917. Age 21. Son of James and Jane Ann Quigley, of 15, Bank Row, Garforth, Leeds. X. K. 11.	Hooge Crater	A CORNER OF A FOREIGN FIELD / THAT IS FOREVER ENGLAND

No	Register Entry	Cemetery	Personal Inscription
168	RAWLINSON , Second-Lieutenant, Harry Redmond. 118 th Bn. Machine Guns Corps (Inf.). Killed in action at the Battle of Ypres 26 th September, 1917. Age 23. Son of Alfred and Emma Rawlinson, of Market Place, Market Rasen, Lincs. Bank Clerk at Dudley. Enlisted September, 1914. Vla. G. 3.	Hooge Crater	OUR FATHER IN HEAVEN / BLESS AND KEEP YOU SAFELY / MY BELOVED
169	REALFF , Corporal, George William, 10733. 7 th Bn. Lincolnshire Regt. Killed in action 4 th October, 1915. Age 35. Son of George C. and Annie Agnes Realff, of 139, Hainault Avenue, Westcliffe-on-Sea. I. E. 19.	Chester Farm	ONWARD WE GO / FOR STILL / WE HEAR THEM SINGING
170	RENDALL , Pioneer, Harold Charles Cecil, 259545. 36 th Div. Signal Coy. Royal Engineers. 29 th September, 1918. Age 20. Son of S.S. and Mary Rendall, of 73, Replingham Rd., Southfields, London. III. D. 1.	Birr Cross Roads	IN LIFE IN DEATH / O LORD ABIDE WITH ME
171	ROBINSON , Private, Arthur Lionel, G/4278. 8 th Bn. The Buffs. 20 th October, 1915. Age 26. Son of William and Matilda Robinson, of Hammersmith, London. I. G. 22.	Chester Farm	LEST WE FORGET
172	ROBINSON , Private, H.C., S/12949. 9 th Bn. Gordon Highlanders. 25 th July, 1917. Age 21. Son of A. Ernest and Ethelwyn Robinson, of 13, Russell St., Heaton Park, Manchester. I. S. 50	Menin Road South	HE ALWAYS PLAYED THE GAME
173	ROGERS , Private, Leonard Parkes, 4583. 59 th Bn. Australian Infantry, A.I.F. Killed in action 26 th September, 1917. Age 24. Son of Henry Richard and Janey Tozey Rogers, of Birch Cottage, Aroona, Caulfield, Victoria, Australia. Native of Warragul, Victoria. II. G. 14.	Menin Road South	THROUGH THE NIGHT / OF DOUBT AND SORROW / ONWARD GOES THE PILGRIM BAND
174	ROPER , Private, Stuart Edgar, 132405. 35 th Coy. Machine Gun Corps (Inf.). 29 th September, 1918. Age 19. Son of Watts and Alice Emma Roper, of 89, Eland Rd., Lavender Hill, London. I. C. 16.	Menin Road South	THE REMEMBRANCE OF HIS LIFE / REMAINS A BLESSING / TO HIS FRIENDS
175	ROSE , Private, S.L., 203030. 1 st /5 th Bn. West Yorkshire Regt. (Prince of Wales's Own.) 8 th April, 1918. III. D. 21	Menin Road South	[Inscription in Hebrew]
176	ROWAN-ROBINSON , Major, William James. 2 nd Bn. King's Shropshire Light Inf. 12 th May, 1915. Age 44. Son of Surg.-Col. W.C. Robinson and Sarah Robinson; husband of Alyne Mavrogordato (formerly Rowan-Robinson), of 141, Warwick St., Westminster, London. II. B. 28/29.	Sanctuary Wood	O VALIENT HEARTS

No	Register Entry	Cemetery	Personal Inscription
177	ROWBOTHAM , Private, Walter Norbury, 265642. 1 st /6 th Bn. Cheshire Regt. 20 th November, 1917. Age 31. Son of John Rowbotham, of 66, Grenville St., Edgeley, Stockport. XV. E. 17.	Hooge Crater	THESE Poured OUT / THE RED SWEET WINE OF YOUTH / GAVE UP THE YEARS TO BE
178	RUCK-KEENE , Chaplain 4 th Class, The Rev. B.C. Army Chaplains' Dept. 26 th September, 1917. I. F. 37.	Ypres Reservoir	KILLED IN ACTION / JESU MERCY
179	RUSSELL , Bombardier, Herbert Alfred, 61683. 6 th Bty. 40 th Bde. Royal Field Artillery. Killed in action 12 th June, 1915. Age 19. Son of George William and Ada Harriett Russell, of Hollybush Laundry, Denham, Uxbridge, Middx. Native of West Wickham, Kent. XVI. A. 8.	Hooge Crater	OH FOR A TOUCH / OF THW VANISHED HAND / AND A SOUND OF THE VOICE / THAT IS STILL
180	SAPORTAS , Lieutenant, Herbert Arnold. 2 nd Bn. Manchester Regt. Killed in action 16 th July, 1915. Age 25. Son of Frances Maud Jennings (<i>née</i> Deighton), of Delhi, India, and the late Colonel Arnold David Saportas. I. B. 9.	Chester Farm	THERE'S SOME CORNER / OF A FOREIGN FIELD / THAT IS FOREVER ENGLAND
181	SERJEANT , Gunner, Charles John Hill, 174238. 343 rd Siege Bty. Royal Garrison Artillery. Died of wounds 2 nd October, 1917. Age 24. Son of Thomas E. And Alice H. Serjeant, of 15, Leighton Rd., Higher Tranmere, Cheshire. Native of Birkenhead. II. 1. 30.	Menin Road South	"MIZPAH"
182	SHARP , Private, William Arthur, 107537. 2 nd Canadian Mounted Rifles (British Columbia Regt.). Killed in action 27 th March, 1916. Age 30. Son of William Ernest and Katherine Spear Sharp. Born at Ledsham, Birkenhead. I. D. 17.	Menin Road South	THOUGH I WALK / THROUGH THE VALLEY OF DEATH / I WILL FEAR NO EVIL
183	SINCLAIR , Private, Robert Russell, 5175. 52 nd Bn. Australian Inf. Killed in action 14 th October, 1916. Age 22. Son of Duncan Gilbert Sinclair and Jessie I.R. Sinclair, of 53, North Craigpark, Dennistoun, Glasgow, Scotland. II. E. 12.	Chester Farm	THE LORD GAVE / AND THE LORD HATH TAKEN AWAY
184	SKINNER , Private, Nelson Francis, 5895. 20 th Bn. Australian Inf. Killed in action 20 th September, 1917. Age 19. Son of Florence Roderique, of 24, May St., Wellington, New Zealand, and the late Frank Roderique. XX. C. 4.	Hooge Crater	ABIDE WITH ME / FAST FALLS THE EVENTIDE / LORD WITH ME ABIDE

No	Register Entry	Cemetery	Personal Inscription
185	SLADEN , Lieutenant-Colonel, St. Barbe Russell, 5 th Bn., Commanding 1 st Bn. The Queen's (Royal West Surrey Regt.). Killed in action on the Passchendaele Ridge, 12 th March, 1918. Age 45. Only son of the late Mr. and Mrs. St. Barbe. Sladen, of Heathfield, Reigate, Surrey; husband of Dorothy St. Barbe Sladen, of Hampton Dene, Hereford. I. C. 79.	Ypres Reservoir	"I WILL SEE YOU AGAIN / AND YOUR HEART SHALL REJOICE" / ST. JOHN 16.22
186	SOWDEN , Rifleman, Benjamin, C/8132. 9 th Bn. King's Royal Rifle Corps. 17 th October, 1917. Age 20. Son of Frank and Mary Sowden, of 79, Nelson St., Doncaster. XI. J. 9.	Hooge Crater	AT REST
187	SOWDEN , Private, Frank, 47746. 8 th Bn. Devonshire Regt. 26 th October, 1917. Age 38. Husband of Alice M. Sowden, of Anchor Square, Exe Island, Exeter. VIII. G. 1.	Hooge Crater	OF EXE ISLAND EXETER / THE PATH OF DUTY / WAS THE WAY TO GLORY
188	STAGGS , Corporal, W.G., 34785. "A" Bty. 94 th Bde. Royal Field Artillery. 5 th October, 1917. Age 27. Son of Henry and Julia T. Staggs, of London; husband of Emma Staggs, of 20, Micawber St., Liverpool. II. L. 3.	Menin Road South	MIZPAH / GREATER LOVE / HATH NO MAN THAN THIS
189	STANBRIDGE , Private, Robert John, 720542. "D" Coy. 2 nd Bn London Regt. 22 nd May, 1917. Age 29. Son of John James and Mary Ann Sophia Stanbridge, of Horselydown, Tooley St., London. I. K. 24.	Chester Farm	THE ONLY SON OF HIS MOTHER / AND SHE A WIDOW
190	STEELE , Gunner, Albert Edward, 3298. 3 rd A.F.A. Bde. Australian Field Artillery. Killed in action 30 th October, 1917. Age 27. Son of George William and Elizabeth Mary Steele. Native of Penrith, New South Wales.	Hooge Crater	HIS MEMORY / LIVES FOREVER
191	TAYLOR , Private, Ernest Mosley, 108573. 1 st Canadian Mounted Rifles (Saskatchewan Regt.). 7 th May, 1916. Age 30. Son of James and Emily Miles Taylor, of Bakewell, Derbyshire, England. I. M. 15.	Menin Road South	QUIT YE LIKE MEN. BE STRONG
192	TIDDY , Private, Percy Edward, 2328. 5 th Bn. Cheshire Regt. Killed in action 17 th April, 1915. Age 29. Son of Thomas and Hannah Elizabeth Tiddy, of 113, Foregate St., Chester. Master Draper. Volunteered for Active Service in September, 1914. D. 30.	Ramparts	PRO PATRIA MORI <i>DIED FOR HIS COUNTRY</i>

No	Register Entry	Cemetery	Personal Inscription
193	TIMMS , Private, Edwin, 81889. 2 nd Bn. Canadian Inf. (Eastern Ontario Regt.). Killed in action 26 th April, 1916. Age 36. Son of Albert and Emma Timms, of Juniper Hill, Brackley, Northants, England. II. F. 3.	Woods	THY WAY NOT MINE O LORD
194	TOPPING , Corporal, Allan, 15/16020. 15 th Bn Royal Irish Rifles. 28 th September, 1918. Age 22. Son of Mrs Elizabeth Topping, of 145, Mayo St., Belfast. X. D. 11.	Hooge Crater	AT THE RIVER'S CRYSTAL BRINK / CHRIST SHALL JOIN / EACH BROKEN LINK / MOTHER
195	TRITTON , Private, William Grafton Lane, 6161. 22 nd Australian Infantry, A.I.F. Died of wounds, 19 th September, 1917. Age 23. Son of Edgar Joseph and Frances Tritton, of "Will Lyn", Colin St., Lakemba, New South Wales. Native of Sydney, I. U. 9.	Menin Road South	ROCK OF AGES CLEFT FOR ME
196	TURNER , Lieutenant, Alan Fletcher. 1 st /1 st Leicestershire Yeomanry. 13 th May, 1915. Age 40. Son of the late T.V. and Mrs. Turner; husband of R.M. Stella Turner, of Robin Hood's Bay, Yorks. Served in the South African War (twice mentioned in Despatches) with the 3 rd Yorkshire Hussars, in which unit he was Commissioned. II. B. 31.	Sanctuary Wood	SERVED THROUGHOUT BOER WAR / 3 RD L.Y. / MENTIONED IN DESPATCHES
197	TURNER , Corporal, H.D., 9137. 'C' Bty., 71 st Bde. Royal Field Artillery. Killed in action 7 th July, 1917. Age 26. Son of Mr. and Mrs. H. Turner, of 13, Waterloo Rd., Aldershot. I. R. 20.	Menin Road South	HIS WORK NOBLY DONE
198	WALKER , Lieutenant, John Harold. 26 th Bn. Australian Infantry, A.I.F. Killed in action 29 th October, 1917. Age 24. Son of John James and Mary Walker, of Balina St., Lismore, New South Wales. III. K. 17.	Menin Road South	AN ONLY SON / WE HAD NO MORE TO GIVE
199	WATSON , Private, William Thomas, 8016. 1 st Bn. South Staffordshire Regt. 7 th November, 1914. Age 27. Son of Thomas and Louisa Jane Watson, of 8, Sydenham Grove, Sydenham Rd., Sparkbrook, Birmingham. XVIII. A. 15.	Hooge Crater	HE DIED / FOR ENGLAND'S HOPE AND GLORY
200	WATTS , Corporal, Victor Edwin, 7453. 2 nd Div. Signal Coy. H.Q. Australian Engineers. Killed in action 29 th September, 1917. Age 21. Son of George Edgar and Clarissa Elizabeth Watts, of 17, Cook Rd., Centennial Park, Sydney, New South Wales. Native of Brisbane, Queensland. II. 1. 19.	Menin Road South	HE PLAYED THE GAME

No	Register Entry	Cemetery	Personal Inscription
201	WHEELDON , Private, James, 26647. 1 st /5 th Bn. Duke of Wellington's (West Riding Regt.). 4 th January, 1918. Age 19. Son of Sarah Ann Passam (formerly Wheeldon), of 793, Foleshill Rd., Coventry, and the late Thomas Wheeldon. IV. A. 17.	Ypres Reservoir	SLEEP ON DEAR SON / THY WARFARE'S O'ER / THY HANDS SHALL BATTLE / HERE NO MORE
202	WILLIAMS , Private, Edward Albert, 418615. 42 nd Bn. Canadian Infantry (Quebec Regt.). 25 th March, 1916. Age 30. Son of William Henry Williams; husband of Edith Williams, of St. Eustache, P.Q. Born at Islington, London, England. Sp. Mem.	Sanctuary Wood	HIS DEAR ONES MOURN / BUT ARE PROUD THAT HE / DIED FOR HIS COUNTRY
203	WILSON , Private, George Albert, 3415. 52 nd Bn. Australian Infantry, A.I.F. Died of wounds 16 th October, 1917. Son of George and Margaret Wilson, of St. George, Queensland. Native of Walgett, New South Wales. I. G. 61.	Ypres Reservoir	THOSE WHO THINK OF HIM TODAY / ARE THOSE WHO LOVED HIM BEST
204	WINGATE , Private, H., 633447. 20 th Bn. London Regt. 21 st August, 1917. Age 26. Husband of Caroline Clarice Wingate, of 5, Richmond Buildings, Church Lane, Aston, Birmingham. XIV. A. 1	Hooge Crater	REUNION OUR ABIDING HOPE
205	WOLSTENHOLME , Gunner, J., 1937. 19 th Bn. Machine Gun Corps (Motors). 1 st October, 1916. IXA. F. 8.	Hooge Crater	THE SEARCH HAS ENDED / I KNEW NOT WHERE YOU LAY / REST IN PEACE DEAR FATHER / EDITH 8 TH OCTOBER 1993
206	WOLSTENHOLME , Lance-Corporal, Sam, 4664. "C" Coy. 12 th Bn. Manchester Regt. 22 nd November, 1915. Age 31. Son of Mark and Marie Wolstenholme, of 99, Hillgate St., Hurst, Ashton-under-Lyne; husband of Hannah Wolstenholme, of 15, Moss St., Ashton-under-Lyne. An International Footballer. V. C. 9.	Sanctuary Wood	[None]
207	WOOD , Second-Lieutenant, T.H.H. 1 st Bn. Dorsetshire Regt. Killed in action 13 th April, 1915. Age 23. Son of the Rev. Clifford Cunningham Wood and Maria Alice Wood, of 'Finsbury', Alexandra Place, Penzance. B.A. (Honours Mod. Hist.) Oxford. F. 18.	Ramparts	PATER IMMANUS TUAS / SPIRITUM SUUM COMMENDAMUS <i>FATHER, WE COMMEND HIS SPIRIT INTO YOUR HANDS</i>
208	WOULDIGE , Serjeant, Leonard Benjamin, 45870, M.M. and Bar. 41 st Bn. Machine Gun Corps (Inf.). Killed in action 13 th October, 1918. Age 22. Son of Benjamin Mason Wouldige and Louisa Wouldige, of Lowwoods Farm, Belton, Loughborough. Born at Diseworth, Derby. XX. J. 10.	Hooge Crater	IN ANSWER / TO HIS COUNTRY'S CALL / HE NOBLY DID HIS DUTY

No	Register Entry	Cemetery	Personal Inscription
209	<p>YELLAND, Private, Albert, 1750. 58th Bn. Australian Inf. Killed in action 30th September, 1917. Age 23. Son of Albert Alfred and Katherine Yelland; husband of Elsie Irene Yelland, of 59, Millswyn St., South Yarra, Victoria, Australia. Native of Rocklyn, Victoria. XI. G. 10.</p>	Hooge Crater	<p>ALBERT / LOVED HUSBAND OF ELSIE / SO DEARLY LOVED / SO DEEPLY MOURNED</p>
210	<p>YOUNG, Private, James, 2593. 2nd Bn. Manchester Regt. 15th June, 1915. Age 25. Husband of Theresa Roberts (formerly Young), of 228, Whit Lane, Pendleton, Manchester. I. G. 11A.</p>	Chester Farm	<p>HE MADE / THE SUPREME SACRIFICE / AND NOW / ENJOYS THE SUPREME REWARD</p>
211	<p>YOXALL, Private, Ernest, 10639. 11th Bn. The King's (Liverpool Regt.). Killed in action 29th September, 1915. Age 18. Son of John Thomas Yoxall, of 26, Mersey Rd., Aigburth, Liverpool. IX. F. 20.</p>	Ypres Reservoir	<p>LET THOSE WHO COME AFTER / SEE TO IT / THAT HIS NAME / BE NOT FORGOTTEN</p>

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