## 7. Some great and worthy Memorial

The First World War ended on the Western Front at 11am on Monday 11 November 1918 and the news soon reached Canterbury. "Just after 11 o'clock the glad tidings were... officially heralded by the hoisting of flags on the Guildhall, the Westgate, and other public buildings... Shortly after twelve o'clock the bells of the Cathedral rang out in merry, joyous tones..." A service in the Cathedral was arranged for the afternoon, attended by the Mayor and Corporation, as well as representatives of the military and the police, and there was an address by the Dean.<sup>1</sup> There is no record of riotous schoolboy response to the news, but the King's School boys were probably present at the service. *The Cantuarian* editorial of March 1919 has a mock-Pepysian diary, including an entry which reads:

Great news this day, the armistice signed by the Germans, whereat great rejoicings and a holiday. To church in the afternoon where great crowds assemble full of thanks. To bed with a thankful heart and mightily pleased.<sup>2</sup>

The editorial in December 1918 reflected the initial mood of rejoicing, mixed with sober reflections on the cost of victory:

Peace! It seems incredible, that after four and a half long years we should gradually go back to normal conditions. No more blinds to be drawn, no more raids, and above all, no more – thank God – of those lists of casualties to be read out in the Chapel.

How can we honour enough those who through this terrible time have been gladly willing to lay down their lives in order that we at home should live in freedom? How can we honour enough those who at the beginning of the war, suddenly and unexpectedly placed in positions of authority, kept up the traditions and life of the School, until it was their time to turn their energies to the great fight out there? Scarcely a member of the present School was here before the war, but nearly all of us have lost a brother or a cousin or some one dear to us, and it is our duty to see that the School now is better than the School before the terrible conflict overcame Europe.

The present is a time of national rejoicing and very rightly so; may we not however forget to thank the Giver of this great victory; and the way to pay our homage to the fallen is to determine to make England a better, truer and purer place than ever it was before.<sup>3</sup>

Discussions on the most appropriate way to commemorate the War, and, in particular, to remember those who had been killed had started relatively early in the conflict. Names had been put up in the gymnasium, but a more permanent memorial was always expected. The

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> K.G. 16.11.1918. The service is not recorded in the Cathedral Oblation Book. Cf. Seldon and Walsh, p. 187 for some reactions at other schools.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The Cantuarian, March 1919, p. 709. Cf. The Langtonian, December 1918, p. 366: at Simon Langton School the school flag was raised and a little before 2 o'clock the boys assembled, heard a few words on the significance of the event and sang a verse of the National Anthem. School was then dismissed for the day. <sup>3</sup> The Cantuarian, December 1918, p. 665.

death of Vernon Austin brought the matter to the attention of the Dean and Chapter in June 1915:

Memorial Tablet. An application was received for permission to erect in the Transept used as a school Chapel a memorial tablet to Vernon James Austin, a member of the King's School, who fell in the war in Northern France. It was decided that, while the Chapter would sanction a collective memorial to fallen King's Scholars, it was inadvisable to permit separate Tablets to individuals.<sup>4</sup>

Austin had been buried in St Martin's churchyard, Canterbury, where there is a fine monument to him. There is a second memorial, from the employees of the Austin Motor Works, inside the church. Once the repatriation of bodies was stopped by the War Office and the Graves Registration Commission (soon the Imperial War Graves Commission) set to work, the need for a 'collective memorial' became more obvious.<sup>5</sup>

There had been no King's School war memorial for the Crimean War or the Boer War, as at several other schools.<sup>6</sup> Some individual OKS were named on military memorials in the Cathedral – their existence is noted by Walter Pater in *Emerald Uthwart*<sup>7</sup> – and there was a particularly fine monument to Frederick Mackeson, an officer assassinated at Peshawar in 1853. There were also several memorials to masters and OKS on the walls of the 'school chapel' (the South Transept of the Cathedral). It is likely that at this early stage of the war the Chapter envisaged a memorial here. At the same time there was a feeling that more might be wanted. A letter to *The Cantuarian* from OKS Bruce Money in 1917 aired this possibility: "one hopes something more worthy of our gratitude than any monument or roll of honour, will be undertaken; something possibly that will benefit in a very real fashion, those in generations to come who desire to be educated at the same place as their famous ancestors."<sup>8</sup>

There was no formal OKS organisation at this time, though there were regular OKS Dinners and reports of the activities of OKS in *The Cantuarian*. It was therefore the Headmaster who set the process in motion with a letter published in *The Cantuarian* of December 1917:

## WAR MEMORIAL.

About one hundred Old King's Scholars have already laid down their lives for King and Country in the present war, and I feel that the time has arrived for us to organize some great and worthy Memorial of those who, following the way to glory by the path of duty, have given us and future generations of King's School boys a splendid example of what can come from the best tradition and highest ideals of this School.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Chapter Act Book 1910-19, 20 June 1915: CCA-DCc-CA/16, p. 232. Cf. a letter from the Dean, dated 26 June 1915, explaining the decision. A copy is in the School Archives, box H7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> On the IWGC, see: Fabian Ware, The Immortal Heritage: An Account of the Work and Policy of the Imperial War Graves Commission During Twenty Years, 1917–1937 (1937). Also Julie Summers, Remembered: The History of the Commonwealth War Graves Commission (2007) and David Crane, Empires of the Dead (2013). <sup>6</sup> Seldon and Walsh, p. 188. Cf. J. Gildea, For Remembrance and in honour of those who lost their lives in the South African War, 1899-1902 (1911) and Peter Donaldson, 'The Commemoration of the South African War (1899-1902) in British Public Schools' in *History and Memory*, Vol. 25, no. 2 (Fall/Winter 2013), pp. 32-65 and Remembering the South African War, ch. 3: 'Vitai Lampada: Remembering the War in Schools'.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Walter Pater, Emerald Uthwart (1905), p. 18. See also J.M. Cowper, The Memorial Inscriptions of the Cathedral Church of Canterbury, pp. 7-8, 23-7, 32 etc., where inscriptions are transcribed.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> The Cantuarian, July 1917, p. 473.

I have therefore started to get together a large General Committee, representative of all living generations of O.K.S., and we propose to arrange a great Meeting in London in April next to consider the question of the form which the Memorial shall take. Notices of this meeting will be sent out in due course, and I hope very much that everyone who can will make a point of attending it.

My own idea is that we should expend a portion of the funds raised on some visible memorial that may stir the hearts of future generations of King's School boys; but that the bulk of the money should go to helping in the education of the children and relatives of some of those who have fallen in, or suffered by, the War.

I shall be grateful for suggestions.

I am glad to be able to add that the Rev. R. G. Hodgson has kindly consented to act as Secretary and Treasurer to the scheme.

ALGERNON LATTER.9

As with most schools, the ideas balanced the monumental and the utilitarian, with scholarships seen as the main priority at this stage.<sup>10</sup> A General Committee, headed by the Archbishop of Canterbury and the School's governors, was set up to make and receive suggestions.<sup>11</sup> The 'great Meeting' then took place at Caxton Hall, Westminster on 4 April 1918. It was presided over by the Dean with "about ninety Old Boys, parents and friends of the School" present. Latter's outline proposals were followed, with the 'visible memorial' to be supplemented by a permanent list of the fallen in the Cathedral.

After a good deal of discussion, turning, chiefly upon the question whether the educational assistance to be offered should be by way of permanent endowment or immediate grants from the capital sum raised, the following resolutions were eventually carried:-

Resolved :-

1. That part of the sum raised shall be expended in the erection of a visible Memorial at Canterbury.

2. That a Fund be provided, in the name of those who have fallen, (a) for immediate assistance in the education at the King's School, of dependent relatives of Old Boys who have fallen, or who have served in the War, and (b) for the establishment of a permanent endowment of a similar character.

3. That for the sifting and settling of claims to participate in the benefits of the Funds under (2), Trustees be appointed consisting of the Dean of Canterbury, the Headmaster and the Honorary Bursar, with power to add to their number.

4. That Subscribers can, if they so wish, earmark their donations to the objects referred to in Resolutions, (1) or (2a) or (2b).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> The Cantuarian, December 1917, p. 538.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> C.F. Kernot, British Public Schools War Memorials includes details of several such schemes. St Edmund's, Canterbury extended their chapel; other examples are in Seldon and Walsh, pp. 196-200.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> The Cantuarian, March 1918, pp. 576-7. Of the 41 men listed, four were ex-Headmasters and three were members of staff. All the rest were OKS and half of these (17) were serving officers. Although the governors were on this committee, the matter was never discussed at governors' meetings.

5. That the names of the fallen shall be put in the School Chapel and the names of those who have served shall be put somewhere in the School.

6. That the General Committee meanwhile shall get expert advice as to the form of the visible Memorial, and shall formulate definite proposals to put before a General Meeting to be held at Canterbury on Speech Day, July 24th, 1918.

The whole scheme – i.e. the visible memorial and the scholarship fund – was expected to cost £8,000. According to Latter, £2,350 had already been raised by Speech Day 1918, and lists of donations and subscriptions were published in *The Cantuarian*.<sup>12</sup> Despite the generosity of some donors, however, it was soon apparent that the proposals were overly ambitious. Over the next few years, shortage of money lead to delays and to modification of the original plans. In this the King's School was not alone.<sup>13</sup>

Most of the donations (between two thirds and three quarters) came from OKS. All generations were represented and army officers were prominent in the lists. Former Headmasters (Mitchinson, Field, Galpin and McDowall) and members of staff past and present were also notable donors. Relatives of about half of those killed contributed and the largest individual donations were from family members: £250 from Sir Herbert Austin, followed by £150 from Mrs Long and £100 from Mrs Mary Arnold and family.<sup>14</sup> Six individuals – Charles Adams, Percy Cottrell, Denys Hammonds, Bernard Horsbrugh, Charles Kidson and Frederick Long – gave to the Fund only to become war casualties themselves. Adams, Captain of School in 1907-08, had been the youngest member of the Memorial Committee.

Many schools had memorials in the form of buildings – most commonly chapels or sports pavilions.<sup>15</sup> Although this was not part of the original plan, the King's School had the unexpected opportunity to do something similar. John Frederick Drughorn, a successful and controversial businessman, made a remarkable offer to create a memorial to his son, William Frederick Drughorn, who had been killed in the Battle of the Somme in 1916. The gift was announced at Speech Day in 1918 and the details were published in *The Cantuarian*:

## THE DRUGHORN MEMORIAL GIFT

We have all heard of generous endowments but when it is announced that  $\pounds 25,000$  has been offered as a memorial gift, in war time too, it almost takes one's breath away. And yet the King's School is to be the extraordinarily fortunate receiver of such a gift.

Before the present scheme for the War Memorial was settled upon, another of a utilitarian character was proposed by way of improving the Science equipment of the School, but this was rendered unnecessary owing to the munificent offer of Mr. and Mrs. J.F. Drughorn of 77, Lancaster Gate, W., to build and endow

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> The Cantuarian, December 1918, pp. 678-80. By December £3,046 had been acknowledged in the magazine. For donations see The Cantuarian: March 1918, p. 577, June 1918, pp. 615-7, July 1918, p. 652, December 1918, pp. 678-80, March 1919 pp. 722-4, July 1919, pp. 756-7, November 1919, p. 26, March 1920, p. 56 and November 1921, p. 169.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> See Peter Donaldson, Ritual and Remembrance for problems funding the Canterbury City scheme and also memorials for the Buffs and Simon Langton Boys' School.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Cantuarian December 1918, p. 680, November 1921 p. 169 and June 1918, p. 617.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> See C.F. Kernot, British Public Schools War Memorials.

Science Buildings, at a cost of £25,000 in memory of their son, William Frederick Drughorn. He was at the School from 1910 to 1911; when the war broke out he soon joined the Royal Fusiliers as a Private and was killed in action on July 15th, 1916.

The laboratories are to be known as the Drughorn Science Buildings and they are subject to arrangements being made for outside students to have access to them. Neither the site nor yet the exact form of these buildings are settled but we may be sure that the commencement of the building will not be delayed longer than can be possibly helped as Mr. Drughorn is very keen to get started; in fact he wanted to try and obtain a permit to begin whilst the war was still going on. Mr. Drughorn's great idea is, in his own words, "to encourage scientific education in the country" and he sincerely hopes that the scheme will be a means to our future defence against a repetition of the "peaceful invasion" of our present unscrupulous enemies to whom these buildings will be closed. If the wonderful self-sacrifice of our fallen O.K.S. excites our admiration, so too must such an inestimably great gift, as Mr. Drughorn has offered to perpetuate the memory of his son, call forth from all members of the School past and present a very deep and abiding gratitude.<sup>16</sup>

A site was chosen in nos. 29-39 Palace Street, i.e. the buildings on the left outside the Mint Yard Gate – some of which are now incorporated in Carlyon House. However, the negotiations with Mr Drughorn eventually broke down and the scheme collapsed. The issue was a complicated one, to do with Drughorn's wish that 'outside students' should have access to the laboratories and that the London Chamber of Commerce should be involved in the governance of the scheme. When the Dean and Chapter consulted the Board of Education about the plans, an impasse was reached. The Board stated that: "The draft Trust Deed... appears to constitute the London Chamber of Commerce as an entirely independent Governing Body for the purposes of the War Memorial Building... in the governance of the deed which impose upon the Head Master of the King's School, Canterbury, a duty to carry out the direction of the London Chamber of Commerce."<sup>17</sup> Mr Drughorn regretted that the Chapter had approached the Board of Education, and after consulting his solicitors withdrew his offer.

On Speech Day 1921, the Dean – not entirely an impartial observer – had to explain the failure.

Regarding the withdrawal of Mr. Drughorn's proposed gift for Science laboratories, Dr. Wace said he thought it should be clearly understood that the scheme submitted by the intending donor had to be placed before the Board of Education for its approval. It was not of the Governing Body's own choice but

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> The Cantuarian, December 1918, pp. 678 and 696. John Drughorn had been prosecuted for trading with the enemy in 1915 and was created a baronet in 1922. The latter was one of the awards that led to the honours scandal. The gift was also reported in Science, New Series, Vol. 48, No. 1237 (Sep. 13, 1918), p. 269.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Letter from R.P. Scott of the Board of Education, dated 13 March 1920. Copy in the Chapter Act Book for the Dean and Chapter meeting of 15 March 1920 and in the King's School Governors Minutes for the meeting of 5 July 1920.

owing to the decision of the Board of Education that they were obliged to tell Mr. Drughorn that they could not accept his gift.<sup>18</sup>

The abandonment of the Drughorn scheme did at least encourage the school to bring about a limited extension of science facilities. A new storey was added to the Harvey and Alford Laboratories and opened by Sir Herbert Jackson in July 1923. The two additional rooms were a Lecture Theatre (named after Thomas Linacre) and a Biology laboratory (named after John Tradescant).<sup>19</sup> Neither was in any sense commemorative of the war.

The aim of establishing scholarships as part of a war memorial was rather more successful, even if it did not go as far as some had hoped. Two individual benefactions provided the main impetus. The first came from George Knox Anderson in May 1918. He offered £1,000 "for the permanent endowment of a War Memorial Scholarship or Gift", in memory of his son Donald Knox Anderson, who had been killed in December 1917.<sup>20</sup> The award was to be "for boys going to Woolwich or Sandhurst or 'special entry' into Naval College" and it is still available to leavers entering the armed forces.

The second came from Sir Percy Janson, uncle of William Janson Potts, who had been killed in September 1917. This was announced in 1919. The sum of £1,000 would found a scholarship or bursary "to help in the education at the King's School of some boy whose parents would not otherwise be able to afford to send their son here". Initially, preference was to be given to a boy who had lost his father. The holder was also to be given a copy of a pamphlet on 'The School Life and Career of W.J. Potts' – "in the hope that he may emulate the high character and sense of duty shown by him who is thus commemorated".<sup>21</sup> The last scholarship was awarded in 1976, but it was then revived in 2017.

Several smaller gifts commemorated others who had died. A legacy from member of staff Rupert Everitt, killed in June 1917, was for the Parry Library (he had been librarian).<sup>22</sup> This survives as the Everitt History Prize. Mrs Crosse gave a donation in memory of her son Robert Grant Crosse, killed in July 1916. This was to be for the Boat Club or for Hodgson's Hall and *The Cantuarian* reported that an adjustable invalid couch had been bought for the sanatorium.<sup>23</sup> The family of John Deighton "retained his name on the School Books by continuing his subscription to the Exhibition Fund, as a memorial of his great affection for the School".<sup>24</sup> A chalice inscribed 'In memoriam: LPA, CJNA, RSG, GD'OM and JSY ' was also presented, though there is no record of when.<sup>25</sup> In 1919 three new prizes were established. Miss Dorothy Hammonds "offered a prize for the Army Class Science in

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> The Cantuarian, November 1921, p. 171. The full – and not very edifying – story can be followed in the Governors Minutes, pp. 311, 312-3, 315, 318-9, 320-1, 323, 326-8, 330, 335; and the Cathedral Chapter Act Book, pp. 435, 436, 440, 445, 451.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> The Cantuarian, November 1923, pp. 225-6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> The Cantuarian, June 1918, pp. 614. Some correspondence on the award in the 1930s is in the School Archives.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> The Cantuarian, November 1919, pp. 32-3. Governors minutes 15 November 1919. Correspondence on the award in KSC Archives includes a letter to Latter, dated 20 November 1918 from Sophia Potts, mother of William Janson, on her brother's offer. Cf. Seldon and Walsh, pp. 200-3 for other schools.

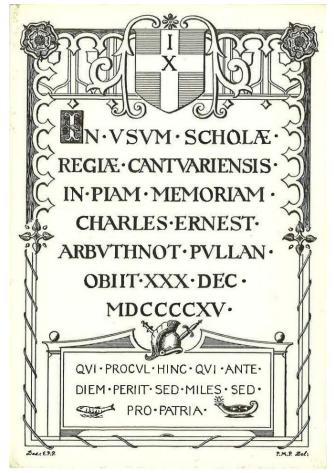
<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> The Cantuarian, November 1917, p. 487.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> The Cantuarian, March 1918, p. 579.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> King's School Canterbury Register 1859 to 1931, p. 163.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> LP Abbott, CJN Adams, RS Glyn, GD'O Maclear and JS Yates were all OKS killed in the First World War.

memory of her brother Major D.H. Hammonds, D.S.O."<sup>26</sup> Four friends of Roland Gordon – Brigadier-General Edward Hall Stevenson, Major Robert de Vere Shaw, Mr 'Bertie' Dixon and Captain Leslie Langton – presented a cup in his memory. It was to be awarded for (interhouse) rugby.<sup>27</sup> Finally, Dr. Henry Gough "proposed to devote a sum of money (about £100) left by his two sons George and Noel who gave their lives in the war for the purpose of founding "Gough Photographic Prizes" in the School".<sup>28</sup> These are still awarded.



Bookplate for CEA Pullan's Schola Mea (1916)

Another form of memorial was a book. Charles Pullan's *Schola Mea* had been published in 1916, edited by Headmaster McDowall and with a preface summarising his career. Mr and Mrs Pullan also presented "a magnificently bound Prayer Book to the School Chapel in memory of their son".<sup>29</sup> OKS Joseph Courtney's book of verse *As the Leaves Fall* (1917) concluded with 'An Englishman: James S. Yates killed in action, October 8<sup>th</sup> 1915'.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> The Cantuarian, July 1919, p. 767. Two letter from Dorothy Hammonds to Latter, dated 16 February [1919] and 7 April 1919, are in the School Archives. Denys Hammonds was killed on 30 March 1918.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> There are three letters from Langton to Latter, dated 24 June, 26 October and 27 October 1919, in the School Archives. Roland Elphinstone Gordon OKS was killed on 30 August 1918.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> The Cantuarian, March 1920, p. 57. Letter from father Dr Henry Gough to Latter, dated 19 October 1919, KSC Archives. Noel Gough was a founder member of the Photographic Society in June 1915 and had won the photography prize in that year: The Cantuarian, July 1915, p. 53 and November 1915, p. 119.
<sup>29</sup> The Cantuarian, June 1916, pp. 206-7.

*War Lyrics*, a collection of Jimmy Yates' own writings, was published by Blackwell in 1919, including a section 'Written at School'.<sup>30</sup>

Meanwhile the sub-committee deputed "to obtain expert advice upon alternative schemes for the visible Memorial" turned to a most distinguished architect. Herbert Baker, alongside Edwin Lutyens and Reginald Blomfield, worked for the Imperial War Graves Commission on war memorials. He is best known today for the Tyne Cot cemetery near Ypres. He also designed the Winchester College War Memorial Cloister and the Kent County War Memorial, though the Memorial Garden (next to Meister Omers) in the end fell well short of his original scheme.<sup>31</sup> His King's School plans were presented to the Dean and Chapter in June 1918:

The Headmaster of the King's School, together with Mr Baker, of the firm of Lutyens and Baker, waited on the Chapter, and submitted proposals for the King's School War Memorial.

After inspecting the site, the Dean informed Mr Latter that the Chapter were favourably disposed towards the scheme and that they approved of the necessary excavations and examinations being made to ascertain whether it is practicable, and in sufficient accordance with the ancient arrangement of the site.<sup>32</sup>

Latter was thus able to announce the plans on Speech Day. The result would be, he said, "some beautiful memorial visible to the eye to remind the succeeding generations of what the O.K.S. had done for them in the Great War."

The Scheme was to sink the level of the ground under the Schoolroom and in the neighbourhood of the Norman Staircase to its original level and form a paved court some 3 feet below the present surface, thereby showing the Norman bases of the pillars on which the present Schoolroom is built; to remove the modern walls of the present Tuck-shop, which contains intact one section of the Old Norman groined ceiling, and to restore the rest of the ceiling after the same pattern; to erect a Memorial Cross on the South edge of the open sunk court; and if possible to open up a view to the old city wall on the North side of this court. There would thus be a sort of open Amphitheatre in front of the Norman Staircase and a Memorial Hall under the Schoolroom upon the North and South sides of which tablets could be placed.

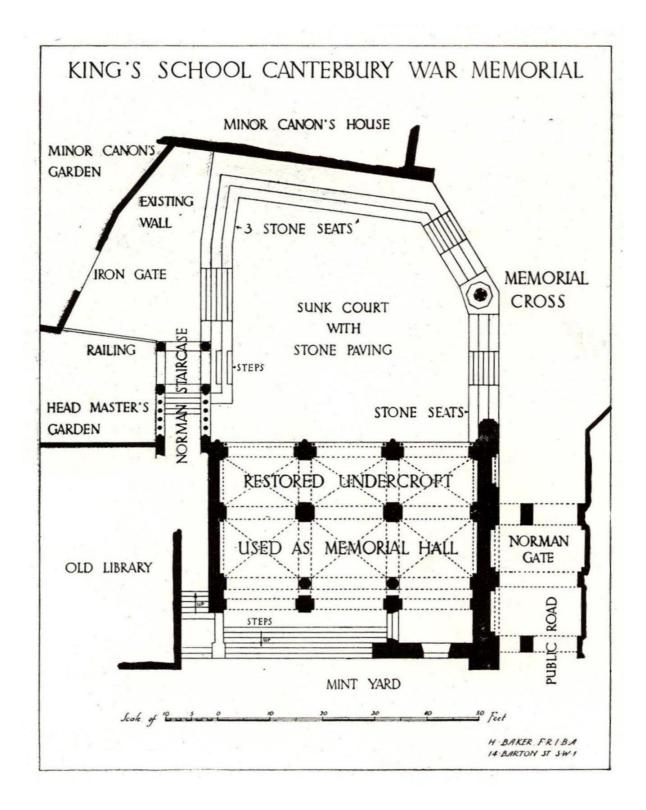
The whole would form a kind of open Memorial Hall, in the very centre of the School life, where ceremonies of various kinds could be held, and which would for all times recall the high ideal of self-sacrifice which it is intended to commemorate.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> KSC Archives box A111 (James Yates) includes two postcards from Headmaster Algernon Latter about the book.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> The Cantuarian, June 1918, pp. 614-17. On the Kent War memorial: see the Chapter Act Book 24 February 1919 and later on the plan for a cloister. See also: Canterbury Cathedral Chronicle no. 39, September 1943, pp. 10-2: Herbert Baker, 'Kent County War Memorial'. "So I wandered about the precincts with Mr Latter, Headmaster of the King's School..." In 2017, the School's war memorial cross was given listed building status, alongside other Baker war memorials.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> Chapter Act Book 1910-19: CCA-DCc-CA/16, 22 June, p. 387.

A circular with illustrations of Baker's plans was produced and inserted in the December 1918 issue of *The Cantuarian*.<sup>33</sup>



The proposals were not without controversy. Percy Godfrey in a letter to *The Cantuarian* stated: "The design for the War memorial has evoked criticism, chiefly in its

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> The Cantuarian, December 1918, between pp. 678 and 679.

relation to the Norman Staircase." He went on to defend the scheme, mainly by emphasising that "the surroundings had changed from time to time".<sup>34</sup>

In one respect the plans were amended. Baker's sketch clearly shows the view from the Green Court to the Mint Yard through what was then the tuck shop and is now the Memorial Chapel. However, at a meeting of the General Committee in September 1920, when it was eventually decided "to make a start with the work to the extent of sinking the court in the open and "under the arches," paving it and making the steps, and putting up the Memorial Cross, designs for which are to be submitted", it was also stated that "at present the Tuck Shop will not be touched".<sup>35</sup> The question of what would happen here certainly proved controversial among the boys. It was the subject of a short debate on Tuesday 23 November 1920:

B.F. Clarke proposing that 'the Tuck Shop should not be removed in the School War Memorial,' held that the hall would be large enough without destroying the only remaining piece of the original vaulted roof. P. Elliott opposing, considered the Tuck Shop too small as it is, and that considerations of the stomach should not interfere with the memorial. A discussion then followed on the beauties of the Tuck Shop, its antiquity, its tender memories and the impossibility of providing a new one at all. The motion was carried by 18 votes to 16.<sup>36</sup>

The tuck shop remained, and the 'war memorial hall' comprised just two of the arches – rather than the originally planned three.

Some of the preliminary work was done by the boys themselves in digging out the courtyard. Nonetheless, work on the memorial proceeded slowly and the initial deadline of July 1921 was not met. The Headmaster explained on Speech Day:

With reference to the War Memorial, this would have been unveiled the previous day, but for the delay in procuring stone owing to the coal strike. The present boys of the school had, as their contribution, done some £200 worth of labour in the excavations.<sup>37</sup>

The 'School News' section of the December 1921 *Cantuarian* provided more detail – or more excuses – on the continuing delay.

The construction of the War Memorial has unfortunately not advanced far during the holidays, as owing to a difference of opinion between the contractors and the quarry owners no stone of good quality was to hand. We are, however, still able to break the windows of the contractor's shed with our stump balls.<sup>38</sup>

The unveiling ceremony eventually went ahead on Monday 19 December 1921 "in spite of the fact that the work was not yet completed owing to trouble and delay at one of the quarries supplying the stone". There was a large gathering including former Headmasters Arthur Galpin and Charles McDowall, and a choir consisting of masters and boys, accompanied by a harmonium, led the singing. The Headmaster read out the roll of honour –

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> The Cantuarian, March 1919, pp. 732-3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> The Cantuarian, November 1920, p. 120.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> The Cantuarian, March 1921 [mis-dated 1920], pp. 145-6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> The Cantuarian, November 1921, p. 171.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> The Cantuarian, November 1921, p. 204.

145 names in order of their leaving the School. Major General Sir Evan Carter OKS then unveiled the memorial:

He spoke of the large proportion of those O.K.S. who served in the War, some twenty per cent in fact, who had been killed. In spite of the great sorrow their loss had caused, yet the school was justly proud of their record, a record which brought them back to the great traditions of the school, namely love of country, love of King, and love of home. It was for that they fought and died, and for that he was about to unveil that memorial in everlasting memory of their sacrifice and for the lessons they had left behind them for all eternity.



Unveiling ceremony 19 December 1921: the Headmaster is reading the roll of honour

The Headmaster read a letter from the Archbishop of Canterbury, in which he expressed his regret at being absent. The Dean therefore dedicated the memorial and spoke of the pride in the response of King's School boys to the call for volunteers in the War.

The object of the memorial was the commemoration of these facts. By a happy design the memorial was so constructed that it would bring before the school at all times the memory of the Great War and of the boys who rose to the claim made on them by their country. That Cross would solemnly impress on every boy, whether in work or in play, that behind all our hopes and pleasures there lay the stern fact, that in the last resource they lived for two great causes only – their duty to God and their duty to their neighbour.

It would now become a "Court of Honour" with the Cross as the dominating feature, the Cathedral as a background and with a special link with the past in the ancient Norman Staircase. The three steps of the Cross would each have their special function. The lower step would be used for announcements concerning the school games, the second for announcing academic successes, and it was hoped that on special occasions open-air services would be conducted from the top step. <sup>39</sup>

The service was then followed by what the local newspaper described as "the interesting ceremony of 'capping' members of the first and second football teams".<sup>40</sup> For all the sober attire and the remembrance of the dead on this occasion, there was also a clear sense of the life of the school continuing.

Baker's design for the cross had been described in *The Cantuarian*: It is practically decided that the stone to be used will be that from the Leckhampton Quarries in the Cotswolds, and that the cross will be 19ft. 6in. high, will have the Crusaders Sword on one side and the School arms on the reverse. The inscription round the top of the base will be "Lord God of Hosts, be with us yet, lest we forget, lest we forget". That on the front of the base will be "In proud and thankful memory of the King's School boys who gave their lives for King and Country 1914 – 1919. 'Our help standeth in the Name of the Lord.'"<sup>41</sup>

In the event Clipsham stone was used and the wording was slightly amended to: IN PROUD AND THANKFUL MEMORY OF THE BOYS OF KING'S SCHOOL WHO GAVE THEIR LIVES FOR KING AND COUNTRY 1914 – 1919.

The Crusader theme was very much a Baker characteristic and the octagonal base and pillar are similar to those in many war cemeteries. Indeed the design is essentially the same as that for his Kent County Memorial in the Memorial Garden in the Cathedral Precincts, but without the Ypres Cross on top. This had been unveiled in August 1921. The Cross itself was unlike Baker's typical cross of sacrifice and the design has echoes of the Victoria Cross. It is less overtly a Christian cross and the symbolism is understated.

Despite the elaborate, impressive and widely publicised unveiling, the reality was that the memorial was not in fact finished. Successive issues of *The Cantuarian* over the next three years described the eventual completion of the courtyard, the creation of a plaque with the names of the fallen, and the continuing shortage of funds.<sup>42</sup> In November 1922 it was reported:

The paving of the 'Court of Honour' and the steps up to the Norman Staircase are completed. The work is now only held up by the continued delay at the quarries in sending the remaining angle-pieces of the Court.

It is hoped shortly to issue a statement of accounts which will unfortunately show that a great deal of money is still required to pay for what has been done. Surely O.K.S. are not going to let us down over this?<sup>43</sup>

The Cantuarian editorial of March 1923 opened:

On looking at the now finished War memorial, it seems a long call to the days of picks and drain-pipes. Every spare moment then saw its gang at work, each

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> The Cantuarian, March 1922, pp. 5-8; K.G. 24.12.1921. On Carter, see The Cantuarian, March 1933, pp. 6-7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> K.G. 24.12.1921. The Cantuarian did not mention the colours ceremony.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> The Cantuarian, March 1921, pp. 146-7. The two quotations are from Kipling's 'Recessional' and Psalm 124.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> One of the stones from original courtyard survives. It is dated '6.1.1922' and inscribed: CFF<sup>R</sup>, FCF<sup>R</sup>, SF<sup>R</sup>, ACC<sup>D</sup>, FWW<sup>N</sup>, JTH<sup>W</sup>. The initials are presumably those of the stonemasons.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> The Cantuarian, November 1922, p. 114.

centralizing in the stalwart figure of one Morgan-Kirby and stone superintended by Mr. Rosenberg.<sup>44</sup>

Money was still needed, however, and on Speech Day 1923 the Headmaster summarised the position: "Referring to the completion of the memorial, he explained that it was not completed financially and appealed strongly for a renewed effort to wipe off the deficit."<sup>45</sup> Appeals for donations continued for several years. Collections in School services for the King's School War Memorial Fund are recorded in the Preachers Book until 1929. The Fund was then in effect wound up, with the money being transferred to the Headmaster and Bursar. Some boys were still being helped with fees at this time.

Meanwhile the proposed plaque proceeded slowly. In March 1922 *The Cantuarian* announced that "the plans for erecting the tablets containing the names of the fallen are nearly ready", but shortage of funds led to delays. <sup>46</sup> Two years later on Speech Day the Headmaster made another plea "for the money which was still needed to complete the War Memorial, to enable them to put up the names of those who had given their lives in the Great War". <sup>47</sup> £75 was required "to put the names in stone". <sup>48</sup> It was not until March 1925 that "funds now allow of a start being made in the matter of putting up the list of names in the Court of Honour."<sup>49</sup> And by July "the Mint Yard is yet again invaded by stone masons who are now putting up the names of those who fell in the war on stone tablets under the arches."<sup>50</sup>

The tablet was designed by Herbert Baker and Charles St Leger and built by local contractors Messrs Browning and Armitage. It was unveiled and dedicated by the Archbishop of Canterbury on 11 November 1925, after the Armistice Day service in the Cathedral. Randall Davidson took the opportunity to reflect on the School's contribution in the War and on the significance of the memorial:

And never did this school rise more buoyantly to a great occasion than under our own eyes in the Great War. She could do nothing greater than she did. We all expected of her nothing less. Of her sons more than eight hundred went forth; of her sons one hundred and forty-six came not back. In reverence we remember it to-day. It is ours in proud bereavement, in deliberate hope, to commemorate the achievements of these great years in the doings of our country's sons, and to-day particularly in the history, the present-day history, of our great school. Could we do it in any way more fitly than by setting in the midst of our school life this upstanding Cross which was solemnly, dedicated four years ago? And now we have added, upon our old grey wall, the record which preserves for the generations which are hereafter to spend their school years here, the names of those whom the school delighteth to honour. Here, whatever is best and deepest

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> The Cantuarian, March 1923, p. 121. Frederick Morgan-Kirby was at the School from Lent 1918 to July 1922.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> The Cantuarian, November 1923, p. 198.

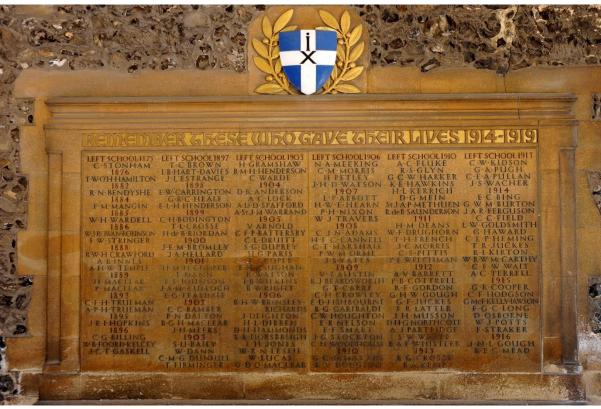
<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> The Cantuarian, March 1922, p. 8.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> The Cantuarian, November 1924, p. 334.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> The Cantuarian, November 1924, p. 370.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> The Cantuarian, March 1925, p. 402. Money was still needed, however: "There still remains to be raised the sum of £350 to complete the other commitments, and contributions are earnestly requested."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup> The Cantuarian, July 1925, p. 419.



in our memory, in our faith, in our resolve and hope, will find its inspiration, its benediction, and its power.<sup>51</sup>

The war memorial plaque in 2009

The Memorial plaque reflects what has been called the democratisation of death in the Great War. All the OKS killed were to be commemorated together on one plaque. All were listed by the year they left the School and were recorded by just initials and surnames – not with their ranks, regiments or decorations – with the names in blue and the dates in red. The boys – and the war memorial had tellingly referred to them as "boys of King's School" – are remembered, in other words, as former members of the school community, not as officers or men in the military. The policies of other public schools varied: lists of names in alphabetical order were the most common, but some added ranks and / or decorations; and some listed names by the year of death.<sup>52</sup> The two King's masters killed – Harold Brown and Rupert Everitt – were not included, nor the former master Englebert Horley. A memorial plaque to Everitt had already been placed in the Schoolroom in 1918, but it has since disappeared.<sup>53</sup> Again the policies of other schools varied.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup> The Cantuarian, December 1925, pp. 475-6. Cf. K.G. 14.11.1925. The School has the original typescript of his address. It is now in the Walpole Collection.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup> Many memorial plaques are illustrated in C.F. Kernot, British Public Schools War Memorials (1927).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup> The Cantuarian, July 1918, p. 658. Brown and Everitt were added to the memorial in 2014. Horley has not yet been added.

In a similar way, the memorial made no distinction in the manner of their deaths.<sup>54</sup> Some died heroically in major battles, but some by 'friendly fire' or suicide, and some were killed in accidents in England, not at the front at all. Yet all counted equally as war dead. (The Commonwealth War Graves Commission today recognizes all those who died "in service or of causes attributable to service", and for their purposes the First World War lasted from 4 August 1914 to 31 August 1921.) The plaque was surmounted by the School crest with a laurel wreath and the words: 'REMEMBER THESE WHO GAVE THEIR LIVES 1914-1919'.<sup>55</sup>

It is important to recognise that most of the OKS war dead would have an individual headstone in an Imperial War Graves Commission cemetery near where they fell. These were being organised at the same time as the School war memorial. Families were therefore involved in this process, especially in choosing any wording for the headstone. They therefore had the opportunity for a personal inscription to be engraved, though not all took this up. Among these memorials were: "Lord all pitying Jesu blest grant him thine eternal rest" from the Dies Irae for both Richard Bendyshe (Lone Pine Cemetery, Gallipoli) and Charles Tisdall (Citadel New Military Cemetery, Fricourt); "ante diem periit sed miles sed pro patria" from Newbolt's 'Clifton Chapel' for John Deighton (Heilly Station Cemetery Méricourt-L'Abbé); "a faithful soldier of the cross & of his country" for Charles Kidson (Highland Cemetery, Le Cateau); and "the only son of his mother" for Philip Nixon (Salonika).<sup>56</sup> The engraving mainly took place in the years 1920-23 so that most of the individual headstones for OKS were completed before the School's tablet was ready. It seems that about half of those families who had a headstone with an inscription also subscribed to the King's School war memorial.

Those with no known grave (about a quarter in all) would have their names on one of the collective monuments such as the Menin Gate, Arras and especially Thiepval.<sup>57</sup> However this programme took much longer to complete. The Helles Memorial was unveiled in 1924, Menin Gate and Tyne Cot in 1927, Basra in 1929, and Arras and Thiepval in 1932. Ross Ferguson's name is on the Menin Gate. For his parents, therefore, the memorials in Canterbury – at the School and in the Buttermarket – were more accessible and maybe relevant as sites for mourning and remembrance. His medals were given to the School.<sup>58</sup>

A few OKS had significant individual memorials, notably Vernon Austin at St Martin's, Canterbury and Bruno Garibaldi in Rome and the Argonne. Some – for example the Crosse brothers in Faversham or the Gough brothers in Northwich – were commemorated by plaques in their local parish church. (There are memorials to Eric Bing, Charles Heming and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>54</sup> On the Buffs Boer War Memorial in Canterbury's Dane John Garden those named were recorded by battalion, then under the separate headings 'killed in action or died of wounds' and 'died from disease', and they were listed by military rank.

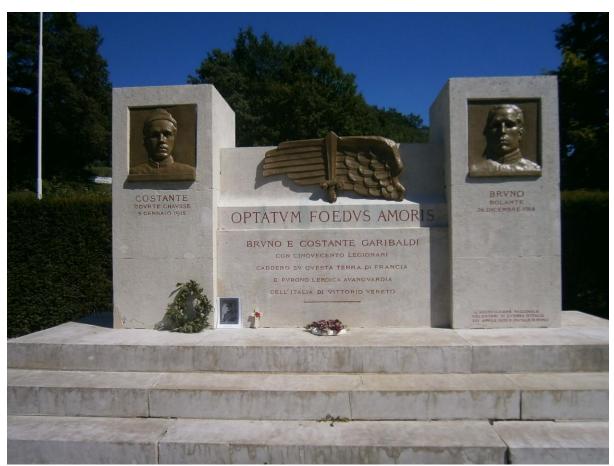
<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>55</sup> The Cantuarian, December 1925, p. 476 in its account of the unveiling twice records the second date on the tablet as 1918.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup> The Commonwealth War Graves Commission website (www.cwgc.org) has documentation on the gravestones in their cemeteries, with details of inscriptions. Many headstones are also illustrated on the Find a Grave website (www.findagrave.com).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup> Twelve OKS are named at Thiepval, five at Arras and four on the Menin Gate.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>58</sup> His mother Gertrude Ferguson arranged the flowers in the Cathedral for many years. On her death in 1952, a memorial stone was placed in the Chapel of the Holy Innocents commemorating Ross Ferguson and her.

Geoffrey Maclear in St Martin's churchyard in Canterbury.) Others had their name added to a family memorial. Most were also named on a war memorial in England – in their home town or village; at another school or college they attended; or at a sports club – and some on several different ones. Some relatives placed an 'In Memoriam' notice in their local newspapers on the anniversary of the death.<sup>59</sup> For the families of those killed, therefore, the School memorial was only one of the places where their relatives were commemorated and the focus for individual mourning and remembrance was in many cases elsewhere.



Monument to Bruno Garibaldi and his brother at La Chalade 1932

The School war memorial could be seen as primarily an expression of pride, but it was not without meaning. So many of the dead were young -114 of the 163 were under 30 - and thus their schooldays had been a very significant proportion of their short lives. The School's rituals – and mainly the July service – may have been of some significance for returning OKS to remember their former schoolfellows. In a related gesture, Archer Lindsey, who had been at the School from 1911 to 1915, presented a book to the Library in memory of his friends William Janson Potts and Geoffrey Walter Melvin Burton in July 1934.<sup>60</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>59</sup> E.g. the family of Thomas Hugo French, a Royal Flying Corps officer killed in a flying accident on 13 January 1917. See Chelmsford Chronicle, 11 January 1918, and Essex Newsman, 12 January 1918, and in succeeding years up to 1928.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>60</sup> The book was Lord Davies, *The Problem of the Twentieth Century*. It is inscribed: 'Presented to the Parry Library, King's School, Canterbury, in memory of William Janson Potts & Geoffrey Walter Melville [*recte* Melvin] Burton by Archer Lindsey 12<sup>th</sup> July 1934.'

The creation of a war memorial at the King's School was a long drawn out process with an eventually successful outcome, though the wider hopes for the endowment of memorial scholarships had only limited success and the new science block from the Drughorn gift had to be abandoned. The front cover of *The Cantuarian* was re-designed by OKS Humphrey Goldsmith for the December 1925 issue, to include an image of the 'War Memorial and Court of Honour'.<sup>61</sup> The physical monument was impressive and distinctive, but it remained to be seen how the war would be remembered by later generations.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>61</sup> The Cantuarian, December 1925, p. 474. The earlier design had first appeared in July 1888.



The Cantuarian, December 1925, with the war memorial bottom right