

**God, Grief and Community:
Commemoration of the Great War in Huddersfield,
c. 1914-1929**

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Dedication and Acknowledgements

“And they say time heals the wounds! Nay, it cannot be true. Time but weaves a cloak which the winds of memory lift.”¹

Almost a century later, I pay tribute to those who died, those who returned, and those who waited at home – at times you have seemed very close.

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¹ Thus ended “The War Memorial: An Impression”, by “MLB”, *Huddersfield Daily Examiner*, 28 April 1924.

Abstract

This thesis is concerned with the borough of Huddersfield, in the West Riding of Yorkshire, during and after the First World War. It examines the creation of war memorials at all levels, from the borough-wide official scheme, through those relating to smaller geographical areas within it, and down to individual voluntary associations. The source material underpinning the study is not primarily derived from the surviving memorials themselves, but on the contemporary evidence of minutes, newspaper reports, and orders of service. Chronologically, the story is taken from August 1914 to October 1929, when the Imperial War Graves Commission erected a Cross of Sacrifice in the town's main cemetery. However, as it emerged that an integral part of the story of the borough memorial scheme was the continuing legacy of the creation of the Boer War memorial, in 1905, a chapter is also devoted to that link.

The study demonstrates how post-war activity grew out of the wartime creation of rolls of honour, which were used during the war as dynamic working documents for supporting absent servicemen, as well as for remembering the increasing numbers of war dead. That dual concern for the living and the dead continued into the post-war phase of remembrance. The rolls also played an important role in defining the boundaries of "our servicemen" and "our dead" for each community. Comment is made on the use of public and private space for memorials, and on the shifting position of the parish church and churchyard within perceptions of public space.

Memorial inscriptions, and the content of dedication ceremonies, predominantly expressed the grief of the communities involved, with the more simplistic expressions of patriotism playing a much more subordinate role. Words and music conveyed spiritual comfort, through both traditional means and a new emphasis on a continuing fellowship with those beyond the grave.

Contents

Dedication and Acknowledgements	ii
Abstract	iii
Contents	iv
List of Tables and Figures	v
Abbreviations	vi
Chapter 1 – Introduction	1
Chapter 2 – The County Borough of Huddersfield	37
Chapter 3 - The Boer War Prelude	72
Chapter 4 - The Borough's Civic Memorials	86
Chapter 5 - Rolls of Honour: Caring for the Living and the Dead	118
Chapter 6 - Commemoration at Local Level	152
Chapter 7 – Spiritual Consolation through Words and Music	194
Chapter 8 – Individuals and Networks	234
Chapter 9 – Huddersfield's Parish Church, St Peter	258
Chapter 10 - Cross of Sacrifice: Huddersfield and the Wider World	280
Chapter 11 - Conclusions	292
Appendix A – Illustrations	299
Appendix B - List of Memorials	304
Bibliography	315

Contents

Dedication and Acknowledgements	ii
Abstract	iii
Contents	iv
List of Tables and Figures	v
Abbreviations	vi
Chapter 1 – Introduction	1
Chapter 2 – The County Borough of Huddersfield	37
Chapter 3 - The Boer War Prelude	72
Chapter 4 - The Borough's Civic Memorials	86
Chapter 5 - Rolls of Honour: Caring for the Living and the Dead	118
Chapter 6 - Commemoration at Local Level	152
Chapter 7 – Spiritual Consolation through Words and Music	194
Chapter 8 – Individuals and Networks	234
Chapter 9 – Huddersfield's Parish Church, St Peter	258
Chapter 10 - Cross of Sacrifice: Huddersfield and the Wider World	280
Chapter 11 - Conclusions	292
Appendix A – Illustrations	299
Appendix B - List of Memorials	304
Bibliography	315

List of Tables and Figures

Table 1: Occupational Profile of the Huddersfield County Borough 1911	41
Table 2: Places of Worship in the Huddersfield County Borough, c. 1914	50
Table 3: Types of War Memorials in Huddersfield	155
Table 4: Hymns used in Dedication Ceremonies and Memorial Services	197
Table 5: Other Music used in Dedication Ceremonies (excluding psalms and the National Anthem)	208

Appendix A:

Figure 1: The main path through Greenhead Park, showing the relative positions of the Boer War and Great War Memorials	300
Figure 2: Great War Memorial, Greenhead Park	300
Figure 3: “Fallen Heroes” Boer War Memorial, Greenhead Park	301
Figure 4: Fartown and Birkby Memorial, Norman Park	301
Figure 5: Longwood Memorial	301
Figure 6: Langley and Lowerhouses Memorial	301
Figure 7: Deighton Working Men’s Club Memorial	302
Figure 8: Christ Church Woodhouse (Sheepridge Memorial)	302
Figure 9: Armitage Bridge Memorial	302
Figure 10: St Thomas Huddersfield Memorial	302
Figure 11: St Peter Huddersfield (Window, Baldachino and Wall Tablet)	303
Figure 12: Cross of Sacrifice, Edgerton Cemetery	303
Figure 13: Almondbury and District Memorial	303

Abbreviations

BPP	British Parliamentary Papers
CWGC	Commonwealth War Graves Commission
DOW	Duke of Wellington's (West Riding) Regiment
HDC/HWC	<i>Huddersfield Daily Chronicle/Weekly Chronicle</i>
HDE/HWE	<i>Huddersfield Daily Examiner/Weekly Examiner</i>
HLSL	Huddersfield Local Studies Library
IWGC	Imperial War Graves Commission
LPL	Lambeth Palace Library
TNA	The National Archives
UKNIWM	United Kingdom National Inventory of War Memorials
WDG	<i>Wakefield Diocesan Gazette</i>
WMC	[Borough] War Memorial Committee
WYAS(K)	West Yorkshire Archive Service: Kirklees Office
WYAS(W)	West Yorkshire Archive Service: Wakefield Headquarters

Chapter 1 – Introduction

“The epilogue of a poignant tragedy”. Thus, the editor of the *Huddersfield Examiner* described the dedication ceremony of the borough war memorial, in April 1924.¹ War memorials are such a familiar part of the landscape that they tend to pass unnoticed² on all but one day of the year, Remembrance Sunday, when once again they take centre stage.³ Their presence marks the existence of a separate community as clearly as the trio of church, general shop and public house once signalled the location of a village, or of a particular district within a sprawling urban area. They were the outcome of the “biggest communal arts project ever attempted”⁴, although part of no government initiative, and having access to no scheme of public grants.⁵ Yet, until the latter part of the twentieth century, war memorials aroused little interest among historians, or scholars in other disciplines, even those concerned with the evolution of the built environment, despite being an integral part of the legacy of that “poignant tragedy” which was the Great War.⁶

¹ *Huddersfield Daily Examiner* (HDE) 28 Apr. 1924.

² A characteristic not peculiar to war memorials. In 1936, Robert Musil noted “the most striking feature is that you do not notice them. There is nothing in the world as invisible as monuments...Like a drop of water on an oilskin, attention runs down them without stopping for a moment.” (Denkmale, Nachlass zu Lebzeiten, Zurich, pp. 87-93, quoted by M Warner, *Monuments and Maidens: The Allegory of the Female Form* (2000 University of California Press edn.; New York: Atheneum, 1985), p. 21 (her translation)).

³ Although, since work for this thesis began, 11 November, the original Armistice Day, has once again become a ceremonial date in Britain alongside Remembrance Sunday.

⁴ Not that those who contributed to their creation would have viewed them in that light (A Borg, *War Memorials from Antiquity to the Present* (London: Leo Cooper, 1991) p. ix.)

⁵ In contrast to France, where there was a framework governing the creation of war memorials, and where every commune could obtain assistance towards the cost (A Prost, ‘Monuments to the Dead’, in P Nora and L D Kritzman (eds.), *Realms of Memory: The Construction of the French Past* (II Traditions; New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), 306-330, p. 308).

⁶ Even Pevsner, whose often pointed comments drew attention to features easily overlooked elsewhere in the landscape, was usually silent on war memorials in his *Buildings of England* series, the main London sites excepted. Not until the most recent volumes has that deficiency begun to be rectified. A recent volume, in the city guide series, comments on not only Sheffield’s main memorial but also some others, but does not index them separately, either generically or individually (R Harman and J Minnis, *Sheffield* (Pevsner Architectural Guides; London: Yale University Press, 2004), pp. 98, 218, 262).

The Project Chosen For Study

In 1911, just under 80% of the population of England and Wales was urban. The four largest conurbations, in rank order, were London, South East Lancashire, the West Midlands, and the West Riding of Yorkshire.⁷ However, with the exception of London, there has been little detailed study of the commemoration of the Great War in those urban areas. The choice of the borough of Huddersfield, in the West Riding of Yorkshire, for this study provided the opportunity to examine a part of one of those conurbations, and an urban environment more compact than the big cities of Leeds and Bradford; also more typical, in terms of scale, of the experience of the majority of the population of England and Wales at the time.⁸ The largest non-metropolitan conurbations were distinguishable from London by their industrial as well as commercial significance, and by urban elites much more diverse in their political and religious affiliations, a Liberal and Nonconformist dominance being common.⁹

Every memorial arose from the identification by a particular group of “our dead”, a process which necessarily arose from a shared view of who were “our” servicemen, “our” nurses, and those other people whose survival and welfare was “our” special concern. Consequently, August 1914, rather than November 1918, forms the logical starting point, but rarely does so in published studies. Thereafter, the initial creation of a particular memorial is clearly distinct from the closely related but separate topics of the memorial’s history after dedication, and of the commemorative rituals which grew up around it.

The work undertaken for this thesis seeks to present a wide-ranging account of the ways in which a northern industrial and commercial borough, with a Liberal and

⁷ The West Riding covered a far larger area than the current West Yorkshire. L H Lees, 'Urban Networks', in M Daunt (ed.), *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain Volume III 1840-1950* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 59-94, pp. 70-72.

⁸ Huddersfield was 40th out of the 97 urban districts with a population of over 50,000 (Census of England and Wales 1911, General Report [8491], Table IX (1917)).

⁹ The difference is well exemplified in the chapter heading “The Social Stigma of Dissent” used in J Cox, *The English Churches in a Secular Society: Lambeth 1870-1930* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982), Chapter 5. There the author argued that the social stigma of being a Nonconformist made all other indicators of class ambiguous. That view of the status

Nonconformist elite, commemorated those who served and died in the Great War, and to do so by exploring commemoration at borough and individual community level within the context of the wartime experiences which moulded it.

The Existing Literature

Pre-1992

In September 1991, an international seminar was convened around the theme “Les Monuments Aux Morts De La Première Guerre Mondiale”. The resulting special edition of the journal *Guerres Mondiales et Conflits Contemporains*, presented a valuable snapshot of the transitional stage between war memorials appearing as adjuncts to other studies and their legitimisation as areas of academic research in their own right. An Australian, Inglis, provided the keynote article: “War Memorials: Ten Questions for Historians”, asking:

- (i.) Why have historians neglected them?
- (ii.) Why have historians lately become more interested in them?
- (iii.) What was new about the memorials of 1914-18?
- (iv.) What uniformities and what differences are evident from country to country?
- (v.) Why "monuments aux morts" in French and "war memorials" in English?
- (vi.) Why Unknown Soldiers?
- (vii.) What ceremonial occasions have been connected with memorials?
- (viii.) What similarities and differences are evident between memorials of 1914-18 and 1939-45?
- (ix.) Are war memorials the shrines of a civil religion?
- (x.) What now?¹⁰

Commenting on the first two questions, Inglis suggested that the way in which familiar objects acquired an apparent invisibility, the sparcity of memorials which could be regarded as high art, and a reluctance to contemplate death, or uncertainty

of Nonconformity would have been largely incomprehensible to the elite of Huddersfield, and to those of many other northern and midlands towns.

¹⁰ K S Inglis, 'War Memorials - 10 Questions for Historians', *Guerres Mondiales et Conflits Contemporains*, 167/July (1992), 5-21.

about how to study it, were the main reasons for neglect. The interest shown in war memorials by non-historians, particularly amateurs, was also, he felt, a contributory factor in the wary attitude of professional historians.¹¹ He highlighted the passage of time, changing fashions in artistic appreciation, and the impact of new interdisciplinary approaches as significant factors affecting the more recent shift in attitudes. In particular, the growth of the study of perceptions of nation, community, life and death within popular culture, the impact of French work on *mentalités*, and the controversies surrounding the creation of the Vietnam Veterans Memorial in the United States had all been important.¹²

The fourth, fifth and sixth questions posed by Inglis reflected the importance of placing the study of the commemoration of war within national and local contexts. In considering the contrasting French and English usages - "monuments aux morts" as opposed to "war memorials" - he emphasised the Anglo-Protestant tradition of commemorating the survivors as well as the dead, by means of projects with a practical function as well as memorial objects.¹³ He also drew attention to the impact

¹¹ His examples of amateur pioneers were D Boorman, *At the Going Down of the Sun: British First World War Memorials* (York: W Sessions Ltd, 1988) in England and R J M Shipley, *To Mark Our Place: A History of Canadian War Memorials* (Toronto: NC Press, 1987) in Canada. He also noted J M Mayo, *War Memorials as Political Landscape: the American Experience and Beyond* (New York: Praeger, 1988) as the first American contribution, one originating from a school of architecture; in fact the author had a doctorate in sociology, and his contribution reflected that dual disciplinary background. In the British context he might also have noted the other major contribution from the period, C McIntyre, *Monuments of War: How To Read A War Memorial* (London: Robert Hale, 1990), a valuable study of how to extract the maximum social and historical information from an examination of memorials, drawing on a familiarity with military conventions which would have been widespread up to the end of national service but which is now largely absent.

¹² A useful summary of the creation of the Vietnam Veterans Memorial and of responses to it is in G Parsons, *Perspectives on Civil Religion* (Aldershot: Ashgate in association with The Open University, 2002), pp. 105-134.

¹³ The Italian term, "monumenti ai caduti", is similar to the French, in that it refers only to the dead, but the linguistic register being used is nearer to the English "the fallen". The German word, "Kriegerdenkmäler", potentially refers to memorials for both the living and the dead, but is more restricted than the English phrase, the first part of the word being "warrior" rather than "war". (P Gough, 'Corporations and Commemoration: First World War Remembrance, Lloyds TSB and the National Memorial Arboretum', *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 10/5 (2004), 435-456, has pointed out that the literal meaning of the second element is "a means to thought" (pp. 442-443).

of the spiritual legacy of iconophobia.¹⁴ The most universal feature of commemoration was, he contended, the symbol of the unknown soldier. Nevertheless, it was one that had provoked tensions between capital cities and provincial or colonial centres in a number of countries, when the latter were prevented from having their own such symbol, so as to protect the national or imperial character of the original interment.¹⁵ The other strands he identified as crossing national boundaries, including those between victors and vanquished, were the avoidance of realistic horror in sculpture, and the expression, in inscriptions, of the themes of grief, triumph and sacrifice in the language of high diction.¹⁶ However, he emphasised that particular factors in individual nations influenced the precise form of memorials, such as the degree of governmental involvement, and the official religious or secular stance of each state. In that respect, the United Kingdom was, he believed, particularly interesting, as the initiative for individual memorials was firmly in local hands and, consequently, potentially far more revealing of local sentiment.

Addressing issues of continuity and change, as reflected in the third and eighth questions, Inglis differentiated the 1914-18 memorials from those which had gone before in two main ways: the shift from a professional army commemorated by regiment to a citizen army remembered by a community; and, that from a world ordered by military rank to one in which the dead were equal; although he recognised that elements of those changes had begun to be seen in Boer War memorials. After the Second World War, additional inscriptions had often been added to existing

¹⁴ “England’s Reformation [after 1537] was characterised by its hatred of images” (D Macculloch, *The Later Reformation in England 1547-1603* (2nd edn.; Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001), p. 57. Rejection of prayer for the souls of the departed, and of the intercession of the saints, had considerable iconographic consequences.

¹⁵ A useful overview of the topic across many nations and timescales is A Becker, ‘The Unknown Soldiers’, in D Kelly (ed.), *Committing to Memory: Remembering and Representing the Experience of War in Twentieth Century France* (Lampeter: Edwin Mellen Press Ltd, 2000), 17-26. Gloucester requested an unknown soldier for burial at its memorial (M Heffernan, ‘For Ever England: the Western Front and the Politics of Remembrance in Britain’, *Ecumene*, II/3 (1995), 293-323, p. 320, footnote 93).

¹⁶ “High diction” was a description developed by P Fussel, *The Great War and Modern Memory* (25th Anniversary 2000 edn.; New York: Oxford University Press, 1975), pp. 21-23, to cover the particular rhetorical language of, for example, “peril” for “danger”, “the fallen” for “the dead”.

memorials, rather than new ones being created, and the deaths of civilians were far more significant. Utilitarian projects, and the conservation of ruins as memorials, were more prominent in the new round of commemorations. Evaluating ceremonial events associated with memorials, in response to the seventh question, Inglis considered Armistice Day, the variants of Anzac Day in Australia and New Zealand, and Memorial Day, which had its origins in the American Civil War.

In posing the question “Are war memorials the shrines of civil religion?”, Inglis referred briefly to the work of Durkheim¹⁷, Prost¹⁸, Warner¹⁹, Bellah²⁰ and Lane²¹, a body of writing which stretched from religion as a form of collective self-worship in primitive societies through the French secular, and often anti-clerical, cult of the Republic, the American rituals of nationhood underpinned by a non-denominational religiosity, and the post-revolutionary Soviet creation of secular monuments of ever-increasing grandeur.²² Consequently, he stressed the need for a careful analysis of the particular cultural complexities of individual communities, rather than more generalised approaches to the demand for, and supply of, symbol and ritual. Somewhat surprisingly, Inglis addressed the final “What now?” not in terms of an agenda for future historical exploration, although some of that had been implied by his commentary on the earlier questions, but by a very brief section predicting a future for war memorials of indifference and disrespect, of changes in meaning, and of political manipulation.²³

¹⁷ E Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life*, (Oxford World's Classics, trans. C Cosman, 2001 edn.; Paris: Alcan, 1912) (pp. 170-71, 318).

¹⁸ A Prost, 'Les Monuments Aux Morts, Culte Républicain? Culte Civique? Culte Patriotique?' in P Nora (ed.), *Les Lieux de Mémoire* (II La République; Paris: Editions Gallimard, 1984), 195-225.

¹⁹ W L Warner, *The Family of God: A Symbolic Study of Christian Life in America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1961).

²⁰ R N Bellah, 'Civil Religion in America', *Daedalus*, 96/1 (1967), 1-21.

²¹ C Lane, *The Rites of Rulers: Ritual in Industrial Society - The Soviet Case* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981).

²² No reference, however, was made to Rousseau as the originator of the concept (J-J Rousseau, *The Social Contract*, (Oxford World's Classics, trans. C Betts, 1999 edn.; Amsterdam: Rey, 1762) (pp. 158-168)).

²³ He ended with the memorials put up by Saddam Hussein to commemorate the war with Iran, and asked whether they would or ought to be pulled down, a question now answered, though in circumstances which themselves have divided opinion.

Other articles published in the special edition of the journal came from contributors working on aspects of memorials in France, Italy, Australia, and New Zealand.²⁴ The volume demonstrated that, by the beginning of the final decade of the twentieth century, and before the publication of some of what are now regarded as key texts, work was underway both within and across national boundaries addressing the commemoration of war in a variety of ways.

The venue for the conference reflected the importance of French scholarship in the emergence of the topic. Over twenty years earlier, one of the first signs of an awakening interest in war memorials had been contained in Ariès' exploration of changing responses to death across the ages, *L'Homme Devant La Mort*.²⁵ In an eclectic and chronologically wide-ranging survey, he had included a brief discussion of war memorials from the French Revolution to Arlington National Cemetery.²⁶ Outlining what he saw as an increasing convergence of the notions of tombs and memorials, and a bringing together of national sentiment and the cult of the dead, Ariès suggested that "In places where there is no monument to the dead, there can be no commemoration and therefore no celebration [of them]".²⁷ In the same year as *L'Homme Devant La Mort*, Prost had published a study of the role of ex-servicemen in the political and social environment of France in the inter-war years.²⁸ Arguing

²⁴ A Becker, 'Monuments aux Morts après La Guerre de Sécession et La Guerre de 1870-1871: Un Legs de La Guerre Nationale?' *Guerres Mondiales et Conflits Contemporains*, 167/July (1992), 23-40; A Prost, 'Mémoires locales et Mémoires Nationales: Les Monuments de 1914-1918 en France', 41-50; K S Inglis, 'World War One Memorials in Australia', 51-58; J Phillips, 'L'Impérialisme dans La Pierre: Qu'est-ce qui distingue Les Monuments aux Morts Néo-Zélandais?', 55-69; C Moriarty, 'L'Iconographie Chrétienne des Monuments aux Morts de La Première Guerre Mondiale dans Le Royaume-Uni', 71-86; P Dogliani, 'Les Monuments aux Morts de la Grande Guerre en Italie', 87-94.

²⁵ P Ariès, *L'Homme Devant La Mort* (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1977) translated as *The Hour of our Death* (1981 Alfred A Knopf Inc) and reprinted by Oxford University Press (1991).

²⁶ P Ariès, *The Hour of Our Death* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), p 548-51.

²⁷ Ariès, *The Hour of Our Death*, p. 550. Inglis mentioned Ariès only in passing. He did highlight Agulhon's studies of national image, symbol and ceremony, M Agulhon, *Marianne au Combat: L'Imagerie et La Symbolique Républicaines de 1789 à 1880* (Paris: Flammarion, 1979); M Agulhon, *Marianne au Pouvoir: L'Imagerie et La Symbolique Républicaines de 1880 à 1914* (Paris: Flammarion, 1989).

²⁸ A Prost, *Les Anciens Combattants et la Société Française 1914-1939* (III Mentalités et idéologies; Paris: Presses de la Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques, 1977) translated as *In the Wake of War: "Les Anciens Combattants" and French Society*, Oxford: Berg Publishers (1992).

that a close examination of the views and actions of the associations of ex-servicemen needed to take into account not only the impact of the First World War but also the patriotic attitudes already inculcated into the combatants by the school system of the Third Republic, Prost included an examination of the role played by Armistice Day events at local memorials and concluded that Armistice Day became essentially veterans' day in France. Ten years later, Prost, contributing to Nora's multi-volume study, *Les Lieux de Mémoire*, drew on his earlier work to present a view of war memorials as forming one of the defining images of French identity.²⁹ For Inglis, "Historical scholarship on war memorials is dateable as before and after Prost".³⁰ The third main element in the French context was the Centre de Recherche of the Historial de la Grande Guerre, Péronne-Somme. Founded in 1989, with its associated museum opening in 1992, it sought to combine a network of scholars with a more popular educational function, both being set within an international framework involving countries from both sides of the conflict. The special edition of the journal which published the conference papers was prepared by the Historial's research centre.³¹

The debate about the cultural context of death, begun by Ariès, soon went far beyond the French-speaking world. In 1981, a collection of essays on the historical treatment of death included a contribution from Cannadine, arguing that the impact of World War I on British attitudes to death had been underestimated by historians and sociologists since, by 1914, natural death was associated with old age, and violent death with fiction, thus increasing the trauma of the ensuing losses.³²

²⁹ A Becker, *Les Monuments aux Morts, Miroir de la Guerre* (Paris: Errance, 1988); Prost, 'Les Monuments Aux Morts, Culte Républicain? Culte Civique? Culte Patriotique?'. Nora later provided a rationale for his compilation in P Nora, 'Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire', *Representations*, 26/Spring (1989), 7-24.

³⁰ Inglis, '10 Questions', p. 6.

³¹ The original group comprised the founder, Jean-Jacques Becker, his daughter Annette, and Stéphane Audoin-Rouzeau, as the French participants plus an American, Jay Winter, working in Cambridge, and Gerd Krumeich in Freiburg. The advisory council had members from a wider range of countries. (*Guerres Mondiales et Conflits Contemporains* 167/July "Avant-Propos", pp. 3-4).

³² D 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 Publications Ltd, 1981), 187-242.

However, the French exploration of the place of war memorials in the development of national identity had had the more widespread parallels elsewhere. Inglis, as an Australian, was familiar with the view that Australia's involvement in the First World War had marked the transition to state-hood of a young colony. He had initiated a survey of his country's war memorials in 1983, and reflected on the emerging findings in a series of articles, including one presented at the 1991 conference. A similar survey had also been started in New Zealand, and a commitment made to explore the similarities and differences between the stories of those two countries.³³ A study in Canada had highlighted not only the role of participation in the war in aid of the mother land as part of the nation's emerging self-image, but also characteristics shared with Britain, namely romanticisation of war, and the rhetorical language later used to express sacrifice.³⁴ Exploring a different type of state identity, Ignatieff had examined the way in which the Soviet Union had used the memorialisation of the Great Patriotic War of 1941-45 to highlight desirable memories, and to minimise or change others.³⁵

³³ On Australia, see, for example, K S Inglis, 'Monuments in the Modern City: The War Memorials of Melbourne and Sydney', in D Fraser (ed.), *Cities, Class and Communication: Essays in Honour of Asa Briggs* (Hemel Hempstead: Harvester, 1990), and for New Zealand C Maclean and J Phillips, *The Sorrow and the Pride: New Zealand War Memorials* (Wellington: G P Books, 1990). For comparisons see K S Inglis and J Phillips, 'War Memorials in Australia and New Zealand: A Comparative Survey', *Australian Historical Studies*, 24/96 (1991), 179-191. The latter highlighted the absence of conscription in Australia, in contrast to New Zealand, and the impact of that on memorialisation, where the entirely voluntary character of Australian participation was reflected in the greater prevalence of listing not just the dead but all who served on many memorials. The federal structure in Australia had, the study argued, delayed the development of a national consciousness, whereas, in New Zealand, it was the Boer War rather than the Great War which had been the more important impetus in that direction. In 1996, Inglis published a substantial study reflecting a life time's work on Australian war memorials K S Inglis, *Sacred Places: War Memorials in the Australian Landscape* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1996).

³⁴ A R Young, "'We Throw The Torch": Canadian War Memorials of the Great War and the Mythology of Heroic Sacrifice', *Journal of Canadian Studies/Revue d'Etudes Canadiennes*, 24/Winter/Hiver (1990), 5-28. However, the picture was complicated by the different loyalties and cultural background of the French-speaking parts of the nation, drawn out by the later study J F Vance, *Death So Noble: Memory, Meaning and the First World War* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1997), particularly pp. 258-262.

³⁵ M Ignatieff, 'Soviet War Memorials', *History Workshop Journal*, 17 (1984), 157-163; the article employed E Hobsbawm, 'Inventing Traditions', in E Hobsbawm and T Ranger (eds.), *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 1-14 to frame

Another important part of the context of the 1991 conference was the debate about the extent to which the First World War had been a turning point in literary and artistic constructions of modernism, and in political and social history more generally. Fussell, Hynes and Eksteins were mainly concerned with the war's impact on high culture.³⁶ War memorials, their physical appearance as well as the broader context of their creation and use, were a minor part of the evidence used to argue the case for and against the existence of a major intellectual and emotional dislocation.³⁷ For Hynes, war memorials represented "official acts of closure - the C-major chords that bring a war and its emotions to a grand and affirming conclusion. They embody, in permanent form, ideas about war - heroic, romantic, histrionic, occasionally tragic; they say, in effect, 'War has ideals: here they are, in stone, in bronze'."³⁸ Mosse viewed war memorials as the focus for the cult of the fallen, a phenomenon linked to national self-image in all countries but, in Germany, "part of a process of political brutalization which the cult of the fallen furthered rather than restrained".³⁹ Similarly, Eksteins argued that "the theme of death exercised a powerful grip on the fascist imagination" particularly that of the fallen of the war. "The Great War was the psychological turning point, for Germany and for the modernism as a whole. The urge to create and the urge to destroy changed places. The urge to destroy was intensified; the urge to create became increasingly abstract. In the end the abstractions turned to insanity and all that remained was destruction, *Götterdämmerung*."⁴⁰ Intermittently part of the debate on modernism, but more often pursuing their own concerns, art and architectural historians were publishing material related to war memorials from the early years of the Great War itself. Historical

the argument. Lane, *The Rites of Rulers: Ritual in Industrial Society - The Soviet Case* also examined the role played by war (pp. 140-152, 222-224).

³⁶ S Hynes, *The War Imagined: The First World War and English Culture* (London: Bodley Head, 1990); M Eksteins, *Rites of Spring: The Great War and the Birth of the Modern Age* (Papermac 2000 edn.; London: Bantam Press, 1989); and Fussell, *The Great War and Modern Memory*.

³⁷ Indeed for Fussell and Eksteins they were, in the main, present implicitly rather than explicitly.

³⁸ Hynes, *The War Imagined*, p. 270.

³⁹ G L Mosse, *Fallen Soldiers - Reshaping the Memory of the World Wars* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), p. 106; for his treatment of war memorials see particularly pp. 44-50, 70-106 and 211-225.

examples of different monumental languages were being used to attempt to influence the design of memorials during and after the 1914-1918 war, and again in relation to that of 1939-45.⁴¹ Discussion of particular artists, such as Lutyens and Jagger, had naturally included war memorials as part of their overall output.⁴² However, two important studies had focussed on war memorials as a separate category. Stamp had compiled an influential exhibition catalogue on the design of the overseas war cemeteries, and Borg, then Director of the Imperial War Museum, had published a lavishly illustrated book tracing the history of war-related memorials from the prehistoric to the present day.⁴³

Although Inglis' explanation for the awakening of interest in war memorials was expressed primarily in terms of academic and intellectual motivations, a more personal dimension must also be acknowledged. Winter, in the preface to a review article, referred to the generation which had grown up in the shadow of the Second World War, and to a second one for whom it was the Vietnam War which was the catalyst for a range of intellectual and emotional responses.⁴⁴ Fussell dedicated *The Great War and Modern Memory* to an American soldier "killed beside me in France" in 1945, but also explained that writing it had been part of a process of coming to terms not just with his own war experience but also with his nation's involvement in

⁴⁰ Eksteins, *Rites of Spring*, pp. 316 and 328.

⁴¹ For the first period, Chapter 5, pp. 46-51. J A Whittick, *War Memorials* (London: Country Life, 1946) 181, was the most prominent example from the second, freely criticising the Cenotaph, the inscription for the Unknown Warrior, and the artistic merit of many local memorials.

⁴² See, for example, C Hussey, *The Life of Sir Edward Lutyens* (London: Country Life Ltd, 1950) and A Compton (ed.), *Charles Sargeant Jagger: War and Peace Sculpture* (London: Imperial War Museum, 1985).

⁴³ G Stamp, *Silent Cities: An Exhibition of the Memorial and Cemetery Architecture of The Great War 1914-1918* (London: RIBA, 1977) and Borg, *War Memorials*. The appearance of Borg's book was linked to the start of the British scheme for surveying the country's war memorials (see pp. 26-28 below). One of the first fruits of the British inventory was C Moriarty, 'Christian Iconography and First World War Memorials', *Imperial War Museum Review*, 6 (1991), 63-75, a paper which was reproduced in a French translation at the 1991 conference. N Penny, 'English Sculpture and the First World War', *Oxford Art Journal*, 4/2 (1981), 36-42 was a short but influential article, beginning to shift the emphasis away from individual artists towards a more typological approach.

⁴⁴ J M Winter, 'Catastrophe and Culture: Recent Trends in the Historiography of the First World War', *Journal of Modern History*, 64/3 (1992), 525-532, p.525.

the Vietnam War.⁴⁵ An even stronger impetus towards a need to understand war, and the traumas arising from war, was that of the Holocaust. Both Eksteins and Mosse were seeking explanations for the rise of fascism, particularly in Germany, as is evident from the quotations above.⁴⁶ In a radio interview, Faulks⁴⁷ suggested that he had, albeit subconsciously, assumed that he would serve in a major war, as his father and grandfather had done before him. It was when he realised that that was not going to happen that he began to ask questions about the nature of their experience and what its absence might mean for him. Gregory has pointed out that professional historians writing about the Great War, particularly in Britain, tended to include reference to their own family's involvement in the conflict, a personal addition which would normally be regarded as somewhat out of place in a piece of formal academic writing.⁴⁸ However, if personal responses to twentieth century events gave an impetus to academic inquiry, they were also factors in deterring the study of memorials and commemoration. The threat of nuclear war, particularly around the time of the Cuban Missile Crisis, and the escalating involvement of the United States in Vietnam, considerably widened the attraction of peace movements in many parts of the world, with a corresponding tendency to regard Remembrance Sunday, and war memorials more generally, as having too strong a link to a militaristic tradition.⁴⁹

⁴⁵ G Sheffield, *The Forgotten Victory, The First World War: Myths and Realities* (London: Hodder, 2001), p. 18.

⁴⁶ The view that the brutalisation resulting from the First World War made possible the growth of the fascist regimes and thus the Holocaust continued to influence historians, and was recently re-affirmed by Annette Becker, co-director of the research centre attached to the Historial de la Grande Guerre (K Gold, 'Dirty Secrets of the Great War: Interview with Antoinette Becker', *The Times Higher*, 22 November 2002 p. 20).

⁴⁷ Author of a widely acclaimed First World War novel (S Faulks, *Birdsong* (London: Hutchinson, 1993)) (*Private Passions* BBC Radio 3, 9 March 2002). A similar impulse had driven academic writing – for example H Cecil, *The Flower of Battle: British Fiction Writers of the First World War* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1995), p. 340.

⁴⁸ A Gregory, *The Last Great War: British Society and the First World War* (Cambridge: CUP, 2008), p. 1.

⁴⁹ This was demonstrated in a survey undertaken by *The Times* in 1967 (D Todman, *The Great War: Myth and Memory* (London: Hambledon Continuum, 2005), pp. 139-141. The British Legion regarded the 1970s as probably the point at which a whole generation was alienated from the traditional rituals (J Iles, 'In Remembrance: The Flanders Poppy', *Mortality*, 13/3 (2008), 201-221, p. 207).

1992 onwards

A series of books published during the 1990s served to consolidate the position of war commemoration as an area of academic inquiry. The work most often cited is Winter's *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History*, published in 1995.⁵⁰ Using evidence from British, French and German sources, he sought to address all the main strands of the debate thus far, arguing that the emphasis on the political and aesthetic significance of war memorials needed to be balanced by an appreciation of their function as a focus for individual and communal mourning. The Great War had, he said, "brought the search for an appropriate language of loss to the centre of cultural and political life" but dismissed as completely misleading any "modernist" hypothesis that failed to give full weight to the "messiness...non-linearity...[and] vigorous and stubbornly visible incompatibilities" of the responses to that search. The decisive break with older traditions of expression did not, he felt, come until after the Second World War.⁵¹ The material used by Winter to support his arguments ranged across film, poetry, prose, many visual art forms, and spiritualism. In doing so he was partly reflecting the approach of Nora in *Les Lieux de Mémoire* but expanding the notion beyond that of a single nation to the European experience more generally. Mourning was to be added to the framework for the interpretation of all the types of commemoration and remembrance of war, not just those artefacts formally regarded as war memorials. His emotional commitment to the importance of the exercise was clear: "We confront here questions which may be best posed and answered more appropriately by poets than by historians. How healing occurs, and what quiets embitterment and alleviates despair can never be fully known. But not to ask the question, not to try to place the history of war memorials within the history of bereavement, a history we all share in our private lives, is both to impoverish the study of history and to evade our responsibility as historians. For we must attend to the faces and feelings of those who

⁵⁰ Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 4 (pp. 78-116) was particularly concerned with war memorials and mourning. Winter was a founder member of the Historial and was involved in a tripartite research project, *Cities at War: Berlin, London and Paris*, at the time of the 1991 conference (*Guerres Mondiales et Conflits Contemporains*, 167/July, pp. 149-152).

⁵¹ Winter, *Sites of Memory*, pp. 5, 228-229.

were bereft, and who made the pilgrimages to these sites of memory, large and small, in order to begin to understand how men and women tried to cope with one of the signal catastrophes of our century."⁵²

In the early 1990s, Winter had become the general editor of *The Legacy of the Great War* series, published by Berg.⁵³ Three studies appearing in that series established a broad framework for the study of war memorials, and war commemoration more generally, within the British context: *Memorials of the Great War in Britain: The Symbolism and Politics of Remembrance* (King), *The Silence of Memory: Armistice Day 1919-1946* (Gregory), and *Battlefield Tourism: Pilgrimage and the Commemoration of the Great War In Britain, Australia and Canada 1919-1939* (Lloyd).⁵⁴ King made clear, through extensive use of empirical evidence, the diversity of forms, functional as well as monumental, that memorials had taken across the country, and the multifaceted processes by which they had come about. Explanations of their meaning could not, he insisted, be presented in simple or overarching terms, being "complex and elusive", something well understood by contemporaries. He quoted the *Birmingham Post*, in 1925, as saying: "Symbols are naturally and inevitably imperfect things even when translated into terms of architecture, and cannot express the deep things of the heart. But within their limits they can go a long way. To a very real extent their success is dependant upon the temper and imagination of the individual. One gets from a poem in marble and granite, as in the case of a book, precisely what one takes to it."⁵⁵ Their creation was political, in the sense that people had to come together, form individual and group relationships, communicate and compromise to achieve any viable outcome. Lloyd, whose study encompassed visits to the Cenotaph and the tomb of the Unknown Warrior, as well as to the overseas battlefield and cemeteries, also emphasised the

⁵² Winter, *Sites of Memory*, p. 116.

⁵³ The series published both original material and translations into English of other key works.

⁵⁴ A King, *Memorials of The Great War in Britain: The Symbolism and Politics of Remembrance* (Oxford: Berg Publishers, 1998); A Gregory, *The Silence of Memory: Armistice Day 1919-1946* (Oxford: Berg Publishers, 1994); and D W Lloyd, *Battlefield Tourism: Pilgrimage and the Commemoration of the Great War in Britain, Australia and Canada, 1919-1939* (Oxford: Berg Publishers, 1998).

⁵⁵ King, *Symbolism and Politics of Remembrance*, pp. 2-3.

variety, complexity, ambiguity, and shifting nature of individual responses to the memorials and places they visited.⁵⁶ Gregory's examination of the evolution of Armistice Day brought out the different strands of the initial celebratory character of the day, an aspect that remained important to many ex-servicemen, its transformation into a day for the bereaved, and its uneasy relationship with the peace movements, and with the economic and social problems of the inter-war years. All three, by their emphasis on the diversity and complexity of the stories, were refuting, explicitly or otherwise, a thesis put forward by Bushaway. He had argued that the creation of war memorials, and the subsequent ceremonies focussed on them, were a vehicle for promoting a moderate conservatism, and for suppressing a critique of war and of the ills of society, thus preserving Britain from the growth of fascism.⁵⁷

King, Gregory and Lloyd had mainly been concerned with England, rather than Britain more generally. Work on Ireland, which had just begun to appear in the late 1980s, had become extensive, as a volume co-edited by Gregory in 2002 demonstrated. The Great War had a divisive role in Irish history, the common experience of service in that war being reshaped within the competing community ideologies of North and South, Protestant and Catholic.⁵⁸ An overview of the Welsh experience was provided by Gaffney. Somewhat surprisingly, she found that the use of the Welsh language was the least contentious topic of commemoration in the principality, location being the primary focus for disagreements. In the South Wales coalfields, she found the degree of cooperation and consensus between employers

⁵⁶ His chapter on Australia and Canada (pp. 181-215) also added useful material to the literature on the impact of the Great War on the development of nationhood, differentiating the experience of the two former colonies.

⁵⁷ B Bushaway, 'Name upon Name, The Great War and Remembrance', in R Porter (ed.), *Myths of the English* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1992), 136-167. For Lloyd, Bushaway had a "monolithic" view of society which failed to appreciate the extent to which public opinion modified and at times drove the commemorative process (Lloyd, *Battlefield Tourism*, p. 9).

⁵⁸ J Leonard, "'Lest We Forget'", in D Fitzpatrick (ed.), *Ireland and the First World War* (Dublin: Lilliput Press, 1988), 59-67; A Gregory and S Pařeta (eds.), *Ireland and the Great War: "A War to Unite Us All"?* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002). See also, for example, K Jeffery, *Ireland and the Great War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000). The intermittent "war" in the island from 1916 to the end of the century also had its memorials (N Jarman, 'Commemorating 1916, Celebrating Difference: Parading and Painting in Belfast', in A Forty and S Kuchler (eds.), *The Art of Forgetting* (Oxford: Berg, 1999), 171-196).

and employees unexpected, given the bitter disputes of the 1920s.⁵⁹ Scotland has yet to receive a comparable examination in published material, although the National Memorial in Edinburgh Castle precincts has been well covered from its creation onwards.⁶⁰ Studies of particular locations or areas appear regularly, in the academic press, in local and family history publishing and, increasingly, on the internet. One of the more substantial covered the City of London, and parts of the metropolis to the east of it.⁶¹ In a very different style, Moorhouse's study of Bury, in Lancashire, placed its commemoration in the context of the overall legacy of the town's involvement in the Gallipoli campaign.⁶² Other studies of more than local interest included those of the unique set of surviving street memorials in St Albans, the civic memorial in Cambridge, the contentious issue of the location of the Bristol memorial, reflecting awareness of different spheres of influence there, class tensions in rural Norfolk and Shropshire, and problems of accommodating the views of different groups in a cluster of Sussex villages.⁶³ For Yorkshire, of particular interest are

⁵⁹ A Gaffney, *Aftermath - Remembering the Great War in Wales* (University of Wales Press, 1998); see pp. 133-151 for the language issue, pp. 152-169 for the similarly low profile of any distinctly Celtic dimension, and pp. 96-115 for the South Wales coalfield. A further Welsh study is J Bartlett and K M Ellis, 'Remembering the Dead in Northop: First World War Memorials in a Welsh Parish', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 34/2 (1999), 231-242.

⁶⁰ From L Weaver, *The Scottish National War Memorial: A Record and An Appreciation* (London: Country Life Ltd, 1927); and I Hay, *Their Name Liveth: The Scottish National War Memorial* (London: Bodley Head, 1931); to A Calder, 'The Scottish National War Memorial', in W Kidd and B Murdoch (eds.), *Memory and Memorials: The Commemorative Century* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 61-74. The Kidd and Murdoch compilation also contained two other useful articles, J A Black, 'Ordeal and Re-Affirmation: Masculinity and the Construction of Scottish and English National Identity in Great War Memorial Sculpture, 1919-30', 75-91; and W Kidd, "'To the Lads who came back": Memorial Windows and Rolls of Honour in Scotland', 107-126. There is also the unpublished thesis, G T Bell, 'Monuments to the Fallen: Scottish War Memorials of the Great War', PhD (Strathclyde, 1994), which is mainly, but not exclusively, concerned with the Glasgow area.

⁶¹ M Connelly, *The Great War, Memory and Ritual: Commemoration in the City and East London, 1916-1939* (Woodbridge: The Royal Historical Society in association with The Boydell Press, 2002).

⁶² G Moorhouse, *Hell's Foundations: A Town, Its Myths and Gallipoli* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1992).

⁶³ A Goodman, *The Street Memorials of St Albans Abbey Parish* (Hertford: St Albans and Hertfordshire Architectural and Archaeological Society, 1987); K S Inglis, 'The Homecoming - The War Memorial Movement in Cambridge, England', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 27/4 (1992), 583-605; P Gough and S Morgan, 'Manipulating the Metonymic: The Politics of Civic Identity and the Bristol Cenotaph 1919-1932', *Journal of Historical Geography*, 30/4 (2004), 665-684; N Mansfield, 'Class Conflict and Village War

articles on York and Harrogate, and two books on communities adjacent to Huddersfield.⁶⁴ A very different study highlighted memorials to those from Britain who fought in the International Brigade in the Spanish Civil War.⁶⁵

Other themes explored have been the roles of the bereaved and of ex-servicemen, both as separate groups to be taken account of in the decision-making processes, and as participants in unveiling ceremonies whose presence was often reflected in the rhetoric used. Gregory, in particular, concentrated on the relationship of the bereaved to commemorative ceremonial. They were, he argued, at the centre of formal remembrance in Britain; in contrast to France, where the veterans were dominant, and Germany, where the fallen soldiers and the rebuilding of national pride were the main focus. Nevertheless, what he termed the “multivocality” of British commemoration did not alienate the ex-servicemen.⁶⁶ Discussion of the bereaved and the veterans has often also included the tensions between those advocating functional memorials, and those rejecting the utilitarian in favour of the purely monumental, although the proponents of such views were rarely so neatly divided.⁶⁷ There has, however, been a strange tendency to discuss those groups as though they were mutually exclusive, despite evidence that servicemen felt the loss

Memorials, 1914-24', *Rural History*, 6/1 (1995), 67-87; and K Grieves, 'Investigating Local War Memorial Committees: Demobilised Soldiers, the Bereaved and Expressions of Local Pride in Sussex Villages 1918-21', *The Local Historian*, 30/1 (2000), 39-58.

⁶⁴ G M Jones, 'The Yorkshire County Memorial: A History of the Yorkshire County Memorial, York, for the Second Anglo-Boer War, 1899-1902', *York Historian*, 12 (1995), 62-81; S Claughton, 'The Harrogate Civic War Memorial: Attitudes to the War and War Dead', *York Historian*, 14 (1997), 62-71; K W Mitchinson, *Saddleworth 1914-1919: The Experience of a Pennine Community during the Great War* (Saddleworth: Saddleworth Historical Society, 1995); and D Tattersfield, *A Village Goes to War: A History of the Men of Ravensthorpe who fell in the Great War* (2nd edn.; York: Barkers Trident Communications, 2001).

⁶⁵ C Williams, B Alexander, and J Gorman, *Memorials of the Spanish Civil War* (Stroud: Alan Sutton, 1996).

⁶⁶ Gregory, *Silence of Memory*, p. 226. In his most recent book, the emphasis has changed somewhat, arguing that commemoration was about the bereaved rather than for them, in that their name was used in arguments supporting many different positions (Gregory, *The Last Great War: British Society and the First World War*, pp. 255-256 and footnote 10). See also King, *Symbolism and Politics of Remembrance*, pp. 80, 90-92, and Grieves, 'Local War Memorial Committees. For the messages, explicit and implicit, conveyed by the unveiling and dedication ceremonies, see also Connelly, *Memory and Ritual*, pp. 54-66.

⁶⁷ See, for example, Gaffney, *Aftermath*, pp. 69-95, and Mansfield, 'Class Conflict and Village War Memorials, 1914-24', pp. 75-78.

of their comrades acutely, whatever the military pressures militating against the expression of that emotion.⁶⁸ Another important theme has been the importance of the individual names of the dead being recorded, and the considerable practical problems in agreeing the resulting lists.⁶⁹ In the British and Australasian contexts particularly, preserving the names of those who served was also of considerable importance, both during and after the war.⁷⁰

King, Gregory and Lloyd all recorded the involvement of the churches in almost every aspect of British commemoration, at both national and local levels. Gregory devoted a chapter to the formal part they played in national days of prayer during the war, and in the evolution of Armistice Day and, later, Remembrance Sunday.⁷¹ For King, individual clergy and church congregations were frequent players in the often complex processes of agreeing and implementing war memorials schemes, and traditional religious symbols were an important element of the context.⁷² Lloyd warned against attempting to make rigid distinctions between the sacred and the profane, pilgrimage or tourism, when considering the phenomena he examined. The “popular sense of the sacred” by no means always corresponded with that of the churches, but religion was an important part of the mourning process, working against any tendency towards a cult of the fallen or the creation of a civil

⁶⁸ D Rees, *Death and Bereavement: The Psychological, Religious and Cultural Interfaces* (2nd edn.; London: Whurr Publishers, 2001), pp. 179-180. Similarly, the elite are sometimes treated as having no overlap with either the bereaved or the veterans.

⁶⁹ For a general discussion, see T W Laqueur, 'Memory and Naming in the Great War', in J R Gillis (ed.), *Commemorations - The Politics of National Identity* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 150-167, although he was primarily concerned with the overseas war cemeteries and those with no known grave. A study of the village of Ravensthorpe recorded overlapping commemorations – civic/civic and religious/civic – and those war dead who were recorded in contemporary newspapers but appeared on no extant local memorial (Tattersfield, *A Village Goes to War*). See also Bartlett, 'Remembering the Dead', p.237.

⁷⁰ For example, C Switzer, '“Letters of imperishable gold”: lists of names in the experience and commemoration of the Great War', *Local Historian*, 38/3 (2008), 205-215, pp. 210-214; Inglis, *Sacred Places*, pp. 179-189.

⁷¹ Gregory, *Silence of Memory*, pp.184-211. For Scotland, see also the unpublished thesis, F C Douglas, 'Ritual and Remembrance: the Church of Scotland and National Services of Thanksgiving and Remembrance after Four Wars in the Twentieth Century', PhD (Edinburgh, 1996).

⁷² King, *Symbolism and Politics of Remembrance*. His introduction noted that there were many other aspects of the role of religion in commemoration which were outside the scope of his study (pp. 16-17).

religion.⁷³ Both King and Gregory pointed to differences between the involvement of the different denominations in England⁷⁴. However, that aspect has not, in the main, been explored in more depth in other studies.⁷⁵ There are two accounts of the commemoration of war within Nonconformist groups in England.⁷⁶ Some feel for the situation in Scotland is gained from articles by Brown and MacLeod.⁷⁷

Contextual material for the religious aspects of the Great War ought to be more plentiful than it is. Otherwise valuable studies based on oral history have remarkably little about any aspect of the war and its aftermath.⁷⁸ The war appears in the debates about the nature and timing of secularisation, and brief sections on the Cenotaph, the Unknown Warrior and Armistice Day are common in many publications.⁷⁹

⁷³ Lloyd, *Battlefield Tourism*, pp. 6 and 219. The most extensive discussions of civil religion in the context of war memorials are Parsons, *Perspectives on Civil Religion*, particularly pp. 11-68 and 105-134, and Inglis, *Sacred Places*, pp. 458-471.

⁷⁴ King recorded instances, in Staffordshire, Yorkshire, and Cumberland, where nonconformists contested the assumed primacy of the Church of England (King, *Symbolism and Politics of Remembrance*, pp. 88-90). Gregory discussed Methodist and Roman Catholic stances Gregory, *Silence of Memory*, pp. 196-205.

⁷⁵ Gaffney had a tantalising reference to a letter to the Merthyr Express objecting to a cross as the format for the proposed memorial, on the grounds that it would be objectionable to the majority nonconformist community in the village concerned; that intervention apparently had no effect (Gaffney, *Aftermath*, pp. 120-121). Mansfield, 'Class Conflict and Village War Memorials, 1914-24' had a brief section mentioning various examples of tensions, including dissenters in St Ives, Huntingdonshire, objecting to a cross as a "symbol of popery, ritualism and idolatry", particularly "shameful" near the statue of Oliver Cromwell (pp. 79-80).

⁷⁶ C Binfield, *Pastors and People: The Biography of a Baptist Church, Queen's Road, Coventry* (Coventry: Alan Sutton, 1984), pp. 166-175, 198-199. B M Doyle, 'Religion, Politics and Remembrance: A Free Church Community and its Great War Dead', in M Evans and K Lunn (eds.), *War and Memory in the Twentieth Century* (Oxford: Berg, 1997), 223-238 examined how the war death of a prominent young leader affected a Baptist community and the Liberal establishment in Norwich.

⁷⁷ J L Macleod, "'Greater Love Hath No Man Than This': Scotland's Conflicting Religious Responses to Death in the Great War', *Scottish Historical Review*, 81/211 (2002), 70-96; S J Brown, "'A Solemn Purification by Fire': Responses to the Great War in the Scottish Presbyterian Churches, 1914-1919', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 45/1 (1994), 82-104.

⁷⁸ S Humphries, *Hooligans or Rebels? An Oral History of Working-Class Childhood and Youth 1889-1939* (1995 reprint edn.; Oxford: Blackwell, 1981), E Roberts, *A Woman's Place: An Oral History of Working Class Women 1890-1940* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1984), R Roberts, *The Classic Slum: Salford Life in the First Quarter of the Century* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1971). S C Williams, *Religious Belief and Popular Culture in Southwark c. 1880-1939* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999) has a little more.

⁷⁹ For a fairly recent summary of the secularisation issue, see K D M Snell and P S Ell, *Rival Jerusalems: The Geography of Victorian Religion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 395-420.

However, for a sustained treatment, much rests on a pair of books by Wilkinson, one concerned mainly with the Church of England and the war, and the other extending the discussion to the Nonconformists, with some treatment of the Roman Catholics.⁸⁰ The Quaker strand of pacifism, and the attractions of Spiritualism have received disproportionate attention.⁸¹ Recently Snape has published an extensive study, taking up the issues raised in a contemporary report, which highlighted the gulf between orthodox Christianity and popular religion amongst servicemen.⁸²

The art historical contribution has continued, although more frequently now incorporated into broader discussions rather than published as separate studies.⁸³ The recent appearance of remembrance as a topic in the national curriculum, media

⁸⁰ A Wilkinson, *The Church of England and the First World War* (London: SPCK, 1978) and A Wilkinson, *Dissent or Conform? War, Peace and the English Churches 1900-1945* (London: SCM Press Ltd, 1986). A Marrin, *The Last Crusade: The Church of England in the First World War* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1974) is also useful, as is the unpublished thesis, S Mews, 'Religion and English Society in the First World War', PhD (Cambridge, 1973). Further Nonconformist material includes C Binfield, *So Down to Prayers - Studies in English Nonconformity 1780-1920* (London: J M Dent & Sons, 1977), Chapter 11; and A P F Sell and A R Cross (eds.), *Protestant Nonconformity in the Twentieth Century* (Carlisle: Paternoster Press, 2003), pp. 33-62, 185-193, and 240-263. J Wolffe, *God and Greater Britain: Religion and National Life in Britain and Ireland 1843-1945* (London: Routledge, 1994) is a stimulating study across a broader timescale.

⁸¹ M Ceadal, *Pacifism in Britain 1914-1945: The Defining of a Faith* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980); T C Kennedy, *British Quakerism 1860-1920: The Transformation of a Religious Community* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001). Spiritualism had an emotional significance in the First World War period well beyond its numerical size, and was one which crossed class boundaries (J M Winter, 'Spiritualism and the First World War', in R Davis and R J Helmstadter (eds.), *Religion and Irreligion in Victorian Society: Essays in Honor of R K Webb* (London: Routledge, 1992), 185-200 and Winter, *Sites of Memory*, pp. 54-77).

⁸² M Snape, *God and the British Soldier: Religion and the British Army in the First and Second World Wars* (London: Routledge, 2005); D S Cairns (ed.), *The Army and Religion: An Enquiry and Its Bearing upon the Religious Life of the Nation* (London: Macmillan & Co, 1919).

⁸³ A J Frantzen, *Bloody Good: Chivalry, Sacrifice and the Great War* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004) and C Poulson, 'Galahad and war memorial imagery of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries', *Nineteenth-Century Contexts*, 21/4 (2000), 493-512, both taking up the earlier discussion in M Girouard, *The Return to Camelot: Chivalry and the English Gentleman* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981). Also J Brown, *Lutyens and The Edwardians: An English Architect and His Clients* (Viking, 1996) and G Stamp, *The Memorial to the Missing of the Somme* (London: Profile Books, 2006). Note also the admiration displayed in J S Curl, *Death and Architecture: An Introduction to Funerary and Commemorative Buildings in the Western European Tradition, with Some Consideration of Their Settings* (Stroud: Sutton Publishing Ltd, 2002) for the visual impact of the memorials created by fascism.

coverage of the various First and Second World War anniversaries, and the extraordinary growth in family history, have provided additional audiences for publications on war memorials, particularly those with a strong visual appeal.⁸⁴ Utilitarian memorials have attracted much less attention, a matter of particular concern as continuing awareness of their commemorative nature tends to be eroded with time.⁸⁵ However, museums, both as war memorials in themselves, and as repositories for war memorabilia, have been studied.⁸⁶ There has been a limited attempt to explore the potentially distinct category of peace memorials and their political context.⁸⁷

The availability in English of material on commemoration in other countries has also expanded, whether of single areas or of a more comparative nature, although the emphasis remains predominantly on Western Europe, North America, and Australasia.⁸⁸ Some of the more unusual discuss memorials on both sides of the Gallipoli conflict,⁸⁹ Allied war graves in Palestine, and war in the development of

⁸⁴ For example, the English Heritage Pocket Book P Ashley, *Lest We Forget: War Memorials* (Swindon: English Heritage, 2004), J Corke, *War Memorials in Britain* (Princes Risborough: Shire Books, 2005), and a stunning collection of photographs of the war cemeteries under the care of the Commonwealth War Graves Commission, with a brief history of the Commission J Summers, *Remembered: The History of the Commonwealth War Graves Commission, 1917-2007* (London: Merrell, 2007). Three publications by Quinlan, available as both e-books and conventional paperbacks, attempted to provide information for a number of different audiences with many illustrations, and background notes on the artists and architects involved M Quinlan, *British War Memorials* (Authors on Line, 2005), M Quinlan, *Remembrance* (Authors on Line, 2005), M Quinlan, *Sculptors and Architects of Remembrance* (Authors on Line, 2007).

⁸⁵ See p. 30 below.

⁸⁶ G Kavanagh, *Museums and the First World War: A Social History* (London: Leicester University Press, 1994); and S Worthy, 'Communities of Remembrance: Making of Auckland's War Memorial Museum', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 39/4 (2004), 599-618.

⁸⁷ P Gough, 'Can Peace be set in Stone?' *Times Higher Education Supplement*, 4 April (2003).

⁸⁸ Material about Canada has been significantly expanded (D L A Gordon and B S Osborne, 'Constructing National Identity in Canada's Capital 1900-2000: Confederate Square and the National War Memorial', *Journal of Historical Geography*, 30 (2004), 618-642; Vance, *Death So Noble*).

⁸⁹ J McQuilton, 'Gallipoli and Contested Commemorative Space', in J Macleod (ed.), *Gallipoli: Making History* (London: Frank Cass, 2004), 150-158. See also J Tatum, *The Mourner's Song: War and Remembrance from the Iliad to Vietnam* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2003), pp. 23-24, for Atatürk's monument to the British and

Israeli identity,⁹⁰ and a memorial to the impact of the Boer War on women and children.⁹¹ Two comparative studies of commemoration in Britain and Germany have added significantly to perspectives on both countries, and a study from a German art historical perspective focussed on the political use of memorials over more than a century.⁹²

Such material offers a salutary reminder that an appreciation of context is essential in discussing war commemoration, as elsewhere. In countries such as France and Germany, where fighting was on or adjacent to the home territory, and where many bodies could be repatriated, there was inevitably a more obviously intertwined relationship between war graves, war memorials, and national monuments to victory or heroic defeat. In contrast, where fighting was half a world away, and repatriation of the dead impractical or forbidden, war graves overseas and war memorials at home were clearly distinct. For Britain, although distances from the battlefields, at least in terms of the Western Front in the Great War, were not substantial, government policy against repatriation compelled a demarcation between war graves and monuments to battles, which were predominantly overseas, and war memorials at home. In the United States, however, experience of a civil war, and of a different repatriation policy in overseas wars, created a situation which shared some of the characteristics of both ends of the spectrum. The political and religious

Commonwealth dead at Gallipoli, and to their mothers, a rare example of a memorial to enemy dead prompted by post-war (1934) politics.

⁹⁰ R Fuchs, 'Sites of Memory in the Holy Land: the design of the British war cemeteries in Mandate Palestine', *Journal of Historical Geography*, 30 (2004), 643-664; and A B Amos, 'War Commemoration and the Formation of Israeli National Identity', *Journal of Political and Military Sociology*, 31/2 (2003), 171-195.

⁹¹ A Grundlingh, 'The National Women's Monument: The Making and Mutation of Meaning in Afrikaner Memory of the South African War', in G Cuthbertson, A Grundlingh, and M-L Suttie (eds.), *Writing a Wider War: Rethinking Gender, Race, and Identity in the South African War, 1899-1902* (Athens Ohio and Cape Town: Ohio University Press and David Philip Publishers, 2002), 18-36. For more conventional responses see A S Thompson, 'Publicity, Philanthropy and Commemoration: British Society and the War', in D Omissi and A S Thompson (eds.), *The Impact of the South African War* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002), 99-123.

⁹² Frantzen, *Bloody Good: Chivalry, Sacrifice and the Great War*; S Goebel, *The Great War and Medieval Memory: War, Remembrance and Medievalism in Britain and Germany, 1914-1940* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007); and S Michalski, *Public Monuments: Art in Public Bondage 1870-1997* (London: Reaktion Books, 1998). Goebel, particularly, is more wide-ranging than its title might suggest.

structures of individual countries also affected the nature of commemoration. The foreword, by Inglis, to the English translation of Becker's *La Guerre et La Foi*, usefully drew out some of the legal, practical and emotional consequences of the separation of church and state in France, and how war memorials in France and Britain differed because of them.⁹³ Inglis also highlighted the roles of the Labor Party and the Catholic Church in the bitter controversies over conscription in Australia, and their consequences for memorials and dedication ceremonies.⁹⁴

The broader contextual material for the commemoration of war is potentially limitless, going well beyond the discipline of history. Perhaps the earliest discussion of war memorials in an academic context other than the art historical, was published, in 1949, by a sociologist at Smith College in the United States, as an attempt to step back from the “polemical, either-or terms” of the post-war battle between those advocating “living memorials” and those “who resent the intrusion of secular purposes into sacred spheres”. Barber took Durkheim's discussion of social symbol, physical space and the values of society, and applied it to the purposes for which war memorials were intended and the implications of that for their nature, in the hope that such a sociological analysis would “add to our knowledge as well as facilitate practical planning”.⁹⁵ That initiative seems to have been an isolated example until the 1990s, when social scientists from a number of disciplines began to consider aspects of war. Coetzee and Shevin-Coetzee edited a collection around the theme of manifestations of kinship broader than the family, during and after the First World War, sometimes referred to as fictive kinship.⁹⁶ Much attention has been given to attempting to analyse the creation of memory and the processes of remembering,

⁹³ A Becker, *War and Faith: The Religious Imagination in France 1914-1930*, trans. H McPhail (Oxford: Berg, 1998), pp. ix-xiii. For the French state involvement in the financing, design, inscriptions, and even the determination of those whose names could be included, see also Inglis, '10 Questions', p. 9.

⁹⁴ Inglis, *Sacred Places*, pp. 112-122.

⁹⁵ B Barber, 'Place, Symbol and Utilitarian Function in War Memorials', *Social Forces*, 28 (1949), 64-68. Although a commendably even-handed discussion, the author's own reservations about utilitarian memorials are clear.

⁹⁶ F Coetzee and M Shevin-Coetzee (eds.), *Authority, Identity and the Social History of the Great War* (Oxford: Bergahn Books, 1995), particularly Winter's section on communities in mourning.

forgetting and recreating.⁹⁷ Some of the complexities of that process have been examined through the experience of three members of veterans' organisations in Australia.⁹⁸ Davies, writing on war memorials within the context of a sociology of death, grouped his analysis around such themes as dominant ideologies, expression of communal need, concepts of male duty, the transference of symbolism from a liturgical to a monumental setting, and the shared iconography of the cross as a defining characteristic of Europe.⁹⁹ That preoccupation with implied power relationships was taken up by Tarlow, in the context of an archaeological study of Orcadian commemoration of the dead from pre-history to the First World War, in which she argued for an archaeology of emotion to set alongside the accepted themes of power and economics, thus making explicit an underlying strand in the examination of artefacts relating to death.¹⁰⁰ Frameworks for differentiating the states of bereavement, grief and mourning, and for discussing the extent to which they are universal or culturally dependant, as well as the means used to assist those in that position, have exercised anthropologists, sociologists, psychologists and theologians.¹⁰¹

In traditional historical terms, emotion is not easily susceptible to analysis because of the absence of reliable source material about its nature and impact.

⁹⁷ See, for example the preface to M Evans and K Lunn (eds.), *War and Memory in the Twentieth Century* (Oxford: Berg, 1997); N Wood, *Vectors of Memory: Legacies of Trauma in Postwar Europe* (Oxford: Berg, 1999); A King, 'Remembering and Forgetting in the Public Memorials of the Great War', in A Forty and S Küchler (eds.), *The Art of Forgetting* (Oxford: Berg, 1999), 147-170; and M Rowlands, 'Remembering to Forget: Sublimation as Sacrifice in War Memorials', in the same edited volume, 129-146. For a "health warning" on collective memory see J Bourke, "'Remembering" War', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 39/4 (2004), 473-486.

⁹⁸ A Thomson, *Anzac Memories: Living with a Legend* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1994).

⁹⁹ J Davies, 'War Memorials', in D Clark (ed.), *The Sociology of Death: Theory, Culture, Practice* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers in association with The Sociological Review, 1993).

¹⁰⁰ S Tarlow, 'An Archaeology of Remembering: Death, Bereavement and the First World War', *Cambridge Archaeological Journal*, 7/1 (1997), 105-121, S Tarlow, *Bereavement and Commemoration: An Archaeology of Mortality* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1999). See also R Gilchrist, 'Introduction: Towards A Social Archaeology of Warfare', *World Archaeology*, 35/1 (2003), 1-6.

¹⁰¹ A convenient summary of the definitions is in Gregory, *Silence of Memory*, pp. 19-21. D J Davies, *Death, Ritual and Belief: The Rhetoric of Funerary Rites* (2nd edn.; London: Continuum, 2002) brings together a wide range of different approaches.

Broader approaches can consequently be helpful. However, conclusions applicable to almost all forms of death and bereavement, for example, are not necessarily immediately transferable to the highly specific circumstances of British war memorials. The basic frameworks can indeed be applied to a range of situations but proper account needs to be taken of the singularity of World War I in terms of what had gone before. Although individually each of the factors involved had some parallel with other events – some civil disasters had similar characteristics – taken together the distinctive features of that war made it unique. Those factors were: the remains of the dead were buried elsewhere, in many cases anonymously; the location of the graves was often lost or obliterated; the dead were not commemorated individually but as a group¹⁰²; the immediate relatives of the dead were not the sole, or even necessarily the main, players in the creation of the memorials; death came not as the result of illness, old age, accident or natural disaster¹⁰³, nor as the result of a single event in one place, but as the result of a drawn-out process spread over more than four years and hundreds of miles; moreover, some of the dead were volunteers, others conscripts, all were servicemen¹⁰⁴ but most were not contained within the traditionally closed community of the regular military; all were male, and young or in early middle age, but in class, religion, occupation and all other forms of affiliation they were as varied as the communities from which they came. A second difficulty is the need to differentiate between actions and intentions at the time of the creation of memorials, and the subsequent shifts of meaning attaching to those memorials over subsequent years.¹⁰⁵ Both are legitimate targets for study. The problem lies in the

¹⁰² In addition to the main form of commemoration there were, of course, also some private memorials to individuals.

¹⁰³ Although, amongst the names recorded on memorials, there are deaths attributable to a number of non-military causes.

¹⁰⁴ In addition there are civilians commemorated, both men and women, such as nurses, ambulance staff and munitions workers.

¹⁰⁵ Gregory, *Silence of Memory* and Lloyd, *Battlefield Tourism* are both excellent examples of studies that make that distinction clear. Connelly, however, has far too one-dimensional a view in asserting that an approach which ends with the dedication and unveiling of memorials “largely misses the point of the memorials, that they were built to serve the cause of remembrance in order to ensure that the names of the dead did indeed live for ever” (Connelly, *Memory and Ritual*, p. 4).

latter unduly influencing historical interpretation of the former, and in descriptive and analytical writing in which the chronological sequence is difficult to disentangle.

The academic and popular reputation of the First World War has itself been an evolving concept, a “myth” whose creation historians have increasingly sought to document and whose “facts” they have challenged.¹⁰⁶ War poetry, and to a lesser extent, war prose played an important role in the creation of the modern picture of the Great War. Yet, very surprisingly given the enormous effort involved in the creation of war memorials at national and local level, their appearance in that literature is extremely sparse. Sassoon created three poems on war memorials, two of them contemporary, but they were the exception, and have themselves rarely been chosen for anthologies.¹⁰⁷ However, most of the poetry and prose produced at the time has been lost completely, or is almost never included in anthologies, as being of no literary merit.¹⁰⁸ An illuminating exception is Reilly’s collection of women’s work which revealed a range of often conflicting emotions aroused by war memorials.¹⁰⁹

The Nature of the Evidence and its Impact on the Study

In 1988, the Imperial War Museum, and the Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England, initiated a project for the creation of a United

¹⁰⁶ Todman, *The Great War: Myth and Memory* provided an excellent deconstruction of “what everybody knows” about the war. See also J M Winter, *Remembering War: The Great War between Memory and History in the Twentieth Century* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006); and S Heathorn, 'The Mnemonic Turn in the Cultural Historiography of Britain's Great War', *Historical Journal*, 48/4 (2005), 1103-1124. The “curse of hindsight” has also been the focus of Gregory’s most recent book (Gregory, *The Last Great War: British Society and the First World War*).

¹⁰⁷ “Memorial Tablet” (November 1918), “On Passing the New Menin Gate” (1928), and “At the Cenotaph” (c. 1939, when Ribbentrop laid a wreath) (S Sassoon, *Collected Poems 1908-1956* (London: Faber and Faber, 1961), pp. 95-96, 173 and 185). All are omitted from, for example, J Stallworthy (ed.), *The Oxford Book of War Poetry* (PB 1988 edn., Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984); J Silkin (ed.), *Penguin Book of First World War Poetry* (2nd revised edn., London: Allen Lane, 1996); and M Stephen (ed.), *Poems of the First World War "Never Such Innocence"* (London: Everyman (J M Dent), 1993). Similarly ignored is “London Stone”, also about the Cenotaph (11 Nov. 1923) (P Keating (ed.), *Rudyard Kipling: Selected Poems*, ed. C Ricks (London: Penguin, 1993), pp. 181-182).

¹⁰⁸ For one of the most popular wartime poets, John Oxenham, see Chapter 6, p. 182.

¹⁰⁹ C Reilly (ed.) *Scars Upon My Heart: Women's Poetry and Verse of the First World War* (London: Virago, 1981). Contrast, for example, three other responses to the Cenotaph: "The Tenth Armistice Day" S Gertrude Ford, pp. 38-39, "The Cenotaph" Charlotte Mew, p. 71, and "The Cenotaph" Ursula Roberts, p. 93.

Kingdom National Inventory of War Memorials (UKNIWM).¹¹⁰ The information for the inventory was gathered entirely by volunteers, initially through the support of the Federation of Family History Societies, the Royal British Legion, and the Western Front Association, and later through contacts with bodies such as the War Memorials Trust, local history groups, and parish councils. When the Inventory was officially launched, in November 2001, it had some 47,000 entries.¹¹¹ Since November 2005, following a collaboration with the Channel 4 documentary series “Lost Generation”, the database has been available on a dedicated website. Information relating to existing memorials, and those newly erected, continues to be submitted, and added to the Inventory.¹¹² The first template produced by the project coordinators allowed for the recording of a very comprehensive range of information. Nevertheless, it was recognised from the outset that the over-riding need was to record the existence, location and condition of each memorial. Consequently, it was better to have partial information submitted than to deter potential volunteers by requiring fully completed templates. In practice, most entries have little more than can be learnt from an examination of the memorial itself. Despite that, the database’s national coverage makes it a unique tool for researchers with many different interests.¹¹³

Given its reliance on volunteers, the coverage of the Inventory is, inevitably, uneven. At the beginning of March 2001, 21 memorials were recorded as being

¹¹⁰ The Royal Commission is now part of English Heritage. The project also aimed to provide conservation advice, a function which is now co-ordinated by English Heritage and its equivalents elsewhere in the United Kingdom, and linked to the provision of grants for restoration and maintenance. Recording schemes were already underway in Australia and New Zealand, as was one started by the Association of Northumberland Local History Societies (J Brown, 'Recording War Memorials in Northumberland', *The Local Historian*, 26/4 (1996), 209-222).

¹¹¹ S Croad (ed.), *The War Memorials Handbook* (2nd edn., London: Imperial War Museum for the UK National Inventory of War Memorials Committee, 2001), pp. 8-9.

¹¹² Some 56,000 memorials are listed on the website <www.ukniwm.org.uk>, and the Inventory holds about 62,000 paper files. In 2006-2007, 3,078 forms, with information on new and already recorded memorials, were submitted (UKNIWM Development and Access Plan 2008-2011, pp. 6-9).

¹¹³ Many other war memorial databases have now been created, including a substantial number of web-based ones, and they are invaluable for providing a means of sharing information gathered by individuals, and by local or special interest groups, with a wider audience. Of particular relevance to this thesis are those at <www.yorkshireindexers.co.uk>, <www.roll-of-honour.com/Yorkshire>, and <[www2.kirklees.gov.uk/community/war memorial/area_list.aspx](http://www2.kirklees.gov.uk/community/war%20memorial/area_list.aspx)>.

within the area of the old Huddersfield Borough. On an initial assumption that every Anglican parish church would have had at least one, and that many other places of worship would also have had a memorial, the probable gap between the actual number of memorials originally produced, and the number entered into UKNIWM, was judged considerable. A further comparison between the present day local authorities of Kirklees (in which Huddersfield lies) and Calderdale (the adjacent authority, with its centre in Halifax) showed 334 entries for Calderdale and only 90 for Kirklees, even though the West Yorkshire material was one of the first batches to be transferred from paper files to electronic storage.¹¹⁴ Consequently, improving the material held on the Huddersfield area in the National Inventory, not only in terms of the numbers of memorials, but also in relation to the range of information recorded, became a subsidiary aim of this study.¹¹⁵ The data held on the Inventory about Huddersfield came initially from a survey undertaken by a small group of interested individuals working with staff of the Tolson Museum.¹¹⁶ Although the amount of contextual material collected was sparse, the survey nevertheless recorded some information which remains the only extant evidence for the history of a few memorials.

The National Archives contain no substantive holdings on local activity, reflecting the absence of any central framework for local war memorials in Britain. The collections of the Imperial War Museum contain random acquisitions of press cuttings and photographs, which sometimes preserve items missing from their original context, as well as diaries, correspondence, transcripts of interviews and other material.¹¹⁷ The main archival resource is the West Yorkshire Archive Service, whose Kirklees office, located in Huddersfield, is the normal place of deposit for most local bodies, including the pre-1974 borough council records. The main

¹¹⁴ The first data base, designed for in-house use, permitted searches by post-1974 local authority area. The public on-line database has a different search engine so a more up-to-date comparison cannot be made. However, the figure for the area of the old Huddersfield borough has only increased by about 17.

¹¹⁵ Although the data held in the Inventory mainly relates to memorials which are still extant, material on those which have not survived is also welcomed.

¹¹⁶ Itself a war memorial (see Chapter 4). The Kirklees Military History Society took the lead in the survey, conducted over the period 1987-1994.

¹¹⁷ However, nothing of significant interest has been identified relating to Huddersfield.

exceptions are Church of England material, which is held at the Service's Wakefield headquarters, Roman Catholic records, some of which are deposited at the diocesan archives in Leeds, and papers of the Society of Friends, which form part of the Special Collections of the University of Leeds.¹¹⁸ Surveying the availability of local records, it became clear that, in addition to complete sets of council minutes, those of the War Memorial Committee for the borough had survived.¹¹⁹ Minute books for the period were also available for about 80% of Anglican churches within the borough, 70% of Congregational and Presbyterian, 58% of Methodist, and 43% of Baptist churches. No records for St Patrick's Roman Catholic church or its daughter churches have survived, other than registers of births and marriages.¹²⁰ Contemporary records for other voluntary associations were almost completely absent.

The Huddersfield Local Studies Library is the other main resource for local material. In addition to extensive holdings of published secondary sources of local interest¹²¹, the library holds bound copies of borough council minutes and similar records, as well as film and fiche copies of other key resources, most notably, those of the archives of local newspapers. At the outbreak of war, Huddersfield had two general newspapers: the *Examiner*, a Liberal paper with daily and weekly editions, which is still in production, and the *Chronicle*, a Conservative daily and weekly paper, that closed in June 1916. Local historians who have used it extensively,

¹¹⁸ The Borthwick Institute at the University of York also holds material relating to the Catholic Apostolic Church in Huddersfield.

¹¹⁹ Although its existence was not catalogued, as the minutes were filed as part of the War Hospital papers.

¹²⁰ Given the number of Methodist churches, it was originally intended to adopt a selective approach to their records, but the actual patterns of survival were such that all available records were examined. Although the proportion of available Congregational records is high, one of the key chapels, Milton, is missing.

¹²¹ The town has been fortunate in having two full-length and reasonably scholarly histories written over the period 1898-1968, followed by an excellent compilation in the 1990s: D F E Sykes, *The History of Huddersfield and its Vicinity* (Huddersfield: Advertiser Press, 1898); R Brook, *The Story of Huddersfield* (London: Macgibbon & Kee, 1968); E A H Haigh (ed.) *Huddersfield, A Most Handsome Town: Aspects of the History and Culture of a West Yorkshire Town* (Huddersfield: Kirklees Cultural Services, 1992). The numerous histories of local organisations, although of widely varying quality, are potentially invaluable, in that they may reflect the contents of records which have not survived, or are not accessible, as well as the oral memories of a generation now almost all dead.

maintain that the *Examiner* was usually a reliable and comprehensive paper of record, a judgement which has not been undermined by the present study. The weekly edition of the *Examiner* served a dual purpose, being the Saturday daily paper and also carrying a reprise of the main stories from the previous week, for readers in outlying districts who did not necessarily take the daily edition. Saturday's paper also carried a greater proportion of stories from those districts.¹²²

The availability of evidence from the war memorials themselves is limited not only by their survival, and accessibility, but also by the extent to which their original purpose is still recalled. Memorials were created in public places and on private property. Some were not obviously memorials but took other forms such as buildings, equipment, open spaces and trees; others never had a physical existence but were scholarships, endowments and similar creations. Utilitarian memorials were most easily lost sight of, as buildings and landscapes were redesigned, ownership changed, facilities were updated, and financial holdings restructured and merged. Even where part or the whole of such a memorial remains, the present owners, occupiers or administrators may be completely unaware of its original significance. By their nature, artefacts with a solely memorial function located in a public place had probably the highest chance of survival, but were also vulnerable to vandalism, and to urban regeneration projects. Permanently fixed memorials in Anglican churches (as opposed to documents, such as rolls of honour) ought to have been well protected, since their alteration, re-siting or removal required diocesan permission, as did their original creation.¹²³ In all other contexts, unless a memorial, or the structure in which it was located, was listed, there was no general, legal, restraint on its fate. When a memorial was affected by redevelopment, many owners took great care to ensure an appropriate new home in an alternative location or local museum, and, in recent years, a few have found their way to the National Memorial

¹²² Two papers with a much more sectional readership were *The Worker*, a socialist weekly paper, that closed in November 1922, and *The Factory Times and Workers' Weekly Record*, a working class weekly, with strong connections with Huddersfield. The title of the latter and its place of publication varied (it was the *Labour Pioneer* from 29 Nov. 1919 to 29 June 1922), and it finally ceased publication at the end of April 1926.

¹²³ See Chapter 5, pp. 141-146.

Arboretum in Alrewas, Staffordshire.¹²⁴ However, others turned up in car boot sales and rubbish tips. The 1960s and 1970s seem to have been a period when war memorials were particularly vulnerable to being discarded or destroyed, mainly because of their perceived associations with militaristic values, but also as a result of the widespread remodelling of the interiors of churches and chapels to “de-clutter” them and remove “distractions” from modern worship.¹²⁵

In Huddersfield, of approximately 44 Methodist places of worship extant in 1914, only about 6 are still in operation, and in the same building; that is the most extreme example, but other denominations have also undergone much change. Huddersfield suffered a catastrophic collapse of the textile and associated industries in the 1970s and 1980s, and many of the industrial buildings were demolished or left derelict, with successful regeneration projects being a much more recent phenomenon. The Royal Commission on Historical Monuments conducted a survey of West Riding buildings associated with the textile industry.¹²⁶ Its primary aim was to record the industrial archaeology, and only a limited sample of buildings was surveyed in detail. The presence of artefacts such as war memorials was noted only incidentally, if at all. Industrial and commercial paper records tend to have a low survival rate, so the combination of loss of buildings and of archives means that traces of war memorials created in such commercial environments are extremely sparse.¹²⁷

¹²⁴ One of many sites on which new memorials are being erected in a burst of activity which has not been matched since the end of the Second World War (Croad (ed.), *The War Memorials Handbook*, p. 6). The Arboretum opened in October 1997. Its increasing popularity, and its lack of any permanent funding, led to it being declared “full”, in November 2003 (Gough, 'Corporations and Commemoration: First World War Remembrance, Lloyds TSB and the National Memorial Arboretum', p. 449), but the position continues to be fluid, dependant on the financial situation, and the availability of volunteers.

¹²⁵ When a group of Methodist chapels came together in a new building in South Newsome, in the late 1970s, they were discouraged from transferring any memorials from the old buildings, and a number of war memorials are believed to have been destroyed at that time. (Personal and private communication, Oct. 2008)

¹²⁶ C Giles and I Goodall, *Yorkshire Textile Mills: The Buildings of the Yorkshire Textile Industry 1770-1930* (London: HMSO, 1992). A copy of the survey was deposited with the West Yorkshire Archive Service.

¹²⁷ P Hudson, *The West Riding Wool Textile Industry: A Catalogue of Business Records from the Sixteenth to the Twentieth Centuries* (Edington: Pasold Research Fund, 1975) did note a few items of material relating to the war, but none for Huddersfield firms.

The loss of any war memorial is sad, but the evidence that the original artefact can provide from its appearance alone, without contemporary records to provide context, is limited, and can even be misleading.¹²⁸ To obtain an accurate picture of the creation of the memorials of a particular area, the starting point has to be the contemporary sources rather than the artefacts as currently visible. Comprehensive coverage of every memorial created within a single borough will never be possible but, without information about those not immediately visible on the streets and in the principal churches, the characteristics of the overwhelming majority of commemorative tributes will be absent, and the account of the total experience of the community substantially diminished.

The original plan of research was constructed quite broadly, to permit the range and quality of the sources, and the intrinsic interest of the material discovered, to influence the final shape of the study. Once the extent of the availability of records from within the county borough became clear, it was decided to restrict coverage to the borough itself, and not to examine sources from neighbouring areas. Another early change, reflecting the encouraging range of surviving sources, was to discard any attempt to analyse the individual names on memorials, either as a means of illustrating the range of networks within which a casualty had moved, as shown by multiple commemorations, or as a contribution to the demographic debates about the characteristics of the dead.¹²⁹ It was thought some 4,500 Huddersfield men died in the war.¹³⁰ That decision, and the emerging picture of how many buildings likely to have contained memorials had been adapted to other uses, left to decay or been completely destroyed, reinforced the view that a low priority should be given to tracking down and recording memorials as presently existing, in the hope of

¹²⁸ A memorial in the churchyard of St Philip Birchencliffe appears, from its inscription, to be contemporary, but the church history confirms that it dates from September 1937 (D Crowther, *A History of St Philip's Church Birchencliffe 1877 - 2002: The First 125 Years* (Huddersfield, 2002), p. 76).

¹²⁹ Cannadine, 'War and Death', pp. 196-202; J M Winter, *The Great War and the British People* (London: Macmillan, 1985); D Silbey, *The British Working Class and Enthusiasm for War, 1914-1916* (London: Frank Cass, 2005), pp. 38-48.

¹³⁰ The figure for the whole borough was that mentioned in Sir Charles Harington's speech at the dedication of the Greenhead Park memorial (HDE 28 Apr. 1924).

supplementing the archival record.¹³¹ The study's focus on the contemporary record also helped to determine the extent to which efforts were made to draw upon the resources of the local community. It was felt that any general appeal for information about memorials, however carefully worded, was likely to result in much more about individual casualties, and about the war records of local regimental units, than about the main concerns of the study. Failing to appear to respond positively to such information might well lead to the feeling that the sacrifices made by their forebears were not being sufficiently valued. A much more selective approach was therefore adopted, with a few individuals known to have relevant interests being asked specific questions.

The lack of any substantial body of material relating to individual employers, and to the many social and sporting associations, was predictable. More surprising was the discovery that the records of the local Conservative party had been destroyed by fire in 1966. This meant that, as the local Conservative newspaper went out of production at an early stage of the war, and the remaining mainstream paper was owned and edited from the heart of the Liberal establishment, the available source material had an inherent bias. Consequently, it was decided not to reinforce that left-of-centre tendency by exploring the Liberal or Labour party archives, but to assess what impact Huddersfield's political complexion might have had on the commemorative process by means of borough council records and other non-party-political sources. The three main blocks of archival material for the study consequently emerged as the records of the borough, those of the churches and chapels, and the newspaper record. The themes emerging from that material focussed the final shape of the study on three aspects of commemoration within the borough, signalled by the use of the words "God, grief and community" in the title of the thesis.

The use of God in the title, rather than religion or churches, is intended to indicate that, although much of the archival evidence is from individual churches, the study has attempted to look beyond that institutional context to the part taken by ministers and other representatives of places of worship in the wider process of

¹³¹ Although that activity would need to be undertaken at a later date, to ensure that

commemoration, to the tensions created by the theological and pastoral implications of war and death, and to more general indications of a spiritual dimension to commemoration. Following the now well-accepted differentiation between bereavement, the factual state, grief, the emotion, and mourning, the culturally-determined expression of emotion and of the treatment of the bereaved, grief has been chosen for the title as indicating that the focus is on the emotions to which commemoration attempted to provide some comfort.¹³² Community, “one of the most widely used yet vague and elusive concepts in social science...[with] its diversity of meanings and the emotive undertones it usually evokes”, is used here because of “its perceived reality in most people’s lives”.¹³³ That “perceived reality” was a necessary part of the recognition by individuals of groups that certain individuals should be commemorated as “our” servicemen and “our” dead. It is not used here to indicate that the existence of that recognition was necessarily associated with positive, harmonious virtues.¹³⁴ Indeed, in a number of parts of the thesis the opposite is demonstrated.

Overall, the aim of the study has been to achieve as integrated a view as possible of the commemorative process in the pressurised context of mass bereavement. The main period covered by the study is that from the outbreak of war, in August 1914, to the dedication of the Cross of Sacrifice in Edgerton Cemetery, in October 1929. However, the discovery of the crucial role played by the continuing commemorative activity associated with the town’s Boer War memorial made a limited examination of the period prior to 1914 essential.

The definition of a war memorial used by the National Inventory covers any object where the inscription and/or purpose behind its erection or placement links it to a war or war casualty. The scope of this study has not extended to individual graves, either those marked by Commonwealth War Graves Commission headstones or by private markers, nor to the mention on private headstones of casualties buried

UKNIWM had the maximum information possible (see Chapter 11).

¹³² Gregory, *Silence of Memory*, pp. 19-24.

¹³³ C Shore’s entry for “Community” in W Outhwaite (ed.), *The Blackwell Dictionary of Modern Social Thought* (2nd edn., Oxford: Blackwell, 2003), pp. 101-102.

¹³⁴ Contrary to William’s assertion about its universally favourable implications (R Williams, *Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society* (London: Fontana, 1976), p. 76).

elsewhere. Commemoration has been used as a broader term encompassing memorials, services and other events. The life of a memorial, and its associated ceremonies, after the initial unveiling or dedication, are outside the scope of this study, although occasional use has been made of material from that later stage to clarify issues about a particular memorial. No attempt has been made to explore private commemoration such as special places or collections of articles within homes, or other individual or family rituals.¹³⁵ The thesis title refers to commemoration of the war rather than the dead, as those servicemen who returned, and the impact of war on families, were important parts of the town's post-war activity.

Structure of the Thesis

The following chapter, Chapter 2, gives an overview of Huddersfield in the period immediately preceding the outbreak of war, and indicates some of the key changes in the borough during and immediately after the conflict. Chapter 3 demonstrates how the town's Boer War memorial played a central role during and after the Great War, in contrast to experience elsewhere. The memorials created for the whole borough are discussed in Chapter 4, as well as those relating to the Council as employer. Chapter 5 focuses on wartime rolls of honour, and the part they played in developing a sense of communal identity for groups within the area, in relation to both the care of "our servicemen" and the remembrance of "our dead". This chapter also highlights the individuals and organisations, locally and nationally, who sought to influence the way commemoration was undertaken, a process which began at an early stage of the war. Chapters 6 and 7 contain an analysis of some of the themes arising from the many individual stories revealed in the archival and newspaper material. The first chapter of the pairing discusses the chronology and typology of memorials, their costs, the availability and deployment of local and national expertise

¹³⁵ See, for example, P Dutton, "'The Dead Man's Penny': A History of the Next of Kin Memorial Plaque', *Imperial War Museum Review*, 3 (1988), 60-68; S Callister, 'Picturing Loss: Family, Photographs and the Great War', *Round Table*, 393 (2007), 663-678; C Moriarty, "'Though in a Picture Only": Portrait Photography and the Commemoration of the First World War', in G Braybon (ed.), *Evidence, History and the Great War: Historians and the Impact of 1914-18* (New York and Oxford: Bergahn Books, 2003), 30-47.

in the design and execution of memorials, and the decision making processes used. It also looks at the location of memorials in public and private space, and where the parish church and churchyard stood in that spectrum. The iconography of memorials and their inscriptions, and the rhetoric employed at their unveilings or dedications is also discussed. The second chapter of the pair concentrates on religious aspects of the ceremonies inaugurating the memorials, using the choice of music, readings and prayers to shed light on the frequency with which some theological images were used. It also examines the growth of interdenominational activity during the war. Chapter 8 adds to the thematic analysis of the preceding chapters by highlighting some of the individuals and groups who were crucial to the momentum of communal activity during and after the war, and the links between them. A case study of the mother church of Huddersfield, St Peter, follows, in Chapter 10, as an illustration of how a handful of individuals could dictate the nature of a war memorial which might, in other circumstances, have taken its place alongside the borough memorial in Greenhead Park as a symbol of civic unity. Chapter 11, the final chapter before the conclusions in Chapter 12, moves to the town's war graves, and to the Cross of Sacrifice erected alongside them. Those who came into Huddersfield as a result of war, as patients in the war hospital, as refugees, and as migrant workers, are considered, as is the support sent elsewhere in the nation and beyond. Appendix A contains a small selection of images to illustrate aspects of the discussion in the text. Appendix B lists all the memorials identified during the course of this study, with brief details of their nature and dating, and cross-references them, where possible, to the UKNIWM; this Appendix also provides a summary of the main sources for each memorial.

Chapter 2 – The County Borough of Huddersfield

Huddersfield at the outbreak of war

Location

Huddersfield, situated today in West Yorkshire and, prior to 1974, in the historic West Riding, lies 17 miles (c. 27.5 km) south-west of Leeds. The local terrain is one of precipitate slopes and narrow valleys, with the high spine of the Pennines lying to the west and south of the town. To the north lies a similar mix of hills and valleys; only to the east does the landscape slowly become flatter. The original village grew up near the junction of three rivers, the Holme, the Colne and the Calder. It was the manorial centre of the township of Huddersfield, which stretched from Marsden in the south-west to Bradley in the north-east. Prior to 1671, when a royal charter for a market was granted to the lord of the manor, the town was of less importance than neighbouring Almondbury.¹ Thereafter, Huddersfield's function as a market for food, general goods, and woollen cloth, and its location as a natural meeting point downhill from the surrounding valley settlements, underpinned growth.² In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, its water-based connections were considerably strengthened, both eastwards and westwards. The establishment of the Huddersfield Broad and Narrow Canals linked the town to the east coast ports, and to Manchester, the Mersey and Liverpool, creating, by 1811, the

¹ Brook, *The Story of Huddersfield*, p. 25; E J Law, 'Markets, Fairs and Tolls in Huddersfield', in E A H Haigh (ed.), *Huddersfield - A Most Handsome Town: Aspects of the History and Culture of a West Yorkshire Town* (Huddersfield: Kirklees Leisure Services, 1992), 65-84, pp. 65-66. However, Whomsley suggested that Huddersfield had already become a more appropriate market for the wool trade than Almondbury before 1671, as the Leeds/Hull axis had largely replaced the Wakefield/London one (D Whomsley, 'Market Forces and Urban Growth: the influence of the Ramsden family on the growth of Huddersfield 1716-1853', *Journal of Regional and Local Studies*, 4/2 (1984), 27-56, p. 28).

² A purpose-built Cloth Hall was opened in 1768 (T Dyson, *The History of Huddersfield and District from The Earliest Times Down to 1951, With Over 50 Views and Maps of Historic Importance* (2nd edn.; Huddersfield: Alfred Jubb & Son Ltd, 1951), p. 120).

first, and most direct, cross-Pennine canal route.³ Rail links came to the town in 1847, with the London and North Western, and Lancashire and Yorkshire, rail companies operating the station jointly from 1849.⁴ By 1900, the rail network provided both a local transport system for the settlements of the neighbouring valleys and links to the major national routes.⁵ Local transport was further enhanced, from 1883 onwards, by the creation of an extensive tram network, municipally-owned and operated, initially running steam trams and, from 1901, electric cars.⁶ The establishment of those communication routes was vital to the town's industrial and commercial growth, and to its development as a sub-regional centre.

The town was granted a borough charter in 1868. After the addition of the township of Longwood, in 1890, the county borough's boundaries remained largely unchanged until the country-wide reorganisations of 1974.⁷ In 1911, the area comprising the borough covered 11,859 acres (c. 4,799 hectares).⁸ Beyond the borough boundary were further areas that, because of geographical and communication patterns, also looked to Huddersfield as their main town. These included the urban districts of Holme, Holmfirth, and Honley in the Holme Valley and those of Golcar, Marsden, Meltham and Slaithwaite in the Colne Valley.⁹ The focus of this study is the county borough.

³ R B Schofield, 'The Construction of the Huddersfield Narrow Canal 1794-1811', in E A H Haigh (ed.), *Huddersfield, A Most Handsome Town: Aspects of the History and Culture of a West Yorkshire Town* (Huddersfield: Kirklees Cultural Services, 1992), 364-389; Brook, *The Story of Huddersfield*, pp. 76-77.

⁴ D Whomsley, 'A Landed Estate and the Railways: Huddersfield 1844-1854', *Journal of Transport History (New Series)*, 11/4 (Sept) (1974), 189-213.

⁵ Brook, *The Story of Huddersfield*, pp. 146-159.

⁶ R Brook, 'Passenger Transport in Huddersfield', in E A H Haigh (ed.), *Huddersfield, A Most Handsome Town: Aspects of the History and Culture of a West Yorkshire Town* (Huddersfield: Kirklees Cultural Services, 1992), 391-422.

⁷ Brook, *The Story of Huddersfield*, p. 301. The County Borough broadly covered the areas of Huddersfield town itself, Almondbury, Bradley, Dalton, Deighton with Sheepridge, Fartown, Lindley-cum-Quarmby, Lockwood, Longwood, Marsh with Paddock, Moldgreen, Newsome, and South Crosland (R B Perks, 'Late Victorian and Edwardian Politics in Huddersfield', in E A H Haigh (ed.), *Huddersfield, A Most Handsome Town: Aspects of the History and Culture of a West Yorkshire Town* (Huddersfield: Kirklees Cultural Services, 1992), 501-526, p. 505. Map 3 of Volume 2 shows the boundaries in detail).

⁸ Census 1911, Summary Tables [Cd. 7929], Table 6.

⁹ Well illustrated by the expansion of the town's tramway network (Brook, 'Passenger Transport', pp. 396, 404).

Population

From 1801 to 1841, the township grew from a population of 7,268 to 25,068, the fastest rate of growth of any of the West Riding towns of the period.¹⁰ From 1841 to 1901, growth was more gradual and, by the final ten year snapshot, was virtually static.¹¹ At the time of the 1911 census, Huddersfield county borough had a population of 107,821. In relative terms this placed it in the middle range of towns in England and Wales.¹² Within Yorkshire, Leeds, Bradford, Kingston-upon-Hull and Sheffield were larger; Barnsley, Dewsbury, Halifax, Middlesbrough, Wakefield and York smaller. However, regionally, the gap above Huddersfield (Hull's population was 277,991) was much more significant than that below it (Middlesbrough 104,767, and Halifax 101,553). The town should accordingly be seen as at the head of a group of medium sized industrial, commercial and county centres, rather than as a potential addition to the list of industrial cities.¹³

The 1911 census for the county borough showed that Huddersfield was not just a Yorkshire town in location but also one in composition. Almost 63% of the borough's residents had been born there and a further 26% had come from the rest of Yorkshire.¹⁴ Of the remainder, apart from those from the rest of England (excluding London) and Wales, no single group constituted more than one per cent of the population; those of Scottish and Irish origin forming groups of almost equal size.¹⁵ The international nature of the textile trade was reflected in the diverse origins of the small number born outside Britain.¹⁶ Those born in the Colonies were predominantly

¹⁰ D J Wyles, 'Architectural Design in Nineteenth Century Huddersfield', in E A H Haigh (ed.), *Huddersfield - A Most Handsome Town: Aspects of the History and Culture of a West Yorkshire Town* (Huddersfield: Kirklees Leisure Services, 1992), 303-340, p. 319.

¹¹ General Report [Cd 2174], Appendix A, Table 10.

¹² 40th out of the 97 urban districts with a population of over 50,000.

¹³ Census 1911, General Report [8491], Table IX.

¹⁴ 67,112 and 28,463 individuals respectively (660 gave no information about their birthplace, and are excluded from the calculations).

¹⁵ London (0.5%), remainder of England and Wales (8.3%), Scotland (0.7%), Ireland (0.8%), Isle of Man and Channel Islands (0.1%), Colonies (0.2%), and Foreign (0.3%).

¹⁶ Huddersfield firms exhibited at the Paris Exhibition of 1862 (D T Jenkins, 'Textiles and Other Industries 1851-1914', in E A H Haigh (ed.), *Huddersfield, A Most Handsome Town: Aspects of the History and Culture of a West Yorkshire Town* (Huddersfield: Kirklees Cultural Services, 1992), 241-274, p. 242). Travel scholarships had been established to enable Technical College students to live abroad to acquire additional language and commercial skills (V Teasdale, *Huddersfield Mills: A Textile Heritage* (Barnsley:

from India, Australia and New Zealand, South Africa, and Canada.¹⁷ Amongst those born outside Britain and the Empire, British subjects born abroad and foreign nationals were fairly evenly balanced. Europe and the Americas were the predominant places of origin, the latter being the primary source of Britons born abroad, and the former the main birthplace for foreign nationals.¹⁸

Relative to the average for England and Wales, in 1911, Huddersfield had slightly fewer males of all ages and slightly more females.¹⁹ However, the more detailed figures for each five year age band showed the indices exceeding that for England and Wales for both men and women in the age groups 25-60 and falling below in the earlier and later ranges, possibly indicating lower fertility and/or higher mortality in childhood and early adulthood, an element of in-migration during the peak working years, and higher mortality in old age.²⁰

Industry and Commerce

The employment patterns of Huddersfield in 1911 are shown in Table 1. Comparing the total number of males recorded as employed (35,622) with the total number of males enumerated between the ages of 15 and 65 (33,893) highlights some important differences from similar statistics today. First, the contribution of the under 15s to the working population; the census report identified 30% of boys under 15 as employed, and nearly 29% of girls.²¹ The reality may well have been greater,

Wharnccliffe Books, 2004), p. 41). Huddersfield also had a resident American consul, one of whose duties was to certify the content and value of exports to the United States, partly derived from the presence of an export packing industry taking business from firms in the West of England and Scotland, as well as Yorkshire (Jenkins, 'Textiles and Other Industries', pp. 255-56).

¹⁷ 172 persons: India (56), Australia and New Zealand (49), South Africa (27), Canada (23).

¹⁸ 346 individuals: Europe (193) the Americas (129). The principal European birthplaces were Germany (52), France (31), Italy (26), Russia (25), Austria (13) and Switzerland (13). (Census 1911, Volume IX [Cd. 7017], Tables 2 and 3).

¹⁹ 96 and 104 respectively, where the index for England and Wales is 100.

²⁰ Census 1911, Volume VII [Cd. 6610], Table 19. A study, based on the 1911 census, highlighted the exceptionally low fertility rates in Huddersfield. The general pattern of postponement of marriage, and restricted fertility after marriage, in the textile areas of Lancashire and West Yorkshire, was even more pronounced in the town. (S Szreter and A Hardy, 'Urban Fertility and Mortality Patterns', in M Daunton (ed.), *The Cambridge Urban History Volume III 1840-1950* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 629-672)

²¹ 1363 out of 4544 boys, and 1373 out of 4783 girls (Census 1911, Volume X Part II [Cd 7019], Table 13). In the General Report, Huddersfield was one of the large towns in which

Table 1: Occupational Profile of the Huddersfield County Borough 1911²²

Occupational grouping	Men		Women	
	Employed	%	Employed	%
<i>Groups I and XXI</i> (National & local government/ Public utilities)	1,072	3.0	76	0.4
<i>Group III</i> (Professional)	909	2.6	841	4.2
<i>Group IV</i> (Domestic offices & services)	615	1.7	3,271	16.4
<i>Group V</i> (Commercial)	2,101	5.9	239	1.2
<i>Group VI</i> (Transport & Storage)	3,356	9.4	75	0.4
<i>Group VII</i> (Agriculture)	701	2.0	34	0.2
<i>Group IX</i> (Mining & Quarrying)	510	1.4	1	0
<i>Group X</i> (Metal work, machine making & engineering)	4,410	12.4	106	0.5
<i>Group XII</i> (Building & Construction)	2,974	8.4	0	0
<i>Group XIII</i> (Wood and Furniture)	664	1.9	67	0.3
<i>Group XV</i> (Chemicals, oil, soap etc.)	712	2.0	67	0.3
<i>Group XVII</i> (Paper and Printing)	514	1.4	371	1.9
<i>Groups XVIII and XIX</i> (Textile manufacture & dealing/ Tailoring etc.)	12,785	35.9	13,219	66.2
<i>Group XX</i> (Food, drink & lodging)	2,295	6.4	1,266	6.3
<i>Groups II, VIII, XI, XIII, XIV and XVII</i>	2,004	5.6	323	1.6
<i>Totals</i>	35,622	100	19,956	100

more than 10% of the 10-14 age group was recorded as employed, and where the proportions had risen since 1901 (males from 17.1% to 18.4%, females from 12.5% to 16.7%, although some other northern textile towns were nudging 30%). ([Cd. 8491] p. 163)

²² Source: Census 1911, Volume X, Part II [Cd. 7019], Table 13.

as the employment of children and young people tended to be under-reported.²³ Similarly, despite the limited introduction of retirement pensions, many of those over 65 would have had no other economic choice than to be working, if that were possible. In Huddersfield, 55.1% of men aged 65 and over were recorded as in employment.²⁴ Overall, the figures showed a town with no significant unemployment problems.

The occupational profile of Huddersfield demonstrated very clearly the dominance of textiles, not only for male employment but also for that of women. Huddersfield deviated from the national pattern in which domestic service was the largest single employment sector for women; only 16% being in that occupational sector compared with 64.7% in textiles.²⁵ Three other occupational sectors were predominantly textile-related: transport and storage; metal work, machine making and engineering; and chemicals. However, unlike a number of the other textile towns of the West Riding, Huddersfield was not dominated by one type of textile production, or by one or two large employers. In the mid-nineteenth century the areas of woollen, heavy woollen, and worsted manufacture had been fairly clearly delineated across the West Riding, with the much smaller cotton, flax and silk-based industries more widely scattered.²⁶ By 1900 however, Huddersfield, formerly in the woollen area, had diversified to become also a centre for worsteds.²⁷

²³ E Higgs, *Making Sense of the Census Revisited: Census Records for England and Wales 1801-1902, A Handbook for Historical Researchers* (London: Institute of Historical Research, University of London, in association with The National Archives, 2005), pp. 103-106.

²⁴ 8.29% of women in that age group were employed (Volume X Part II [Cd 7019], Table 13).

²⁵ Compared with 36% in domestic service in England and Wales as a whole (Census 1911, Volume X Part I [Cd. 7018], Table 3).

²⁶ Woollen cloth was made from short fibre yarns, with a smooth finish designed to disguise the weave. Worsted cloth was made from long fibres, and the weave pattern was one of its attractions. Non-wool fibres were grouped with woollens and worsteds on the basis of their fibre characteristics, hence mohair and alpaca were worsteds, as long fibres. Shoddy and mungo were fabrics made from recycling rags, the former, recovered from loose woven textiles, being easier to process than the latter, from densely woven ones; the finished product of mungo was higher quality than shoddy. Heavy woollens described the manufacture of mungo, shoddy, carpets, and blankets.

²⁷ W B Crump and G Ghorbal, *History of the Huddersfield Woollen Industry* (Huddersfield: County Borough of Huddersfield, 1935), which took the story to 1851, remarked "worsted came in [to Huddersfield] too late to call for detailed presentation" (p. 10). A return of mills

Woollen manufacture tended to be carried out in large integrated factories incorporating most if not all of the processes from preparing the raw material to dyeing and finishing. Worsted manufacture, partly because the yarns used were not only wool but also cotton and silk, was normally a differentiated process with separate, much smaller, factories specialising in one or more stages of manufacture or a particular type of final product.²⁸ Some production of fancy goods such as waistcoats and shawls was so intricate in pattern and so subject to changes in fashion that it remained a domestic industry outside the factory system into the 1920s; the Holme and Colne Valleys being particular centres of this type of highly skilled work.²⁹ The result was that, by the early twentieth century, Huddersfield was not dominated either by a few large firms or by a single trading environment. This had a deleterious effect on economies of scale, and tended to reduce the extent to which employers³⁰, or employees³¹, perceived a shared set of commercial interests across the borough as a whole. However, it also made the local economy more flexible, and more able to withstand adverse conditions in individual sections of the industry.³²

and factories, for 1904, listed 75 woollen, 33 worsted, and 15 shoddy factories in Huddersfield (BPP 1904 lxxxvii 1109 [Cd. 293]). Around 1900, 14 factories were engaged in cotton manufacture (Jenkins, 'Textiles and Other Industries', p. 254), and there was one substantial firm of silk manufacturers, with some smaller businesses (R J Dennis, *English Industrial Cities of the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), p. 222).

²⁸ Giles and Goodall, *Yorkshire Textile Mills*, pp. 3-6.

²⁹ L Caffyn, *Workers Housing in West Yorkshire 1750-1920* (Royal Commission on Historical Monuments Supplementary Series 9, in association with West Yorkshire Metropolitan County Council; London: HMSO, 1986), p. 55. Handloom weavers were also in demand for the very small-scale runs needed for pattern books and samples (Jenkins, 'Textiles and Other Industries', pp. 253-54).

³⁰ I Magrath, 'Protecting the Interests of the Trade: Wool Textile Employers' Organisations in the 1920s', in J A Jowitt and A J McIvor (eds.), *Employers and Labour in the English Textile Industries 1850-1939* (London: Routledge, 1988), 44-63.

³¹ In 1911, about 45% of the cotton industry was unionised, compared with only 10% of wool textiles (T Jowitt, 'The Retardation of Trade Unionism in the Yorkshire Worsted Textile Industry', in J A Jowitt and A J McIvor (eds.), *Employers and Labour in the English Textile Industries 1850-1939* (London: Routledge, 1988), 84-106). Within that overall picture, Perks estimated the Huddersfield figure, in 1900, as 4.4%, against a Yorkshire figure, in 1895, of 6.3% (R B Perks, ' "The Rising Sun of Socialism": Trade Unionism and the Emergence of the Independent Labour Party in Huddersfield', in K Laybourn and D James (eds.), *"The Rising Sun of Socialism": The Independent Labour Party in the Textile District of the West Riding of Yorkshire between 1890 and 1914* (Bradford: West Yorkshire Archive Service, and Bradford Library Service, 1991), 75-104, p. 78).

³² Jenkins, 'Textiles and Other Industries', p. 270.

Overall, Huddersfield had built a good reputation within the textile industry, both in Britain and abroad, for supplying the middle and upper ends of the market with a diverse range of products. As one writer put it, Huddersfield was “the most successful of the Yorkshire and British textile districts in the half century before the First World War, an opinion held by contemporary commentators”.³³

The existence of that diversified manufacturing environment also encouraged the ancillary trades of textile engineering, making the machines needed in all stages of textile production, and of chemical engineering, for the supply of dyestuffs. Both those occupational sectors had, in terms of their plant and the expertise of their workforce, the potential to diversify into areas other than those directly required by the textile industry. Reinforcing its sub-regional role, the borough also had significant numbers employed in the service industries, necessary not only for the town itself but also for the surrounding areas. That was particularly evident in the professional, commercial, transport, and catering categories, and also in government and public utilities.³⁴

Society and Politics

The different areas of Huddersfield were not marked by very obvious class distinctions, other than at the extremes of the spectrum. One highly prestigious area was recognised by contemporaries. New North Road leading to Edgerton, was “the Kensington of Huddersfield”.³⁵ The procession of semi-detached villas, upwind of the industrial heart of the town, culminating in substantial houses with their own grounds, is still impressive today. At the other end of the spectrum, parts of the central area had intensively-occupied courts and cellars, whose conditions were a cause of concern to the municipal authorities.³⁶ Much has been made of the highly concentrated ownership of land in the borough. Four bodies owned almost all the

³³ Jenkins, 'Textiles and Other Industries', p. 257.

³⁴ Occupational groups I, III, V, VI, XX and XXI made up 21.99% of Huddersfield employment, in 1911 (C Pearce, *Comrades in Conscience: The Story of an English Community's Opposition to the Great War* (London: Francis Boutle Publishers, 2001), pp. 36-37, 310).

³⁵ Sykes, *History of Huddersfield*, p. 437.

town centre, plus most of Lindley, Lockwood and Moldgreen, and imposed detailed covenants on the use of land and the design of building developments, aimed at influencing the residential character of particular locations.³⁷ The Ramsden Estate, comprising almost all the central area and a third of the total land of the Borough, operated a complete ban on back-to-back housing until 1900.³⁸

To set against those contrasts, the 1911 census recorded only 0.3% of dwellings as in multi-occupancy in the borough³⁹, and the average number of persons per family and per dwelling as 4.14 and 4.17 respectively.⁴⁰ The restrictive covenants of the large landowners were not always enforced consistently from year to year, or from lease to lease, and were inevitably tempered by considerations of short-term commercial advantage.⁴¹ Building development in the period 1770 to 1911 was typically on a small scale, often involving owner-occupiers.⁴² That pattern reflected the existence of a substantial number of people with modest capital assets, mainly derived from the late continuance of the independent clothier in the local textile industry. It would appear that the experience of the average resident of the borough from 1850 to 1880, leaving aside the extremes of wealth and poverty, was that of mixed residential areas.⁴³ This seemed still to be the case by 1914.⁴⁴

³⁶ The Council established a sub-committee, in 1906, to investigate over-crowding in the Central Ward (R J Bryson, 'Working Class Living Standards in the West Yorkshire Town of Huddersfield 1870-1914', PhD (Huddersfield, 1996), pp. 98-101).

³⁷ The Kaye Estate, the Lockwood Proprietors Estate, the Ramsden Estate and the Thornhill Estate. The pattern of land ownership was shown in J Springett, 'Landowners and Housebuilders in Huddersfield in the Nineteenth Century', in E A H Haigh (ed.), *Huddersfield, A Most Handsome Town: Aspects of the History and Culture of a West Yorkshire Town* (Huddersfield: Kirklees Cultural Services, 1992), 449-479, Fig. 18.4.

³⁸ *One Hundred Years of The Huddersfield Corporation* (Huddersfield: Huddersfield Borough Council, [1968]), p.19; J Springett, 'Landowners and Urban Development: The Ramsden Estate and C19 Huddersfield', *Journal of Historical Geography*, 8/2 (1982), 129-144, p. 139.

³⁹ 89 out of 25,879 (Census 1911, Volume VI [Cd. 6577], Table 2.

⁴⁰ Census 1911, Volume VI [Cd. 6577], Table 5.

⁴¹ Springett, 'Landowners and Housebuilders'.

⁴² J Springett, 'Land Development and House-Building in Huddersfield 1770-1911', in M Doughty (ed.), *Building the Industrial City* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1986). The 1896 rate books for Huddersfield Township showed 9.3% owner occupation, significantly higher than York (5.9% in 1899) (Dennis, *English Industrial Cities*, p.143).

⁴³ Dennis, *English Industrial Cities*, pp. 238-239. In a later article Dennis did, however, point to the emergence of "a more subtle pattern of lower middle class and skilled working class suburbs" in the second half of the nineteenth century (R J Dennis, 'The Social Geography of Victorian Huddersfield', in E A H Haigh (ed.), *Huddersfield, A Most*

The relatively uniform social geography of Huddersfield was matched by the lack of a clear differentiation by ward in the political complexion of the town. Huddersfield's prevailing political force was the Liberal party. The parliamentary borough was one of the largest single-seat constituencies in Britain⁴⁵ and was not significantly different from the county borough in terms of acreage, population or geographical coverage.⁴⁶ In the election of December 1910, the sitting Liberal MP was returned with 37.5% of the vote, on a 90.5% turnout.⁴⁷ The only break in the Liberal monopoly of the seat in the previous 35 years had been the period 1893 to 1895, when a bye-election victory brought a brief period of Tory rule, this by a margin of 35 votes.⁴⁸ In 1895, and then from 1906 onward, the contests were tripartite with the advent of, first Independent Labour Party (ILP), and then, Labour, candidates. Twice in 1906, and in the first of the two 1910 elections, the Labour candidate forced the Conservative nominee into third place, but those positions were reversed in December 1910. However, the voting patterns were never polarised. In the period of two party contests, the Conservative vote never fell below 46% and, in tripartite contests, the lowest percentage of support did not fall below 26%.⁴⁹

In local elections, voting was based on 15 wards each returning 3 members, plus 15 aldermen, giving a total council of 60. In 1914, the party composition of the council was Liberal 30, Conservative 24, Liberal Unionist 1, and Labour 5.⁵⁰ The Liberals had controlled the council since the borough's incorporation, in 1868, and

Handsome Town: Aspects of the History and Culture of a West Yorkshire Town (Huddersfield: Kirklees Cultural Services, 1992), 423-448, p. 445.

⁴⁴ Bryson, 'Working-class living standards'.

⁴⁵ Perks, 'Late Victorian and Edwardian Politics', p. 501.

⁴⁶ Census 1911, Volume III [Cd. 6343], Tables 3-4.

⁴⁷ Perks, 'Late Victorian and Edwardian Politics', Table 1 p. 502. In 1911, 38.2% of the total male population was eligible to vote (Census 1911, Volume III [Cd. 6343], Table 3).

⁴⁸ The sudden death of the sitting MP had caught the local Liberal Association unprepared, and the subsequent choice of the President of the Association was an unpopular one. The Liberal MP for neighbouring Holmfirth regarded the defeat as "largely if not entirely because Woodhead was not only very strong against legislation for labour in any form, but even more because he was so sharp and unconciliatory" (quoted in Perks, 'Rising Sun of Socialism', p. 87).

⁴⁹ Apart from the initial appearance in 1895 of an ILP candidate, who took 11.2% of the poll (Perks, 'Late Victorian and Edwardian Politics', pp. 501-502).

⁵⁰ Perks, 'Late Victorian and Edwardian Politics', p.503.

retained that position unbroken until 1945.⁵¹ The municipal franchise was somewhat less restricted than the parliamentary one.⁵² Between 1900 and 1914, no ward had representatives with a uniform party allegiance and, in the previous 15 years, only 3 wards had had consistent single party voting patterns.⁵³ In 1913, the councillors were drawn from textiles (25%, including both owners and workers), the professions and “gentlemen” (20%) and retail (20%), with the remaining 35% comprising building and engineering, other manufacturing and commerce, and miscellaneous, in roughly equal proportions.⁵⁴

In a thesis examining politics in Huddersfield from 1885 to 1914, Perks characterised the period after 1900 as one in which Liberal support, although “sustained by wealth, influence and habit”, was beginning to collapse, although continuing to retain within its ranks some prominent radicals. Labour was still internally divided, but gaining in financial and organisational strength and in trades union membership. The Conservatives experienced a substantial revival, with significant working class Toryism complicating an emergence of class-based loyalties.⁵⁵

Religion

Support for the Liberal party in politics has often been thought to be associated with religious Nonconformity.⁵⁶ Huddersfield’s long adherence to political Liberalism was certainly matched by its heritage of diverse nonconformity. This was

⁵¹ D Hey, *Yorkshire from AD 1000* (London: Longman, 1986), p.305.

⁵² In November 1910, the electorate of the county borough totalled 22,269, compared with 19,021 for the parliamentary constituency. The figure for the municipal electorate was estimated to include 4,000 women Perks, 'Late Victorian and Edwardian Politics', p. 504. The council had no female members. The President of the Women’s Liberal Association had stood for election in the South Central ward, in 1910 and 1912, being defeated by sitting Conservatives on both occasions (R B Perks, 'The New Liberalism and the Challenge of Labour in the West Riding of Yorkshire 1885-1914, with special reference to Huddersfield', PhD (CNAA (Huddersfield), 1985), p. 69).

⁵³ A Labour presence was most noticeable in the wards of Lindley, Dalton, Moldgreen and (Huddersfield) North and that of the Conservatives in those of (Huddersfield) East, West and South (Perks, 'Late Victorian and Edwardian Politics', p. 505, where the ward names used reflected the pre-1908 boundaries).

⁵⁴ Perks, 'New Liberalism and the Challenge of Labour', Appendix 2.12.

⁵⁵ Perks, 'New Liberalism and the Challenge of Labour', pp. 594-600.

⁵⁶ An overview of this debate is given in Snell and Ell, *Rival Jerusalems*, p. 27 (note 13), pp. 74-77, 170-72.

confirmed by the Census of Religious Worship, of 1851, which provided information about the parliamentary borough, which, prior to the second Reform Act of 1867, covered the Huddersfield township only, and the registration district, which contained the whole of the township and the subsequent county borough, as well as areas beyond the confines of the latter.⁵⁷ In both the township and the registration district, the Established Church was outnumbered by other denominations in terms of numbers of places of worship, and in the proportion of seated accommodation in them.⁵⁸ It was also in a minority when attendances were calculated.⁵⁹ The published figures for attendance included Sunday School scholars. A study of the original returns for the area of the ancient parish of Huddersfield, which attempted to remove the Sunday School data, concluded that almost two out of every three adult attendances at church or chapel had been made at a non-Anglican place of worship.⁶⁰ Fourteen denominational groupings were recorded across the registration district as a whole, with four Methodist connexions forming the largest challenge to the Church of England, followed by the Congregationalists and the Baptists.⁶¹

The type of census undertaken in 1851 was never repeated nationally and Huddersfield was not one of those towns and cities that conducted their own religious censuses later in the nineteenth century.⁶² However, for the centenary of the Sunday School movement in 1880, a committee of Nonconformists undertook a survey that

⁵⁷ BPP 1852-1853 lxxxix (1690) 1. For a comprehensive discussion of the strengths and weaknesses of that census see Snell and Ell, *Rival Jerusalems*, particularly pp. 35-51. For an account which highlighted the fluidity of the patterns recorded in the “seductive precision” of printed tables, and which included comment on the Huddersfield data, see J Wolffe, 'The 1851 Census and Religious Change in Nineteenth Century Yorkshire', *Northern History*, 45/1 (2008), 71-86.

⁵⁸ Township: 18 out of 25 churches (63.3% of the seats); District: 100 out of 141 (54.9%).

⁵⁹ 56.6% of attendances in the township and 60.4% in the district. In England and Wales overall, the average percentage share of attendances by the non-Anglican churches was 47% (Snell and Ell, *Rival Jerusalems*, p. 58).

⁶⁰ E Royle, 'Religion in Huddersfield since the Mid-Eighteenth Century', in E A H Haigh (ed.), *Huddersfield, A Most Handsome Town: Aspects of the History and Culture of a West Yorkshire Town* (Huddersfield: Kirklees Cultural Services, 1992), 101-144, pp. 112-15. The parish included all of the township, as well as some areas within the later borough, and others outside.

⁶¹ Methodists: 36.6% of attendances in the district, Congregationalists: 11.0%, Baptists: 9.3%.

may be taken as indicating broad denominational allegiances, although by no means subsequent active adult attendance. Although addressed to all churches within the borough boundaries, only three Anglican responses were received, and there was no Roman Catholic data.⁶³ 15,541 children were recorded as enrolled in Protestant Nonconformist Sunday Schools in 1879-80, split between Methodists (57.6%), Congregationalists (20.1%), Baptists (16.6%), and others (5.7%).⁶⁴ The total population of five to fourteen year olds, at the 1881 census, was c. 55,000 and, if Chadwick is correct in concluding that hardly a child in Huddersfield failed to attend a Sunday school in the late 1880s, that would give a ratio of attendees of, very roughly, 3.5:1, Anglicans and Roman Catholics to Nonconformists.⁶⁵

By 1914, the range of religious choice within the county borough was as shown in Table 2. The mere existence of a place of worship, of course, says little about its use.⁶⁶ Closures, mergers, new ventures and relocations were part of the process of nonconformist development from the outset. The Church of England's complex legal and financial structure both delayed the process of expansion and subsequently made relocation and closure extremely difficult. The Roman Catholic church tended

⁶² C D Field, 'Non-Recurrent Christian Data', *Reviews of UK Statistical Sources: XX Religion* (Oxford: Pergamon for the Royal Statistical Society and the ESRC, 1987), 189-504.

⁶³ The nearest comparable data for Church of England Sunday School enrolment went back to visitation returns of 1858, totalling 4,580 for an area broader than the borough. There is no obvious way of determining the appropriate multiplier to be applied to produce an estimate for the position in 1880. The three Anglican respondents recorded enrolment figures varying from 68% to 454% above the 1858 figures. (Royle, 'Religion in Huddersfield', pp. 130-134, 144 (note 50)).

⁶⁴ R Bruce, *Huddersfield Sunday School Centenary Memorial: A Brief Account of the Origin and Early History of Sunday Schools in the Borough of Huddersfield and A Summary of the Centenary Celebration Services held August 14-28 1880* (Huddersfield: John Crossley, 1880), pp. 36-43.

⁶⁵ O Chadwick, *The Victorian Church: Part 2 1860-1901* (2nd edn.; London: SCM Press, 1972), p. 258, based on Church Congress Reports of 1888. Census 1881, County Reports, Volume III [C.3722], Division IX, Table 2. For the centrality of Sunday Schools in other parts of the West Riding, see, for example, S J D Green, *Religion in the Age of Decline: Organisation and Experience In Industrial Yorkshire 1870-1920* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 212-214.

⁶⁶ Mission halls operated by a nearby church have not been counted separately. There seems never to have been a synagogue in Huddersfield, but the presence in trade directories of names such as Jacob Cohen, small-ware dealer, with a stall in the market hall (*Kelly's Directory of the West Riding of Yorkshire* (1908), p. 498) suggested residents with a Jewish

Table 2: Places of Worship in the Huddersfield County Borough, c. 1914⁶⁷

Denomination	Central	Suburbs	Total
Baptist	1	7	8
Catholic Apostolic	1	0	1
Christadelphian	1	0	1
Church of England	7	14	21
Congregational	4	3	7
Independent/Non-Denominational	3	0	3
Latter Day Saints	1	0	1
Methodist (Total)	8	35	43
<i>Primitive</i>	2	2	4
<i>United⁶⁸</i>	3	16	19
<i>Wesleyan</i>	3	17	20
Plymouth Brethren ⁶⁹	?	?	?
Presbyterian	1	0	1
Roman Catholic	2	1	3
Salvation Army	1	2	3
Society of Friends	0	1	1
Spiritualist	1	0	1
Swedenborgian	0	1	1
Unitarian	1	0	1
<i>Totals</i>	32+	64+	96+

ancestry. By 1921, a Bradford rabbi was providing occasional services in Huddersfield (HWE 26 Feb. 1921).

⁶⁷ These calculations, which exclude missions attached to individual churches, are based on *Methodist Churches in Kirklees* (2nd edn.; Huddersfield: West Yorkshire Archive Service, 2001); R C Ford, *Twenty-Five Years of Baptist Life in Yorkshire 1912-1937* (London: The Kingsgate Press in association with The Yorkshire Association of Baptist Churches and Home Mission or Itinerant Society, 1937); A George (ed.), *Guide for Family Historians: A List of Parish, Nonconformist and Other Related Records held by the West Yorkshire Archive Service* (Brighouse: West Yorkshire Joint Services Committee, 2001); *Kelly's Directory*; and, Royle, 'Religion in Huddersfield'.

⁶⁸ Formed from Bible Christians, New Connexion, and United Methodist Free Churches in 1907.

⁶⁹ The number and location of their meeting houses at the relevant period is unclear; in 1893 there were at least 2 (*Tabulated Statement as to the Provision for Religious Worship in Huddersfield* (Huddersfield: Huddersfield Wesleyan Methodist Church, 1893)).

to resist multiplication of buildings to match population expansion until problems of the geographical dispersion of its constituency became acute. The congregations of some churches were not predominantly locally resident but attracted a commuting following, either because of historical affiliations, or because of the attraction of a particular preacher, type of churchmanship or distinctive sect.⁷⁰ Yet, despite the problems with the available data, the overall picture was fairly consistent from 1850 to the eve of the First World War. The four dominant groupings were the Baptists, the Congregationalists, the Church of England, and the various forms of Methodism, with the latter two being numerically the greatest in terms of geographical presence and numbers of adherents

Networks of Influence

Neither the number of places of worship nor the level of child or adult attendances necessarily indicated the influence of a particular religious grouping in the life of the borough. The dominant landowner, Sir John William Ramsden, an Anglican, lived away from the town, as all holders of the baronetcy had done since the 1690s.⁷¹ Routine affairs in Huddersfield were overseen by the local Estate Office. Following clashes in the mid-1800s over political candidates, property leases and the coming of the railway, the Ramsden family had pursued a much more limited and largely formal involvement in the life of the town.⁷² Unlike a number of other boroughs with dominant landlords, Huddersfield seemed to have seen no reason to

⁷⁰ Dennis, *English Industrial Cities*, pp. 280-85; R J Dennis and S J Daniels, "'Community' and the Social Geography of Victorian Cities", in M Drake (ed.), *Time, Family and Community: Perspectives on Family and Community History* (Oxford: The Open University in association with Blackwell Publishers Ltd, 1994), 201-224, pp. 219-221.

⁷¹ The family's main seat, Byram Park, had been about 20 miles away (c. 32 kms), but it had been replaced, towards the end of the nineteenth century, by properties elsewhere in the country D Whomsley and E A H Haigh, 'The Ramsdens of Longley 1530-1690', in E a H Haigh (ed.), *Huddersfield, A Most Handsome Town: Aspects of the History and Culture of a West Yorkshire Town* (Huddersfield: Kirklees Cultural Services, 1992), 37-64, pp. 58-59.

⁷² V W Hemingway, 'Parliamentary Politics in Huddersfield c. 1832-53', in E A H Haigh (ed.), *Huddersfield, A Most Handsome Town: Aspects of the History and Culture of a West Yorkshire Town* (Huddersfield: Kirklees Cultural Services, 1992), 481-500; Springett, 'Landowners and Housebuilders'; Whomsley, 'Market Forces and Urban Growth'.

accord the Ramsdens a prominent place in the first borough council, although they continued to be a useful adjunct to some ceremonial occasions.⁷³

The resident elite was predominantly Nonconformist in religious adherence, and Liberal in political persuasion. Highfield Chapel, a Congregational church established in 1772, had a greater concentration of the influential men in Huddersfield than any other place of worship in the final quarter of the nineteenth century. Its minister until 1904, Robert Bruce, was a leading member of the Huddersfield Liberal Association, a frequent orator on the hustings, a member of the School Board for 21 years and its chairman for nine. Worshippers included Joseph Woodhead, the Liberal editor of the *Examiner*, the area's dominant paper; Wright Mellor, three times Mayor, School Board member, Liberal Association chairman and woollen manufacturer; Thomas Denham, draper, Liberal alderman, vice-president of the Temperance Society; and two generations of Fred Croslands, textile manufacturers, the elder being first president of the Young Men's Christian Association, and a prominent advocate of the Building Society movement. The Ramsden Street, Hillhouse and Milton Chapels, also Congregationalist, added to that men such as John Moody, founder of the Huddersfield Sunday School Union and C H Jones, president of the Huddersfield College.⁷⁴ The most significant link between these chapels, other than the purely religious, was the Willans family of wool merchants, which founded or financed at least two of them and whose members and their relations were prominent in all.⁷⁵ Other dominant families in the Liberal Nonconformist group were the Congregationalist Woodheads, newspaper proprietors, the Baptist Hopkinsons, engineering works owners, the Methodist Walkers of Deighton, dyers and finishers, the Baptist Hirsts of Lockwood, with the largest cotton-spinning business in the area, and the Congregationalist Eastwoods of Longwood, woollen merchants. These families were closely connected by marriage

⁷³ D Cannadine, *Lords and Landlords: The Aristocrats and the Towns 1774-1967* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1980), pp. 33-34, 43.

⁷⁴ Perks, 'New Liberalism and the Challenge of Labour', pp. 56-58. This section on religious and political affiliations is heavily dependent on Perks' thesis, which has extensive biographical material.

⁷⁵ William Willans's four sons and two of his four sons-in-law have been described as "the stuff of which Liberal caucuses were made", C Binfield, 'Asquith: The Formation of A

as well as by religious, political and commercial bonds.⁷⁶ The Unitarian Chapel, Fitzwilliam, was also an influential centre, although more eclectic in its prominent worshippers. Ramsden and Owen Balmforth, representing the early labour movement, and the final vestiges of the radical Liberal tradition respectively, were Unitarians, as was the Conservative free trader, Walter Haigh, a senior figure in the banking and export trades.⁷⁷

The Conservative Anglican axis was primarily represented by the Brookes of Armitage Bridge, the Croslands of Crosland Moor, and the Kayes of Birchencliffe, all substantial textile manufacturers. The Huddersfield Conservative Association was politically and financially controlled by the Brookes, assisted by the Croslands. The Brooke family also dominated a number of the Huddersfield charities, such as the National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, the local Volunteer battalion, and the Church of England Temperance Society.⁷⁸

However the portrayal of Huddersfield as controlled by monolithic dynastic blocks with shared characteristics needs to be treated with some caution. The Ramsdens were Anglicans but Liberal supporters, until the Home Rule controversies, when the 5th baronet adhered to the Unionist cause.⁷⁹ According to his grandson, Sir Thomas Brooke “would have been a Liberal but for the question of the Church”.⁸⁰ Joseph Woodhead and his son Ernest - successive proprietors and editors of the *Huddersfield Examiner*, councillors and aldermen renowned for their Liberal politics, fervent supporters of the temperance movement, and with close links to pacifist opinion - shared the running of the business with Ernest’s brothers, Arthur and Frank,

Prime Minister', *Journal of the United Reformed Church History Society*, 2/7 (1981), 204-242, p. 221.

⁷⁶ Binfield’s study of the labyrinthine religious, political and commercial links within Herbert Asquith’s ancestry has much information on the Huddersfield personalities (Binfield, 'Asquith', especially pp. 218-227 and 235-238).

⁷⁷ E Royle, *Radicals, Secularists and Republicans: Popular Freethought in Britain 1866-1915* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1980), p. 129.

⁷⁸ Perks, 'New Liberalism and the Challenge of Labour', pp. 40-42.

⁷⁹ Perks, 'New Liberalism and the Challenge of Labour', p. 78 (note 19); for the impact of Home Rule on Huddersfield politics more generally, see pp. 93-101.

⁸⁰ Edward Brooke, interviewed in 1981 Perks, 'New Liberalism and the Challenge of Labour', p. 40.

both of whom were known to keep and enjoy “a good cellar”. Arthur was also later active in the Army Recruitment Committee.⁸¹

Education

Educational provision in Huddersfield reflected the religious and political complexion of the borough. At the elementary level, two parallel systems operated, one established by the Church of England, and one controlled by the borough as Board schools under the Education Act of 1870. The Huddersfield School Board was dominated by the Liberal nonconformist elite both overtly through the Council members and indirectly through the “independent” members. There was a minority Anglican presence and, intermittently but influentially, a Roman Catholic one.⁸² The result was often a wasteful duplication of plant, inadequate pupil numbers and inevitable problems of staffing and other resources.⁸³ At secondary level, only Almondbury, of the area’s three ancient grammar schools, was still a significant provider.⁸⁴ Closely identified with the Church of England, and providing a predominantly classical education, it was transferred to Borough control in 1922.⁸⁵ Two proprietary schools - the Huddersfield College, with a Nonconformist ethos, and the Huddersfield Collegiate School, a rival Anglican establishment - provided a wider choice of curriculum, with more commercially relevant options. The Collegiate School closed in 1885 and the College in 1893.⁸⁶

⁸¹ P Cooksey, *Public Lives: The Family of Joseph Woodhead, A Notable Family of Huddersfield* (Huddersfield: Huddersfield Local History Society, 1999), pp. 53-54.

⁸² B Moriarty, 'Politics and Education in Huddersfield in the Late Nineteenth Century', in E A H Haigh (ed.), *Huddersfield, A Most Handsome Town: Aspects of the History and Culture of a West Yorkshire Town* (Huddersfield: Kirklees Cultural Services, 1992), pp. 537-44. Canon Stephen Dolan of St Patrick’s Roman Catholic church exercised considerable influence until his death in 1913 (Perks, 'New Liberalism and the Challenge of Labour', p. 61).

⁸³ Dyson, *History of Huddersfield*, pp. 488-89. See also Chadwick, *The Victorian Church II*, pp. 304-305, for conditions in Huddersfield schools.

⁸⁴ Fartown and Longwood were almost moribund, and closed in the 1920s (Dyson, *History of Huddersfield*, pp. 365-366).

⁸⁵ G Hinchliffe, *A History of King James's Grammar School in Almondbury* (Huddersfield: The Advertiser Press, 1963); R Dowling and J A Hargreaves (eds.), *King James's School in Almondbury: An Illustrated History 1608-2008* (Huddersfield: The Old Almondburians Society, 2008).

⁸⁶ Brook, *The Story of Huddersfield*, pp. 201-202.

At both elementary and secondary level, rationalisation was essential to give the borough the strong educational framework it needed. However, in 1904, the Sadler Report concluded that the situation had been going backward over the previous 30 years and, in 1937, the incoming Director of Education was of the opinion that "In the last twenty years a revolution has taken place in the education world and Huddersfield remains practically unaffected".⁸⁷ Only the Technical College, relatively free of sectarian or political rivalries, managed to flourish but found itself not only providing the technical education, which should have been at its core, but also providing classes from elementary to university honours level, to offset the deficiencies of the rest of the system.⁸⁸

Community identity and voluntary association

In 1951, a recently appointed Deputy Education Officer commented, with a degree of exasperation, that there were "probably more individual place-names within [Huddersfield's] boundaries than any other town in the British Isles, and the distinctiveness of Aspley from Moldgreen, of Lockwood from Rashcliffe, of Deighton from Woodhouse, of Marsh from Gledholt, has lasted to some extent to the present day".⁸⁹ That emphasis on local identity is a useful corrective to the view that the borough of Huddersfield had become a coherent entity by the early years of the twentieth century, and that the extensive municipal transport system was an important element in that process.⁹⁰ The two viewpoints were not, of course, mutually exclusive. Identification with an area operated at a number of levels simultaneously, and the level articulated at a particular moment depended on the context.

By the early 1900s, the inhabitants of the borough were no longer tied closely to one locality in terms of housing and employment. Using trade directories as the source for the private and business addresses of the middle classes, one study showed

⁸⁷ Harold Kay, quoted in Dyson, *History of Huddersfield*, p. 497.

⁸⁸ J O'Connell, 'From Mechanics' Institution to Polytechnic: Further and Higher Education 1841-1970', in E A H Haigh (ed.), *Huddersfield, A Most Handsome Town: Aspects of the History and Culture of a West Yorkshire Town* (Huddersfield: Kirklees Cultural Services, 1992).

⁸⁹ G H Gratton-Guinness, in the Appendix of Dyson, *History of Huddersfield*, p. 488.

⁹⁰ Brook, *The Story of Huddersfield*, p. 180.

average commuting distances increasing from 0.9 to 1.4 miles (c. 1.5-2.3 kms) in the period 1864 to 1881.⁹¹ More indicative of lower middle and working class patterns of employment was the diminishing feasibility of lunching at home. By 1904, Huddersfield County Borough had an income of £700 p.a. from their conveyance of hot lunches by tram, representing some 1,120 boxes transported daily.⁹²

As transport became easier, and working hours a little less onerous, involvement in voluntary associations became a more prominent part of life. A study of associational patterns in Huddersfield concluded that, apart from the elite suburb of Edgerton, whose inhabitants tended to focus their social life on the town centre, the evidence indicated a number of “relatively independent, self-sufficient urban villages”.⁹³ As elsewhere, the study found that the churches were a social focus of greater magnitude than their membership or service attendance figures would have suggested.⁹⁴ A particular characteristic of Huddersfield and its surrounding valleys was the vigour of its musical life, ranging from the nationally known groups such as the Huddersfield Choral Society, to the extraordinary range of amateur choral and instrumental groupings.⁹⁵

Architecture and Monuments

Engels’ description of Huddersfield, in 1845, as “the handsomest by far of all the factory towns in Yorkshire and Lancashire by reason of its charming situation and modern architecture” was in marked contrast to the “miserable village” that one of its inhabitants remembered sixty years earlier.⁹⁶ That transformation reflected the impact of the initial phase of the Ramsden Estate’s development of the town. The buildings which may well have caught Engels’ attention were those on the “fine quiet

⁹¹ Dennis, *English Industrial Cities*, pp. 139-40.

⁹² At a cost of 3d per six-day week Dennis, *English Industrial Cities*, p. 122.

⁹³ Dennis, *English Industrial Cities*, p. 278. Edgerton (see page 44 above) had a singular absence of local institutions.

⁹⁴ As in Camberwell (H J Dyos, *Victorian Suburb: A Study of the Growth of Camberwell* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1961)).

⁹⁵ D Russell, 'Music in Huddersfield c. 1820-1914', in E A H Haigh (ed.), *Huddersfield, A Most Handsome Town: Aspects of the History and Culture of a West Yorkshire Town* (Huddersfield: Kirklees Cultural Services, 1992), 653-680.

⁹⁶ Wyles, 'Architectural Design in Nineteenth Century Huddersfield', p. 303, quoting *The Condition of the Working Class in England*; G S Phillips, *Walks around Huddersfield* (Reprint, Toll House Bookshop, Holmfirth edn.: Huddersfield: Bond and Hardy, 1848), p. 1.

classical” Queen Street of the 1820s, and the initial stages of the creation of St George’s Square, in which the station façade, erected a few years later, was “one of the best early railway stations in England”.⁹⁷ Later additions to the townscape were more diverse in appearance, although the determined advocacy of the Ramsden’s architectural consultant, Sir William Tite, ensured that the classical idiom continued to dominate.⁹⁸ High profile buildings in the borough had been largely completed by the early 1880s. By 1890, the main phase of commercial building was also over.⁹⁹

The borough had only one medieval church, in Almondbury, its own medieval parish church having been entirely rebuilt in the 1830s. The remaining Anglican churches were built in two phases, those of the first quarter of the nineteenth century, mainly Commissioners’ churches¹⁰⁰, and those of the longer second phase of activity from about 1850 up to about 1900.¹⁰¹ Nonconformist church building also spanned the whole of the nineteenth century, with a few earlier examples. Stylistically, the Anglican choices were uniformly Gothic, whereas the nonconformist ones were more varied.¹⁰²

In an age before compulsory tendering procedures, personal connections were often crucial in the choice of architect for more prestigious projects. Ramsden

⁹⁷ N Pevsner and E Radcliffe, *Yorkshire West Riding* (2nd edn., Buildings of England; London: Penguin, 1967), pp. 271-276, 632-633. Other important buildings of the 1830s and 1840s were the Catholic and Congregational churches and the Infirmary, all erected on New North Road. In 1862, the *Builder* praised New North Road for its domestic architecture “there is a great variety in point of style in the different houses; both the Gothic and Classical examples are to be seen, frequently juxtaposed, and with an effect which is eminently satisfactory” (D Linstrum, *West Yorkshire, Architects and Architecture* (London: Lund Humphries, 1978), p. 113, quoting the *Builder* XX p. 623).

⁹⁸ An eminent London architect and one time RIBA president, he was appointed in 1851 to advise on the development of the town centre Wyles, 'Architectural Design in Nineteenth Century Huddersfield', p. 308-312.

⁹⁹ I A Thompson, 'The Development of Huddersfield Town Centre from 1870 onwards', in E A H Haigh (ed.), *Huddersfield, A Most Handsome Town: Aspects of the History and Culture of a West Yorkshire Town* (Huddersfield: Kirklees Cultural Services, 1992), 341-363, pp. 342-346.

¹⁰⁰ Holy Trinity and St Paul in the town centre, and Lindley, Lockwood, Paddock and Woodhouse outside.

¹⁰¹ Such as St Andrew, St John and St Thomas in Huddersfield itself, and Longwood.

¹⁰² In the classical style, for instance, Salendine Nook (Baptist) (fourth chapel 1843)), Highfield (Congregational) (1843-44), Gledholt (Wesleyan) (1890); in the Gothic, St Patrick (Catholic) (1832), Lindley (Wesleyan) (1867), New North Road (Baptist) (1878), Longwood (Wesleyan) (1904). (A R Bielby, *The Churches and Chapels of Kirklees* (Huddersfield: Kirklees Libraries and Museums Service, 1978), pp. 48, 86-95, 104-105)

influence brought William Butterfield into the town, and the Starkey family acquired the services of George Gilbert Scott through the childhood connections of the Vicar of Huddersfield.¹⁰³ Another London-based architect who worked in the area, W H Crossland, was Huddersfield-born, and had been one of Scott's pupils.¹⁰⁴ The most significant provincial architects working in Huddersfield were R D Chantrell of Leeds, who was responsible for many local churches¹⁰⁵, and J P Pritchett of York, the architect of the Railway Station¹⁰⁶, who worked for the Earl Fitzwilliam's Wentworth Woodhouse estate, a family which had intermarried with the Ramsdens.¹⁰⁷ For more every day needs, 19 architects are recorded in Huddersfield in 1891.¹⁰⁸ The membership of the Borough Council from 1885 to 1914 included three architects¹⁰⁹, one mason and sculptor¹¹⁰ and ten builders.¹¹¹

Apart from Pritchett's station, Huddersfield's other claim to architectural fame came at the turn of the century, with three works by Edgar Wood of Manchester. Related to the Sykes family of Lindley, he was commissioned to carry out a number of projects in that area, notably two private houses, Banney Royd and Briarcourt, and a Clock Tower. The two houses displayed an eclectic mixture of West Riding

¹⁰³ William Butterfield (1814-1900) was the architect of St John's, Bay Hall (1852-53), although budgetary constraints severely limited his impact. George Gilbert Scott (1811-1878) designed St Thomas, Manchester Road (1858-59), for the employees of the Starkeys, owners of Springdale Mill. (K Gibson and A Booth, *The Buildings of Huddersfield: An Illustrated Architectural History* (Stroud: Tempus, 2005), pp. 87-89; Wyles, 'Architectural Design in Nineteenth Century Huddersfield', p. 325).

¹⁰⁴ William Henry Crossland (1835-1908), the designer of Royal Holloway College and Rochdale Town Hall. In Huddersfield he was the architect for, inter alia, the Ramsden Estate Office (1872), the Post Office (1874-76) and St Andrew's church (1870). (Gibson and Booth, *The Buildings of Huddersfield: An Illustrated Architectural History*, pp. 97-104).

¹⁰⁵ Robert Dennis Chantrell (1793-1872), responsible for Emmanuel, Lockwood, St Paul, Armitage Bridge, and others outside the borough boundaries (Linstrum, *Architects and Architecture*, pp. 373-74).

¹⁰⁶ Linstrum, *Architects and Architecture*, p. 383. James Pigott Pritchett (1789-1868)'s three sons, all architects, settled in Huddersfield and were members of Ramsden Street Congregational Chapel (Binfield, 'Asquith', p. 220).

¹⁰⁷ Wyles, 'Architectural Design in Nineteenth Century Huddersfield', p. 308.

¹⁰⁸ Although that figure included those who also operated as estate agents and surveyors, as well as unqualified staff in the local authority Linstrum, *Architects and Architecture*, p. 42.

¹⁰⁹ Joseph Berry (Conservative), Ben Stocks (Liberal), Arthur Sykes (Liberal).

¹¹⁰ Richard Garner (Conservative).

¹¹¹ Perks, 'New Liberalism and the Challenge of Labour', Volume 2, Appendix 2.11. Not represented amongst the councillors was the architectural firm of John Kirk and Sons which

vernacular, Jacobethan and Art Nouveau, within the overall tradition of the Arts and Crafts Movement. The Lindley Clock Tower, with a copper pagoda tower, and sculptural decoration, invited comparison, according to Pevsner, with Mackintosh and Glasgow.¹¹²

“Huddersfield is not ‘passing rich’ in statues”.¹¹³ That was the view of the Head Master of Almondbury Grammar School, in 1932, as he argued that one of Richard Oastler, the factory reformer, was well overdue. A statue of Sir Robert Peel was unveiled in front of the railway station, in 1873, to commemorate the repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846.¹¹⁴ The town did not acquire a statue of Queen Victoria for either of her jubilees, although Sir John William Ramsden presented a drinking fountain in her honour for the Market Place, in 1888, and a Victoria Tower was erected, in 1899, on the top of the Iron Age fort, Castle Hill, a few miles south.¹¹⁵ After his death, Edward VII was accorded a statue outside the Infirmary as part of a successful attempt to gain permission for the designation “Royal Infirmary”.¹¹⁶ The preference seemed to have been for civic monies and public subscriptions to be spent in ways regarded as more useful – certainly a view expressed in regard to the Victoria Tower.¹¹⁷ The dearth of public statues in the borough made that of a Boer War

operated until the 1930s, designing a wide range of housing (Linstrum, *Architects and Architecture*, p. 380).

¹¹² Edgar Wood (1860-1935) was J N Sykes’s nephew, and H H Sykes’s brother-in-law (Linstrum, *Architects and Architecture*, p. 118; Gibson and Booth, *The Buildings of Huddersfield: An Illustrated Architectural History*, pp. 110-117; Pevsner and Radcliffe, *Yorks WR*, p. 275). Some of Sykes’ employees, at Acre Mills, were inclined to suggest that the Clock Tower was over elaborate for the equivalent of a factory hooter (G Minter and E Minter, *Discovering Old Huddersfield*, 5 vols. (Huddersfield: H Barden & Co, 1994-2002), Volume 4, pp. 51-53).

¹¹³ Dyson, *History of Huddersfield*, p. 425.

¹¹⁴ 23 years after a committee had first been established for that purpose Minter and Minter, *Discovering Old Huddersfield*, Vol. 1, pp. 3-4.

¹¹⁵ Minter and Minter, *Discovering Old Huddersfield*, Volume 2, p. 48; Brook, *The Story of Huddersfield*, pp. 186-87.

¹¹⁶ George V unveiled the statue, by P Bryant Baker, in 1912 (E A H Haigh, *Huddersfield in Old Picture Postcards* (Zaltbommel, Netherlands: European Library Publishers, 1983), image 26).

¹¹⁷ A public library was felt by some to have been a better symbol of Jubilee celebration (Brook, *The Story of Huddersfield*, p. 187).

soldier in Greenhead Park all the more striking. Roughly life size, with a slouch hat, rifle and pack, it was unveiled by General French in 1905.¹¹⁸

Military Presence

The regular army presence in the area was that of the Duke of Wellington's (West Riding) Regiment with its headquarters and main barracks in Halifax, 7 miles (11.3 kilometres) away. After the reorganisation of the various volunteer and militia units in 1908, the resulting infantry formations were attached to the Duke of Wellington's Regiment, and the volunteer cavalry groups to the Yorkshire Dragoons, based in Doncaster.¹¹⁹

It has been suggested that the Boer War was a turning point in the attitude of the population to the army and to the soldier, mainly because of the participation of men from a number of the volunteer groups alongside the regular army.¹²⁰ Both the Duke of Wellington's Regiment and the Yorkshire Dragoons were reinforced in that way. The public in and around Huddersfield may have been particularly sensitive to the contrast between jingoistic support for colonial adventures and the less attractive sides of warfare. Mr H J Wilson, the Liberal MP for the adjacent parliamentary constituency of Holmfirth, was a vocal opponent of the war, expressing doubts as to the rightness of British involvement and, in Huddersfield itself, a broad-based group of radical Liberals, socialists and Quakers took a similar view.¹²¹

There is some evidence to suggest that the area around Huddersfield may have had a heightened level of awareness of the contribution of the armed forces at an

¹¹⁸ See Chapter 3.

¹¹⁹ J H Rumsby, "'Attentive Soldiers and Good Citizens": Militia, Volunteers and Military Service 1757-1957', in E A H Haigh (ed.), *Huddersfield, A Most Handsome Town: Aspects of the History and Culture of a West Yorkshire Town* (Huddersfield: Kirklees Cultural Services, 1992), 145-170, pp. 156-57, 164. Until 1 January 1921, the official name was the Duke of Wellington's (West Riding) Regiment; it then changed to the Duke of Wellington's Regiment (West Riding) (J M Brereton and A C S Savory, *The History of the Duke of Wellington's Regiment (West Riding) 1702-1992* (Halifax: Duke of Wellington's Regiment (West Riding), 1993), p. 262), and has now been merged into the Yorkshire Regiment. Confusingly, there was also a West Yorkshire Regiment, the Prince of Wales' Own.

¹²⁰ See, for example, W J Reader, *"At Duty's Call" A Study in Obsolete Patriotism*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988), pp. 10-15.

¹²¹ R Price, *An Imperial War and the British Working Class, Working Class Reactions to the Boer War 1899-1902* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1972); Pearce, *Comrades in Conscience*.

earlier point than the Boer War. During the mid-1850s, the *Huddersfield Examiner* printed a series of letters from soldiers serving in the Crimea and, in the 1897 Diamond Jubilee celebrations, 40 veterans of the Crimean War and of the Indian Mutiny were included in Huddersfield's civic parade. Following that parade, a group of local businessmen financed the formation of the Huddersfield and District Army Veterans' Association, as a welfare and social organisation for ex-servicemen.¹²²

Summer 1914

On the eve of war Huddersfield was a thriving town of middling size, blessed with a more flexible industrial and commercial base than many of its neighbours, and highly respected in the textile industry at home and abroad. It had escaped the severe economic and social effects of extensive immigration and residential segregation. The existence of a dominant absentee landowner, the Ramsden family, had by then become much less important than might be supposed. A Nonconformist Liberal elite retained traditional control over many of the town's organisations but their political control was weakening and both Labour and Conservative interests were experiencing growth. Awareness of the human costs of war, as well as its potential for glory, was possibly more widespread than in an average community. Minds were beginning to turn to the important question of planning celebrations for the Jubilee of the creation of the Borough, in July 1918.¹²³

¹²² Rumsby, 'Attentive Soldiers and Good Citizens'. The Association is still in existence, and forms the main ex-servicemen's element in the Remembrance Sunday parade.

¹²³ The first minuted reference to the Jubilee did not occur until 1918. However, the speed with which decisions were taken and implemented thereafter, indicated that informal discussions had already been taking place for some time (Finance Committee 14 Jun. 1918; for a summary of the outcome see p. 71 below). It is probable that the jubilee of the Huddersfield Industrial Society triggered consideration of what the borough should do when its anniversary occurred, as the *Jubilee History* of the borough was commissioned from Owen Balmforth, who had written a substantial commemorative volume for the Society, and the Society's Board contained a number of prominent townsmen (O Balmforth, *The Huddersfield Industrial Society Limited: History of Fifty Years' Progress, 1860-1910* (Manchester: Co-operative Wholesale Society's Printing Works, 1910), pp. 236-246).

The War and Its Aftermath

Wartime Economy

In common with the rest of the country, the outbreak of war brought a period of uncertainty. The *Examiner* reminded its readers that both the Boer War and the Russo-Japanese War had generated large orders for cloth for both armies and navies. Nevertheless, such a positive outcome was not to be left to chance. Within two days of the declaration of war, the Huddersfield Chamber of Commerce appointed a team of local manufacturers, joined by their local Member of Parliament, to lobby government. By the end of August, tenders for army and navy cloth and blankets had been invited by the War Office, contracts signed and work begun. Within a month, the Trades Council noted there was little unemployment in Huddersfield.¹²⁴

In January 1915, *The Times* published “*Huddersfield, The Valley of Khaki*”. Opening with an atmospheric description of the local valleys at night - with all the mills lit up but none of the dirt visible - it reported that some mills were running 24 hours a day every day of the week, with perhaps a three hour break for cleaning and maintenance. An estimated 300 miles of army cloth were being produced per week, not only for the British army but also for Russia, Belgium and France, with orders being turned away. The provisions of the Factory Acts had been relaxed to allow women and children to work overtime, and unemployed cotton workers had been brought over from Lancashire. Belgian refugees were also being employed.¹²⁵ Other sources continued to tell a similar story throughout the war. In 1916, the Borough’s Education Committee reported that, as trade was good, only 6 children from 3 families were on the register for free meals, compared with 472 in September 1914. By 1917, the figure had reduced to 3 and, by May 1918, was none.¹²⁶ The Chamber of Commerce report, for 1918, referred to full employment, double shifts and a shortage of labour.

The booming wartime economy was not only a product of the textile industry. Huddersfield’s two other major employers, engineering and dyestuffs, made an

¹²⁴ Pearce, *Comrades in Conscience*, p.79.

¹²⁵ In a series on “England in Time of War” (28 Jan. 1915 p. 6 col. e). For the *Examiner*’s post-war summary of the textile contribution to the war, see HDE 10 Apr. 1919.

increasingly important contribution. The engineering industry, much of whose pre-war work was related to the textile trade and thus still much in demand, quickly found additional opportunities. Thomas Broadbent and Sons, for example, began to produce steel aerial bombs.¹²⁷ The Park Works of David Browns, in Lockwood, expanded from 200 workers, in 1914, to 1,000, in 1918, supplying gears for army use and for ships. E Brook Ltd moved from Huddersfield to Lockwood, in 1916, to gain greater production capacity; by 1918, the firm was producing 800 electric motors a week, plus shell cases and tank parts.¹²⁸

The British dyestuffs industry had been very slow to develop the new synthetic dyes pioneered by Germany. Prior to 1914, between 80 and 90% of all British artificial dyestuffs were imported from Germany, including all the dyes for army khaki and naval blue. This embarrassing situation was the impetus for a huge effort to modernise the industry after the outbreak of war. However, the importance of the dyestuffs industry was not solely, or even primarily, about aniline dyes. One of the key chemicals for the new dyes, picric acid, was also an important component in explosives.¹²⁹ Consequently, the industry became an essential part of the munitions effort.

At least two firms in Huddersfield already had experience of explosives manufacture from the turn of the century.¹³⁰ In 1915, the government forced a merger between Hollidays and the Lancashire-based Levinsteins, to form British Dyes Ltd. Major Holliday was recalled from the army to take charge of a new production line for the government. With the compensation from the buy-out, he also set up a new munitions firm of his own.¹³¹ In addition, one of the National Shell

¹²⁶ Education Committee Annual Reports.

¹²⁷ Jenkins, 'Textiles and Other Industries', p. 268.

¹²⁸ B Clarke, *The History of Lockwood and North Crosland* (Lockwood: privately published, 1980), pp. 62-66.

¹²⁹ G Robb, *British Culture and the First World War*, ed. J Black (Social History in Perspective; Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002), p. 190; G R Searle, *A New England? Peace and War 1886-1918*, ed. J M Roberts (The New Oxford History of England; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2004), p.624.

¹³⁰ Read Holliday & Sons Ltd, making picric acid, and John Walker Leitch of Milnsbridge, producing trinitrotoluol (TNT) (Jenkins, 'Textiles and Other Industries', pp. 262-64).

¹³¹ During the war, British Dyes produced 11 million tons of TNT without loss of life. Major Holliday's plant produced 100 tons a week of picric acid in its first year (sufficient

Factories was opened in Huddersfield.¹³² A report by *The Times*, in January 1916, highlighted the impact of some of these developments on the borough. British Dyes Ltd had plans to employ 20,000-30,000 people. In the meantime, thousands of labourers engaged in the construction of the new works were mainly being housed in huts provided by the company, as all the lodging-houses were full.¹³³ By early 1918, the town was producing over a third of the nation's total output of high explosives.¹³⁴ The juxtaposition of textiles and munitions had given Huddersfield a vital role in the national economy and a pressing need for workers.

A further influx of people into Huddersfield during the war was the result of the need to accommodate casualties.¹³⁵ In addition to patients, the temporary war hospitals and auxiliary medical facilities created a need for staff at all levels, some of whom came from outside the town, as did the friends and relatives of the patients.

Normal methods of estimating population between censuses were unable to reflect the wartime conditions. In his report for the final year of the war, the Medical Officer of Health for Huddersfield noted that the Registrar General was estimating the borough's population as between 105,818 and 117,957, in comparison to the 1911 census total of 107,821, whereas he thought that the figure should be over 120,000.¹³⁶

Recruitment and Conscription

The Times' depiction of the Valley of Khaki ended on a less comfortable note for local readers. Noting that few men in khaki were to be seen on the streets, it reported

"The number of recruits so far enlisted does not satisfy the local patriots....The claims of industry are, of course, heavier there than elsewhere, but it is often forgotten, in recruiting discussions, that about half the operatives in a woollen mill are women and girls....The valley of khaki has, however, contributed so handsomely to the national cause by supplying indispensable material that one

for a million shells per week), which was sent to the Royal Arsenal Woolwich each night by special train (Brook, *The Story of Huddersfield*, p. 212).

¹³² In Fitzwilliam Street (Chamber of Commerce Annual Report 1918).

¹³³ The article was careful to make no mention of munitions but referred to the avoidance of a dependence on imported dyes (3 Jan. 1916 p.15 col. f.).

¹³⁴ Pearce, *Comrades in Conscience*, p. 205.

¹³⁵ See Chapter 10.

¹³⁶ Medical Officer of Health for the Huddersfield County Borough, 1918, pp. 3-5.

has little doubt that it will play its part equally well on the mill-floor of nations when the next call comes."¹³⁷

Evidence for patterns of recruitment in particular areas or industries is sparse. Figures for regional enlistment, for July 1915, show Yorkshire and the East Midlands with the lowest percentage contributions of 17% each, the other regions rising to 22% in three English areas and 24% in Scotland.¹³⁸ The sporadic information available in newspapers about recruitment in Huddersfield, in the period January to October 1915, has been extracted, and the patterns of peaks and troughs were similar to the national picture.¹³⁹ However, without reliable comparative data for the percentage response in other areas, the significance of the volume of volunteers is very limited. It is clear that the rate of volunteering was an intermittent cause of concern locally, but it is impossible to say what relationship that might have had to the pattern nationally.¹⁴⁰

If Huddersfield men were slower to join the services than their counterparts elsewhere, a number of factors might have influenced them. As already described, employment was very easily available, and in industries which were crucial to the war effort. Consequently, volunteering was not the only obviously patriotic course of action open to the local citizens, and, with full employment, there were no pressing pragmatic reasons to join the forces. Later, of course, the introduction of conscription changed the context dramatically, although the pressing labour requirements of local industry may have had some impact on the number of exemptions granted by the Huddersfield Military Service Tribunal.¹⁴¹

¹³⁷ 28 Jan. 1915 p. 6 col. e.

¹³⁸ P E Dewey, 'Military Recruiting and the British Labour Force During the First World War', *Historical Journal*, 27/1 (1984), 199-223, pp. 216-217. He linked the Yorkshire performance to its dominant industries of mining and textiles, and to his analysis of occupational sector data (pp. 200-211). Gregory has recently questioned assumptions about the prevalence of volunteering (Gregory, *The Last Great War: British Society and the First World War*, pp. 87-95).

¹³⁹ Pearce, *Comrades in Conscience*, pp. 133-137, 312 (Table 5).

¹⁴⁰ The fifth article in the *Examiner's* War Series of 1919, was devoted to recruitment and the tone is somewhat defensive (HDE 27 Mar. 1919).

¹⁴¹ In 1916, 18,704 applications were received (both first and second applications) of which only 24.8% were refused. Conscientious Objectors formed only 0.59% of the applications received (Pearce, *Comrades in Conscience*, p. 314 (Table 8)).

The climate of opinion in Huddersfield during the war was also less uniformly militaristic than might be supposed. The dominant political and religious ethos of the town was not one to which wholehearted support for any war would come easily, although, as elsewhere in the country, personal stances changed rapidly as theoretical positions gave way to harsh reality.¹⁴² Most came rapidly to terms with the new situation, with varying degrees of enthusiasm or mental reservation, but the town remained, throughout the war, a place where dissent from the majority view could be voiced without fear of violence or complete ostracism.¹⁴³

In September 1914, raising “pals battalions” was the popular channel for civic effort in many towns and cities. An attempt was apparently made to do the same in Huddersfield, but official sanction for the scheme was not forthcoming. Permission was, however, gained for the raising and equipping of an artillery formation, the 168th Brigade of the Royal Field Artillery, which was formed in April to June 1915.¹⁴⁴ In terms of local loyalties, Huddersfield already had its own stake in the army. The 3rd Battalion of the Duke of Wellington’s (West Riding) Regiment (known as “The Dukes”) was the regular army unit linked to the area, and the 5th Battalion was the territorial unit based in the town, with the 7th recruiting from the valleys to the south. Those close ties meant that the absence of an official “pals battalion” did not spare Huddersfield the concentrated impact on local areas of particular military engagements. In a letter home, from which extracts were published in the *Examiner*, a soldier from The Dukes, involved in the second battle of Ypres, warned that there were “a lot of Huddersfield lads killed and wounded”.¹⁴⁵ The newspaper’s readers were not shielded from some of the other realities of war. In the same edition, another letter home spoke of walking over “heaps of dead” and, later in the month, a 15 year old from Primrose Hill, recovering from the effects of gas in hospital, wrote “It is terrible out here; you cannot explain what it is like. To see your comrades

¹⁴² A Ruston, 'Protestant Nonconformist Attitudes Towards the First World War', in A P F Sell and A R Cross (eds.), *Protestant Nonconformity in the Twentieth Century* (2003), 240-263.

¹⁴³ Pearce, *Comrades in Conscience* gives a good overview of the town in that respect.

¹⁴⁴ HDE 27 Mar. 1919. The reasons for the rejection of the “pals” proposal were not given.

¹⁴⁵ The action at Hill 60, on 29 April 1915 (HDE 4 May 1915).

killed at your side, and to have to tread over them; it is more like murder than anything else". He had had enough and wanted to come home.¹⁴⁶

Politics

Huddersfield's Liberal Member of Parliament on the outbreak of war was Arthur Sherwell.¹⁴⁷ He opposed Asquith's coalition in May 1915, subsequently sitting as an Independent Liberal in opposition.¹⁴⁸ He then went on to oppose both the Derby scheme and the introduction of conscription, declaring himself "irreconcilably opposed to military and industrial conscription" and accusing the advocates of the measures of using "the great emergency of the war for the destruction of democracy and for depriving the workers of hard-won privileges and rights".¹⁴⁹ Appreciating that his stance was a matter of increasing concern to the local Liberals, he announced, in early 1916, that he would stand down at the next election.¹⁵⁰ When that election came, in December 1918, Huddersfield Liberals, in common with those in many other parts of West Yorkshire¹⁵¹, were unhappy about the coupon system of approved candidates and the Liberal vote was split between Sir Charles Sykes (Coupon Liberal) and Ernest Woodhead (Independent Liberal), with Harry Snell (Labour) standing as the third candidate. During the campaign Woodhead was accused of lukewarm support for the war. The result showed a significantly split electorate and a strong showing for the Labour candidate, who had also opposed the war and conscription.¹⁵² Although support for individual party

¹⁴⁶ HDE 19 May. At that age he should not have been at the front (R V Emden, *Boy Soldiers of the Great War: Their Own Stories for the First Time* (London: Headline, 2005)).

¹⁴⁷ Arthur Sherwell (1863-1942), a Home Rule Liberal who had represented the constituency since 1906. He was a Londoner, and, although the son of an Anglican coachmaker, he had first intended to train as a Wesleyan minister, but then became a writer and lecturer on social issues, and on temperance. He had worked with the Rowntrees, and undertaken a social survey in Soho. (Pearce, *Comrades in Conscience*, pp. 303-304).

¹⁴⁸ Pearce, *Comrades in Conscience*, p. 140.

¹⁴⁹ Pearce, *Comrades in Conscience*, p. 150.

¹⁵⁰ The Central Liberal Club had removed his name from the list of Vice-Presidents (Pearce, *Comrades in Conscience*, pp. 190-191).

¹⁵¹ G L Bernstein, 'Yorkshire Liberalism During The First World War', *The Historical Journal*, 32/1 (1989), 107-129.

¹⁵² Sykes 15,234 (38.8%), Snell 12,737 (32.5%) and Woodhead 11,256 (26.7%), on a 69.8% turnout (F W S Craig, *British Parliamentary Election Results 1918-1949* (London: Macmillan, 1983 3rd edition)).

candidates fluctuated and, from 1923, Huddersfield returned a Labour MP, the electorate was fairly evenly split throughout the 1920s.¹⁵³

In the first borough council elections after the war, the balance shifted somewhat away from the Liberals but at no point prior to the Second World War did the Liberals lose control of the Council, a situation which was unique amongst English boroughs by 1930.¹⁵⁴ Indeed, despite the election of Huddersfield's first Labour Member of Parliament, Labour's representation on the Council dropped to 1, in 1925, and did not reach double figures until 1938. A Conservative/Liberal anti-Socialist alliance, operating throughout the interwar period, has been cited as the main explanation, but that fails to explain why similar alliances in other West Yorkshire boroughs did not have similar effects. Another factor considered to have been significant was the relative prosperity of Huddersfield throughout the period. The personalities and alliances of local politicians also played a role.¹⁵⁵

Industry and Population after the War

The annual reports of the Huddersfield Chamber of Commerce indicated the broad outline of the borough's economic health after the end of the war. In early 1919, it was noted that the National Shell Factory would shortly close and that the majority of the workers were women, apparently implying that any resulting unemployment was not a matter of significant concern. 1919 was judged "very satisfactory", but problems began to surface in March of the following year, initially with overseas markets. By 1921, trade was described as bad but the Chamber was somewhat heartened by the fact that, in contrast to other towns, business failures had been few. 1922 saw steady improvements and employment becoming more plentiful but 1923 was mixed and 1924 worse. However, by 1926, the judgement was that the

¹⁵³ Only in 1923 did any candidate fail to obtain more than 30% of the vote (C Tinker, the Conservative, with 26.7) (Craig, *Election Results*).

¹⁵⁴ The main change was between Liberal (down from 30 to 25 seats) and Conservative (up from 24 to 28), Labour only gaining 1 seat. For an overview of the patterns in councils elsewhere, see Table 2.8 of J Reynolds and K Laybourn, *Labour Heartland: The History of the Labour Party in West Yorkshire during the Inter-War Years 1918-1939* (Bradford: Bradford University Press, 1987), pp. 58-61.

¹⁵⁵ Reynolds and Laybourn, *Labour Heartland: The History of the Labour Party in West Yorkshire during the Inter-War Years 1918-1939*; and D Dutton, 'William Mabane and

outlook was much more encouraging. Overall, the picture is of an area which avoided the worst of the economic troubles of the 1920s, perhaps because the war had not only enabled many employers to build up capital but also to extend their product range and technical expertise.¹⁵⁶

The census for 1921 was scheduled to take place on 24 April, but was delayed until 19 June, because of concerns about the industrial situation nationally. When the results were published, the introductory material acknowledged that the later date had probably affected the accuracy of the data, as more people were likely to have been away on holiday. In the county volume, the editor noted that the Registrar General's estimates of the normal resident population had, for example, been exceeded by 33.2% in Bridlington, and by 25.9% in Filey.¹⁵⁷ Huddersfield's recorded population was 110,102.¹⁵⁸ The borough's Medical Officer of Health commented that, in addition to the impact of the delayed date, patterns of work in the local industries, particularly at British Dyes, had not yet returned to normal after the war, although he gave no alternative estimate of the population. Looking back at the later years of the war, he recorded that "thousands were employed over and above normal levels and people were recruited from as far away as Ireland".¹⁵⁹

The gender balance of Huddersfield's population, as recorded in 1921, was almost identical with that in 1911.¹⁶⁰ Although counterintuitive, that lack of any dramatic shift in the population overall reflected the extent of the outflow of men emigrating in the pre-war period, as well as improved nutrition during the war.¹⁶¹

Huddersfield Politics, 1931-1947: 'By Any Other Name A Liberal', *Northern History*, 43/1 (2006), 137-153.

¹⁵⁶ The excess profits duty, for example, cost one Huddersfield textiles firm £80,000 in tax, but it still retained £20,000 over and above normal profit levels (Teasdale, *Huddersfield Mills: A Textile Heritage*, p. 42).

¹⁵⁷ Census 1921, County of York, Preface p. viii.

¹⁵⁸ The town now ranked 42nd in the list of those urban areas with a population over 50,000, the main change in Yorkshire being the rapid growth of Middlesbrough (Census 1921, General Report (1927), Table XIII).

¹⁵⁹ Report for 1921.

¹⁶⁰ 1921: 1,153 females per 1,000 males (General Tables (1925), Table 37) as opposed to 1911: 1,155 per 1,000 (Summary Tables [Cd. 7929], Table 6).

¹⁶¹ In England and Wales as a whole, in 1921, there were 1,068 females per 1,000 males (General Report (1927), Table I). For a succinct summary of the factors affecting the changes in population data between 1911 and 1921, see Searle, *A New England? Peace and War 1886-1918*, pp. 742-743.

The proportion of widowed women had, however, risen from 2.5 to 9.4%.¹⁶² Information about places of birth at a level below that of the country of origin had ceased to be collected in 1921, making it impossible to track any changes to the local and regional nature of the borough's population. Where comparable data was recorded, it showed that those with Scottish and Irish origins had increased their presence in the population, with all other groupings staying at a similar level to that in 1911, including those born in foreign countries.¹⁶³ British subjects by birth or by naturalisation formed over half of the latter group. Alien nationals were predominantly from Belgium, France, Italy, the United States, Germany and Switzerland.¹⁶⁴

The textile trade continued to be the main employment sector overall but, for men, it had been overtaken by metal and electrical working.¹⁶⁵ The commercial, clerical, transport, and storage sectors had also increased their importance for men. For women, the level of employment in domestic service had changed little, but involvement in the commercial and clerical sectors was increasing. Wartime changes in Huddersfield industry had clearly continued to affect the patterns of male employment.¹⁶⁶ Those males recorded as having no employment had increased somewhat from the 1911 levels.¹⁶⁷ Any permanent impact was much less obvious in

¹⁶² Census 1911, Volume VII [Cd. 6610], Tables 8 and 9; Census 1921, County of York, Table 14. For England and Wales, the 1921 figure was 8.2% (General Tables (1925), Table 33).

¹⁶³ Those born in Scotland had increased from 0.7 to 0.8% of the borough's population and those from Ireland from 0.8 to 1.2%, almost all from what had become the Irish Free State.

¹⁶⁴ Despite the war, Huddersfield had 11 German and 3 Austrian nationals resident or visiting, and a further 10 naturalised Britons who had been born in Germany. Birthplace information is in Census 1921, County of York, Tables 21-22.

¹⁶⁵ The textile and garment sectors combined accounted for 24.36% of male employment, and 61.01% of female. Male employment in metal and electrical working had risen from 12.4%, in 1911, to 32.65%, in 1921. (Census 1921, County of York, Table 18. Employment categories had changed between 1911 and 1921; sectoral comparisons can, therefore, only be approximate.)

¹⁶⁶ Although the chemical industry's share of the market had hardly changed (increased from 2% to 2.62%), tending to reinforce the view that normal working had been slow to be re-established following the end of munitions work.

¹⁶⁷ From 4.74% either unemployed or retired, to 8.06%. The 1911 figures included the 10-12 age group, which was omitted from the 1921 data, and the calculations have been adjusted accordingly. Census 1911, Vol. X Part II [Cd. 7019], Table 13); (Census 1921, County of York, Table 18.)

the female market, either in the sectoral balance or in the proportion of women in the workplace overall.¹⁶⁸

Civic Pride

Despite the war, Huddersfield did not defer the celebration of the Jubilee of the granting of the Borough's charter in July 1918. No doubt prompted by the anniversary, as well as seeking recognition of its war efforts, the town had, in May 1918, secured its second visit by a reigning monarch within six years.¹⁶⁹ In September, all the school children were presented with a commemorative certificate and granted a day's holiday, £500 per annum was set aside for Jubilee scholarships, six new freemen were created, and a Jubilee history of the corporation was published.¹⁷⁰

An even greater symbolic event followed in 1919, when it became known that the Ramsdens might be considering the sale of their Huddersfield estates. Representatives of the Council negotiated the purchase of all the freehold land in the borough, earning the title of "The Town That Bought Itself".¹⁷¹ The purchase price was £1,350,000. The sale was managed much more expeditiously than might otherwise have been the case, as a Huddersfield-born London banker, Mr S W Copley, had been prepared to buy the estate immediately and hold it until the council had obtained the parliamentary instrument necessary to enable an official purchase. As the size of the transaction was unprecedented for a local authority, a special committee of the Treasury had advised that the borough should issue a 6% stock repayable over 30 years. The council, however, believing its credit rating to be high, decided instead to seek a loan. That decision was rapidly vindicated as, within three years, the income from the estate was covering the annual loan charges.¹⁷²

¹⁶⁸ 40.52% of the female population over the age of 12 was employed in 1921, compared with 43.97% in 1911 (Census 1911, Vol. X Part II [Cd. 7019], Table 13).

¹⁶⁹ O Balmforth, *Jubilee History of the Corporation of Huddersfield, 1868-1918* (Huddersfield: Alfred Jubb & Son Ltd, 1918), p. 76-77.

¹⁷⁰ The new freemen were all councillors, or former councillors: Alderman W H Jessop (Mayor at the time of the Jubilee, Conservative), Alderman E Woodhead (Liberal), Councillor George Thompson (Liberal), Benjamin Broadbent (Liberal Unionist), J A Brooke (Conservative) and J E Willans (Liberal). (Balmforth, *Jubilee History*, pp. 79, 125-139)

¹⁷¹ The Ramsden estate owned 4,000 acres (1,619 hectares) at the date of the sale. *One Hundred Years of The Huddersfield Corporation*, p.19.

¹⁷² The purchase was formally completed in 1920 (Brook, *The Story of Huddersfield*, pp. 221-222).

Chapter 3 - The Boer War Prelude

“For the time being ...the statue in Greenhead Park is our local cenotaph”. That statement, in May 1920, would have been uncontentious to readers of the weekly *Examiner* column, “Territorial Notes”.¹ Indeed, its only novelty would have been in the use of the word “cenotaph”, just recently introduced into common usage by events in London, rather than in the description of the status of the local monument.² Yet the memorial in Greenhead Park was not, as the first Cenotaph in Whitehall had been, a temporary structure. Nor, indeed, was it a product of the recent war at all. It had been unveiled to honour the dead of the Boer War.³ However, unlike most, possibly all of its equivalents elsewhere, the memorial was already the focus for annual commemorations, forming an unbroken link between 1905 and the Great War.⁴ The group of men responsible for developing that tradition played an influential part in the process by which Huddersfield created its permanent borough memorials after 1918. The creation and role of the town’s Boer War memorial is, therefore, an essential prelude to understanding part of the context of Huddersfield’s later commemorative journey.

Context

Prior to its transformation into a public park, the area of land now occupied by Greenhead Park was an open space known as Rifle Fields, about half a mile (0.8 km)

¹ 20 May 1920.

² Lutyens’ design was first seen as a temporary structure of wood and plaster for the Peace celebrations in London, in July 1919. Popular demand dictated its reinvention as a permanent memorial in Whitehall, in November 1920. (King, *Symbolism and Politics of Remembrance*, pp. 141-150)

³ On 20 May 1905.

⁴ In the most extensive account to date of the creation of the memorials of World War I, King stated that the Boer War memorials, once erected, attracted none of the continuing commemorative activity that their Great War successors would. He cited Liverpool as “rare if not unique”, in being the focus for an annual ceremony, from 1907, but emphasised that the memorial concerned was a regimental one, and that the ceremony related to all the regiment’s dead over the centuries. Manchester’s Boer War memorial was chosen as the temporary venue for a service, on Armistice Day 1919. King, *Symbolism and Politics of Remembrance*, pp. 21 (note 12), 44.

from the town centre. It was used as a training ground for the volunteers⁵, as well as an open space for other communal activities. By the 1860s, the land was earmarked for building development by the Ramsden Estate, but its open character was saved by the actions of an alderman, who purchased an annual tenancy of it to give the borough council time to negotiate a more permanent solution. A decade later, after landscaping of the area, Greenhead Park was officially opened⁶, becoming the venue for outdoor events of many kinds.⁷ Thus when the final war of Victoria's reign began, in 1899, the Park already had strong associations with the citizen as soldier, as well as being the venue for diverse town occasions. Today, when entering the Park from the main entrance, the commemorative landscape of the Boer War and two World Wars still dominates the vista.⁸ The long central path leads straight towards an artificially heightened mound at the far end of the park on which the First World War memorial sits, with its additional inscription for the Second World War. The Boer War statue, a six foot (c. 1.8 metres) tall bronze of a soldier in khaki uniform and slouch hat, surveys the horizon from a position off to the right of the path, nearer the entrance.⁹

⁵ It continued to perform that function during the transition from privately owned open ground to municipal public park. The first camp of the newly formed Huddersfield Corps of volunteer infantry was held at the site, in May 1874, in conjunction with the corps from Holmfirth, Meltham and Mirfield (R P Berry, *A History of the Foundation and Development of the Volunteer Infantry from the Earliest Times, Illustrated by the Records of Huddersfield and Its Vicinity from 1794 to 1874* (Huddersfield: J Broadbent & Son, 1903), p. 465).

⁶ The Council had purchased the freehold of just over 26 acres, following the tenancy of Alderman Thomas Denham, which lasted for about four years from May 1869. The park was opened on 27 September 1884 (Minter and Minter, *Discovering Old Huddersfield*, Vol. 2, pp. 44-49).

⁷ For example, the Huddersfield Choral Society, and the band of the Huddersfield Rifles, gave a concert there in 1872 (Brook, *The Story of Huddersfield*, p. 275), a programme of brass band concerts took place each summer and, in July 1912, 11,000 school children welcomed King George V and Queen Mary there (Balmforth, *Jubilee History*, pp. 65, 76). The Park was also the venue for the official Peace Celebrations in 1919 (Huddersfield Borough Council General Purposes Committee (GPC) 1 May 1919).

⁸ See Appendix A, Figure 1.

⁹ See Appendix A, Figure 3. It was designed by Allan Stewart, of the *Illustrated London News*, from a sketch by Mr Philip Lee of Huddersfield. The bronze was modelled by Benjamin Creswick of Birmingham, and the figure and tablets were cast by Messrs Hart, Son, Peard & Co Ltd, Birmingham. (J Gildea, *For Remembrance and in Honour of Those who Lost their Lives in the South African War 1899-1902* (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1911), p. 244)

A survey, conducted in 1999, found that there were at least 971 Boer War memorials in the United Kingdom and Ireland.¹⁰ Just over half of those related to individuals.¹¹ A further 21% commemorated the dead of particular regiments, thus standing within the long tradition of preserving the memory of dead comrades as part of a celebration of the history of individual sections of the armed forces.¹² It was, however, indicative of a shift in public attitudes that, of the remaining 256, 193 recalled the dead not primarily by their regimental affiliation but by their link with a particular civil community and geographical location.¹³ That shift is mainly explained by the widely publicised involvement of volunteers in the South African campaign, both as combatants and as civilian helpers in groups such as ambulance brigades. Although no statistical breakdown is available, it has been suggested that many of those civil memorials were dedicated only to volunteer casualties, military and civilian, not to those who were part of the regular army.¹⁴

A more inclusive view of a civil community's war dead was, however, developing at that time. In York, for example, as well as 8 regimental memorials and 6 individual ones, 2 were created as civic commemorations. One celebrated the 177 men from the city who had volunteered, and the 16 units in which they had fought.¹⁵ The other was a much more ambitious project, which took from 1900 to 1905 to bring to fruition. It was conceived as a county memorial and, when finally erected, recorded over 1,500 names of those who had died in the war. Its significance lay in the criteria for inclusion. In the original appeal for subscriptions, those to be

¹⁰ G M Jones, 'A Survey of Memorials to the Second Anglo-Boer War in the United Kingdom and Eire', *Journal of the Africana Society*, 15 Anglo-Boer War Centenary Edition (1999), reproduced at <www.casus-belli.co.uk/abwmp/Survey/abwmp-survey.html> (29 Oct. 2008). One of the purposes of the survey was to demonstrate the under-reporting of memorials in Gildea but, as he emphasised that he had omitted all memorials which related only to those volunteers who had returned, direct comparison is not appropriate. The United Kingdom Inventory of War Memorials has 1,657 entries on its database for South African Wars, almost all of which will relate to the 1899-1901 conflict. 147 of those are in West Yorkshire <www.ukniwm.org.uk> (29 Oct. 2008).

¹¹ 504 individual memorials or graves, and a further 7 attributions in family memorials.

¹² 204 memorials. The regimental contribution to the total was in fact greater than that, as at least 24% of the memorials to individuals were the work of their regiments.

¹³ The remaining 63 comprised 38 school memorials, 10 associational ones, 6 national commemorations and 9 celebrating the peace.

¹⁴ Moriarty, 'Christian Iconography and First World War Memorials', p. 65, for whom death, in her words, could be regarded as an "occupational hazard".

Another shift to be seen in the process of Boer War commemoration lay in the nature of the bureaucratic process by which the memorials were created. In late 1900, Huddersfield, along with the rest of the country, regarded the end of the war as imminent. One of the former members of the volunteer movement, who wrote a regular column for one of the two local newspapers, drew attention to the twelve Huddersfield men who had lost their lives and urged his fellow townsmen to create a permanent memorial to their patriotism. A public subscription list was opened but rapidly closed and the monies returned, as it appeared that the initiative had been overtaken by a decision of a meeting of town burgesses to erect a tablet in Greenhead Park. However, in reality, that part of the town meeting had been a diversion from the main business and had not been translated into a formal resolution. The borough council proceeded to concentrate on plans for a civic welcome home for the local regulars and volunteers, including the presentation of the Freedom of the Borough to two of them.¹⁹ In 1902, when the war had at last been concluded and the casualty list had risen further, "Old Volunteer" again raised the subject of a memorial in his column.²⁰ Having received some influential support, an interim committee was formed and a subscription drive initiated. By January, 1904, almost £400 had been raised, and a new committee was formed to consider specific schemes. A subscribers' meeting, in April, approved a £500 design for a bronze figure of a soldier set on a pedestal, with a commemorative tablet. The monument was formally unveiled, by General Sir John French, on 20 May, 1905.²¹

Victorian and Edwardian Britain was well practised in the art of fund raising and committee decision-making at all levels, from the affairs of the church tennis club to those of national societies. The process outlined above was a very familiar one, but two aspects of it were significant for later events. One was the role of the borough council. Initially, the council was at best passive, and perhaps somewhat hostile to the idea of a memorial tablet to the dead. One reason may have been the

¹⁹ HDE 21 Nov. 1900; HBC General Purposes Committee 9 Nov., 11 Dec. 1900, 12 Apr. 1901. Captain Charles Brook (1866-1930) and Lieutenant Harold Wilson (1875-1930) were awarded the Freedom of the Borough on 23 May 1901. Both were volunteers rather than regulars. (See Chapter 8, p. 240)

²⁰ "Old Volunteer" was Mr H R Milnes (see Chapter 8 below).

possibly adverse effect of such a memorial on future recruitment – an issue raised with a number of national figures in the correspondence of the secretary of the first committee.²² Another may have been the continuing existence of mixed views about the propriety of the government's actions in South Africa. Huddersfield had had a vocal group opposed to the war, drawn from a number of different backgrounds.²³ At a later stage, the efforts of the independent committee were facilitated by the council's officials and, by the time of the unveiling, the committee and the council had come together in an harmonious partnership. Thus, the precedent of an independent committee playing a crucial role in determining the nature of a civic commemoration, had been set.

An even more important indicator for the future was the nature of the subscribers' list. During the unveiling ceremony, one of the speakers recalled that nearly 2,500 people had contributed to the final total of £536-18-6. In marked contrast to the usual procedure of securing substantial initial commitments as the launch pad for any fund-raising activity, the town meeting, in 1900, had discussed setting a ceiling on individual contributions.²⁴ Although that does not seem to have been done formally, the final list of subscribers showed only one individual rather than corporate donation over 5 guineas, and only three at that level. Significantly, the Ramsdens, the absentee lords of the manor of Huddersfield, did not appear as subscribers. Far more characteristic of the list were the individual contributions of a pound and under, many for one shilling. Also characteristic were the many combined contributions, ranging from political clubs and workplace collections to ones such as the Field's Oriental Café Box and the Vulcan Inn Ping Pong Box.²⁵ Church collections and the proceeds of special concerts also figured. Only two sums related

²¹ John Denton Pinkstone French (1852-1925). Leader of a cavalry division during the Boer War.

²² The responses from Lord Roberts, Sir Redvers Buller, Field Marshall Viscount Wolseley, General French and General Pole Carew were outlined in the *Examiner* (22 May 1905).

²³ Pearce, *Comrades in Conscience*, pp. 91-92, and Perks, 'Late Victorian and Edwardian Politics', p. 516. For similar views in adjacent areas see Price, *An Imperial War* pp. 113-114.

²⁴ HDE 21 Nov. 1900.

²⁵ Both significant small sources, the former making two contributions of £0-4-10½ and £0-3-11, the latter four contributions of £0-7-0, £0-4-0, £0-5-0 and £0-4-0.

to the unused balances of wartime charities.²⁶ The report in the *Chronicle*, which carefully printed the final details of all the subscribers, pointed out that the figure of nearly 2,500 contributors included an element of double counting, as some individuals initially subscribed under a pseudonym and later under their own names.²⁷ Any such duplication was certainly more than offset by the unknown numbers contributing to collecting boxes. The speed with which the money was raised, its amount, and the range of contributors, all point to the conclusion that the 28 men commemorated on the memorial were not only being remembered by their friends and families but also by a much wider Huddersfield community.

Dedication

A number of the speeches at the unveiling of the Boer War memorial warned that it was unlikely to be the last time that such a commemoration would be necessary. The Vicar of Huddersfield²⁸, at the ceremony itself, moved rapidly from an expression of conventional sympathy with the bereaved to the following view of the future:

“We grieve, then, in the renewal of your grief. And yet we would hardly have it otherwise if we could. We need to be reminded how great the sacrifice of those brave men really was, how deep the debt of gratitude we who are spared to reap the rewards of their service owe to them, how fresh and green their memory ought to be for the sake of all they sought to accomplish. But our thoughts are not wholly occupied with the past, nor are they wholly sad. Once, perhaps, it seemed to you as though a brave man’s death could be nothing less than a calamity. You thought of health and strength and life seized by cruel war. You thought of the vacant chair at the family meal, of the empty seat in the household circle. You thought of the possibility of many years of useful work and helpful service hidden in the grave. But do you think only of that now? As you look round upon this vast concourse assembled to do honour to brave warriors, can you say their lives were lost, that they left no influence, no power that will live, that their work and usefulness were ended when the bullet on the battlefield, or the fever in the hospital, claimed them for their own? No; many a man to-day is better for their example. Some day war may break out again for us. Some day the call may come for men to risk their all for the honour and defence of the fatherland, for the safety of wives and children, and then men will come forward cheerfully to do their duty. They will know what

²⁶ The Huddersfield and Kirkburton War Relief Funds, contributing £25 and £10 respectively.

²⁷ HWC 27 May 1905.

²⁸ Revd Follitt G Sandford. For the quotations which follow, see HWC 27 May 1905.

is expected of them, they will rise to their responsibilities, they will prove themselves not unworthy of such noble kinship. England will have brave sons because your sons were brave. But let us not anticipate the horrors of war. Work, self-sacrificing work, for the happiness and well being of others, has daily to be undertaken. There are other arenas besides battlefields which call for untiring energy and brave endurance. It is easier to leave alone the evils by which we are surrounded. But this memorial is to stand here as a rebuke to softness. It is to tell us and all men that it is a sin and a shame to sit at ease when God and man call us to service, and that every man must be ready to give up time and money, and, if need be, health and life itself, if thereby he may win the honour and happiness of having served his generation according to the will of God.”

At the dinner in the Town Hall on the evening of the dedication of the memorial, Mr William Brooke, describing himself as “the most peace loving man in the hall”, nevertheless, was reported as telling his audience:

“we needed a race of men who, he trusted, would never be called upon to fight, but who would have some knowledge of how to manage a rifle and know something of the elements of military art. ...the soldier could not be made in 10 minutes, nor in 10 days. ...we must have soldiers who not only knew how to manage a rifle, but who knew discipline and how to use their brains. ...when he saw the vast crowds who witnessed football and cricket matches...he wished something could be done to induce them to study means of defending their country. He did not care whether they were the sons of kings or earls, or the poorest men. He would except none from military education (he would not call it conscription)...He wanted to see peace assured; but he wished the house to be kept in order, so that we should not have to rely upon a professional army, but on ourselves to form that army.”²⁹

General French was of the same mind:

“Children should be taught that their first thought must be for their country, and be taught the elements and use of military instruments and he believed the time would come when it would be compulsory for every young man to be trained in military work. He supposed that sounded like heresy in a great manufacturing centre, but before they could get that military spirit thoroughly developed it was possible that some great national crisis might occur, and it was not the least bit necessary that we should wait for a time of emergency.”

However, those in Huddersfield who wished to place a different emphasis on the lessons to be learnt from the Boer War were also represented among the speakers. Huddersfield’s Member of Parliament recalled, during the unveiling:

²⁹ His comments were certainly more peaceable than those of his brother, Alderman J A Brooke, part of whose contribution to the dedication ceremony had been to commend the attitude of the Spartan woman who had rejoiced at the death of her eight sons in battle. For the Brookes, see Chapter 2, p. 54, and Chapter 8, pp. 236-237, 242.

“the long lines of men and women in Pall Mall, who went to search the news and see the photographs and read the columns of the killed and dying; and all the emotions which were raised. War was a terrible thing for both sides and all classes of people – those who lived in the great halls no more than in the small cottages knew the feeling that arose when their loved ones were in danger. And it was for that reason that war brought home to us how great are the blessings of peace. We honoured those who had fallen in the war, but hoped that it would be a long time before ever such another occasion was necessary as that which they commemorated that day.”

The editor of the *Examiner* commended Woodhouse’s contribution, and reflected:

“The signs of the times indicate, however, that the wave of militarism has spent its force, that patriotism is recognised in those efforts which bring a country to the foremost place in science, in literature, in arts, in commerce, and the pursuits of peace. It requires very little urging now that to live for one’s country is as necessary as to die for it is noble, though it is the latter thought which is principally suggested by the events of Saturday last.”³⁰

The Boer War statue in Greenhead Park was, from the outset, known as the Fallen Heroes Memorial, from a poem of that name which the *Examiner* published in full in its account of the unveiling ceremony:

We mourn the brave, who sleep their long last sleep
Far from their home on Afric's ragged steep;
No sculptured stone acclaims the warrior dead,
No verdant mound reveals his lowly bed.

But Britons mourn thy loss, O warrior brave!
Though buried in a soldier's nameless grave;
Thy deeds our hearts have won, thy honoured name
Shall live on England's matchless scroll of fame.

For all our brethren, who, on land and sea,
Have bravely died to save our liberty,
Father of all, to Thee our thanks we bring,
And to their praise our humble requiem sing.³¹

³⁰ Editorial, HWE 20 May 1905. Woodhouse had followed the Liberal leader, Campbell-Bannerman, in qualified support for the war but the local Liberal party, although avoiding an open split, had a significant number of members who opposed it completely. Their focus was Joseph Woodhead, and his paper, the *Examiner*. Woodhead had set up a branch of the South African Conciliation Committee (Perks, 'Late Victorian and Edwardian Politics', p. 516). Acknowledging the tensions, Woodhouse’s speech included reference to everyone admiring “the intrepidity, the valour, and the courage displayed by our forces” whatever their views on the war, and the diversity of opinion about the issues and the causes of it.

³¹ By William Nettleton, whose identity has not been traced (HWE 20 May 1905). However, the usage must be significantly older, given the title of an 1857 work, *Graves and Epitaphs of our Fallen Heroes in the Crimea and Scutari*, (J Colborne and F Brine, London).

Evolution of a Tradition

Sunday, 20 May 1906, brought the first anniversary of the unveiling. According to one of the local papers, “recently a movement had been on foot to commemorate the occasion in some way, and a request had been made to the public to show their respect for the heroes whose names were perpetuated on the memorial, by placing wreaths or flowers on or around the statue”.³² During the morning seven floral tributes were put in place, three from the relatives of individual casualties and four from organisations commemorating the group as a whole. Half an hour after midday, a small crowd gathered to hear two buglers sound the Last Post and Retreat [sic], and many of the men bared their heads. Three members of the borough council were present. In 1907, the anniversary fell on a Monday; there were eleven floral tributes, seven individual and four corporate, each placed in position by the Parks Superintendent and a borough councillor. As the local volunteers were all away at annual camp, no buglers participated. Their absence provoked conflicting responses. One correspondent applauded the absence of the “objectionable trumpeting and tawdry display”, but the newspaper’s reporter believed that the bugle calls had been much missed. There was also a letter suggesting that the ceremony might be combined with the celebration of Empire Day, which fell on 24 May.³³ The latter proposal was clearly resisted, as the 1908 ceremony continued on the exact anniversary of the unveiling. The presence of military representatives on that occasion was noted, but bugle calls were not explicitly mentioned.³⁴

The ceremony continued without a break throughout the period up to the start of the First World War; even in 1910, when the date coincided with Edward VII’s funeral.³⁵ In the last year of peace, 1914, it was announced that a permanent committee had been formed to oversee the annual commemoration, and that local bodies were invited to affiliate, if they had not already done so, as the committee wished to be as widely representative as possible. The report of the ceremony for

³² HWC 26 May 1906.

³³ HDE 21 May, HWC 25 May 1907.

³⁴ HDE 20 May 1908.

³⁵ HDE 20 May 1909, HWC 21 May 1910, HDE 22 May 1911, 21 May 1912, and 23 May 1913.

that year demonstrated how the annual commemoration had developed.³⁶ A procession assembled at the park gates and was marshalled by a captain of the 5th battalion, the Huddersfield-based unit of the Duke of Wellington's (West Riding) Regiment. It moved slowly from the gates to the monument and formed a circle, supervised by one of the Aldermen. Buglers of the 5th and 7th battalions, the latter being the battalion based in the Holme Valley, sounded Reveille. An Anglican clergyman and a Methodist minister offered prayers. Wreaths and flowers were laid, the Last Post was sounded and those in uniform saluted before all dispersed. The report referred to a large gathering (the previous year's was estimated at 200 people³⁷) and made specific mention of twelve organisations being represented, a mixture of serving regular and territorial units, veterans' associations, political and social clubs, and patriotic organisations. The eleven corporate wreaths and six individual tributes were joined by one inscribed from "the Park Ranger and the children of the park". Three aldermen and two councillors were present. The range of organisations involved had expanded since 1906, but remained biased towards the military, present and past, and towards one part of the political spectrum, with all the political clubs being Conservative or Unionist, and the Royal Society of St George³⁸ being prominent. All the council representatives were from the Conservative party. However, the occasion was not exclusively Anglican, as both the curate in charge at the parish church and the minister of High Street United Methodist church played a part in the proceedings.³⁹

In 1915, reporting the first wartime ceremony, the *Chronicle* suggested its readers "turn their minds to the future and conjure up the spectacle of another mournful procession that will walk with reverence to the site of another memorial which will have to be raised to these latter and no less gallant heroes".⁴⁰ The actual

³⁶ HDE 20 May 1914.

³⁷ HDE 23 May 1913.

³⁸ A "patriotic society", with its origins in loyalist societies in America and Canada, founded in 1894 to promote "Englishness" and the English way of life, and to celebrate great English men. It obtained royal patronage in 1896 <www.royalsocietyofstgeorge.com> (11 Jan. 2005).

³⁹ Ministers of religion were first mentioned as participants in the 1913 ceremony, and appeared regularly thereafter. Normally, two were mentioned, one Anglican, from Huddersfield parish church, and one Nonconformist.

⁴⁰ 22 May 1915.

ceremony appeared little changed but, by 1916, the crowd was larger and the organisations involved reflected the new war as well as the old. They included the newly formed cadet battalion of the 5th Dukes, whose bugle band led the procession, the Boy Scouts, wounded soldiers from the local military hospital, the Voluntary Aid Detachment, and the Huddersfield Motor Volunteers. A wreath from the Scottish Tommies Ladies Committee, inscribed “in memory of our fallen boys 1914-1916”, made explicit the link now forged between the commemoration of the heroes of the Boer War and the first stages of the commemoration to come.⁴¹ In 1917, the ministers conducting the service made reference “not only to the men to whom the monument was erected, but to those who have given their lives or been wounded or are engaged in the greater struggle now in progress”. The Royal Army Medical Corps made its first official appearance.⁴² For 1918, the ceremony was moved to a Sunday, presumably to permit greater participation, and, for the first time, the Mayor was recorded as present.⁴³

Huddersfield’s memorial of the Great War in Greenhead Park was not unveiled until 1924. The annual ceremony at the Fallen Heroes memorial continued throughout that period. Service participation continued to grow with the involvement of the newly-formed Royal Air Force, in 1919, and the National Association of Discharged Soldiers and Sailors in the same year, being succeeded, in 1922, by the British Legion.⁴⁴ Reports of the ceremony in 1920, recorded a broadening of the political spectrum. There was a wreath from the Huddersfield Liberal Club, together with an official wreath from the borough council as a whole. In that year too, the committee formed to oversee the creation of a borough memorial for the Great War also laid a wreath.⁴⁵

There was, therefore, a clear and unbroken connection in Huddersfield between the commemoration of the dead of the Boer War and those of the Great War. Indeed, most of the commemorative elements which are commonly thought of as beginning after the First World War were actually present before then: the procession, the

⁴¹ HDE 22 May 1916.

⁴² HDE 21 May 1917.

⁴³ HWE 18 May 1918.

⁴⁴ HDE 19 May 1919, 22 May 1922.

⁴⁵ HDE 17 May 1920.

sounding of the Last Post and Reveille, the short interdenominational service and the wreath laying. The only missing elements were the two minute silence, the poppies and the reading of the extract “We will remember them”. Yet, the 1905 unveiling contained a silence of unspecified length, after the sounding of the Last Post, and a similar short silence was almost certainly kept in subsequent years. George V’s request for a two minute silence, on Armistice Day 1919, derived from a three minute silence kept in South Africa during the Great War⁴⁶; and, even in 1924, when Huddersfield’s First World War memorial was unveiled, the silence was described as being of one minute.⁴⁷ Poppies did not appear in this country until 1921, introduced from America via France. They were initially flag day tokens for the newly-formed British Legion and did not become associated with wreath-laying until the late 1920s.⁴⁸ The report of the unveiling of the Cenotaph in London, in 1920, referred to exotic blooms, evergreens, chrysanthemums and roses as being laid at the monument.⁴⁹ In Huddersfield, the following year, street collectors ran out of the new poppies early on and reverted to selling forget-me-nots, as in the previous year. At one of Huddersfield’s new memorials in one of the northern wards, the flowers laid on Remembrance Day were laurels, white chrysanthemums and carnations.⁵⁰ The custom of reciting the extract from Laurence Binyon’s poem of 1914, “For the Fallen”, probably began in the ceremonial of the Toc H gatherings, but was not recorded as being used in any of the many ceremonies in Huddersfield in the first half of the 1920s.⁵¹

The story of Huddersfield’s memorial to the dead of the Boer War contained three important ways in which that commemorative activity formed a precedent for what was to come. First, it adopted a broad approach to the notion of “our dead”, embracing members of the regular army as well as the more immediately newsworthy volunteers, and probably extending the definition of the men of our district to include those no longer resident. Second, the process by which the erection of a monument

⁴⁶ Wilkinson, *The Church of England and the First World War*, p. 298.

⁴⁷ HDE 28 Apr. 1924.

⁴⁸ Gregory, *Silence of Memory*, pp. 98-104. Their official status is still, of course, fundraising tokens for the Earl Haig Fund.

⁴⁹ Gregory, *Silence of Memory*, p. 27.

⁵⁰ HWE 12 Nov. 1921. The new memorial was that for Fartown and Birkby.

was achieved showed the ability of an independent committee to manoeuvre the borough council into supporting a scheme it initially took no steps to encourage, and the staggering breadth and depth of support which could be mustered for such a memorial. Lastly, and most importantly, a regular rhythm of commemoration had been established, after the unveiling of the Boer War memorial, that led directly into the beginnings of commemoration in the later conflict, and contained many of the now familiar elements.

The title, “Fallen Heroes” headed every newspaper account of the annual ceremonies of commemoration. The committee which had organised the memorial was also referred to by that name in Borough minutes, in 1905.⁵² Clearly, a core group of that committee’s members continued to ensure that the memorial, and the men it commemorated, were not forgotten in the years that followed. The announcement of the creation of a “permanent committee” in 1914 was a formalisation of that process, as well as part of a strategy to broaden the base of support, giving it added authority as the war predicted in the 1905 speeches became a reality.⁵³

⁵¹ Wilkinson, *The Church of England and the First World War*, p. 308.

⁵² Parks and Cemeteries Committee (PACC) 3 Apr. 1905.

⁵³ HDE 14 May 1914. The initiation of annual ceremonies was attributed to Alderman E A Beaumont (c. 1857-1922), a Conservative councillor (HWC 22 May 1915) (see Chapter 8).

Chapter 4 - The Borough's Civic Memorials

The Fallen Heroes memorial in Greenhead Park, commemorating the Boer War, was officially joined by that for the Great War in April 1924. This latter took the form of a classical, semi-circular colonnade, crowning the Park's highest point, and framing a column surmounted by a cross.¹ Its colonnade was formed by a double row of columns with Doric capitals, the lower part of the outer row being closed by a plain wall and the upper part left open. The column was in the same Doric style, with two pillars back to back rising from a tiered base, and topped with a pediment. Above the pediment was a stepped, six-sided, pedestal bearing a gilded Latin cross with decorative relief moulding of circles and diamonds. The plinth of the column bore the sole inscription, "In Memoriam 1914-1918". The inner enclosure formed by the colonnade was set within an outer rectangular enclosure with a stone balustrade. Flights of stone stairs connected the inner and outer enclosures, and also linked the outer enclosure with the main path at ground level. The colonnade was 88 feet in diameter and 32 feet high (c. 26.8 by 9.8 metres), and the column 60 feet high, inclusive of the cross (c. 18.3 metres).² The overall impact of the memorial in the landscape was and is considerable, making a strong statement of civic pride. Consequently, it is startling to learn not only that the borough council originally intended something entirely different, but also that the memorial was, in financial terms, the secondary element of Huddersfield's main commemorative scheme after the Great War.

Chronological Account

In January 1918, the General Purposes Committee of the Borough Council resolved that a "Public Library worthy of the Town", with provision for an art

¹ See Appendix A, Figure 2.

² The dimensions are taken from the account of the dedication ceremony (HDE 28 April 1924). Following the Second World War, "1939-1945" was added to the inscription. Later in the twentieth century, hooliganism led to anti-vandal paint being applied to the lower part of the colonnade, and also to the erection of iron railings around the inner enclosure. It is planned that the memorial will be returned to its original appearance in a major restoration project, following Greenhead Park's designation as of Special Historic Interest. For a discussion of the significance of the design see pp. 101-107 below.

gallery, art school and museum, should be built as a memorial to those of the borough “who have offered and many given their lives for their country”.³ The full Council approved that proposal, after deleting any reference to an art school.⁴ The absence of dissent in the Council record concerning the nature of the memorial suggests that informal soundings had been taken before the matter was formally introduced into committee; all indicating that the scheme would proceed unopposed.⁵ There may, however, have been other factors facilitating the initially smooth process of gaining approval. The year 1918 saw both a royal visit by the King and Queen⁶ and the celebration of the 50th anniversary of the granting of the borough charter.⁷ It may, therefore, have taken some time for the implications of the Council’s decision to be fully appreciated, not only outside the Council but also within it. An appropriate opportunity had obviously been taken to realise a civic ambition, but there may have been different perceptions about whether such a development was intended to constitute the sole borough memorial, thus closing off other initiatives at borough level.⁸

The official *Jubilee History* of the Borough appeared in October 1918, and included a brief reference to the decision on the war memorial’s form.⁹ Although the Council decision had been reported in the *Examiner* at the time, it seems to have

³ General Purposes Committee 16 Jan. 1918.

⁴ Huddersfield Borough Council 20 Feb. 1918. The wording of the minute, which attempted to deal with multiple amendments to various unrelated parts of the sub-committee report in one section, was ambiguous. However, handwritten amendments to the copy of the printed Public Library and Art Gallery Committee’s minutes in the Local Studies Library, Huddersfield, confirm this reading of the outcome, as did the report of proceedings in the local newspaper (HDE 21 Feb. 1918).

⁵ One councillor had suggested that the war should be won before memorials were discussed. Another had repudiated any suggestion that the borough would need the help of external bodies to raise money for a memorial (such as the Carnegie trustees who were helping finance public libraries across the country). The editor of the *Examiner*, himself a Council member, had argued that it was not too early to let the public know what the Council was thinking. In his view, the war was being fought for civilisation and there was no more civilising influence than the proposed scheme. (HDE 21 Feb. 1918)

⁶ 30 May 1918.

⁷ 18 Sept. 1918.

⁸ The provision of library facilities was something of an embarrassment to the borough. Polls of rate payers, in 1881 and 1887, had rejected the penny rate necessary to finance one. A library and art gallery had finally opened in leased premises in 1898 but the accommodation proved inadequate almost immediately. It was not until after the Second World War that satisfactory premises were finally provided (Brook, *The Story of Huddersfield*, pp. 187-188 and 228).

⁹ Balmforth, *Jubilee History*, p. 68.

been the publication of the *Jubilee History*, rapidly followed by the Armistice, that focussed public attention on the decision. Late in 1918, the *Examiner's* correspondence columns began to show the first signs of dissent. Two letters in support of the Council decision invoked civic pride, and made comparisons with other northern towns. One of the writers explained that he had been stung by a comment from the treasurer of "one of our biggest cities" that Huddersfield was the place where they put the finest building in the town in a back street. He urged that a new town hall should be built on the best site, and that the proposed library and art gallery should be housed in the current town hall building thus vacated, which had been the subject of the criticism.¹⁰ The President of the local branch of the National Association of Discharged and Demobilised Soldiers and Sailors (NADDSS) wrote to propose that the memorial should take the form of an institute or club for ex-servicemen.¹¹ That view was supported by two other letters, one pointing out that such a memorial would be a lot cheaper than an art gallery, and more useful, as well as being a proper homage to the dead. In a note appended to that letter, the editor gently defended the utility of the art gallery and library but suggested that the memorial should incorporate both proposals, as a club alone would be insufficient recognition of the services rendered by those who had fought.¹² Meanwhile, Sir John Ramsden offered the Council a site near the parish church for the proposed scheme, a proposal immediately accepted.¹³ The Public Library and Art Gallery Committee then proceeded to detailed discussion of the accommodation that would be required in the new building.¹⁴

An opportunity for many of the interested parties to confer came at the end of April 1919, when the Fallen Heroes Memorial Committee met to agree the arrangements for the annual commemoration ceremony at the Boer War memorial.

¹⁰ HDE 19 Nov., 2 Dec. 1918.

¹¹ The national organisation was one of the predecessors of the British Legion. Founded in 1917, it was under Liberal leadership (King, *Symbolism and Politics of Remembrance*, page 79). Gregory described it as having rapidly established a reputation as "a radical and partisan body with a strong bias against officers" although, in Huddersfield, its actions suggested a more pragmatic approach to the interests of its members (Gregory, *Silence of Memory*, p. 98).

¹² HDE 21 Dec. 1918, 1 Jan., 1 Feb. 1919.

¹³ Public Library and Art Gallery Committee 14 Feb. 1919. Sir John Frecheville Ramsden was the sixth holder of the baronetcy, having succeeded his father in 1914.

¹⁴ 24/28 Mar. 1919.

Representatives of the Huddersfield and County Conservative Club, the Royal Society of St George, the Kitchener Club¹⁵, the Huddersfield War Hospital, the Huddersfield Army Veterans Association¹⁶, the 5th and 7th Battalions Duke of Wellington's Regiment Old Comrades Association, the local branch of NADDSS, the Huddersfield Group of the West Riding Royal Army Service Corps Motor Transport Volunteers, the Cadet Battalion of the Duke of Wellington's Regiment, and the Post Office¹⁷ were all present. The outcome was a resolution asking the Council for a public meeting about a memorial hall in Greenhead Park.¹⁸

Early in May, the cadre of the 5th Battalion of the Duke of Wellington's Regiment had paraded in Huddersfield and laid up its colours in the Town Hall prior to demobilisation. Plans were also announced for the 7th battalion to erect a memorial stone with 843 names.¹⁹ Towards the end of May, a well attended meeting of the Huddersfield Council of NADDSS recorded that its membership had grown in eighteen months from five to about 1,500, many angered by government inaction. The branch supported cases at the Pensions Committee, obtaining training for its members, and forming a club and an institute. A member of the branch, who was also the secretary of the Fallen Heroes Memorial Committee, proposed a motion strongly opposing the Council's library and art gallery and advocating a memorial hall in Greenhead Park.²⁰ The motion was seconded by the chairman of the Fallen Heroes Memorial Committee, emphasising that it had been premature of the Council to decide on a memorial eighteen months previously, without waiting until the lads had come home and could be asked for their views. Alderman Woolven also seconded the motion, envisaging the memorial hall as a peace memorial on a par with

¹⁵ Named as presenting a wreath at the Boer War memorial from 1906 onwards.

¹⁶ See Chapter 2, pp. 61.

¹⁷ First mentioned at the Fallen Heroes annual ceremonies in 1915, so may have had early Great War casualties or connections with one of the Boer War dead (HWC 22 May 1915).

¹⁸ HDE 30 April 1919.

¹⁹ HDE 7/8 May 1919.

²⁰ The idea for a "memorial hall" in Greenhead Park probably derived from the fact that the original plans for the park had included a two storey octagonal pavilion with a glass dome for the high ground on which the First World War memorial was finally erected (Minter and Minter, *Discovering Old Huddersfield*, Vol. II p. 46).

the Lister Park building in Bradford.²¹ In early June, a meeting of the 5th and 7th Battalions Old Comrades Association resolved

“that this association unanimously protests in the strongest possible manner against the premature action of the Corporation of Huddersfield in deciding to erect a public library and art gallery as a memorial to our fallen heroes. This association emphatically protests against the name of “Fallen Heroes” being used to collect money for an object which should have been provided by the municipality. In view of the fact that this association represents over 2,000 fallen heroes, it is felt that this protest warrants the Corporation re-considering the whole question of a memorial”.²²

Initially the Council appeared unmoved, receiving the various resolutions either without comment or by a reiteration of the decision already made, together with a bland statement that any responsible body might be granted use of the Town Hall for a public meeting.²³ In an attempt to strengthen the Council’s position, the Mayor called a private meeting of some members of the Council and “a number of representative gentlemen” in mid-June, to which a resolution supporting the Council’s decision was presented. However, it must soon have become clear that the criticisms received had wider support than originally thought, as the resolution was not put to the vote and the meeting was adjourned. The Mayor then invited critics to come to a further private meeting in about a fortnight, with alternative schemes fully prepared.²⁴

Meanwhile, opposition to the Borough Council’s plans was growing. Huddersfield Trades Council met towards the end of June, and was asked by the Fallen Heroes Memorial Committee to support a hall in Greenhead Park. It, however, chose to disassociate itself from the Council’s plans, and also from those for a memorial hall, arguing that, whilst both were desirable in themselves, neither would be a reminder of war.²⁵ In July, the Huddersfield Branch of the Royal Society of St George passed a resolution opposing the library and art gallery scheme and

²¹ HDE 26 May 1919. For Woolven see Chapter 8. The reference is to Cartwright Hall in Bradford, presumably for its architectural enhancement of Lister Park, as the Hall had, at that point, no war memorial connection (see p. 105 below).

²² HDE 12 June 1919.

²³ General Purposes Committee 13 May, 11 June 1919.

²⁴ HDE 18 June 1919.

²⁵ HDE 26 June 1919. The meeting’s main concern was the money being spent by the Borough Council on peace celebrations, when the unemployed, particularly ex-servicemen, needed training and war was continuing in many places. Both the Trades Council and the NADDSS agreed to boycott the peace celebrations.

supporting the Greenhead Memorial Hall as “a more worthy tribute and a more distinctive monument”.²⁶ If the Mayor’s second private meeting of potential supporters ever took place, it was not reported in the newspaper. Nor, it seems, did he respond to an invitation from the Fallen Heroes Memorial Committee to attend, with the rest of the Council, a public meeting on 28 December 1919.²⁷

The Council might have weathered assaults from the Conservative and Labour wings of the community, and from ex-servicemen, but, at some point towards the end of 1919, it must have become apparent that it did not have the support of significant elements of the Liberal establishment either. By the New Year, a very different way forward had been identified, supported by influential backers with offers of money. The first formal indication of the shift was the calling of a meeting in the Town Hall, on 20 January 1920, chaired by the Mayor, and comprising members of the War Hospital Committee and “representative citizens”. On behalf of the War Hospital Committee, Sir William Raynor reported that they had a surplus of about £10,000 which, under certain conditions, they were prepared to make available to a war memorial scheme for Huddersfield and its district. The scheme should involve not only the erection of a suitable memorial to those who had fallen but also the provision of a considerable sum of money for the use and benefit of the Royal Infirmary. Provided the scheme was a success, the Committee would provide £8,000 for the Infirmary and about £2,000 for the memorial. No dissent from that proposal was recorded, and it was agreed that a scheme on those lines should be established with a target of £100,000, of which not more than 20% should be allocated to the memorial. The committee appointed at the meeting clearly reflected the fundamental change which had taken place in the leadership of the war memorial project. The Mayor, then Alderman J A Woolven, was to be President *ex officio*, and his two immediate predecessors, Aldermen W H Jessop and Carmi Smith, were also appointed members in their personal capacities, as were two other aldermen, W Wheatley and E Woodhead.²⁸ The Town Clerk (J Henry Field), the Borough Treasurer (Ernest Dyson) and the Borough Engineer (K F Campbell) were also

²⁶ Council 16 July 1919.

²⁷ Council 10 Nov. 1919.

²⁸ For Woolven, Jessop and Woodhead see Chapter 8. Carmi Smith was a butter merchant, a Liberal, and a Wesleyan Methodist. William Wheatley was a newsagent, a Labour councillor, and a non-believer (also see Chapter 8).

members ex officio. However, the Chairman, Sir William Raynor, the Honorary Treasurer, T Julius Hirst, and the two Honorary Secretaries, Messrs Wilfred Dawson and Lawrence Crowther, were not councillors, nor were the remainder of the committee members. They represented influential and, in many cases, wealthy, business men and other prominent figures of the area, including those involved with the Royal Infirmary and the war hospital.²⁹ Four women were also named as members and given authority to arrange “a panel of ladies to sit on the committee”. They were the Mayoress, Miss Woolven, ex officio, and Lady Raynor, Mrs Blamires and Miss Siddon.³⁰

The committee had been given power to arrange for the representation of local organisations. At its first meeting, and in a clear attempt to broaden further its community base, additional members were sought from the Chamber of Commerce, the Chamber of Trade, the Friendly and Trades Society, the Fallen Heroes Memorial

²⁹ For Raynor see Chapter 8. T Julius Hirst JP was a particularly interesting choice in the post-war context. He was born in Hamburg, in 1851, his father being a British business man based there, and had been educated in Germany, before moving to the family's Huddersfield home in his late teens. He married into the Brooks of Meltham Mills, a Conservative and Anglican dynasty of cotton thread manufacturers, and became a senior member of their business. Neither Crowther nor Dawson has been certainly identified. As they were later assigned to canvass the legal and financial sectors (see p. 94 below) it is probable they were from that background themselves. A Wilfred Dawson, a stock broker, who played a significant part in the Ramsden Estate purchase, and who was made a freeman of the borough in 1934, may have been Dawson's father. Two ordinary members who later played a prominent role in the committee's work were A V Priestley and J E Willans. Priestley was a leading member of Emmanuel parish church, Lockwood, whose family were woollen manufacturers. Willans was an alderman, a Liberal, a Congregationalist, and one of those granted the freedom of the borough as part of its Jubilee celebrations, as well as being Prime Minister Asquith's uncle (Binfield, 'Asquith', p.223). The remaining members were Sir Charles Sykes (Huddersfield's Coalition Liberal Member of Parliament), William Broadbent (on the War Hospital Committee), J H Kaye JP (a Conservative parliamentary candidate in 1910, a mill owner, and later created a baronet), J E Crowther JP, J Lumb JP (on the War Hospital Committee), Mr F W Sykes JP, Mr E R Benson JP (see Chapter 8), Mr H Dawson (a wool broker, former Liberal councillor, and Wesleyan Methodist), Mr F L Moorhouse, Mr R C Walshaw, Mr E J Bruce JP (a woollen manufacturer, a Liberal, and Congregationalist), Mr W Scholes, Mr A P Nichol, Mr C F Welch, Mr L Radcliffe, and Mr M Pape.

³⁰ Lady Raynor, wife of Sir William, was a member of the Board of Management of the Royal Infirmary. Mrs Blamires was a magistrate, and the wife of the late Joseph Blamires, woollen manufacturer, who had served as Conservative Mayor from 1912 to 1916. Miss Siddon was probably regarded as Huddersfield's most formidable woman in public life. She was a Technical College Governor, and a magistrate, and had been a Poor Law Guardian for 40 years at the time of her death, in 1923.

Committee, the NADDSS, and the Old Comrades Association.³¹ Sub-committees were also established, one to prepare a public appeal for funds and the other to consider the form of a permanent memorial. For the next four years, most of the decisions were to be taken in such smaller groupings, with the main committee meeting only occasionally. The result was a mechanism which was close to the Council, and had access to the expertise of its permanent officers, but was separate from it. It also enabled a wide range of interested parties to see papers and minutes without necessarily feeling the need to attend meetings. Above all else, it harnessed the skills, contacts and influence of a small number of committed individuals with a high standing within and beyond Huddersfield.

The first public evidence of the new committee's work was a notice placed in the *Weekly Examiner*, on 13 March 1920, announcing the intentions of the War Memorial Committee.³² The target was set at £100,000. The intended apportionment was, first, a sum not exceeding 20% of the total for a monument "which shall serve as a reminder for all time of the hardships, suffering and sacrifice of men and women of this district, of whom many gave their lives that we might live a free people"; and, secondly, the balance of the total to be allocated for the benefit of the Royal Infirmary. In explanation of the latter element, readers were informed that, in the year ending 30 June 1919, there had been a deficit of £2,365, despite a government grant of £1,145 for the treatment of soldiers and sailors. Moreover, that grant would cease and commodity prices would continue to rise. An additional sum of about £5,000 p.a. was required. Between 200 and 300 discharged soldiers and sailors were currently in or out patients, and the Infirmary would be required to minister to the wants of the survivors who fought and suffered for many years to come. The War Hospital Committee had decided to devote its surplus of £10,000 to the appeal. The War Memorial Committee hoped that every inhabitant of the town and district would contribute freely and generously, given the nature of the memorial and the large sum required, since all benefited from the sacrifice of those whose memory it was desired to perpetuate. The advertisement was signed by the Mayor, as President, and by the other committee officers. A list of subscriptions already

³¹ 4 February 1920 (War Memorial Committee (WMC) Minute Book, Feb. 1920-Aug. 1924)

promised by individuals and bodies followed, totalling about £28,500.³³ From the outset, the wording of the appeal emphasised that the scheme was about both the dead and the living. Although the memorial and the hospital elements naturally appeared to represent those two aspects separately, the description of the purpose of the memorial explicitly embraced the whole commemoration of the consequences of war, and not just the remembrance of the dead.

Simultaneously with the newspaper appeal, the Committee planned a flag day, and a canvass of business people, with named individuals being responsible for particular sectors.³⁴ At that point, the first indication of a potential problem affecting the financial viability of the scheme emerged. Captain Keith Sykes, who had been invited to canvass businesses in the Holme Valley, replied that he could not do so as he was actively involved in the Holme Valley's own memorial scheme, as well as that of his own regiment.³⁵ By October 1920, the Committee was in a position to make two important moves. As a reaffirmation of the primacy of the Royal Infirmary element of the scheme, it was agreed to invest £40,000 with the Corporation for the benefit of the Infirmary.³⁶ In relation to the memorial element of the scheme, three possible sites had been identified – St George's Square, Greenhead Park and Beaumont Park – and an architectural advisor had been approached, Sir Charles Nicholson.³⁷ The Committee proceeded to sound out the Council about the three sites. It was told that any would be considered other than St George's Square.³⁸ By

³² Placed in the weekly rather than daily edition to reflect the fact that the initial Town Hall meeting had agreed that the appeal should cover the whole of what had been the 33rd Recruiting District.

³³ Including the War Hospital Committee contribution of £10,000. The Committee had delayed issuing the first appeal until it had approached some individuals and firms for contributions which could be quoted in the publicity (WMC 4 Feb. 1920).

³⁴ WMC 25 Feb., 15 Mar. 1920. The business sectors identified were: cloth merchants; engineers; woollen manufacturers; brewers; wool merchants; stock brokers, solicitors and accountants; dyers and finishers; shoddy manufacturers; wholesale manufacturers; and banks.

³⁵ WMC 15 Mar. 1920. The Holme Valley was fund-raising for a permanent hospital, building upon the work of the temporary war hospital located there. The Committee found another volunteer for the Holme Valley canvass.

³⁶ At 6½% for a period of at least 20 years (WMC 16 Oct. 1920).

³⁷ Charles Archibald Nicholson, Bart (1867-1949).

³⁸ General Purposes Committee 20 Oct. 1920. St George's Square was the only space of any size in the town centre itself, containing the railway station, the main hotel, prestigious commercial premises, and a statue of Sir Robert Peel. One of the Council's objections to that option may have been that it could have introduced unwelcome complications into the

February of the following year, the choice of a site had been narrowed down to one at the top of the terraces in Greenhead Park. The Council advised that this would be acceptable, provided the foundations already laid there for a concert hall were not affected.³⁹ A delegation from the War Memorial Committee then appeared before the Council's General Purposes Committee, in March, to demonstrate how the site proposed would comply with that restriction.⁴⁰ Meanwhile, Nicholson had been invited to Huddersfield to see possible sites and to meet members of the Committee. In March, he sent them three sketches of memorials and they invited him to prepare a more detailed proposal.⁴¹ A revised design was received in April, and it was agreed that the Committee Chairman and the Borough Architect should meet Nicholson in London. The outcome of that meeting was the submission by Nicholson of two alternative designs, one for a column of victory, and one for such a column with a colonnade. The Committee decided on the latter, but requested the removal of figures from the design for the column.⁴² In July, the General Purposes Committee received a second delegation and endorsed the outline plans "as they were of the opinion that the memorial would be a great acquisition to the Park".⁴³ Meanwhile, the Finance Committee had agreed that the Borough Architect should be permitted to assist Sir Charles Nicholson with the scheme.⁴⁴ A little earlier in the year, the Council had acknowledged, albeit obliquely, that the library and art gallery project was dead. In February, the Public Library and Art Gallery Committee had received a letter from Sir John Ramsden's solicitor concerning the offer of a site for the library scheme, prompting the committee to resolve that the site now be formally allocated

already complex process of purchasing the Ramsden estate for the town (see Chapter 2, p. 71). Beaumont Park was further from the town centre than Greenhead Park but had a direct link with Lockwood Cemetery, containing the second largest concentration of war graves (see p. 111, and Chapter 10, pp. 281-282).

³⁹ Presumably a reference to the abortive octagonal pavilion (see footnote 20 above) (General Purposes Committee 8 Feb. 1921).

⁴⁰ General Purposes Committee 8 Mar. 1921. Sir William Raynor and Mr J E Willans represented the Committee.

⁴¹ WMC 15 Feb., 5 Mar. 1921. The minutes did not describe the nature of the three sketches, nor was it clear whether there were three completely different designs, or more minor variations on a single theme.

⁴² WMC 5 May, 29 June 1921.

⁴³ General Purposes Committee 4 July 1921, followed by a site visit and a reconvened meeting on 12 July. The delegation on that occasion was composed of two more members, Mr T J Hirst and Mr A V Priestley, in addition to Raynor and Willans.

for that purpose.⁴⁵ The Committee's resolution was rapidly countermanded by the General Purposes Committee, which successfully recommended to the Council that the matter be deferred.⁴⁶

Ironically, it was about that time that the War Memorial Committee's efforts faltered. No further public appeal had been made since the initial one in March 1920. An indication of the state of the fund raising in July 1921 is given by Nicholson's request for guidance as to whether he should work on detailed estimates for the column or the colonnade, if work was to be deferred.⁴⁷ In August, it was decided to protect the long term interests of the Royal Infirmary by establishing a Trust Deed, formalising the purpose of the £40,000 already invested with the Corporation.⁴⁸ Despite those uncertainties, the Committee agreed to proceed to invite tenders, but for three separate elements - the column, the colonnade, and the associated steps and paving – rather than for one, overall, scheme. Once these were available, two meetings took place on the same day, 28 February 1922, the first described as the War Memorial Executive Sub-Committee and the second as the Permanent War Memorial Sub-Committee. At the first, it was agreed to proceed with the column only, and accept the tender of Messrs John Radcliffe and Sons. At the second, which received the report of the preceding meeting, that decision was reversed, and it was agreed to proceed with both the column and the colonnade, but with a modified version of the column to keep the overall contract under £15,000. All seven members present at the first meeting were also present at the second, as were Nicholson and the Borough Architect. However, four additional members joined the second meeting. Their influence must have been crucial in persuading their colleagues not to abandon one element of the design, but to revise it so as to reduce

⁴⁴ Finance (Rota) Sub-Committee 1 July 1921. The Borough Architect, Mr H Sutcliffe, was accorded the status of Resident Architect of the project.

⁴⁵ Public Library and Art Gallery Committee 25 Feb. 1921. The minute did not state the precise contents of the letter but it was clearly designed to clarify the current status of the offer made, and accepted, in 1919. The committee's response was probably something of a despairing gesture as no further planning discussions for the new scheme had been minuted after the end of March 1919. Informal advice had presumably been given that such activity might well be wasted.

⁴⁶ 8 Mar. 1921. The Town Clerk was also instructed to act in an unspecified fashion in respect of this matter, presumably a tactful conversation with the Ramsden's solicitor, and possibly with the baronet himself.

⁴⁷ WMC 3 Aug. 1921.

⁴⁸ WMC 3/5 Aug. 1921, 28 Feb., 4 Mar. 1922.

the overall cost.⁴⁹ A few days later, the Chairman reported that the Council had refused to provide financial assistance to assist the completion of the scheme.⁵⁰ Nevertheless, the Committee authorised its officers to enter into a contract for the amended column and colonnade, although at that point the Committee neither had, nor had specific commitments for, the monies needed to cover the final costs.

No doubt reminding themselves that, as in business, public confidence was the key to financial stability, the Committee proceeded rapidly to the ceremonies for the laying of the foundation stones. These were laid on 5 August 1922, by the Lady Mayoress and Deputy Lady Mayoress, in the presence of the Mayor, members of the Council, the Memorial Committee, the architects and the British Legion. The Vicar of Huddersfield and the President of the Huddersfield Free Church Council offered the dedicatory prayers. The Committee had advertised in the *Examiner* and the *Worker*, inviting widows and families of the fallen, ex-servicemen and their families, subscribers and Council members to the occasion.⁵¹ At the same time, the press was informed of the progress of the Royal Infirmary element of the scheme and of the state of the overall appeal. As one paper noted, “critics would be surprised to learn that [the Committee] had invested a large sum of money in the name of the trustees of the War Memorial Fund in trust for the Royal Infirmary, so long as it remained a voluntary institution”. As a consequence, the Infirmary’s income would be augmented by £600 p.a. for 30 years. The Committee’s gross funds amounted to £51,561 but the net amount available for memorial work did not exceed £10,817,

⁴⁹ The members common to both meetings were Raynor, Hirst, Woolven, Crowther, Dawson, Benson and Lumb; those joining for the second meeting were Priestley, Willans, Bruce and Haigh.

⁵⁰ Raynor initially approached the Finance (Rota) Sub-Committee (24 Feb. 1922). The request was referred to the General Purposes Committee (7 Mar.) and was there refused. The subsequent meeting of the full Council (15 Mar.) endorsed both sets of minutes without comment. The Council was of course providing significant benefits in kind, through the services of the Borough Architect and other officers, and the economic outlook for the borough’s economy was uncertain. Direct financial assistance to the memorial, rather than to residents and businesses, may have been thought too controversial. There was also a feeling in the country generally that voluntary giving, rather than the use of rate payers money, was the proper tribute to the dead (King, *Symbolism and Politics of Remembrance*, pp. 31-32).

⁵¹ The use of the *Worker* as well as the *Examiner* for the notices was a further indicator that the Committee was determined to avoid the appearance of party or class bias.

against contracts already let for £13,500. A further appeal for funds would therefore be necessary.⁵²

Construction work did not proceed smoothly. In early 1923, Nicholson reported that supplies of unblemished stone were insufficient and work was therefore behind schedule. It was agreed not to invoke the penalty clause, provided all the stone used was free from blue veins.⁵³ By June, the contractors were being pressed for a completion date and, after a number of meetings, dates of the end of August for the colonnade and of the end of the year for the column were agreed.⁵⁴ Apparently for the first time, the Committee then discussed the inscription for the memorial and agreed to suggest to Nicholson that "1914-1918 In Memoriam" be engraved on the pedestal of the column.⁵⁵ Planning then began for the landscaping of the area surrounding the memorial, for the date and nature of the dedication ceremony, and for the resolution of the financial situation. Arrangements for the landscaping went smoothly. Nicholson submitted some sketches; the Borough Architect negotiated with the Council's Parks and Cemeteries Committee for a design and costs acceptable to all parties.⁵⁶ Allowing for the completion of the landscaping during the spring of 1924, the Committee sought to identify a date for the ceremony in April or May, preferably linked to the anniversary of some event important to the local battalions.⁵⁷ The Committee originally hoped to have a member of the Royal Family present for the ceremony. The Prince of Wales was unsuccessfully approached, and the final choice was the head of Northern Command.⁵⁸ At the Chairman's suggestion, it was agreed that a new sub-committee should be established to oversee the detailed arrangements for the dedication ceremony and that it should have representatives of local organisations. The sub-committee's deliberations were

⁵² *Colne Valley Guardian* 11 Aug. 1922.

⁵³ WMC 22 Jan. 1923.

⁵⁴ WMC 9 June, 14/27 July 1923.

⁵⁵ WMC 27 July 1923. The final inscription differed from this only in reversing the order of the words and the dates.

⁵⁶ WMC 27 July 1923, 15 Jan. 1924; Parks and Cemeteries Committee 6 Feb. 1924.

⁵⁷ WMC 27 July 1923. The choice of date was also of course constrained by the availability of dignitaries, and a day of the week on which there could be maximum attendance. The final date, 26 April, was not obviously linked to an event of the Great War and no committee or newspaper accounts made such a connection.

⁵⁸ WMC 27 July, 30 Oct. 1923, 15 Jan. 1924.

grouped into four sub-sections, covering the military, musical, religious and general aspects of the occasion.⁵⁹

At the end of October 1923, the Committee took stock of its financial situation. About £3,500 was needed to satisfy existing claims, but only about £800 was left in the bank. The members agreed to seek an overdraft, and to create two separate accounts: one for the funds raised for the global scheme up to the point at which the total had reached £50,000; and one for all subsequent monies, now being applied solely for the Greenhead Park memorial.⁶⁰ A bid for additional funds was to be launched in the press, on the first Saturday in December, and the Council's Watch Committee was to be asked for approval of a flag day.⁶¹ The new request for support recalled the original appeal, of 12 February 1920, and referred to "the terrible financial stress and slump in business that made itself manifest shortly after the appeal was issued" causing the subscription list to be closed at £50,000, rather than the £100,000 originally planned. Nevertheless, it was emphasised, the full quota had been invested for the benefit of the Royal Infirmary to provide not less than £2,600 p.a. for 20 years.⁶² Readers were also reassured that, in the event that the State or other authority took over the Infirmary, the trustees were empowered to pay the interest to any institution they might select which had as its object "the education, maintenance, or relief of victims caused by the Great War".⁶³ A claim for overtime

⁵⁹ WMC 15 Jan., 8, 14, 18 Feb. 1924. Co-options included the Vicar of Huddersfield and the President of the Free Church Council, the President and Secretary of the Huddersfield Choral Society, and a wide variety of military and ex-military personnel.

⁶⁰ This change appeared to have been made in order to clarify the reporting structures which would be needed for the accounts at the end of the Committee's work.

⁶¹ WMC 30 Oct. 1923.

⁶² The "first appeal" referred to was the approach to selected individuals and not the first press appeal. The full quota invested for the Infirmary referred to the promise that 80% of the total raised would go to that part of the scheme. The figures for the income available to the Infirmary differed from those reported in August 1922, presumably representing a decision to deplete the capital sum at a greater rate so as to maximise the income. By the time of the unveiling of the memorial, in April 1924, the total raised was given as approximately £54,000 of which £14,000 was spent on the memorial, and £40,000 invested in securities bearing interest at 6½% for 20 years (HDE 28 Apr. 1924).

⁶³ Responding to concerns about the length of time being taken, the new appeal also reported that the colonnade was nearly complete, and that the delay to the column of victory was entirely attributable to the weather and the exposed site. A further delay between completion and inauguration might be anticipated, so that the Corporation could complete paths and alter the steps leading to the memorial. (A flyer headed "Huddersfield War Memorial", annotated by hand as coming from 1923, held in a war memorials cuttings file in the Huddersfield Local Studies Library).

from the contractors further complicated the Committee's situation, a final settlement being reached after an additional payment of £1,300.⁶⁴

At some point during the early months of 1924, the Committee's financial problems were resolved. However, this was not by the success of the new appeal. The request for a flag day had been approved and a date at the beginning of April provisionally identified when, without explanation, the flag day was abandoned, and a planned postal appeal to selected individuals was deferred.⁶⁵ By the beginning of April, the Honorary Treasurer was able to report to the Committee that the sum required to pay off the costs of the memorial had been guaranteed, and that no further appeal was necessary.⁶⁶ The only clue to what had happened arises from a brief reference in the January minutes to the Mayor planning to see Mr L B Holliday concerning his (unspecified) promise.⁶⁷ He was not a member of the Committee, nor of the Council, and appeared nowhere else in the minutes. He had, however, served in the Duke of Wellington's Regiment from the beginning of the war, until ordered to return home as his expertise was essential to the exploitation of Huddersfield's potential for explosives manufacture.⁶⁸ He had been the recipient of substantial funds from the government buy-out of his family chemical firm, Read Hollidays, and had established his own munitions and dyeworks factories to add to the town's support for the war effort. He would almost certainly have been able to afford to underwrite the deficit and memories of him suggest that it would have been in character for him to be concerned about the outcome of the memorial scheme.⁶⁹

At the final meeting of the War Memorial Committee, after the dedication ceremony, a suggestion from the Fallen Heroes Memorial Committee for a joint annual commemoration of the unveilings of the 1905 and the 1924 memorials was "heartily approved". A delegation, headed by the Mayor and the Chairman, was

⁶⁴ WMC 8 Feb., 5/23 Apr. 1924.

⁶⁵ WMC 15 Jan., 8 Feb. 1924; Watch Committee, 12 Nov. 1923.

⁶⁶ WMC 2 Apr. 1924.

⁶⁷ WMC 15 Jan. 1924.

⁶⁸ See Chapter 2, pp. 63-64.

⁶⁹ Lionel Brook Holliday (1880-1967). D Griffiths, 'Read Holliday and Lunnclough Hall: A Nineteenth Century Entrepreneur and His Home', in S Wade (ed.), *Aspects of Huddersfield: Discovering Local History 2* (Barnsley: Wharnccliffe Books, 2002), 77-90, pp. 88-89; Minter and Minter, *Discovering Old Huddersfield*, Vol. 3 pp. 55-59; W J Reader, *Imperial Chemical Industries: A History. Volume I The Forerunners 1870-1926* (London: Oxford University Press, 1970), pp. 263-264, 273-275.

appointed to meet a similar group from the Fallen Heroes committee to make arrangements.⁷⁰ The link between the Boer War memorial process and that for the Great War had come full circle.

Huddersfield Royal Infirmary

The Trust Deed that formally embodied the war memorial endowment for the Royal Infirmary gave a more detailed picture of the arrangements put in place by the War Memorial Committee. The Deed initially specified eleven trustees, in addition to the Mayor, who was a trustee *ex officio*. New ordinary trustees were to be resident or have a place of business within ten miles “as the crow flies” from the Town Hall. The income from the monies invested was to be applied to the Infirmary for as long as it remained an institution maintained by voluntary subscription. If the Infirmary came under the control of the Borough, the trustees could continue that arrangement. However, if it became a central government body, the income would be applied to other purposes at the discretion of the trustees. Those other purposes were: maintenance and repair of the Greenhead Park memorial; assistance to those who had been injured or incapacitated in the service of Great Britain or its colonies and dominions as soldiers, sailors or airmen, and who had been born in or were citizens of Huddersfield; the education and maintenance of the children or descendants of such servicemen; or the assistance of convalescent homes, places of treatment or other institutions for the sick, poor or needy within a twenty mile radius of the Town Hall.⁷¹

The provision for potential changes to the structure of local health provision reflected current uncertainties. A policy paper from a Labour Party advisory committee of 1918 had looked at the possible implementation of a national health service, and the Dawson Report of 1920 had advocated an extensive hospital building programme by government, but the 1921 Royal Commission on Voluntary Hospitals had recommended the continuance of the present system with only occasional central government assistance.⁷² The Annual Report of the Huddersfield Royal Infirmary for

⁷⁰ WMC 6 Aug. 1924.

⁷¹ Trust Deed of 9 May 1922 (WYAS(W) C500/1/84). Raynor and Hirst were among the original group of trustees.

⁷² The Organization of the Preventive and Curative Medical Services and Hospital and Laboratory Systems under a Ministry of Health, Labour Party, 1918; Interim Report on the

1921 recorded that, after the immense fund-raising efforts which had been made during the war, an inevitable reaction had set in and many voluntary hospitals had been in difficulties. The resulting “Hospital Crisis”, and the consequent government inquiry, only added uncertainty to the picture. However, given that the voluntary system was to be retained, the Infirmary, in common with hospitals elsewhere, believed that these difficulties were only temporary. Indeed, despite an “exceptional trade depression” workpeople’s subscriptions had increased. The income from the new war memorial endowment first appeared in the accounts in the 1922 Annual Report, at a rate of £2,600 p.a., and was treated as part of general revenue rather than being earmarked for a specific purpose. In the initial couple of years of the new endowment, the total annual income of the Infirmary was in the region of £25-30,000.⁷³ The Trustees’ reserve powers also recognised the imperial dimension of Huddersfield’s world. Continuing the tradition exemplified in the Boer War memorial, men remained sons of Huddersfield, wherever they might subsequently live and enlist for military service.⁷⁴ Similarly, citizens of Huddersfield were acknowledged as having their origins in many other parts of the world.⁷⁵

Sir Charles Nicholson’s Design

If the War Memorial Committee had expressed a preference for a classical memorial from the outset, Sir Charles Nicholson would have been a strange choice of designer. He was primarily known for his Gothic work in churches, being consultant architect to seven cathedrals, and diocesan architect for a further four including Wakefield, in whose diocese Huddersfield lay.⁷⁶ The United Kingdom National Inventory of War Memorials records more than thirty entries where Nicholson is named as responsible for the design. Almost all are in or associated with churches,

Future Provision of Medical and Allied Services, Ministry of Health, Consultative Council on Medical and Administrative Services, Cmd 693, HMSO, 1920 (chaired by Sir Bernard Dawson; there was no final report); Voluntary Hospitals Committee Final Report, Reports from Commissioners 1921 Vol. 6, [Cmd 1335], 13 March 1921; cited in (B Abel-Smith, *The Hospitals 1800-1948: A Study in Social Administration in England and Wales*, (London: Heinemann, 1964), pp. 286-292, 299-302, 307-309; (King, *Symbolism and Politics of Remembrance*, pp. 77-78).

⁷³ Royal Infirmary Annual Reports, 1921-1925.

⁷⁴ See Chapter 3, p. 75.

⁷⁵ See Chapter 2, pp. 39-40, 70.

⁷⁶ A S Gray, *Edwardian Architecture: A Biographical Dictionary* (London: Gerald Duckworth & Co Ltd, 1985), pp. 273-274.

or are village crosses, and all are Gothic in style.⁷⁷ He would, however, have been familiar with both classical styles, and classical ideas and imagery more generally, from his family background, education and architectural training.⁷⁸ Initially, the Committee's minutes referred to Nicholson as a source of expert advice, suggesting that no commitment to him as designing architect had yet emerged.⁷⁹ Presumably, as members met Nicholson and saw details of his ideas, a sufficient degree of trust and commonality of approach developed for the Committee to decide that no other architect needed to be brought in, and that the expense of a competition could thus be avoided.

As soon as the Greenhead Park site was confirmed as the location of the memorial, its size and elevated position, and the scale of the surrounding landscape, must have ruled out smaller designs appropriate for more confined spaces in the centre of towns.⁸⁰ The memorial could not, however, aspire to be the most prominent element of the Huddersfield skyline, as the Jubilee Tower, on the site of the Iron Age fort on Castle Hill, to the south-east of the town, already dominated its surroundings for many miles around. The entrance lodge, band stand and other small features in the Park itself were in an eclectic range of styles, presenting no obvious issues of compatibility. If the memorial was to complement the architectural image projected by the town more generally, then a design within the classical tradition was an obvious choice. All visitors arriving by rail in Huddersfield gained their first impressions from St George's Square, with its massive classical station façade and ranges of Italianate merchants' buildings. The quality of the Square and its surrounding streets was not matched by any of the scattered examples of Gothic architecture in the town centre.⁸¹ Solutions adopted elsewhere for large-scale

⁷⁷ <www.ukniwm.org.uk> (13 Mar. 2006). The actual number designed by Nicholson was no doubt much higher, as only a minority of Inventory entries details the designer.

⁷⁸ Sir Charles Archibald Nicholson, Bart (1867-1949) was educated at Rugby and Oxford before being articled to a London architect, J D Sedding. His father was a renowned collector of Etruscan, Greek, Roman and Egyptian antiquities (Gray, *Edwardian Architecture*, pp. 273-274).

⁷⁹ 25 Feb. 1920. He was first recorded in the minutes as Sir James rather than Sir Charles, indicating he was not particularly well known in Huddersfield, outside Anglican circles.

⁸⁰ Or, indeed, a statue such as the Boer War memorial, which related well to the landscaped bowl in which it was placed, but which would have looked insignificant if placed on the mound on which the Great War memorial was to sit.

⁸¹ But was echoed by a small group of surviving Georgian buildings in Queen Street, and the imposing Wesleyan Methodist chapel alongside (see Chapter 2, pp. 56-57).

memorials on prominent sites included towers with clocks or carillons⁸², obelisks⁸³, large sculptural groups⁸⁴, structures whose primary impact came from the lists of names rather than their design⁸⁵, and variations on the Cenotaph or the Cross of Sacrifice.⁸⁶

Evidence for the development of Nicholson's final design is tantalisingly scanty. The War Memorial Committee minutes contained little descriptive detail, and no papers or correspondence seem to have survived. Newspapers, public exhibitions or competitions were not used as a means of deciding on a final design.⁸⁷ Sir Charles Nicholson's initial ideas appear to have included either a column or an obelisk; there is a reference to the Committee discussing "an alternative terminal".⁸⁸ From the end of June 1921, discussion was focussed on a "column of victory", with or without a colonnade. The colonnade gained early approval⁸⁹ but the column proved more contentious, subsequent negotiations with Nicholson all concentrating on largely unspecified modifications to it.⁹⁰ By the time the foundation stones were laid, in August 1922, the description released to the press referred to a classical column of victory and a sacrificial cross. A progress report, issued later that year, added the information that there was a Grecian colonnade and that the column's height had been reduced from 100 feet to 60 (c. 30.48 to 18.3 metres). This report also emphasised the "simple beauty" and complete lack of ornamentation of the

⁸² Golders Green, London, (clock tower) and Loughborough (carillon), for example (Borg, *War Memorials*, pp. 138-139, plates 217-218). Inevitable comparison with the Jubilee Tower, and Edgar Wood's Lindley Clock Tower (see Chapter 2, pp. 58-59), probably ruled that option out at an early stage.

⁸³ Scarborough, built of stone from Huddersfield's Crosland Moor quarries, Saddleworth and Harrogate, for example (Boorman, *At the Going Down of the Sun*, pp. 102-103).

⁸⁴ Port Sunlight, Merseyside, and Newcastle, both by Sir William Goscombe John (1860-1953), for example (Borg, *War Memorials*, pp. 78, 114, 120-121, plates 178, 186).

⁸⁵ Castle Bromwich (an outdoor altar), Guildford (a colonnade), and Eton (an arcade), for example Boorman, *At the Going Down of the Sun*, pp. 15-16, 110.

⁸⁶ Manchester, Southampton, and Northampton are examples of variations on the cenotaph (D Boorman, *A Century of Remembrance: One Hundred Outstanding British War Memorials* (Barnsley: Pen and Sword, 2005), pp. 18-19, 112-113, 166-167); Bath and Chelsea, of the Cross of Sacrifice (Boorman, *At the Going Down of the Sun*, pp. 144-146).

⁸⁷ There was a public vote at Loughborough, and a design competition at Wolverhampton (Boorman, *At the Going Down of the Sun*, pp. 108, 141)

⁸⁸ WMC 5 Mar., 5 May 1921.

⁸⁹ WMC 29 June 1921.

⁹⁰ WMC 28 Feb., 13 Apr. 1922.

memorial.⁹¹ It seems probable that one of Nicholson's first ideas was either a classical figure of the goddess of Victory, or a Christian modification to the iconography showing a winged figure with a cross, mounted on a column or plinth. Both types are well represented elsewhere.⁹² One alternative proposed by him may have been a design with non-figurative motifs, such as an urn, or palms and laurel wreaths.⁹³ However, whether on grounds of expense, aesthetics, or religious scruples about the depiction of classical goddesses, the Committee appears to have ruled against a sculptural element from a very early stage. An offer of free advice to all public bodies from the Royal Society of British Sculptors was not taken up, and an artist, who approached the Committee with examples of his work, was told that the use of sculpture in the memorial was not intended.⁹⁴ The Committee's minutes contain no mention of plaques of names ever being considered as part of the design. There is also no firm evidence concerning whether or not an explicitly Christian element to the design was proposed by Nicholson, or was introduced at the request of the Committee.⁹⁵ The increasing financial difficulties affecting the scheme as a whole, and the determination to ensure that the primacy of support for the Infirmary was protected, obviously forced many compromises. It is a tribute to all parties that the final outcome bears little if any signs of this.

⁹¹ *Colne Valley Guardian* 11 Aug. 1922; 1923 flyer (Huddersfield Local Studies Library war memorials cuttings file).

⁹² Calverley, in Leeds, Greengates, in Bradford, and Wetherby all have statues of Athene as bringer of victory; Colchester has a very similar figure but holding a cross (Borg, *War Memorials*, p. 99, plates 113-114; Boorman, *At the Going Down of the Sun*, pp. 99, 139).

⁹³ For example, Bournemouth and Ealing (Boorman, *At the Going Down of the Sun*, pp. 148-149).

⁹⁴ WMC 25 Feb. 1920 and 5 May 1921. Another factor may have been knowledge of the progress of a scheme for a peace memorial in Bradford. There, the maquette of one design provoked major protests from many quarters, given the violence with which Humanity overcoming War was depicted (HDE 21 Apr. 1921). Nevertheless, the design was commissioned, and the resulting, very large, sculpture, by F D Wood, is in Cartwright Hall (N Poovaya-Smith and C Hopper (eds.), *Cartwright Hall Art Gallery and Its Collections* (Bradford: City of Bradford Metropolitan District Council, 1997), pp. 14-115).

⁹⁵ The perceived importance of a Christian dimension to the design might have been a factor in the events of 28 February 1922, when, if the views of the first committee of the day had prevailed, the column with the cross would have been saved at the expense of the colonnade (see pp. 96-97 above).

The final design for Huddersfield, although clearly within centuries of tradition, had few, if any, precise precedents or imitators elsewhere.⁹⁶ Where classical and Christian elements were combined in an obelisk or column, the cross was almost always placed on the face of the structure, rather than as a freestanding element at its head.⁹⁷ That distinctiveness probably pleased the town's inhabitants, although there were from the outset mixed views about the success of the design. The day before the unveiling of the memorial, the writer of *Territorial Notes* in the *Examiner* admitted that many of the expressions of opinion he had heard were not complimentary

“but to myself it is a beautiful structure, graceful and typical of dignity, strength and silent reverence. Standing beneath its graceful columns in the quiet of the evening, one can almost imagine that the spirits of those heroes who fell in the Great War hover around and watch”.

Following the ceremony, the editor of the *Examiner* described the structure as one of

“extreme simplicity...reliance is placed entirely upon proportion and shadow...Although the monument is not in any sense a utilitarian building, it is so arranged as to form a dignified setting for an occasional outdoor ceremony, and has been constructed with the view of durability and solidity. One likes to think that these qualities were those of the men who fought...[Its location] commands the valleys of the Colne and the Holme, and the watersheds that give life and health to hundreds and thousands of workers in the 33rd Regimental Recruiting area, from which the men whose loss it commemorates were drawn.”⁹⁸

The inscription, “In Memoriam 1914-1918”, was probably one of the briefest on any major civic memorial, containing none of the elements becoming ubiquitous elsewhere. There was no biblical quotation, no mention of sacrifice or duty, and no patriotic affirmation of the purpose for which men had died, no mention even of war itself, other than by the inclusion of the dates. The two word message appeared to be simply the traditional invocation to remember the dead. Yet the nature of the overall scheme, and the primacy of the Infirmary element, suggested that those seeing the memorial were being invited to remember not just the dead but also all the other

⁹⁶ Borg showed classical columns at Hungerford, and Lynford (Norfolk), with a cross and crucifix respectively (Borg, *War Memorials*, p. 92, plates 83 and 85), and Boorman illustrated a round column with a Celtic cross at its head at Chorley (Boorman, *At the Going Down of the Sun*, p. 106).

⁹⁷ As was the case at Longwood (see Appendix A, Figure 5).

⁹⁸ HDE 25/28 Apr. 1924. He might have added that the use of inner and outer enclosures was a very ancient device for the delineation of sacred space. Borg, *War Memorials*, p. 131. cites Huddersfield as an example of that continuing tradition.

consequences of war. The lack of any mention of the dead in the inscription tended to reinforce that broader interpretation, as did the wording of one of the War Memorial Committee's first public notices, which described the monumental element of the scheme as one

"which shall serve as a reminder for all time of the hardships, suffering and sacrifice of men and women of this district, of whom many gave their lives that we might live a free people".⁹⁹

The Infirmary endowment was an "invisible" memorial. The minimalist wording of the inscription on the Greenhead Park column may well have been chosen to provide a signpost to the broader purposes of the town's whole commemorative scheme, which encompassed both the dead and the living.

Dedication Ceremony of the Greenhead Park Memorial

The dedication ceremony itself, on 26 April 1924, was, according to the editor, "the epilogue of a poignant tragedy". The people of Huddersfield had "turned out in great numbers to do honour as a community to their revered dead who passed away because of the Great War and to pay final public tribute to the patriotism of the living who served their country during that stirring period". The occasion had evoked memories of the efforts to raise men, money and war materials but also of the war hospitals, the food rationing and the Belgian refugees, "a striking commentary on the 'glory' of war". The dual nature of the memorial would ensure that "the illustrious military dead have been honoured, and the suffering civilians will be even better cared for in their local hospital".¹⁰⁰

The ceremony was opened by the Huddersfield Choral Society singing "O God, our Help in ages past", followed by the President of the Free Church Council¹⁰¹ reading from the Wisdom of Solomon and offering prayers "for those who laid down their lives, for the bereaved and for our country". Sullivan's anthem "Brother, thou art gone before us" followed.¹⁰² Having been invited by the mayor to unveil the

⁹⁹ HWE 13 Mar. 1920.

¹⁰⁰ The details of the ceremony are taken from HDE 28 Apr. 1924.

¹⁰¹ Revd Bruce H White, the minister of Brunswick Street United Methodist Church, Huddersfield.

¹⁰² For the probable texts from Wisdom, and for the choice of hymn and anthem, see Chapter 7, pp. 196-204, 206-218.

memorial, Sir Charles Harington then spoke about the meaning of the memorial.¹⁰³ He first expressed his gratitude to all those people and organisations, many of them present, who

“had played their great part at home, those who had made up and maintained the chain which drew all that was best out of the great Empire and the nation’s efforts which carried them through to victory”.

He then went on to insist that they had done everything they could to support “the men abroad...the sick and wounded...the prisoners and ...those in distress”.¹⁰⁴ It was “in keeping with the great tradition of the great borough which never did anything by halves”, and they had not

“laid down their task until they were satisfied that a fitting memorial had been erected to the glorious memory of those men of Huddersfield and district who passed through their hands and gave their all for their King and country, and for Huddersfield. In the fortunes of those terrible years some of them were fortunate enough to come through untouched; others came through but sick and maimed; others only to fall on bad times and unemployment. For those they had not ceased their work.”¹⁰⁵

Passing on to the future, the General regretted that the word “patriotism” was seen too little in peacetime. In his view, the 4,500 men whom they had met to honour were saying

“We gave our all, and gave it cheerfully, so that you and your children should enjoy peace and happiness in our great nation, and should not have to go through this again. Their one wish was that there should be a better and happier nation, free from sorrow and suffering. Had the people of today done their best to bring it about, or had they just let things slide? If they had they had been breaking faith with these great men...In days of peace, especially in days following a great war, it had always been the custom to try and forget all about soldiers. Today some would boot them out altogether”.

¹⁰³ For Harington, see Chapter 8, p. 239.

¹⁰⁴ Those listed as taking part in the procession to the Park included, in addition to the War Memorial Committee itself, and the Trustees of the War Memorial Trust of the Royal Infirmary, various military detachments, ex-servicemen’s organisations (not only the British Legion, with representatives from the Huddersfield, Brighouse, Shelley, Golcar, Halifax and Leeds branches, but also other groups and individuals), volunteer groups who had served at home and overseas (St John Ambulance Association, Volunteer Aid Detachment, motor volunteers), the Royal Infirmary, Victoria Nurses, Boy Scouts, the Royal Society of St George, and members of many committees (Scottish Tommy Ladies Committee, Mayor’s Cigarette Fund, Motor Volunteers Rest Room Ladies Committee, War Relief, War Savings, War Pensions, War Hospital, Recruiting, Military Advisory Committee, Military Tribunals, Prisoners of War, Soldiers and Sailors Families Association). Huddersfield councillors and officials, and Huddersfield Union Board of Guardians members were joined by Mayors and other dignitaries from neighbouring local authorities.

¹⁰⁵ In a clear recognition that the injuries of war were not only physical, those present at the ceremony, and inspected by the General alongside the guard of honour, included men from both Beckett’s Park Hospital, Leeds, and from the mental hospital at Kirkburton (Storthes Hall).

Referring to his having just returned from Turkey where soldiers, including those from the Duke of Wellington's Regiment, were present to prevent war, Harington described how they were strengthened in their need to exercise patience and self-control by the memory of the cemeteries at Gallipoli. Returning to the more general theme, he reminded his audience that no-one knew what the future would bring, but the example of the men of Huddersfield was

“... a sacred trust, which they must cling on to by every means in their power. They must bind all parts together and be proud to do so. Let them think of what they owed to the great men and women who built up the great empire of theirs after years and years of toil. Let them think of what they owed to those who had given their lives in its defence. Those men of Huddersfield whom they honoured were saying to them “It's the best old Empire, and keep her going”.”

The Vicar of Huddersfield¹⁰⁶ then spoke the dedicatory sentences and offered further prayers, the Last Post was sounded and a minute's silence was kept, followed by Reveille. The Chairman of the Memorial Committee then handed care of the memorial over to the Mayor “as a symbol of their undying gratitude and appreciation of the brave men who made the supreme sacrifice for liberty. Their bones lay in many lands but the symbol of their glory was there”. The Mayor accepted it on behalf of the Corporation. “Nothing they could say and nothing that they could do could repay the debt owed to them...The Memorial was a token of tribute and respect”. It was also “a perfect example of the mason's art” and “a standing testimony to the ability of the craftsmen of this generation in Huddersfield”. Tributes were finally paid to those who had designed and built the memorial, the securities underpinning the endowment of the Royal Infirmary were formally presented to the Trustees, and the ceremonies ended with the Hallelujah Chorus¹⁰⁷, the National Anthem, and the laying of official and of private wreaths by members of the public.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁶ Revd Canon A D Tupper-Carey (see Chapter 9).

¹⁰⁷ An odd choice, from a modern viewpoint, *Messiah* now being associated with Christmas and celebration. However, it was written with Easter in mind, and Christ's sacrifice at its heart. The chorus ends the oratorio's second section on the Passion, and is preceded by God's displeasure at the nations raging against each other, with tragic consequences.

¹⁰⁸ The official wreaths were laid by the Mayor, on behalf of the inhabitants of Huddersfield and district, Mr A P Crosland and Captain Wrigley, for the Recruiting Committee, Sir William Raynor, Major A V Priestley and Mr Lawrence Crowther, for the War Memorial Committee, and by others, unnamed, on behalf of the Territorials, the Artillery, the Dragoons, the British Legion branches, the police, and the Royal Society of St George.

Costs and comparisons

The cost of memorial schemes seems to have borne only a limited relationship to the size of the communities involved. The extremes are illustrated by Leeds where, with a population of almost half a million people, £6,000 was raised with great difficulty from only 210 subscribers, whereas in Loughborough over £20,000 was collected from a town of about 20,000 inhabitants.¹⁰⁹ Although only half of Huddersfield's original target of £100,000 was raised, the original intention of devoting at least 80% of the total sums to the Infirmary was almost achieved, with the allocation of an endowment of £40,000, out of a total of about £54,000. Information on the funding of other war memorial projects involving hospitals is not easily available, and is by no means comprehensive. Capital projects were, of course, more attractive as the focus of fund-raising, their impact being so much more obvious. However, excellent facilities were useless without adequate annual revenues. The startling figure of £209,000 was raised for a new hospital in Woolwich, and £4,420 for an extension to Colchester hospital.¹¹⁰ In Newcastle some £16,260 was collected, only £3,000 of which went to the hospital endowment, and, in Portsmouth, hospital improvements were allocated £10,000 out of a total of nearly £30,000.¹¹¹ In Derby, a split scheme provided only £1,000 towards the hospital's endowments.¹¹² Birmingham's Hall of Memory, a memorial with no utilitarian purpose, cost over £60,000.¹¹³ Aberdeen's combined scheme for an extended art gallery, hall and memorial court cost some £70,000, but only about £30,000 came from public subscriptions.¹¹⁴ Huddersfield could be justifiably proud in both the balance achieved between the commemorative and the functional elements of its war memorial scheme, and in the overall generosity of its inhabitants. The Huddersfield committee chose the less eye-catching but much more vital aim of substantially

¹⁰⁹ For the sorry saga of Leeds, where targets were steadily reduced from £500,000 to £55,000 to £20,000, and for the memorial's subsequent fate, see Boorman, *A Century of Remembrance*, pp. 66-69; for Loughborough, Boorman, *A Century of Remembrance*, pp. 84-87; and, for population information, Boorman, *At the Going Down of the Sun*, p.2.

¹¹⁰ The Woolwich hospital was the sole focus of the memorial effort, and also attracted funding from, for example, the national Red Cross. Colchester spent, in addition, £3,000 on a war memorial monument. Boorman, *At the Going Down of the Sun*, p. 139. Both were, of course, major army centres.

¹¹¹ Boorman, *A Century of Remembrance*, pp. 96-97 and 38-39.

¹¹² Boorman, *A Century of Remembrance*, pp. 134-135.

¹¹³ Boorman, *At the Going Down of the Sun*, pp. 120-121.

raising the annual income of the Infirmary on a permanent basis, knowing that, once the temporary war hospitals closed, all continuing support for ex-servicemen and their families would have to come from the existing systems.

An Additional Memorial, and Other Proposals

The Greenhead Park memorial and the Royal Infirmary endowment were the borough memorials which gained almost all of the publicity. However, there was a small, third, element in the borough's official commemoration. The Parks and Cemeteries Committee of the Council had agreed, in February 1917, to plant some of "the seeds from Verdun" in local parks.¹¹⁵ During the war, officials of the London and North Western Railway had collected seeds from the battlefields of Verdun and offered them for sale to various public bodies in England, with the proceeds going to those in need in the district of Verdun. By 1921, four seeds had been grown on into saplings about two feet high (c. 0.6 metres). On Monday, 7 November, 1921, a tree planting ceremony took place in Beaumont Park, where a site had been chosen at the right of the main path near the band stand. Two oaks were planted by the Mayoress and the Mayoress Elect, then two chestnuts by the Mayor and the Mayor Elect.¹¹⁶ It was intended that the site should later be marked by a suitable notice.¹¹⁷ Beaumont Park, to the south-west of the town centre, had been given by Mr H F Beaumont, in 1879, as the borough's first public park, and opened by the Duke and Duchess of Albany in 1883.¹¹⁸ Lockwood Cemetery, where many of the town's war graves were located, was surrounded on three sides by the park, and had an entrance from its central area. The location of the memorial trees, at the top of the park looking down the hillside to the cemetery, linked the living and the dead, as did the symbolism of the trees planted, with the women, nurturers of the nation's future manhood, planting oaks, the representations of national and male strength.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁴ Boorman, *At the Going Down of the Sun*, pp. 119-120.

¹¹⁵ Parks and Cemeteries Committee 7 Feb. 1917.

¹¹⁶ Miss Woolven and Alderman Woolven were the civic pair in office, and Alderman and Mrs Dawson those replacing them later that month.

¹¹⁷ HDE 8 Nov. 1921. A bronze plate to mark the memorial trees was ordered in 1925 (Parks and Cemeteries Committee 5 Aug. 1925).

¹¹⁸ Minter and Minter, *Discovering Old Huddersfield*, Vol. 4, pp. 92-105.

¹¹⁹ After a long period of neglect, the Park has been designated of Special Historic Interest and is being restored, as is the link to the cemetery. Three of the four memorial trees have survived (the second oak is missing), although there is no trace of a commemorative plaque.

If members of the Council had had their way, there might have been other elements commemorating the war in the borough. Soon after the first objections to the library and art gallery scheme surfaced, Councillor William Robertson proposed “that the War Memorial for the County Borough be a building to be erected in suitable grounds as a holiday home for children of the Borough” and that all other resolutions should be rescinded. His proposal was deferred, so that members of the General Purposes Committee could read his detailed notes, but never referred to again.¹²⁰ An unsuccessful motion, in October 1920, proposed that Longley Hall Park and Woods be set aside in perpetuity as a public park “*in memoriam*...to permanently shew[sic] our gratitude to our brave men who gave their lives, and to those who risked their lives for our Country in the Great War”, with an explanatory memorial placed there.¹²¹ The heading given to the minute of those discussions was “Victory Park”. In an echo of the events following the Boer War¹²², Alderman E A Beaumont submitted a motion to the Council, in August 1921, for the addition of the following to the Board of Honorary Freemen in the Council Chamber “In grateful remembrance of all those who gave their lives in defence of the British Empire and its Allies during the Great War, 1914-1918”.¹²³ Although he was present at the meeting when the motion was due to be debated, the minutes recorded that it was not proceeded with. In all three cases there may have been good practical reasons for the motions not being supported, or even referred for more detailed examination. However, it is also probable that most councillors and officers felt that the borough’s war memorial story was already becoming sufficiently complicated.

¹²⁰ General Purposes Committee 12 Aug. 1919. Robertson was a Conservative councillor for the Crosland Moor ward, and a physician and surgeon (Balmforth, *Jubilee History*, p. 107). Earlier Council minutes (e.g. 18 Oct. 1916) referred to him, and Councillor Louis Demetriadi (Marsh ward), another medical man, as being absent on active service during most of the war. Lt-Col Demetriadi died from illness whilst still overseas (Council 8 Nov. 1918; Balmforth, *Jubilee History*, p. 119)).

¹²¹ Council 20 Oct. 1920. No particular individual was named as the proposer of the motion.

¹²² See Chapter 3, p. 76.

¹²³ Council 17 Aug. 1921. Alderman Beaumont was a chartered accountant, and a Conservative member of the Council since 1883 (Balmforth, *Jubilee History*, p. 114).

Memorial Gifts to the Borough

The borough council was also the recipient of two gifts prompted by the Great War, a museum and a painting, making their own contribution to the town's commemoration.¹²⁴

In July 1919, Mr Legh Tolson offered to present his house and grounds to the borough as a museum and park in memory of "two gallant Officers who gave their lives in the service of the country in the late War, viz., his two nephews, 2nd Lieut. Robert Huntriss Tolson and 2nd Lieut. James Martin Tolson, sons of his brother, Mr Whiteley Tolson".¹²⁵ Thinking was obviously already well advanced, as a "Scheme for the Development of a Local Museum" was presented to the Council on 8 August, only a month after Tolson's letter. This "scheme" was the work of Dr T W Woodhead, head of the biology department at the Technical College. The College already had a museum room housing various collections of mid to late nineteenth century origin but, despite much lobbying of the Council, priority had been given to a new site for the library and the creation of an art gallery. The creation of a municipal museum had been relegated to the longer term.¹²⁶ Tolson's own description of the purpose of the proposed museum was that it should provide a demonstration of "the influence of all conditions existing in the neighbourhood upon the plant, animal and human life of the town and district".¹²⁷ However, he and Woodhead may well have also been influenced by the editor of *The Connoisseur's* campaign, urging local

¹²⁴ In January 1933, the Council also received a group of almshouses, the Roebuck Memorial Homes, erected by Harry Roebuck, in memory of his wife and his son, the latter killed in a Royal Flying Corps accident, in 1918 (Minter and Minter, *Discovering Old Huddersfield*, Vol. 3 pp. 103-104).

¹²⁵ General Purposes Committee 8 July 1919. Ravensknowle, an Italianate villa of the 1850s, built by a wealthy textile designer, was about a mile (c. 1.6 km) from the town centre on the road to Wakefield. Tolson had bought it in about 1890 (G Sheeran, *Brass Castles - West Yorkshire New Rich and their Houses 1800-1914* (Halifax: Ryburn Publishing Ltd, 1993), pp. 122-123). In 1919, Tolson was planning to retire to live in the Lake District, and he vacated Ravensknowle in August 1920 (S Davies, 'The Making of a Municipal Museum: Huddersfield and the Naturalists', in E A H Haigh (ed.), *Huddersfield, A Most Handsome Town: Aspects of the History and Culture of a West Yorkshire Town* (Huddersfield: Kirklees Cultural Services, 1992), 680-701, p. 698). The offer included an area of about 6 acres, with an option to purchase another 7 acres for recreational purposes (HDE 10/11 July 1919).

¹²⁶ No attempt seemed to have been made to combine the library, art gallery and museum needs into one project, perhaps because Ravensknowle would have been inconveniently located for the library element of the requirements, and space would also have been a growing problem.

¹²⁷ Davies, 'The Making of a Municipal Museum: Huddersfield and the Naturalists', p 695.

authorities to establish museums to collect war memorabilia with local significance.¹²⁸

A special standing committee was established by the Council, which arranged the transfer of a major part of the Technical College museum collection, together with its curator, to what was to be known as the Tolson Memorial Museum. The Parks and Cemeteries Committee agreed that the Roman altar in Greenhead Park should be transferred as well.¹²⁹ The University of Leeds, and the Bankfield Museum, Halifax, also agreed to transfer their holdings of Roman remains excavated in the borough. A memorial to Tolson's nephews was commissioned, to be placed in the museum, and a sympathetic response was given to a request to provide space in the project for a war memorial to those from Moldgreen, the area around the Ravensknowle house, if one was produced.¹³⁰ The band stand, which had been at Royds Hall military hospital, was also moved to the grounds of Ravensknowle. The museum was formally opened on 26 May 1922, although access to the grounds had been possible from May 1921.

In August 1920, Mr J Hodgson Lobley approached the Council to ascertain whether, when completed, it would accept a "memorial battle picture" of the 1st/5th Battalion, Duke of Wellington's West Riding Regiment.¹³¹ Mr Lobley said he was acting on behalf of the subscribers who had commissioned the picture from him; but he was no doubt also checking on the context and status of his commission. The Council agreed to accept the gift, noting that the picture would depict the battalion holding the line at Ypres from June to December 1915.¹³² The following February, the *Examiner* reported that the oil painting, a canvas 13 feet by 8 feet (c. 3.9 x 2.4

¹²⁸ A letter from the editor, C Reginald Grundy, had been referred by the Public Library and Art Gallery Committee (2 Feb. 1917) to the Technical College Governors (27 Feb.), who regretted their inability to help. Probably as a consequence of the Grundy letter, the Public Library and Art Gallery Committee subsequently decided to acquire drawings, photographs and other war-related material (2 Mar.). (C R Grundy, 'Local War Museums', *Connoisseur*, 46 (1915), 168-170, cited in Kavanagh, *Museums and the First World War*)

¹²⁹ 3 Mar. 1920.

¹³⁰ Ravensknowle Committee 13 Dec. 1920, 27 Apr. 1921. The bronze memorial to the Tolson brothers is in the Museum entrance hall but, if a Moldgreen memorial was produced, there is no trace of it at Ravensknowle.

¹³¹ J Hodgson Lobley (1878-1954) a war artist with the Royal Army Medical Corps (S Malvern, *Modern Art, Britain and the Great War: Witnessing, Testimony and Remembrance* (New Haven: Yale University Press for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 2004), p. 195).

¹³² Finance (Rota) Sub-Committee 6 Aug. 1920, 21 Jan. 1921.

metres), was at present in the Town Hall. It had not been decided where it would be hung permanently, but probably in the art gallery. Mr Lobley was identified as a former Huddersfield artist, now based in London, who had painted many Huddersfield ladies and gentlemen. The total cost of the commission was £500, of which £230 had been given by nine named benefactors. Contributions were invited for the remainder of the cost. An article from Lobley followed, describing a visit he had made to Ypres the previous autumn.¹³³ Presumably the gap in funding was made up, as no further reference to the painting appeared in the Council minutes.

The Council as Employer

In addition to its role as the administrative authority for the borough as a whole, the Council was, of course, a substantial employer. As such, it had, like all other employers, to grapple with the impact of recruitment, conscription and women workers on pre-war arrangements for pay, conditions and the provision of services, as well as the problems of deaths, dependants and disabilities. The Council formally recorded the first war casualty amongst its employees (excluding the police) in March 1915, when it was reported that a tramway conductor, Private A Weldrick, had been killed in action. A vote of sympathy was conveyed to his family.¹³⁴ The next casualty report, in June 1915, also from the tramways, referred to a cleaner, Lance-Corporal J Slater, killed in action. Again, condolences were sent to his family.¹³⁵ Partly, no doubt, influenced by those deaths, the Council's Finance Committee agreed that the Mayor, and the Chairman of the Committee, should be responsible for the preparation and publication of a Roll of Honour for all Council employees serving with the forces, and that all Heads of Departments should notify the Town Clerk of employees who were killed or who died on active service, so that a letter of condolence could be sent.¹³⁶ Although there were occasional references to casualties in minutes thereafter, the process became principally administrative. The Council

¹³³ HWE 12 Feb. 1921. The canvas, whose size seems to have been something of a surprise to the Council, portrayed not men in action during the Ypres campaign but five men in the trenches cooking, eating, resting, clearing the trench bottom and using a periscope to keep watch. There is a postcard size reproduction of the painting, possibly produced as a fund raising device (WYAS(K) KC943.).

¹³⁴ Tramways Committee 8 Mar. 1915.

¹³⁵ Tramways Committee 7 June 1915.

¹³⁶ Finance (Rota) Sub-Committee 15 Oct., 26 Nov. 1915.

was not only concerned with those doing war service but also with preventing some employees from volunteering or being called up. At the outbreak of war, the Health Committee agreed that the Medical Officer of Health for the Borough should not be permitted to volunteer, a decision overturned by the full Council.¹³⁷ After the introduction of conscription, the Markets and Fairs Committee applied for exemptions for two of its employees, and the Public Library and Art Gallery Committee did the same for the Librarian.¹³⁸ A much more controversial issue was whether conscientious objectors amongst its employees should be re-employed after the war.¹³⁹

The Council minutes contained no record of a decision to turn the wartime Roll of Honour into a permanent memorial. However, one of two Rolls of Honour hanging in the Town Hall today clearly dates from very soon after the end of hostilities. The Roll, which is framed and glazed, and appears to be made of painted vellum, has an ornate top section with flags and wreaths, all in high colour, and a decorated border around the whole Roll. The inscription reads “Roll of Honour/ County Borough of Huddersfield/ Employees of the Corporation who have joined His Majesty’s Forces/ European War 1914 – 1919”. A separate panel within the Roll containing the names of the fallen is headed “The Fallen” with “RIP” appearing at the foot of that list. Names of those who served are arranged in two columns in departmental sections. A few amendments to both the lists of the fallen and those who returned demonstrate the speed with which it must have been finalised.¹⁴⁰

The Huddersfield Borough Police force was even more seriously affected by the war. In August 1914, 13 members of the force were reservists and were immediately recalled to their regiments. The following month, single constables

¹³⁷ Council 19 August 1914.

¹³⁸ Markets and Fairs Committee 7 June 1916, Public Library and Art Gallery Committee 2 June 1916; the outcomes of these applications are not known.

¹³⁹ See Chapter 5, p. 130.

¹⁴⁰ No reference has yet been found to an unveiling ceremony in the newspapers. The UKNIWM entry (46993) erroneously describes the memorial as comprising two framed lists not one, and implies that the names are only those of Council staff who returned. A reasonably good photograph of the Roll is in B Haigh and S Gillooley, *A Century of Huddersfield: Events, People and Places over the 20th Century* (Stroud: Sutton, 2007), p. 38. UKNIWM entry 46991, said to be the equivalent roll for the fallen, is in fact a post-Second World War bronze listing the fallen employees of both wars, which also hangs in the Town Hall.

were permitted to volunteer.¹⁴¹ The force's first casualty was PC Brotherton, posted missing on 5 December 1914 and presumed dead the following year.¹⁴² On the last day of September 1921, Major-General L W Atcherley, Inspector of Constabulary, unveiled a memorial in the Parade Room, on Princess Street, after conducting an official inspection of the force in the Drill Hall.¹⁴³ The memorial was a bronze tablet mounted on oak with the names of the eight constables killed. 54 members of the force had served, about 40% of the total, of whom 30 were married men. Prayers were offered by the Vicar of Huddersfield and by Revd L Banner, pastor of Lockwood Baptist chapel. Atcherley spoke of comradeship and discipline. This was not merely a ceremonial occasion, he reminded those present, but one which was central to "the honour of Huddersfield", one to bear in the hearts of present and future members of the force. There was a difference between serving with affection and with fear. "Lest we forget" meant much for older men but inevitably they would pass away. The feeling underlying the erection of the tablet would remain.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴¹ Watch Committee 11 Aug., 7 Sept. 1914.

¹⁴² Watch Committee 4 Oct. 1915, at which a pension for his widow was discussed.

¹⁴³ The Parade Room had been repainted for the occasion (Chief Constable's report to the Watch Committee 2 Aug. 1921).

¹⁴⁴ HWE 1 Oct. 1921.

Chapter 5 - Rolls of Honour: Caring for the Living and the Dead

Following the Armistice, the town's Librarian was instructed to compile a list of "all local men who have joined the colours during the war", to form the basis of a Roll of Honour for the whole Borough.¹ Listing all the town's war dead would have been a sufficiently daunting task; creating a comprehensive list of all those who had served was an impossibility. It was October 1922 before the *Examiner* published the first draft of individual sections of the Roll, but the lengths of the drafts suggested either that the Librarian had not received a great deal of information from local organisations or, far more probably, that a decision had been taken to reduce the task to more manageable proportions, by restricting it to those who had lost their lives.² No Council or committee minute recorded such a change in the scope of the project. However, there was a reference to the Librarian making suggestions about the Roll of Honour and receiving advice from a Council committee. Unfortunately, no details were given but the outcome may well have been that he should concentrate, at least initially, on listing the dead.³

Concept

By the end of the First World War, "roll of honour" was a phrase used interchangeably for a list of those who had lost their lives, of those who had served in the war or for a combination of both.⁴ The concept of a roll of honour, if not the phrase itself, might have been expected to have appeared outside military circles no later than the Boer War, given the gradual development of a more positive attitude to

¹ Public Library and Art Gallery Committee 29 Nov. 1918.

² The whole of Section C-E, for example, was published on 18 October, and did not require a large separate supplement.

³ Public Library and Art Gallery Committee 30 June 1920. It is understood that a set of working files survive in the Council archives, to which another researcher has been given access, though whether they relate only to casualties within the borough is not clear.

⁴ The *Oxford English Dictionary* does not identify this usage separately but notes that a muster roll had been a term in military use since the sixteenth century, and that the word roll became common for formally recording deeds or persons in many spheres of life, particularly after about 1800. It does give two references to hono(u)r roll, one in relation to the American Marine Corps and the other from late C19 fiction.

the rank and file of the armed forces, and the increasing prestige and visibility of a country-wide volunteer movement. That this was indeed the case, at least in one part of the country, is confirmed by an item published in *The Times* in the first weeks of the Great War:

"Rev J C Church, vicar of St John's, Weston, Bath, suggests that parish clergymen should make a list of names of those serving their King and country from their own parish, and either read them out at a special intercession service or have the list put up in church so that it can be seen. In the time of the Boer War he found this was much appreciated by our peoples."⁵

Whether prompted by this suggestion, or by the recollection of a practice valued previously, various reports appeared in *The Times* over the next few months showing that such lists had been initiated by schools, universities, businesses and parliamentary constituencies as well as by parishes.⁶ Conscious that the size of rolls needed to be manageable, if they were to be displayed, one correspondent rejected the idea that cathedrals should have rolls and proposed:

"...could not the rector or vicar in every town, parish, and village church put a temporary list up in the porch of his church of all who were born or lived in his parish and are serving with the colours in the Navy and Army, and at the end of the war have this list engraved on a brass or stone tablet, or in poor parishes on a white board, so as to hand down to future generations the names of those who fought in the brave days of old."⁷

It is tempting to think that this observation indicated not an entirely new idea but the way in which the names on at least some of the small civic Boer War memorials had been collected. Neither of the correspondents quoted used the phrase "roll of honour", the latter talking of "a parish muster roll".⁸ *The Times* itself may have been responsible for the rapid adoption of a new descriptor. From the outset, it published casualty lists as they were received. On 4 September 1914, the paper altered the heading for the lists, which had not been consistent up to that point, from the previous day's "Toll of War" to "Roll of Honour" and that became the norm.

⁵ 18 Aug. 1914 p. 9 col. c.

⁶ Exeter School (13 September) and Eton College (25 Sept.), Edinburgh University (31 Dec.), John Lysaght Ltd (31 Dec.), Guildford Division (7 Sept.).

⁷ C H B Whitworth, of Farringdon House near Exeter (8 Sept. 1914, p. 9 col. e).

⁸ At the unveiling of Huddersfield's Boer War memorial, General French, spoke of rolls of honour listing the war dead, and linked them to a custom in the French army, in the Napoleonic era, when the names of the dead were included in the daily muster call, with their comrades replying "died on the field of honour" (HDE 22 May 1905).

Thus an attempt was made to shift the emphasis away from the physical and emotional damage of war and towards a pride in the sacrifice involved. Its correspondence about the creation of lists of those serving also began to be allocated headings which included “Roll of Honour”.

Even at that very early stage of the war, it was clear that a roll of honour could serve more than one purpose. For communities of all types, it constituted an expression of pride in the response of their members to a patriotic call and, inevitably, a focus for rivalry with similar groups, and thus a potential spur to further recruitment. For parish clergy and other ministers it was a vehicle for intercession, both within a liturgical context and as an aid to private prayer. If displayed outside the church, it became not only part of that particular congregation’s corporate and personal prayers but also a visual prompt for the perhaps less articulate, less explicitly Christian petitions, thoughts and desires of a much wider community. The view of *The Times* correspondent, that rolls should become permanent lists “for future generations”, added another element to their functions; that of conveying an example to the young and a constant reminder of an important event in the nation’s history. This last purpose inevitably implied, as the letter writer noted, a roll which was not merely a piece of paper displayed on a notice board but a permanent object suitably displayed. Even before the first item in *The Times*, the Bishop of Wakefield had addressed all the clergy of his diocese, urging them to compile a list of all those on active service and to read out the names at a daily intercession service.⁹ In the following month’s magazine he added that such lists could be placed in the church porch with a request for prayer.¹⁰

Emergence in Huddersfield

The first indications of the creation and display of rolls of honour in Huddersfield dated from late 1914 or early 1915. They occurred in both secular and

⁹ In a letter, dated 11 August (*Wakefield Diocesan Gazette* (WDG) XX 4). George Rodney Eden (1853-1940) was appointed to Wakefield in 1897, as its second bishop, and served for 31 years, having refused translation to Truro and Chichester in the first decade of the 1900s (B Palmer, *High and Mitred: Prime Ministers as Bishop-Makers 1837-1977* (London: SPCK, 1992), pp. 153 and 328).

¹⁰ WDG XX 5.

religious contexts.¹¹ Hillhouse United Methodist church already had a roll by December 1914, as those on it were to be sent “Pocket Books: War” for Christmas.¹² The 1915 Year Book for Highfield Congregational Church, compiled between December 1914 and January 1915, contained two rolls of honour, one for Highfield itself and one for its daughter church, Great Northern Street.¹³ Mount Wesleyan Methodist church’s annual Trustees’ meeting, in February 1915, referred to a roll of honour having already been placed in the church porch. In April of that year, minutes of the Anglican church of Holy Trinity, Huddersfield, and the Presbyterian church of St James, Huddersfield, both noted the start of formal discussions about whether a roll of honour should be compiled.¹⁴ On 14 May, the *Examiner* published a provisional roll for Almondbury Grammar School, with a request for amendments, so that the art master could prepare a version for display in a prominent place in the large schoolroom. Not to be outdone by the only institution in the district with reasonable cause to be regarded as a public school, a draft roll was also published a few days later by Spring Grove, an elementary Board school.¹⁵ Also in May, Emmanuel parish church, Lockwood, started publishing a list in each edition of its magazine.¹⁶ By June, the Baptist church in Lockwood was similarly discussing the matter.¹⁷ The roll for St James’s had been “hung in the vestibule” by September, suggesting some kind of framed list.¹⁸ In October, the borough council initiated a roll of all of its employees who were serving in the armed forces.¹⁹ References to

¹¹ Activity almost certainly began earlier than the formal record indicated, as an addition to a porch notice board, or to intercessions in worship, would not necessarily be traceable in minutes.

¹² Church Minute Book, 10 Dec. 1914.

¹³ Rolls of honour were not necessarily exclusively male. In the 1919 Year Book for Highfield, three of the names on the list were women, serving as nurses. Ramsden Street Congregational church also had a nurse on its Roll (Annual Meeting 2 Jan. 1918). The name of a woman appears among the dead on, for example, the Almondbury and District memorial.

¹⁴ Church Council 21 Apr. 1915; Session Minute Book 28 Apr. 1915.

¹⁵ HDE 19 May 1915.

¹⁶ The list grew with each issue, the first casualties in action being recorded in July. By September, the list was now not in the magazine, but it was noted that a revised one was in the church porch. The following month, it was reported that a Roll of Honour for the Church Schools was being compiled.

¹⁷ Church Meeting Minute Book 30 June, 28 July 1915.

¹⁸ Session Minute Book 13 Sept. 1915.

¹⁹ Finance Committee 15 Oct. 1915.

rolls of honour continued to occur throughout the war in most of the surviving records of organisations and were clearly one of the all pervasive features of wartime life.²⁰

Although the compilers of the first rolls of honour could not have fully appreciated how things would develop, the listings were never static. In the first months of the war, those actually fighting were the regular army and reservists recalled to the colours. They were followed, a few months later, by members of the Territorial Force who had completed additional training after opting for overseas duty. Most communities would have had only a few families with members from these three groups; initially, their rolls would have been dominated by volunteers in training, following the first surge of recruitment for Kitchener's New Army. It was the spring of 1916 before those volunteers reached the front in any numbers. The introduction of conscription in February 1916 changed the situation yet again. Thus the significance of the listings grew, not just in terms of the numbers involved, but also because they became more than a display of pride in men serving – they were also an increasingly daunting record of those who were suffering and dying.²¹ That shift is reflected in pastoral addresses, such as that for Trinity United Methodist church, Paddock, where the annual report from the Pastor for 1914 proclaimed:

“In this titanic struggle, the British Nation, with her Allies, is waging, what we believe to be, a Holy Warfare against the forces of Might and Darkness. The flower of our Race, the strength of our Manhood, and the beloved of our hearts and homes have gone forth to fight under a flag which stands for Honor [sic], Liberty and Right. We are proud of those belonging to our Church and School

²⁰ No firm evidence has been found for the creation of street shrines in Huddersfield, as happened elsewhere (N Oliver, *Not Forgotten* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 2005), Plate 6, for an example in Hull; Connelly, *Memory and Ritual*, pp. 25-35; Goodman, *Street Memorials of St Albans*, and, for the general context, King, *Symbolism and Politics of Remembrance*, pp. 47-60). However, at the end of the war, two permanent memorials were placed on streets in the town centre, in Dock Street and Swallow Street (the unidentified and undated postcard of a street memorial in H Wheeler, *Huddersfield in Old Photographs: A Third Selection* (Stroud: Alan Sutton, 1994), p. 71, may have been one of those). They may well have been the sites of wartime shrines, particularly as both communities had a strong Roman Catholic element. Huddersfield St Peter had a reference to the creation of a shrine, but whether that was in the church or outside was not clear (Church Wardens Accounts 1917-1918).

²¹ The member of the congregation of Cowcliffe Anglican mission, who volunteered to keep up-to-date their Roll of Honour by a series of coloured batons indicating the status and location of each name, probably found the task almost impossible by the latter part of the war (Vestry Meeting 5 Jan. 1916).

who have responded to their Country's Call and are now upon the Battlefield or in Camp preparing for the great day!"

However, the equivalent report for 1915 was a much more sombre affair:

"The war with all its attendant horrors and evils, is still with us. It behoveth us one and all to earnestly pray that God will so inspire the rulers of all the combatant nations that they shall not only desire peace, but steadfastly seek and do things that make peace... A complete list of those who have gone forth from our Church and School to "do their bit" and, if necessary, lay down their lives for their country [is given below]. We salute them. We honour them for their courage and self-sacrifice. We greatly appreciate their loyal response to what they have regarded as a call of duty. Some nobly striving have nobly fallen and great is their reward in heaven...Our hearts go out in tenderest sympathy to their relatives. We earnestly pray that the God of all comfort and consolation will bind up the broken heart and heal their wounds."²²

Comforts Funds

As the correspondence in *The Times* had anticipated, the functions of rolls of honour became more varied as time went by. On a practical level, they became the working files of an impressive network of community support for servicemen and their families. For the first Christmas of the war there was only one certain instance of a roll of honour being used as the basis for the distribution of official church gifts, that of Hillhouse United Methodist church.²³ However, patterns of contact were already being established. The Leader of the Young Men's group at Queen Street Wesleyan Methodist Mission maintained contact with those in the forces from the outset of the war, ensuring all had some memento of the church, as well as copies of the magazine so they could remain in touch with developments.²⁴ Retrospective accounts of activities during the war at Deighton Working Men's Club, Lockwood and Salford Conservative Club, and Great Northern Street Congregational Church all referred to letters and gifts being sent throughout the war, although they may exaggerate the extent to which support began immediately in August 1914.²⁵ By Christmas 1915, arrangements were becoming more formal at Cowcliffe, Hillhouse,

²² Filed in the Trust Minute Book. See also the 1915 and 1916 Year Books for Highfield Congregational church.

²³ See p. 121 above.

²⁴ Leaders' Meeting, 19 Apr. 1915.

and Queen Street. There is also evidence for the establishment of formal structures at Lamb Hall Wesleyan Methodist Longwood, and at the United Methodist churches at Marsh and Paddock.²⁶ Reflecting the rapid expansion in the numbers of families whose members were at the Front, Christmas 1916 saw what were increasingly known as “comforts funds” becoming a normal feature of most organisations.²⁷ The scale of individual operations by the end of the war was considerable. A Wesleyan Methodist chapel calculated that, from July 1916 to December 1917, it had sent 420 parcels and, from January 1918 onwards, 300 postal orders;²⁸ similar calculations from a United Methodist chapel arrived at a total of 578 parcels, and 1,383 postal orders, at a total cost of over £540.²⁹ For Christmas 1916, one of Huddersfield’s grocers provided “a standard 4/- soldier’s parcel” containing “a 1/- cake, a tin of cocoa, a tin of Swiss milk, a tin of sardines and a box of Oxo cubes”.³⁰ The change from parcels to postal orders reflected both the impact of rationing at home and a greater awareness of the problems of troop movements and communications. The commitment and organisation involved was enormous. Not only had names, ranks, service units and theatres of war to be collected, and every effort made to keep up

²⁵ Christ Church Woodhouse Parish Magazine July 1919; HWE 19 Mar. 1921; *The History of Fifty Years' Work in Beaumont Street and Great Northern Street Congregational Schools* (Huddersfield: Advertiser Press, [1928]), p. 17.

²⁶ Cowcliffe Vestry Meeting 9 June; Hillhouse Church Meeting 29 Oct.; Queen Street Quarterly Meeting 13 Dec.; Lamb Hall Leaders Meeting 15 Dec.; Marsh Leaders Meeting 8 Nov.; Trinity Paddock Leaders Meeting 6 Dec. 1915.

²⁷ Although Christmas was the occasion for most of the effort it was not exclusively so. The United Methodist church at Marsh gave a book to each serviceman on his departure from home (Leaders Minutes 1 Mar. 1915); St Hilda Cowcliffe sent Easter cards (Vestry 11 Apr. 1916); Queen Street Mission distributed class tickets (Leaders 1 June 1917); St Mark, Longwood, made all its servicemen honorary members of the new Institute (Church Council 2 Jan. 1918); Paddock Adult School provided writing materials for regular letters to all away from home (Quarterly Meeting 3 Oct. 1916) and Lockwood Baptist instituted a monthly letter (Church Meeting 3 Oct. 1917).

²⁸ Park Road, Crosland Moor, whose Sunday School Roll of Honour of all those who had served had 91 names by the end of the war (HDE 4 Apr. 1919).

²⁹ Parkwood, Longwood, with 113 on its Roll of Honour (HWE 13 Mar. 1920).

³⁰ St Hilda Cowcliffe added to that a packet of Woodbines and a letter (Vestry 27 Nov. 1916). Oakes Baptist church, at Lindley, purchased 5,000 Woodbines, for distribution to its servicemen (Church Meeting 1 Aug. 1917). Woodbines were essential to military life, not just for smoking but as the main bartering currency on the frontline (R Holmes, *Tommy: The British Soldier on the Western Front 1914-1918* (London: Harper Collins, 2004), pp. 326-327).

with news of transfers, casualties and deaths, but funds had to be raised and contributions in kind collected, packed and despatched.³¹

There is much less evidence for the care of servicemen's families at home but, as Comforts Funds were impossible to operate without regular contact with relatives, responses to individual hardship must have formed part of normal charitable activity which tended not to appear in the formal record. Traces of such a system appear in the minutes of Mount Pleasant Wesleyan Methodist church, Lockwood, where, on 16 August 1914, a collection had been taken at the Sunday service to establish a distress fund for needy cases connected to the church and school during the war; £3-12-9 had been raised. That sum was to be kept separate from the monies collected for the National Relief Fund. It was presumably this new fund to which the Minister referred when he reported, in March 1915, that he still had in hand 5/- of Special War Fund money; a further 15/- was handed over to him to use at his discretion.³²

Community Boundaries

The existence of rolls of honour, both as symbols of pride and as the means by which contact was maintained and gifts distributed, brought with it questions about the exact extent of each of the communities who created one. For a Conservative or Liberal Club, or similar organisation, the answer was clear and uncontroversial; "our boys" were those who were members. However, even that may have had exceptions. Membership of the Working Men's Club in Deighton may well have been widespread, yet the fact that its war memorial became one for the entire area suggests that its "energy and devotion" in providing "comforts and necessaries" for servicemen went beyond strictly membership-based criteria.³³ The Birchencliffe Soldiers' and Sailors' Comforts Fund and the Longwood Local Aid Society had geographical boundaries within which they operated. Day schools, whether run by

³¹ Comforts Funds were not a Great War invention. When Huddersfield's Boer War memorial was unveiled, reference was made to the borough's Comforts Fund which had supported the West Riding troops from December 1899 (HDE 22 May 1905).

³² Leaders 31 Aug. 1914, 12 Mar. 1915.

³³ Christ Church, Woodhouse, parish magazine (July 1919). The existence of a roll of honour at the Rising Sun public house, commemorating 86 men from Crosland Moor and Crosland Hill, suggests that it had played a similar role in providing support for the local community, particularly as the equivalent World War II roll refers to the Rising Sun Forces Fund.

the borough or by churches, or as independent trusts or companies, needed only to track their former pupils. Places of work were similarly only concerned with their employees, and possibly their families. Much more difficult questions arose when it came to religious organisations.

Cowcliffe Anglican mission made its first decision on the matter in October 1915, amended it in May 1916, and again in November 1917. The initial definition had been limited to those closely connected with the church and bible class, or those with a family connection with the church. The first amendment added personal friends of members of the congregation, thus increasing significantly the financial burden of the Christmas parcels, a matter which became an issue in November 1916. No change in the criteria was made at that point but tensions re-emerged the following year, and it was decided to omit four orchestra members from the distribution.³⁴ The Baptist church at Lockwood felt it necessary to consult others about the criteria for inclusion when first discussing the creation of a Roll. Unfortunately, the outcome of that process, which included contact with the editors of the *Baptist Times* and the *British Weekly*, was not recorded.³⁵ Early in 1917, its church meeting received a request that one of the names on the Roll of Honour be removed, but agreed to take no action.³⁶ For the Nonconformist churches, the norm seems to have become that, in addition to those who were members of the church and those who had been regular attenders, former members of the Sunday School or church day school were also regarded as part of the community - even if there had been no continuing commitment to the church into adulthood.³⁷ Taking this broader

³⁴ Vestry meeting 27 Oct. 1915, 10 May, 23 Nov. 1916, 23 Nov. 1917. The last decision could hardly have made a significant difference to the financial burden, but might have reflected the fact that the members of the orchestra concerned had probably been paid for their services, and thus were not seen as voluntary attenders at services.

³⁵ Church Meeting 30 June, 28 July 1915.

³⁶ The nature of the objection was not recorded (Church Meeting 28 Mar. 1917).

³⁷ As Binfield commented, in the context of a Coventry congregation, "for most of them it was their first direct contact with militarism in any form. So from the first there was an urgent need to maintain links with every young man however tenuously connected with the church" (Binfield, *Pastors and People*, p. 168). The importance of the activity was illustrated by the creation, at the United Methodist church in Newsome, of a special committee with one representative from each of the Church, the Sunday School, the Trustees, and the Choir, to be in charge of the Roll, and to agree the names placed on it (Leaders Minutes 1 Mar., 24 May 1916).

view, rather than limiting it to the “gathered community”, probably reflected fairly accurately the “emotional community” of each church; that is those who saw themselves as belonging to the place and the denomination, despite having little or no active involvement with it.

St Hilda’s, Cowcliffe, was an Anglican mission, not a parish church. The latter had additional difficulties when it came to defining the criteria for inclusion on their rolls of honour. The Church of England claimed spiritual responsibility for all those resident within the borders of a parish, regardless of any actual religious affiliation.³⁸ The circumstances of the war brought that assertion into sharper focus. In the parish of St Barnabas, Crosland Moor, it was decided that Christmas parcels for 1916 should be sent to all those serving from the parish, unless it was known that they would receive one from another place of worship.³⁹ It was later reported that about 100 parcels had been distributed but that some 40 men had received nothing, and that financial allocations would need to be increased.⁴⁰ In September 1918, it was noted that there were 323 men serving from the parish.⁴¹ The church also maintained supplementary lists for those who were not parish residents, presumably people who had moved away or who had family connections. Soon after the Armistice it was agreed that the names on the supplementary lists should also form part of the church’s official Roll of Honour in its final form.⁴² In the parish of St Mark, Longwood, the Roll of Honour contained far too many names, by 1917, for the church to send Christmas presents to all, and it was decided that letters of greeting should be sent instead.⁴³ For Christmas 1916, Emmanuel, Lockwood, planned to try to cover all of the parish who were not associated with other religious bodies, and estimated that that would involve some 100 to 150 parcels at a cost of at least £30.⁴⁴

³⁸ *Halsbury’s Laws of England* (4th edn., London: Butterworth, 1973), Vol. 14 Ecclesiastical Law, sections 561-562.

³⁹ Those directly connected with the congregation had already received parcels funded from the proceeds of a garden party (Church Council 22 Sept., 17 Nov. 1916).

⁴⁰ Proceeds from a sale of work were to be diverted for that purpose (Church Council 10 July 1917).

⁴¹ Church Council 30 Sept. 1918. By comparison, the first electoral roll compiled for the church, in 1921, contained 130 names (Church Council 5 Apr. 1921).

⁴² Church Council 10 Dec. 1918.

⁴³ Church Council 5 Dec. 1917.

⁴⁴ Magazine Nov., Dec. 1916.

“Our own boys” from St Andrew, Huddersfield, were given 5/- at Christmas 1917, and other boys from the parish 2/6.⁴⁵

In the town centre, the Wesleyan Methodist church in Queen Street, which had been designated a mission by Conference, in 1905, adopted an approach to the support of servicemen and their families which was constrained by neither religious affiliation nor geographical location. For Christmas 1914, weekly At Homes were established for the wives and mothers of servicemen. Over 600 attended the opening meetings, at which more than 1,900 dolls and toys were distributed as Christmas gifts. Those meetings continued throughout the war; attendances were in the range of between 120 and 200 a week. A host was present at every meeting, with other churches helping in providing that individual. The contacts forged by those At Homes help to explain the fact that the church distributed about 600 Christmas parcels to those in the forces, in 1915, each containing a small token from the chapel. Special gifts were sent that year to over 150 of “our own lads” on the Roll of Honour.⁴⁶ By June 1917, every third Sunday had a collection for the Soldiers’ Comforts Fund.⁴⁷

A few of the groups in Huddersfield had a particularly difficult task in supporting their members during the war. In November 1915, the Huddersfield Recruiting Committee sent a letter to the Society of Friends at Paddock, asking for their active support in canvassing the Borough for recruits for the Armed Forces of the Crown, and received the reply:

“We regret we have to differ from the majority of our fellow citizens and while acknowledging the claim which the government has upon us, we feel that our highest loyalty is to our religious faith, which forbids us to take part in war or in the preparations for war. As a christian body we believe we best serve our country along the lines of reconstruction and reconciliation.”⁴⁸

However, they were well aware that not all in their community shared that view. In the spring of that year, at the request of the Paddock meeting, a letter had been sent to every member in the area of military age, expressing sympathy for the

⁴⁵ However, “a good number” were later returned marked “Cannot Be Found” or “Killed” (Easter Vestry 1918).

⁴⁶ Leaders’ Meeting 22 Jan., Mission Committee 15 Mar., 13 Dec. 1915. The figure of 600 probably included the 150 on the Roll of Honour.

⁴⁷ Mission Committee 13 Dec. 1915, Quarterly Meeting 18 June 1917.

pressures placed upon them and urging that “our Peace Testimony should be positive, not merely passive”.⁴⁹ A couple of months later, “the number of young men in different parts of the country who, though members of our society, appear to many of us to have seriously compromised its principles by their action in regard to the present war” was regretted.⁵⁰ In support of the Peace Testimony, Paddock placed advertisements in the local press offering to give advice to conscientious objectors, volunteers were identified to visit men detained under the Military Services Acts and their families, and members and attenders of the Paddock meeting, who were forced to work away from their normal occupations by military service tribunals, received Christmas parcels and letters.⁵¹ However, Christmas parcels were also sent to those associated with the Paddock meeting who were serving with the Friends Ambulance Unit, the Royal Army Medical Corps, and other parts of the armed forces.⁵² The Paddock meeting house site also contained the Paddock Adult School which, although a separate entity, had a governing body chaired by a prominent member of the Society. Nevertheless, the Adult School was proud of its members who were doing war service, whether fighting, making munitions or playing a humanitarian role. That pride was later reflected in what the local newspaper referred to as “an interesting little ceremony” when a wooden tablet was unveiled as the School’s war memorial.⁵³

⁴⁸ Preliminary Meeting 7 Nov., 5 Dec. 1915.

⁴⁹ Brighthouse Monthly Meeting 10 Apr. 1915. Paddock, the only Quaker meeting house within the borough, was a member of the group comprising the Brighthouse Monthly Meeting and the York Quarterly Meeting. It was the Monthly Meeting which determined membership.

⁵⁰ Monthly Meeting 9 June 1915.

⁵¹ Preliminary Meeting 13 Feb., 9 July 1916, 8 July, 2 Dec. 1917.

⁵² Preliminary Meeting 7 Jan. 1917. This was in accordance with the decision nationally, that it was for every member to follow the dictates of his conscience, and that no disciplinary action should be taken against those who undertook active service (Yearly Meeting 1915, cited in Kennedy, *British Quakerism 1860-1920: The Transformation of a Religious Community*, pp. 394-399). Kennedy noted that the Society’s own records showed that nearly 1,000 enlisted or were conscripted to active service nationally, representing about one third of male Friends of military age; over a hundred died. Members of prominent families, such as the Cadburys of York and the Rowntrees of Birmingham, were among those who volunteered for active service (pp. 312-313).

⁵³ There were 116 names on the roll of honour, of whom 7 had been killed in action, 1 had died of wounds, and 1 had died on active service. An ex-soldier gave a stirring address on the folly and wickedness of war (HWE 14 Aug. 1920).

The Quakers were not alone in enduring such tensions. At the end of 1916, the deacons at Highfield Congregational church declined to take action on a complaint that a conscientious objector, who had been subject to imprisonment, remained a member of the choir, despite a threat by the complainant to leave the congregation if the man was not removed.⁵⁴ At the Huddersfield and District Congregational Council, in 1916, the preferred candidate for President warned the Council that he regarded war and Christianity as irreconcilable and that, if he took office, he would regard himself as free to continue to express that view from the Chair. As the discussion which followed suggested that his nomination would not therefore receive unanimous support, he declined a formal nomination.⁵⁵ The most public display of dissension on questions of personal conscience took place in the borough council. The debate centred on two teachers directed away from Huddersfield by the Military Service Tribunal to undertake alternative service of national importance as they had refused to fight. They had asked the Education Committee whether they would be able to return to their jobs after the war.⁵⁶ A Conservative Alderman, Ernest Beaumont, led the opposition to their return, first in the Committee, and then in the full Council, arguing that “Boys taught by cowards compare unfavourably with boys taught by patriotic men”. On both occasions he lost.⁵⁷

The Irish Catholic community in Huddersfield might also have been expected to be divided on the question of fighting for the country from which many were seeking independence at the outbreak of war. However, if opinion was divided, it did not show itself in the stance of the Huddersfield Irish Club. Its members were

⁵⁴ The choir mistress also robustly rejected any action on a subsidiary allegation that the man should be disciplined for singing too loudly (Deacons Meetings 28 Dec. 1916, 7 Feb. 1917).

⁵⁵ Annual meeting 20 Jan. 1916.

⁵⁶ The teachers, Harold Armitage and Albert Sutcliffe, were both attenders at the Society of Friends meeting house, and teachers at the Paddock Adult School.

⁵⁷ By 13 to 9 in the Committee, and by 30 (24 Liberals, 4 Labour, 2 Conservatives) to 19 (all Conservative) in the Council. In the Committee, his supporters included some of his Conservative colleagues and Fr McCarthy, a Roman Catholic priest co-opted to membership; his opponents were some of the Liberal elder statesmen (John Robson, Carmi Smith, William Willans), some Labour members (Tom Topping and Law Taylor), and two further co-options, Julia Glaisyer, a Quaker, and the Vicar of St Peter's, Canon Rolt. The Committee Chairman, a Liberal, George Thomson, voted for Beaumont in the Committee but against him in the Council. (Pearce, *Comrades in Conscience*, pp. 202-204)

unanimously in favour of Redmond's attitude to recruitment, and 164 of them served in the forces, over a third of the membership, and possibly almost all those of military age.⁵⁸

The majority of those in the forces were still away from home for Christmas 1918, and the various comforts funds operated as usual. Plans for welcoming home the troops had to be delayed, as demobilisation took far longer than most had expected.⁵⁹ From about April 1919 onwards, sufficient men were returning to make special events appropriate, although some did not take place until nearer to the first anniversary of the Armistice.⁶⁰ Again, the rolls of honour were the key to planning the occasions, which usually took the form of a meal and an entertainment. Where numbers attending were recorded, the scale of the groupings which had been built up was again evident. Holy Trinity, Huddersfield, held its event at the end of April, and issued invitations to all on the church's Roll of Honour, and also to anyone living in the parish who had not been invited to another church.⁶¹ At St Stephen's Rashcliffe, where the occasion was also held at the end of April, the Mayor and Mayoress presided over a Welcome Home for all those resident in the parish, whether or not they attended a place of worship, which attracted over 300 ex-servicemen.⁶² In Woodhouse, the parish church and the three Methodist churches combined to

⁵⁸ P Shanahan, *Historical Sketch of the Irish League Club in Huddersfield* (2004), a version of which is available at <www.hic.org.uk> (5 June 2008). For the broader context see D Fitzpatrick, 'A Curious Middle Place: The Irish in Britain 1871-1921', in R Swift and S Gilley (eds.), *The Irish in Britain, 1815-1939* (London: Pinter Publishers, 1989), 10-59, pp. 32-24.

⁵⁹ The instruction to a Committee on Soldiers' Welfare to look out for returning soldiers immediately after the Armistice, and give their names and addresses to the Superintendent Minister, was particularly premature (Lamb Hall Wesleyan Methodist Longwood, Leaders Meeting 20 Nov. 1918). Ten months after the Armistice, one million men remained in uniform and, by February 1920, 125,000 were still awaiting return to civilian life (R Emden and S Humphries, *All Quiet on the Home Front: An Oral History of Life in Britain during the First World War* (London: Headline, 2003), p. 300).

⁶⁰ Marsh Liberal Club's Welcome Home was delayed until October (HWE 11 Oct. 1919). Bentley Street United Methodist church, Lockwood, held a Welcome Home in November 1919, at which 180 people were present (HWE 1 Nov. 1919), the same month as Almondbury Zion (HWE 29 Nov. 1919).

⁶¹ Church Council 12 Mar. 1919.

⁶² At least 740 had served from the parish, of whom 229 were still on duty (HDE 2 May 1919).

entertain all the ex-servicemen of the area.⁶³ The bishop's support for such inclusive approaches was emphasised in his view that every parish should have a committee, with a systematic framework of street or district watchers, which would ensure a welcome for every returning serviceman "*whether they are Churchmen or not*".⁶⁴

Spiritual Support

Activities involving committees and substantial fund raising were far more often recorded in formal documents than other aspects of church life. But there are sufficient indications of what was happening on the spiritual side to demonstrate that the communities being built up around rolls of honour were not just based on material benefits. Intercessions for the living and commemoration of the dead went side by side almost from the outset. Nationally, all the churches were encouraged to join in intercession services twice a year during the war, one linked to the anniversary of its outbreak and the other at the start of each January.⁶⁵ These national days were, of course, just particular landmarks in a pattern of intercession which was needed all year round. The Bishop of Wakefield, in an initial letter to his clergy, dated 11 August 1914, wrote "In war human nature sinks to its worst and rises to its best. We shall emerge a different people. Tried by fire let us pray we may come forth like gold....War is the negation of the Christian Spirit." He urged them "to be natural, quiet and prepared for much suffering; ...abstain from abuse of the enemy...to pray, and to pray, and again to pray". Churches were to remain open at all times. He suggested a short intercession during the dinner hour⁶⁶, daily in central churches and regularly elsewhere, preceded by the ringing of the bell, with the clergy there to guide devotions. Names of men on active service were to be sought and read out at these and other intercession services, and remembrance made of the dead. It was essential

⁶³ 350 sat down to tea, the Huddersfield Military Band played, and there was a concert in the evening. The event was organised by Christ Church Woodhouse with its mission churches, Deighton United Methodist, Sheepridge Wesleyan Methodist, and Providence United Methodist at Sheepridge. (Parish Magazine June 1919)

⁶⁴ The italics are in the original (WDG XXIV 9).

⁶⁵ The latter reflecting the tradition of Watchnight services, to pray for forgiveness for the sins of the previous year, and for strength to meet the challenges of the new one.

⁶⁶ Clearly there using the northern usage for lunchtime.

that such services were short, regular and punctual.⁶⁷ The following month, he suggested that the names of serving men should be put up in the church porch with a request for prayer. He particularly commended the Forms of Prayer leaflet published by SPCK, not least because its price, at 2d a copy, was within reach of most households. It had public, family and private prayers, as well as subjects for meditation, and passages of scripture.⁶⁸

Whether the Anglican churches of his diocese implemented his advice immediately cannot be proved from the surviving records. After the first shock of war had diminished, it seems probable that the frequency and intensity of public intercession in all churches, not just the Church of England, built up gradually as the impact on the general population widened. At the beginning of 1916, the Rector of Emmanuel, Lockwood, complained in the parish magazine that intercession services were only attended by a handful of people. Christians, he exhorted them, must not just pray for their friends but must meet in common worship and prayer for the needs of others. Letter after letter from the zone of battle told them that the lads and men were praying as never before. When they came home, would they encounter “the cold frost of a chilly individualism in religion”? However in March, having no doubt been challenged over his assumptions about the pressures on the wartime lives of his parishioners, he announced that a book of prayer would be hung in the porch, in recognition that attendance was not always possible.⁶⁹ The frequency of the special intercession services at Emmanuel is not known. At the Wesleyan Methodist church in Gledholt, in January 1915, the Minister consulted the annual leaders meeting on

⁶⁷ WDG XX 4. There was no trace in Bishop Eden’s approach of a war “over by Christmas”. His clergy were being prepared for a long haul. He had served as Bishop of Dover, and a brother was a General, so his view of war was probably more realistic than that of many of his colleagues. His Roman Catholic counterpart was in similarly sombre mood. “With a suddenness which is absolutely appalling, practically the whole of Europe has been plunged into a great and terrible war. It is impossible to tell what will be the extent and duration of the struggle but we may be quite certain that the conflict will be fought out to the bitter end. It is impossible too to form an idea of the terrible sufferings and misery that will result there from.” (Bishop J H Cowgill’s August 1914 Pastoral Letter, quoted in R E Finnegan and J Hegarty (eds.), *The Bishops of Leeds 1878-1985: Essays in Honour of David Konstant* (Leeds: PBK Publishing on behalf of the Diocese of Leeds, 2005), p. 89).

⁶⁸ WDG XX 5.

⁶⁹ Magazine Jan., Feb. and Mar. 1916. What particularly alarmed the clergy was the extent to which war work was taking women away from attendance at services, even on Sundays (Green, *Religion in the Age of Decline*, pp. 373-374).

their views of the effectiveness of the national intercession service, which had been held at the chapel earlier in the month, and whether it should be repeated. The response was positive and he was asked to do so at his discretion. At least one special service resulted in 1915, and, in June 1916, he received a request from the ladies for more such services. Thereafter, the church seems to have had special services quarterly, using the national format.⁷⁰ For the 1917 anniversary of the outbreak of war, Trinity United Methodist church, Paddock, adapted the national order of service by replacing the second lesson with a reading of the names of all those serving with the colours.⁷¹

Evidence of the impact on the pattern of normal services is even harder to trace in surviving records. At Holy Trinity, Huddersfield, in the summer of 1918, the Vicar was authorised to make certain omissions from the usual services, when followed by Ante Communion, to avoid repetition and to give more time for war prayers.⁷² At Trinity United Methodist church, Paddock, the old custom of covering the pulpit reading desk with a black cloth when a Trustee died, was altered so that a new purple cloth was used to mark the deaths of both Trustees and church members.⁷³ Also at Paddock, “during the present crisis”, it was agreed that Hymn 967 (almost certainly “*Eternal Father*”) should be “sung as Sanctus” and that the choirmaster should be asked to prepare “*Lord keep us safe this night*” “as Vesper”, with the alteration of the third line to “Our soldiers and sailors guard”.⁷⁴ A similar change may have been fairly common as, by June 1915, in a Wesleyan Methodist church, Lamb Hall in Longwood, the National Anthem or “*Eternal Father*” was being sung as the last hymn every Sunday evening.⁷⁵ The choice of music for occasions other than Sunday worship also reflected the desire of participants to think

⁷⁰ Leaders Meeting 14 Jan. 1915, 10 June 1916.

⁷¹ Leaders Meeting 30 July 1917.

⁷² A significant concession in a church with a strict adherence to the Book of Common Prayer (Church Council 5 June 1918).

⁷³ The cloth was to remain there for only two Sundays, a shorter time than previously, no doubt reflecting the fear that it could become a permanent feature (Leaders 18 Dec. 1916).

⁷⁴ Leaders 18 Dec. 1916. Later, in March 1918, the Leaders endorsed the choirmaster’s decision to use the special Vesper again, after requests from members of the congregation (11 Mar.).

⁷⁵ Leaders Meeting 18 June 1915. At the start of 1916, the decision was changed to permit any “national hymn” (26 Jan. 1916).

of their family and friends in danger, and of those who had died. A December meeting of the Pleasant Sunday Afternoon movement, at Newsome United Methodist church, in 1916, had two solos, "*The Eternal Home*" and "*When will Thou save Thy people*", which were said to be much appreciated.⁷⁶ For the 1915 Choir Anniversary, at Park Road Wesleyan Methodist church in Crosland Moor, the organ recital included a solo from Mendelssohn's St Paul, "*Be thou faithful unto death*".⁷⁷

References to individual deaths in church records began to appear from early 1915. However, as they tended to relate to the inner circle of each community, they are not a reliable indication of the first deaths of those listed on rolls of honour.⁷⁸ From at least that point, references to intercession must be assumed to have included both prayers for those serving in the war and prayerful remembrance of those who had died, as well as requests for God's help for the families and friends of both groups. To carry intercession one stage further by holding special services, whose primary purpose was to remember the dead, was a potentially controversial step in a Protestant context.⁷⁹ However, at least three Nonconformist places of worship in Huddersfield did hold such services during the war. The senior Congregational church, Highfield, attended by many of the town's influential people, decided at the end of April 1917 that the Dead March from Saul should be played "as a tribute of respect for all the heroes who sacrifice their lives in this war [and] whose names are on our roll of honour" at a special memorial service and thence periodically. At the service, the names of the dead were read out and the choir then sang an anthem.⁸⁰ In 1918, at least two other churches held similar events. At Netherton, the Wesleyan Methodist church held a memorial service on Sunday evening, 27 January 1918 "in

⁷⁶ Annual Church Meeting 5 Jan. 1916.

⁷⁷ Flyer inserted in the Trustees Minute Book, 5 Dec. 1915. For comments on the significance of some of this music, see Chapter 7.

⁷⁸ Birkby Baptist church (Church Minute Book 19 May), Emmanuel parish church Lockwood (Parish Magazine May) and Marsh United Methodist church (Leaders 4 June) all recorded deaths of individuals well known to their communities in May 1915.

⁷⁹ Very few families had the consolation of being able to hold a burial service, as their relatives, if their remains were recovered, were interred overseas. Only those who died in Britain could be returned home for burial, if their relations could afford it. The desire to hold some substitute service, individually or corporately, must have been very strong.

⁸⁰ Deacons Meetings 27 Apr., 25 June 1917.

honour and memory of our scholars fallen in the war".⁸¹ Deadmanstone Wesleyan Methodist church in Berry Brow held a special In Memoriam service, in June 1918, for young men who had fallen in recent battles, for which 500 handbills were printed.⁸² After the Armistice, two other special memorial services not linked to the dedication of war memorials are known to have been held, again at Wesleyan Methodist churches: Lamb Hall Road, Longwood, on 26 January 1919⁸³, and Gledholt, on 2 February 1919.⁸⁴ The absence of Anglican churches from those examples almost certainly indicated not that memorial services were avoided, but rather that they were regarded as relatively uncontroversial in many parishes, and thus not mentioned in minutes. In July 1915, Bishop Eden had informed his clergy that he hoped shortly to issue some forms of memorial service for the fallen; but that, in the meantime, they were free to use those from other dioceses, or to adapt the funeral service.⁸⁵ In July 1918, he suggested that the morning service on that year's anniversary of the outbreak of war should be a memorial service. The bereaved

"miss the consolation which our Burial Service affords...It adds a pang to their sorrow that no special service is held for their own dear dead, at which the sympathy and appreciation of their friends can be expressed. These memorial services should from time to time be held, and where possible, the names of those recently fallen be read out or printed for the occasion".⁸⁶

War Work for Clergy and Ministers

The priorities of those charged with the pastoral care of Huddersfield's residents and servicemen created some tensions. The Rector of Emmanuel, Lockwood, was certainly not alone in expressing his exasperation at the government's treatment of clergymen, first including them in the Manpower Bill and

⁸¹ Trustees 17 Jan. 1918.

⁸² Leaders 9 June 1918.

⁸³ Leaders Meeting 12 Dec. 1918.

⁸⁴ Leaders Meeting 16 Jan. 1919.

⁸⁵ WDG XXI 3. Memorial services for individuals, rather than all the dead of a community, are less likely to have left traces either in the minute books of churches or in the newspapers. An exception was that for R H Owen in St Thomas, Huddersfield, in 1915, when his position in society and the elaborateness of the service ensured full press coverage (HDE/HWE 26-28 April, HWC 1 May 1915).

⁸⁶ WDG XXIV 3.

then excluding them.⁸⁷ Ministers of all denominations faced conflicting pressures over their responsibilities to their congregations and their support for the war effort. In June 1917, the Pastor of Highfield Congregational church caused considerable consternation when he informed the Deacons that he had attested, thus indicating his willingness to be called up for active service. He had already spent three months away from his post with the YMCA in France and had had his request to return for a further three months turned down by the church. The Deacons felt that it would be “little short of a calamity” if he was absent again and successfully persuaded him to withdraw his attestation papers. A further request for leave of absence to serve with the YMCA was rejected at the end of 1917.⁸⁸ Ministers from Ramsden Street Congregational church, Brunswick Street United Methodist church, and Oakes Baptist church, Lindley also obtained leave to spend an attachment with the YMCA overseas.⁸⁹ A curate at Emmanuel, Lockwood, was seconded to the Church Army for a period and one at Almondbury became a temporary chaplain to the forces.⁹⁰ Other ministers chose war work that did not take them away from their responsibilities completely. The Vicar of St John the Evangelist, Birkby, was working in a munitions factory by March 1917⁹¹, and the Pastor at Birkby Baptist church was working at British Dyes in September 1917⁹², a firm mainly occupied with the production of explosives. It is possible that both were doing welfare work in those factories but the reference by the Church Council in Birkby to “a noble act” of which it was hoped that all connected with the church would approve, suggests that involvement in production work was more likely.⁹³ After the war, the Pastor of

⁸⁷ Parish Magazine June 1918. For the national context see Wilkinson, *The Church of England and the First World War*, pp. 39-41.

⁸⁸ Interestingly, there was no mention in the minutes of any debate about the propriety of volunteering for active service as opposed to humanitarian work (Church Meeting 7 Jan., 7 Feb., 27 June, Deacons Meeting 25 Mar., 25 June and 10 Oct. 1917).

⁸⁹ Ramsden Street Annual Meeting 2 Jan. 1918; Hillhouse Church Minutes 26 April 1917, receiving a request for help from Brunswick Street; Oakes Church Meeting 17 Nov. 1917.

⁹⁰ Parish Magazine July 1918; Church Wardens Minute Book 24 April 1916.

⁹¹ Church Council 14 Mar. 1917.

⁹² Church Minute Book 6 Sept. 1917.

⁹³ As early as 1915, the *Examiner* was reporting that three Nonconformist ministers in Nuneaton were working in munitions, one having refused a clerical job in favour of the factory floor (HDE 3 May). Wilkinson, *The Church of England and the First World War*, p. 40, refers to some Anglican clergy doing the same in 1916.

Salendine Nook Baptist church highlighted the dilemmas, in a sermon reported in the *Examiner* in June 1919. He was quoted as saying that it had been easy to be a chaplain and hand out cigarettes, and serve food and drink, but hard to stay at home and preach, and preach, without visible results; still someone had to stick to it. Older people had often not had the heart to attend chapel during the war but had still appreciated the minister. Two letters to the editor deplored the remarks as in bad taste, one describing chaplains as “the pick of British manhood and of English gentlemen” - the writer’s opinion of the Pastor’s character was obvious.⁹⁴ The Bishop of Wakefield may well have had much sympathy with the Pastor’s views. Throughout the war years, the *Diocesan Gazette* placed considerable emphasis on the care of the communities at home, and made relatively little mention of service with the forces.⁹⁵ Already, by December 1914, the *Gazette* was carrying short reviews of material which clergy might find useful and, in July 1915, a four page bibliography was commended as study material relating to the moral and spiritual aspects of war.⁹⁶

Transition to Permanent Memorials

By 1918, thoughts were beginning to turn to what should happen after the war. In Holy Trinity, Huddersfield, it was agreed in April that a new Roll of Honour should be erected in the church with a ledge for flowers, a decision only approved by a vote of four to two with the condition that the original rolls should remain in the porch “as being visible to many more in that position”.⁹⁷ By October, the first unequivocally post-war memorial in intent, albeit chronologically slightly premature, was unveiled in Dock Street.⁹⁸ This was quickly followed by one in Birchencliffe⁹⁹,

⁹⁴ HDE 16, 17, 24 June 1919.

⁹⁵ Following the decision to exempt clergy from conscription, the diocese undertook a review of clergy preferences and pastoral needs, to inform decisions on the allocation of manpower (WDG XXIV 1, 8).

⁹⁶ WDG XX 8, XXI 3.

⁹⁷ Church Council 19 Mar. 1918.

⁹⁸ HDE 23 Oct. 1918. The memorial in Dock Street recorded the service of its inhabitants and those of adjoining Watergate, 83 from the former and 16 from the latter, of whom a total of 18 had lost their lives.

⁹⁹ HDE 18 Nov. 1918. The Birchencliffe memorial carried 155 names, of whom 17 were known to be dead, 3 were missing and 8 were prisoners of war.

in November, and Swallow Street¹⁰⁰, in December. For all three, the design chosen recorded the names of all those who had served together with additional recognition of those who had died, and thus formed a clear link between wartime rolls of honour and subsequent permanent commemorative memorials.

This permanent linking of the names of the living and the dead in memorials was not a temporary phenomenon. In June 1919, Deighton Working Men's Club dedicated its memorial, on which the names of 12 men who lost their lives and a further 145 who had served, were preserved.¹⁰¹ In December 1919, the Lockwood and Salford Conservative Club unveiled a Roll of Honour for the 73 of its members who had served, of whom 9 had fallen in action, 10 had been wounded and 54 had returned home.¹⁰² In March 1920, the town's Irish Club unveiled a Roll of Honour of 164 names, of whom about 15 had not returned.¹⁰³ In August of that year, the public abattoir also unveiled a Roll of Honour with 99 names, of which 19 had been killed.¹⁰⁴ Amongst the churches some memorials also paid tribute to the living and the dead in a combined commemoration. The Cowcliffe mission dedicated a memorial, early in 1920, in the form of two oak tablets with the names, ranks and regiments of all those who had served, and with the fallen identified.¹⁰⁵ In December of that year, Mount Pleasant Wesleyan Methodist church in Lockwood dedicated its memorial, bearing the names of 196 men connected with the church and school who had "stood between the nation and the dire peril in the years 1914-18", 31 of whom had not returned.¹⁰⁶ Others, such as St Andrew, Huddersfield, created separate permanent memorials. There, panels with the names of the fallen were erected in a new memorial chapel, and boards with the lists of all those who had served were

¹⁰⁰ HDE 23 Dec. 1918. The memorial in Swallow Street covered housing in Swallow Street itself, Cross Grove Street, Duke Street and Upperhead Row. The names of 53 men who had died were listed, along with about 180 names of those who had served.

¹⁰¹ Woodhouse, Christ Church, parish magazine, July 1919.

¹⁰² HDE 29 Dec. 1919.

¹⁰³ Shanahan, *Historical Sketch of the Irish League Club in Huddersfield*.

¹⁰⁴ 28 Aug. 1920 (press cutting of unidentified origin, HLSL file).

¹⁰⁵ It had been necessary to visit every home to collect the full particulars for each name. In 1920, an omission from the lists was authorised to be rectified (Vestry meetings 6 June, 22 Oct., 18 Nov. 1919, 18 Nov. 1920).

¹⁰⁶ HDE 2 Dec. 1920.

placed on pillars at the west end.¹⁰⁷ Oakes Baptist church, at Lindley, dedicated a memorial tablet to the 22 dead, and an oak roll of honour for the 100 who had served.¹⁰⁸ Almondbury Grammar School's wartime roll became a permanent memorial recording over 200 old boys, with a separate memorial commemorating the 41 who had died.¹⁰⁹

Most of the Anglican churches do not appear to have adopted a formal commemoration of both the living and the dead. Many reports of memorial dedication services included the information that the Roll of Honour was read as part of the proceedings.¹¹⁰ However, it is not clear whether that was a reading of the names on the memorial, that is of the dead, or a longer list of those who served; the former seems the more likely. That restriction of the permanent memorials to those who had died may have been because of the very large lists likely to be involved in commemorating all who served, and the difficulty of ensuring they were accurate, where the whole population of the parish was potentially eligible. At St Stephen, Rashcliffe, for example, it was estimated that at least 740 had served from the parish.¹¹¹ It may also have been a diplomatic compromise whereby the parish's dead might, with general assent, be recorded in the parish church but that a continuing symbol of a claimed jurisdiction over the living was less acceptable. However, inscriptions or dedications to the dead, such as "in honoured memory of the men of Lockwood church and parish", "in honoured and loving memory of the men of this parish" (Christ Church, Woodhouse) and "to perpetuate the memory of members of the church and residents of the parish who fell in war" (St Paul, Huddersfield), reflected the extent of the practical and spiritual activity undertaken by some parishes during the war to make concrete the Church of England's official role in society.

¹⁰⁷ It appeared that the list of those who served was restricted to the church's congregation, rather than recording the names of all the parish (Vestry meeting 17 Mar. 1921).

¹⁰⁸ Order of service 14 Nov. 1920.

¹⁰⁹ T Dyson, *Almondbury and its Ancient School being the History of King James's Grammar School, Almondbury, with Incidental Chapters on the History of the District and its Inhabitants* (Huddersfield: The Advertiser Press Ltd, 1926), pp. 240-243.

¹¹⁰ For example, Holy Trinity, Huddersfield (Church Council 21 Mar. 1921), St John, Huddersfield (HDE 24 Oct. 1921), St John, Newsome (HWE 12 Nov. 1921).

¹¹¹ HDE 2 May 1919, on the occasion of the Welcome Home.

Guidance from the Church of England

A further factor in the decisions taken by Anglican churches about the commemoration of those who had returned from war may have been diocesan guidance. In 1921, the *Examiner* carried a report of a decision by the Liverpool consistory court rejecting an application for a faculty for a memorial that included the names of those who had served and returned. The diocesan chancellor had cited the “awful warning” of a church which had done that and, soon after, one of those named had committed a “disgraceful offence”, yet he still appeared as one whose name should be remembered for ever.¹¹² In the neighbouring diocese of Bradford, the bishop recommended that the names of those who had served should be recorded on rolls of honour, not on memorials themselves, perhaps for the same reasons.¹¹³ One parish council in Huddersfield recorded, in the first part of 1919, that it had received a report from a diocesan committee on war memorials but did not specify its recommendations.¹¹⁴ However, decisions during the war suggest that Wakefield’s guidance may have been similar.

The Diocese of Wakefield issued its first public advice in January 1916. The clergy were urged to put announcements in their parish magazines and in the local press, giving notice that they would be planning general and comprehensive memorials. Such an initiative, the *Gazette* suggested, would pre-empt the distress which would occur if the desire for individual brasses and tablets overwhelmed the church building, as it could well do in town churches. It would also be much valued by those who could not afford costly offerings but who could participate in a communal venture. The wording of the article was careful not to rule out individual memorials entirely, but made clear where the main thrust of activity should lie.¹¹⁵ In May of that year, the advice about memorials was re-iterated and expanded. An unnamed church had been refused a faculty as its proposals were “premature and unsuitable”. The Chancellor of the diocese endorsed the diocesan preference for

¹¹² HDE 4 May 1921.

¹¹³ A Hansen, *One Small Corner: A History of the Bradford Diocese* (Bradford: Bradford Diocesan Board of Finance, 1994), p. 59.

¹¹⁴ Huddersfield St Paul Church Council 21 Mar. 1919. The *Diocesan Gazette* for the period made no reference to any such report.

¹¹⁵ WDG XXI 9.

collective memorials but added that they should not be attempted before the war was over.

"A collective memorial", he said, "gives a Parish the opportunity of recording its admiration for the services of a man or men, whose parents and friends are probably not in a position from a monetary point of view to erect an individual memorial. It also has a distinct value as associating together in the fellowship of sacrifice names of brave men from every rank and condition of life."¹¹⁶

Both articles in the *Gazette* appeared well before the traumas of the battle of the Somme. The emphasis on collective memorials was a general one, and continued throughout the war. In June 1919, the *Examiner* reported that the Archbishop of York had written a letter to his diocese expressing concern that the hope that communal memorials would prevail over individual ones was being "very imperfectly fulfilled". He was not opposed to "substantial enrichments" to churches in memory of individuals, such as windows and screens, but about small plaques and similar tributes.

"Of course, it is very difficult to discipline individual feelings, but I deprecate in the interests of a truer ideal separating individuals from their comrades, when there is to be in the church some adequate and dignified memorial on which the names of all who have fallen are to be inscribed."¹¹⁷

In Wakefield, the diocesan registers of faculties do not always reliably identify those applications which were related to war commemorations, so a complete assessment of the actual pattern of activity is not possible. During the war, a new window at St John, Newsome, was not identified as such, although it was dedicated as a memorial to members of the Sunday School who had died.¹¹⁸ Similarly, a new

¹¹⁶ WDG XXII 1. The objections to the proposal, which was not itself described, were that it might have misled historically, and that it might have resulted in tablets either overcrowded or half-filled. The proposal was also criticised as "desir[ing] to have a permanent record of men offering their services for military work which was felt to be most unsuitable on every ground". It would therefore seem that some kind of permanent set of tablets, to which names were to be added on an ongoing basis, was being proposed, possibly with an inscription containing details which could only be assumptions at that point. The reference to men having offered their services, rather than actually serving, may indicate a wish to list those who had attested under the Derby scheme, and to differentiate them from those conscripted.

¹¹⁷ HDE 16 June 1919. The Archbishop was speaking in his diocesan rather than his archdiocesan role, but his views would have carried weight throughout the northern province.

¹¹⁸ Faculty Book No 2, 21 June 1916. However, that was consistent with its memorial character being a late adaptation of an existing project (see Chapter 6, pp. 152-153 below).

chancel screen at St Philip, Birchencliffe, was not recorded as a memorial to P T Crowther.¹¹⁹ However, in the final months of the war, increased activity was obvious. Certainly, by 1920, the pressure for faculties had become intense, and the problems were not simply those of administrative overload. In December that year, the *Gazette* published the judgement of the Chancellor of the diocese concerning one war memorial in full, adding that it was not the first time that clergy and church wardens had failed to apply for a faculty before ordering windows and ornaments. The Chancellor had had to consider the granting of a Confirmatory Faculty¹²⁰ for “a War Shrine containing the Figure of the Crucified Redeemer in the centre panel”. This, he concluded, he could not do as “a Crucifix, without any additions or adjuncts which would together form a group representing an historical fact, is absolutely illegal in the Church of England. It is *per se* illegal quite apart from the question as to whether superstitious reverence might be paid to the figure on the Cross.” The Chancellor formally recorded that to have to give judgement in matters of retrospective approval “is especially painful to me, and it puts me in a very unfair position”. As the shrine was erected without the opportunity for him to give advice, or to make an objection through the normal faculty procedures, whose whole purpose was to prevent the illegal or unsightly, any judgement now, he felt, could be taken as a reflection on a memorial to the fallen, to whom all would wish to give the greatest honour. Such memorials were, and should be intended as, memorials for all time and it was a deep mistake to put up an object which was “to say the least of it ecclesiastically disputable”. The Chancellor did not direct the removal of the memorial, and indeed indicated that it should remain and be respected. Instead, he warned that, if any future resident of the parish applied to him for a Faculty to remove it, he might be forced by the law to grant such an application. In what must have been a most unusual ending to such a judgement, the Chancellor indicated that if the memorial could be amended in any way “by the addition of figures which would make it a representation of a great historical fact” he would grant a Confirmatory Faculty without hesitation. The church concerned acted on that advice

¹¹⁹ Faculty Book No 2, 22 Oct. 1918. It would have fallen into the Archbishop’s category of “substantial enrichments”, and the church had no communal memorial (see Chapter 6, p. 160).

and, in November 1922, the *Gazette* recorded such a Confirmatory faculty for “an oak war memorial comprising faldstool surrounded by triptych with the names of the fallen on the side panels and figures of the Crucified Redeemer, St Mary and St John in the centre panel”.¹²¹

In February 1921, clergy were informed that all applications for faculties were referred first to the relevant Archdeacon and then to the Bishop, whose advice often resulted in change, before a final version went to the Chancellor.¹²² Clergy and church wardens were again reminded not to enter into any contracts or agreements without proper legal consents. The establishment of a body, initially known as the Ancient Churches Advisory Committee, was also announced, to assist the Chancellor in that aspect of his responsibilities.¹²³ In November 1924, a further warning was issued that designs or plans had been approved, and even actually ordered by churches and donors, without the necessary faculties. It was appreciated that donors might not understand the law and procedures, but it was essential that all Parochial Church Councils be aware of the problem. The Diocesan Advisory Committee, the *Gazette* emphasised, was concerned with unsatisfactory design as much as with illegality.¹²⁴

¹²⁰ One giving retrospective approval.

¹²¹ WDG XXVI 7, XXVIII 7. The church was St John, Towngate, Clifton, Brighouse.

¹²² This probably formalised earlier practice. In 1919, St Mark, Longwood, received a visit from the Diocesan Architect and the Archdeacon in relation to its exploration of various options for “a thank offering and war memorial”. Although the visit was primarily triggered by the need to assess the degree of movement in one wall of the church, and the cost of its stabilisation, discussions included the memorial ideas being considered. The Vicar felt he had been firmly steered away from the idea of a baptistery and towards a new window. (Church Council 5 Mar. 1919).

¹²³ WDG XXVI 9. The body was referred to by a number of different names initially but, by 1925, it had become the Diocesan Advisory Committee (WDG XXX 10). The Diocese of Wakefield had relatively few ancient (i.e. pre-Reformation) churches and the creation of the committee almost certainly owed as much to the need for a broader and more impartial source of advice for the Chancellor, at a time when the grant of faculties had become so fraught, as to the national trend towards formalising the provision of expert advice to dioceses in their exercise of the ecclesiastical exemption (K V Last, 'The Privileged Position of the Church of England in the Control of Work to Historic Buildings: The Provenance of the Ecclesiastical Exemption from Listed Building Control', *Common Law World Review*, 31 (2002), 205-235, pp. 210-217).

¹²⁴ WDG XXX 7. Donors were not the only ones who were likely to be ignorant of the legalities. It is doubtful whether the average clergyman was familiar with the intricacies of the legal position about ornaments, even less the average church warden or other lay office holder. A situation in which the erection of a rood screen as a war memorial, dominating

For almost all churches, the process of obtaining a faculty seems to have been merely an administrative inconvenience conducted entirely by correspondence, certainly as judged by the infrequent and routine references in church records. Occasionally, however, as the *Gazette* indicated, the procedure became a major issue. St Thomas, Huddersfield, required a faculty in 1920 for a churchyard cross commemorating all the dead of the parish, and a rood screen in memory of R H Owen. As the church's architect for the scheme was Sir Charles Nicholson, who was also the Diocesan Architect, the parish might reasonably have expected no problems. That was not to be the case. Representatives of the church were required to attend the Consistory Court before the application was finally approved. The church's records made no mention of formal objections being raised to the plans in the parish, so the problems would appear to have been at the diocesan level. Most probably, the application became caught up in the consequences of the retrospective approval sought for the crucifix at Clifton, and had to be examined with particular care to ensure consistency of approach. The Church Council was finally presented with a bill for £13-4-8, which it considered excessive. A formal resolution was sent with the cheque, declaring that "the parochial council regard the whole thing as unnecessary, and a severe tax on the amount subscribed towards the object for which the faculty was obtained".¹²⁵ Some churches appear to have evaded the faculty process altogether. No faculties appear to have been granted for the erection of the memorial in the churchyard of St Paul, Armitage Bridge, for the ceramic plaque in St John, Newsome, for the window and tablet at St Stephen, Rashcliffe, and for any of a

the congregational view of the sanctuary in a quintessentially pre-Reformation manner, was legal (Faculty granted to Huddersfield St Thomas, December 1920, a few weeks after the Chancellor's Clifton judgement) but a small crucifix in front of a prayer stool was not, well illustrated the confusing legacy of the ritualistic controversies. A source of further confusion was the shift in governmental structures. In September 1914, the *Gazette* (WDG XX 5) reminded its readers that applications for faculties required a resolution of the vestry, and that no other general indication of assent was sufficient. However, grants of faculties were made to the Rector/Vicar and church wardens. In the middle of the greatest level of war memorial activity, it became the Parochial Church Council which had to give consent, and the faculty was granted to it and the incumbent.

¹²⁵ Church Council 21 Jan. 1921. Most faculties cost about two guineas (All Saints Paddock, War Memorial Accounts and Receipts). The Parochial Church Council also indicated its dissatisfaction by initially declining to pay Nicholson's professional fees of £70 (11 May 1921).

number of memorials in Christ Church, Woodhouse. It is difficult to see how that could have been accidental, given the prominence of the issue in the period.

Pressures from Elsewhere

If the rest of the borough was not subject to anything like the Anglican faculty system, its inhabitants were, like the rest of the nation, the targets for strenuous efforts to influence their decisions in other ways. Within the architectural profession, the implications of war for future commissions began to be explored at an early stage. The *Architectural Review* published a series of seven articles in 1915, surveying the artistic heritage of war from pre-classical times to the beginning of the twentieth century. The articles praised the neo-classical monuments of Napoleonic France and condemned the more recent precedents of Imperial Germany. The Boer War memorials in Britain were dismissed in half a page of text and three plates as “innumerable, but for the most part... on a very low level of achievement”. Looking to the future, the authors argued that “isolated statues and mediocre tablets will not suffice to record the terrific nature of the struggle, and its all-important effect on the destiny of the race” and urged the case for a national monument.¹²⁶

Distaste for the Boer War memorials seems to have been widespread in certain professional and artistic circles. The annual report of the Church Crafts League, in 1915, recorded that it was responding to requests for advice, hoping thereby to prevent those errors which marked the close of the South African War. A speaker at the opening of the Civic Arts Association exhibition, in July 1916, described its aim as “to see that the churches and homes of Great Britain were not disfigured by the erection of trade brasses and tablets which would dishonour the dead”.¹²⁷ The

¹²⁶ A E Richardson and R R Phillips, 'Memorials of War - I Ancient, II Renaissance, III Napoleonic, IV Modern Britain, V Modern French, VI Modern Italian, VII Modern American', *Architectural Review*, XXXVII pp 26-30, 45-50, 64-71, 95-104, XXXVIII pp 7-12, 21-25, 73-78 and 108-113 (1915).

¹²⁷ Moriarty, 'Christian Iconography and First World War Memorials'. The Civic Arts Association was founded, in 1915, to influence post-war reconstruction, and initially focussed mainly on war memorials. After the exhibition it published a series of pamphlets on particular topics such as war shrines (King, *Symbolism and Politics of Remembrance*, p. 71). Other lobbyists included the Wayside Crosses Society, which argued for a revival of the old custom of erecting such crosses, popular with soldiers in France, and the Roads of Remembrance Association, which advocated tree planting along new and existing highways

exhibition was the outcome of a competition which attracted some 400 designs in eight categories, of which about 80 were exhibited. In its coverage of the display, the *Architectural Review* acknowledged that the situation was very difficult. Public taste was characterised by a “wave of sentimentality” and professionals were divided into the Arts and Crafts group, “a mental cul-de-sac” in the view of the editors, the modernists with “intellectual tendencies... fashionable tendencies... the brutalising tendencies of modern German expression” and a “timid minority” who “accept[ed] the standard of traditional achievement as a basis for future operations”. The overt bias of the *Review*’s editors was not necessarily restricted to solutions in the classical style. The Annual Report of the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings was quoted with approbation, as deploring memorials inside and outside churches whose scale and materials were inappropriate for their setting, such as those in shiny white marble.¹²⁸ Later, in 1919, the *Review* carried a further series of historical articles on landmarks of rural England as “Suggestions from the Past”, which included market crosses and almshouses.¹²⁹

One topic on which there was professional unanimity was the need to educate the public mind, particularly that of those in a position to commission memorials. In March 1917, the Royal Society of Arts hosted a series of three lectures, later given a wider circulation in the Society’s *Journal*.¹³⁰ The speaker criticised memorials of the Boer War for “the persistent vice of their design”, characterising it as clumsy and ugly, with a misuse of materials and deplorable lettering. The main blame for those faults was attributed to the use of commercial “off the peg” designs, derived from those routinely deployed in churchyards. The employment of an architect and sculptor was deemed essential, as was a design appropriate to its setting. He deplored “the fettering of the artist’s judgement by committeemen who may be admirable husbands and fathers, but are imperfectly educated in aesthetics”, thought

as living memorials (*Roads of Remembrance as War Memorials* (London: The Roads of Remembrance Association, [1920]); King, *Symbolism and Politics of Remembrance*, p. 73).

¹²⁸ XL (1916), pp. 35-38.

¹²⁹ XLVI (1919), pp. 10-13, 35-39, 63-69, 93-99.

¹³⁰ L Weaver, ‘Memorials and Monuments’, *Royal Society of Arts Journal*, 65/3389 (Nov) (1917). The lectures made reference to L Weaver, *Memorials and Monuments, Old and New: Two Hundred Subjects Chosen From Seven Centuries* (London: Country Life, 1915).

narrative reliefs and soldier figures in fighting attitudes were rarely satisfactory and commented "where angels are used it should be remembered that the practice of representing them as mawkish young ladies finds no authority in Holy Scripture". Celtic crosses earned his approval but his main praise was reserved for the classical tradition and its "qualities of strength and resignation". In particular, "the obelisk is one of those eternal forms, at once aspiring and reposeful, which seem especially fitted for a memorial monument. It is, moreover, an element which combines very freely with a great variety of architectural forms". His view of what memorials ought to convey was "warfare not only of men and arms, but of spiritual ideas"; "all monuments are the expression of emotion, and our first means of expression is by the spoken and written word. It follows that the first element to be considered is the inscription". In summary, he felt

"Our memorial art should be proud indeed, but thankful and pitiful, in remembrance of the Preacher's word that it is righteousness which exalteth the nation. Its significance should be lofty, rejecting such crude realisms as the statue of a dying soldier clad in service kit, but relying on symbolisms which will tell to the generations following the sacrifices of the Imperial race in the fight for right and for the great truths and great liberties which we are in arms to defend."¹³¹

In 1917, the Royal Academy had joined the educational efforts, issuing a memorandum of advice to municipal and other bodies. A committee was then set up, which arranged a pair of exhibitions in 1919 displaying examples of memorial art from the past, mainly from the collections of the Victoria and Albert Museum, and a selection of new designs and memorials. In an announcement prior to the exhibitions, the Academy Committee explained its view of the problem:

"The danger is that the desire to perpetuate the memory of those who have laid down their lives should waste itself in wrong channels through lack of competent guidance, and should in fact endanger our national buildings and spaces by ill-advised interference. It is essential that memorials ... should not clash with the spirit of the past...instead of being a rock of offence to future generations, they should be objects of veneration to those who follow us."¹³²

The Society had been founded as means of promoting new ideas and best practice across the arts, sciences and industry.

¹³¹ Weaver, 'Memorials and Monuments' (RSA), pp. 833, 835, 839, 847, 818, 851.

¹³² *Architectural Review* XLV (1919), p. 20.

The retrospective part of the exhibition was given qualified approval by the *Architectural Review*; being useful for those who had already decided upon the important question of "character", but providing a confusing multiplicity of suggestions for those with no preconceived ideas. Overall, it was an inspiration for artists but probably not a stimulation for the general public. As for the new designs, the *Review* found the experience "a[n] unqualified disappointment" although a few individual items had merit. Much was "colourless and expressionless". Sculptors came in for particular criticism, inspiration being almost entirely lacking and the technical problems of the relationships between figures and pedestal unresolved. "Victories that look anything but victorious, or else are merely riotous, spread their wings in vain".¹³³

Crockford's Clerical Directory, a publication known to every Anglican clergyman and many prominent lay people, carried advertising for war memorials from an early stage of the war. The 1916-1917 edition had numerous advertisements for memorials, including a coloured reproduction of a memorial brass for HMS *Arethusa*, lost on 28 August 1914. The following year's volume saw even more such displays. One firm described itself as "specialists in public war memorials, shrines, crosses, gothic and classical gateways, figure subjects, emblematical figure groups, bas-reliefs in marble, bronze, zinc. Also tablets in every suitable material." Giving an insight into the processes of commissioning and execution, it went on "We issue no catalogue - they become common to all, but we estimate for architects' designs, also submit designs by experienced artists, and follow as far as practical the ideas submitted by our clients and quote for complete work."¹³⁴ A full page advertisement from the Medici Society Ltd was clearly aimed as much at influencing the commissioning process generally as gaining commercial advantage:

"Day by day there are erected in England Memorials which declare that our gratitude either does not know how to express itself, or that most of us are mere dealers in words. Famous churches are spoiled with monstrous glass, contracted for at so much per square foot; simple village shrines are bought from firms "complete at the low figure of £..." To tolerate these things is to shame ourselves for all time, as fully as those who built our splendid Churches

¹³³ XLVI (1919), pp. 163-164.

¹³⁴ M Tuttell & Son of Lincoln (*Crockford's Clerical Directory* (1918-19), p. 39).

and set up Village Crosses - "splendid in simplicity" - honoured themselves by the care which they gave to those works.

This scandal to our nation does not arise from parsimony so much as from ignorance. A beautiful window need not cost more than one from the "Ecclesiastical Warehouse", nor need a soundly designed and honestly executed Village Shrine cost more than that provided by Messrs A at "£... complete". The observance of two rules will go far to minimise this reproach, viz, (1) always consult a qualified architect or other professional; (2) always prefer the smaller Memorial, honestly designed and executed, to the larger which does not exhibit those qualities. And do not hesitate to go to a Professional, even if you are uncertain as to your exact wants.

The Medici Society will, upon request, forward its summary "Note upon War Memorials". This contains a mere series of suggestions intended as a first aid to the clarification of ideas. Afterwards, the Society will gladly advise generally, and act as a Clearing House between those seeking to procure and the Architects, and other Craftsmen, who can provide. No fees or obligations are incurred unless, as a result, a definite commission for a design or work is given."¹³⁵

Even allowing for the pleasure with which the architectural profession, and the art world more generally, traditionally engaged in exaggerated rhetoric to fight its stylistic battles, it is clear that prominent professionals, and the lay elites with whom they had traditionally interacted, felt that, in the aftermath of the Boer War, they had lost control over public expressions of sentiment. The repeated emphasis on the need for decision makers to defer to those whose professional training had given them the technical and aesthetic background to make sound judgments well conveys the general level of apprehension. As the casualty levels rose, and it became painfully obvious that this new war was to affect ordinary people on a scale previously unimaginable, there must have been at least a private acknowledgement that the battle over the vast majority of permanent commemorations was already lost, even before the war was over. The wishes of the bereaved and those returning from the forces would inevitably carry far greater weight than ever before, and, as always, the rank and file members of the professions at the local level would have to work within those constraints. Even at the national level, public pressure could significantly influence decisions. The Cenotaph in Whitehall had its origins in a temporary structure of wood and plaster for the peace celebrations, in July 1919. It had been a late addition to the arrangements, after it became known that the French were

¹³⁵ Endpapers of the 1918-1919 edition.

planning a similar element in their celebrations. The immediate popularity of the edifice, as a focus for overwhelming numbers of floral tributes to the dead, was crucial to the decision to commission a permanent memorial of the same type, which was unveiled in November 1920.¹³⁶

The Cenotaph, and the two features of almost every overseas war cemetery, the Great War Stone and the Cross of Sacrifice, had an undoubted influence on some of the larger civic memorials around the country, and individual elements from their design appeared more widely in local commemorations.¹³⁷ However, the extent to which the more general efforts at influencing opinion and action affected those in Huddersfield is difficult to assess. No evidence has been found in borough, church or other records for either the published material, or any of the national exhibitions, being explicitly referred to in decision making. The *Examiner* contained remarkably little coverage of them either, perhaps believing that those interested would follow the debate in the national press. That is not to say that at least some of the concerns expressed nationally did not have an indirect influence on choices made locally, by means of the contacts and interests of particular individuals. The response of a delegation from Ulster, who visited the exhibition at the Royal Academy, and concluded that they could do better relying on their own local resources, may not have been as unusual as the organisers would have wished.¹³⁸

¹³⁶ A Greenberg, 'Lutyens's Cenotaph', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 48/1 (1989), 5-23.

¹³⁷ The Cenotaph, designed by Sir Edward Lutyens (1869-1944), was derived from the tradition of classical obelisks and intended to be appropriate for the commemoration of all participants, whatever their religious beliefs. It consists of a stepped pylon surmounted by a tomb chest and was so severely stark as to be almost abstract in its impact. The Great War Stone, also designed by Lutyens, was an horizontal monolith, inscribed with "Their Name Liveth For Evermore" (Ecclesiasticus 44:14, chosen by Rudyard Kipling), whose somewhat ambiguous symbolism could be read as a Christian altar stone or a pre-Christian ceremonial marker. The Cross of Sacrifice, designed by Sir Reginald Blomfield (1896-1942), took the form of a Latin stone cross on which was placed a bronze downward-pointing sword of a medieval or Crusader appearance. (Borg, *War Memorials*, pp. 73-75; King, *Symbolism and Politics of Remembrance*, pp. 141-155; Stamp, *Silent Cities*, pp. 9-13).

¹³⁸ Jeffery, *Ireland and the Great War*, p. 107.

Chapter 6 - Commemoration at Local Level

Timescales

The borough memorial in Greenhead Park was not dedicated until the spring of 1924. By that time, almost all the individual communities within Huddersfield had already completed their permanent symbols of commemoration.¹ During the war, the marking of the loss of individuals was almost entirely contained within the framework of the rolls of honour. Nevertheless, some such memorials were erected.² In the year preceding Easter 1917, a carved oak chancel screen was set up in memory of Malcolm Hewley Graham³, and a marble wall tablet erected for Trevor Allington Crosland, both in Christ Church, Woodhouse.⁴ Two brass plaques in Milton Congregational chapel, in the centre of town, may also have been placed there during the war, rather than after the Armistice. They recorded the deaths of Norman France⁵ and Arthur Wood⁶, both choir members.⁷

One group memorial, a window for those connected with the Sunday School who had fallen, was dedicated in St John's parish church, Newsome, on 9 July 1916. Given the time taken to commission, manufacture and install a window, that date is extraordinarily early. Unfortunately, no church records have survived and the newspaper report does not go into detail about the context. Most probably, existing plans were adapted to reflect changed circumstances. The subject matter of the

¹ The general picture set out in this chapter, and the one which follows it, derives from the memorials examined in this study, and summarised in Appendix B. There would have been many other memorials created in Huddersfield for which records no longer exist. If information about them had been available, the balance in areas of detail might well have been affected. However, except where indicated in the text, there is no reason to suppose that the general picture would have been significantly affected.

² The Church of England attempted to discourage the immediate creation of separate memorials for individuals (see Chapter 5, pp. 141-142 above).

³ Died 15 June 1915 (Commonwealth War Graves Commission (CWGC) database, <www.cwgc.org>).

⁴ Died 22 June 1916 (CWGC). Church Council 24 Apr. 1917.

⁵ Died 21 August 1917 (CWGC).

⁶ Died 14 January 1918 (CWGC).

window was the Good Shepherd laying down his life for His sheep, with St John the Evangelist, the church's patron saint, and St Stephen, the first martyr, in attendance. This was a fairly standard choice in peacetime, and would have required no amendment to acquire additional resonance with the coming of war. As the New Army volunteers did not arrive at the front in strength until the early part of 1916, it is probable that Newsome was commemorating deaths among regulars, reservists or territorials.⁸ By the middle of 1918, after the failure of the German Spring Offensive and the encouraging progress of the Allied response, it at last became evident that an end to the war, or at least a cessation of hostilities, was in sight. In that more hopeful climate, plans for permanent memorials began to acquire real momentum. A group of communal memorials straddled Armistice Day itself. Open air memorials for individual areas were dedicated in Dock Street on 26 October, in Birchencliffe on 16 November, and in Swallow Street on 21 December.⁹ A window in Christ Church, Woodhouse, was consecrated on 17 November.¹⁰

From the beginning of 1919 to the end of 1921, scarcely a month went past without the dedication of at least one memorial somewhere in the borough, the three peak periods being November 1920, and April and October 1921. Thereafter, a handful of memorials were completed in 1922 and 1923, and, in August 1924, the Drill Hall memorial to the 5th Battalion of the Duke of Wellington's (West Riding) Regiment followed the Greenhead Park unveiling in April. However, Huddersfield's commemorative landscape was not entirely complete. Two further local memorials in churches were created in December 1926 and October 1929. The decade of activity was brought to a borough-wide end on 14 October 1929, when a Cross of

⁷ UKNIWM entries 29264 (France) and 29265 (Wood) are the sole evidence. No contemporary records for the church have been found.

⁸ There is no indication, in the report in the *Examiner*, of any additional link to the carnage of the first day of the battle of the Somme, news of which would have just begun to penetrate local communities, although that connection cannot be ruled out (HWE 15 July 1916).

⁹ Dock Street (HDE 29 Oct. 1918); Birchencliffe (HWE 23 Nov. 1918); Swallow Street (HDE 23 Dec. 1918).

¹⁰ Parish Magazine Dec. 1918. It is probable that a permanent Roll of Honour for St Thomas's church, Bradley, paid for by the Girls' Friendly Society, also belonged to that period (A Whitworth, *A History of Bradley* (Whitby: Culva House Publications, 1998), pp. 80-81).

Sacrifice was raised in Edgerton Cemetery in association with the Imperial War Graves Commission.¹¹

Memorial Forms

The first research co-ordinator of the National Inventory of War Memorials suggested, in 1991, that the most common form of war memorial in the United Kingdom was the open air cross.¹² Although many more records have been added to the Inventory since that time, that judgment no doubt remains true if memorials for a geographical community such as a village, town or city are considered. Such memorials are likely to have been among the first to be added to such a database by volunteers in a particular area. However, when an attempt is made to broaden the coverage to all memorials in an area, then the dominant form was far more likely to be a wall tablet or similar artefact whose primary impact was designed to be textual rather than visual.¹³ For the memorials within the county borough identified during the course of the research for this thesis, a broad classification of the elements used in the commemorations gives the pattern summarised in Table 3.

The dominance of the tablet is clear, as is the fact that almost all included individual names. Where the main memorial was, for example, an organ, the tablet attached to the case might simply identify the commemorative status of the instrument, as was the case at Hillhouse United Methodist church, which had, in addition, a separate brass plaque with names. However, such instances were almost certainly rarer than the Table indicates, as, where the evidence does not explicitly indicate the presence of names, an assumption has been made, for the purpose of this analysis, that they were not present.¹⁴

¹¹ See Chapter 10 below.

¹² Moriarty, 'Christian Iconography and First World War Memorials', p. 69.

¹³ A recent analysis, based on 38,213 memorials listed in the Inventory, recorded 34% as being plaques, and 12.5%, the next largest category, crosses (Gregory, *The Last Great War: British Society and the First World War*, pp. 257-259).

¹⁴ The category Tablet has been used to cover all artefacts, whatever the material, whose primary purpose was to display text; rolls of honour on paper or parchment are therefore included in this group.

Table 3: Types of War Memorials in Huddersfield¹⁵

Type	Communal		Individual		Totals	
	Nos	%	Nos	%	Nos	%
Building	3	2.1	2	1.4	5	3.5
Church						
<i>Furnishings</i>	10	6.9	7	4.9	17	11.8
<i>Organ</i>	3	2.1	0		3	2.1
<i>Window</i>	10	6.9	0		10	6.9
Column or Obelisk	4	2.8	0		4	2.8
Cross	6	4.2	0		6	4.2
Endowment	1	0.7	0		1	0.7
Statue	1	0.7	0		1	0.7
Tablet						
<i>Names listed</i>	74	51.4	9	6.2	83	57.6
<i>No names</i>	6	4.2	0		6	4.2
Other	7	4.9	1	0.7	8	5.6
<i>Totals</i>	125	86.9	19	13.2	144	100

Additions to the internal furnishings of churches and chapels were the next most frequent element in communal memorials. They were also as popular a choice for individual commemorations as tablets. The additions ranged from changes which affected the entire appearance of a place of worship, such as the erection of chancel or rood screens¹⁶, and the creation of new altars or holy tables¹⁷, to much smaller

¹⁵ Where the memorial created by a particular community or for an individual contained a number of elements of different types they have been counted separately for the purposes of this table. The elements classified above come from 87 memorials. For the sake of completeness, the borough memorials discussed in Chapter 4 have been included in this table.

¹⁶ St Philip, Birchencliffe (P T Crowther); St Thomas, Longroyd Bridge (R H Owen); and Christ Church, Woodhouse (M H Graham).

¹⁷ St Cuthbert, Birkby; St Andrew, Huddersfield; St Paul, Huddersfield; St Peter, Huddersfield; Lockwood Baptist (T Wilson); and Christ Church, Moldgreen.

additions such as lights and hymn boards.¹⁸ Complex and expensive schemes in the form of new windows, and new or rebuilt organs, also form significant sub-groups.¹⁹

The symbol of a successful church or chapel in early twentieth century life was an Institute. The parish magazine of Emmanuel church, Lockwood, informed its readers, in December 1918, that the bishop believed that no modern town parish would be properly equipped without an Institute in future, which must carefully balance social and educational needs. With a rather different emphasis, the Minister of Hillhouse Congregational church, Fartown, told his annual church meeting, in February 1919, that they needed to replace the wartime YMCA for those returning from war, to “hook the men to...their spiritual home with hooks of steel”. In some cases it was the justification for a new building, in others a redesignation, and often redesign or at least redecoration, of existing spaces for Sunday schools, church business and social events. A church with a thriving institute was seen as not only caring for its own congregation of all ages but also extending its influence into the surrounding area. It is not surprising that the intense focus on the young men, both dead and returning, gave these developments further impetus. It is not always possible to establish whether the creation of an Institute in a particular instance was an entirely new building project or not, so the category of Buildings in the Table may give the impression of more substantial physical changes than was actually the case.²⁰

Art historians and others have written at length on the iconography of war memorials. However, material for such discussion is distinctly sparse in Huddersfield. Only one statue, a small number of open air crosses, and an even smaller number of variants on the general theme of columns and obelisks were erected in the borough.²¹ The creation of new windows is relevant, and there are some references to plaques and rolls of honour being embellished with decorative

¹⁸ St Peter, Huddersfield (cross and candlesticks: C D and G W Brook); Oakes Baptist (communion set: “in memory of the Spered”); St Stephen, Lindley (communion rails and a reading desk); Thornhill Wesleyan (platform chairs and a vase); Lockwood Baptist (hymn boards: C W Brook); Christ Church, Moldgreen (candlesticks and a cross); and Christ Church, Woodhouse (sanctuary lights: T A Crosland).

¹⁹ See pp. 171, 176-179 below.

²⁰ The Buildings category also contains the Tolson Memorial Museum and the Roebuck Memorial Homes.

²¹ The colonnade with cross-topped column in Greenhead Park has been included in this category.

elements²², but, in general, symbolic imagery does not seem to have appealed to the many different groups involved in commissioning memorials. Cost no doubt played a significant part in this, but the absence of any extensive familiarity with classical motifs amongst decision makers, and the heritage of a Protestant distrust of imagery, were probably as influential.²³

Two examples of the use of crucifixes from France are included in the category “Crosses”. The Swallow Street shrine, erected by a predominantly Roman Catholic community, included a brass figure of Christ saved from the ruins of a church in France.²⁴ All Hallows, Almondbury, had a crucifix saved from Rheims Cathedral hanging above its Roll of Honour, which was later joined by a framed letter from the Archbishop of Rheims, permitting the church to keep the relic.²⁵

The small group of memorials classified as “Other” in the Table, included a silver bowl and a gold medal, to be awarded as billiards trophies²⁶, and five instances of portraits of the fallen being permanently displayed.²⁷ The tree planting and the large oil painting, already described in the chapter on the borough-wide memorials, are also included in this category. The only endowment listed is that of the borough’s Royal Infirmary.

²² Two tablets were reported to have included “pictus sert(i)us mosaics” (St John, Newsome; All Saints, Paddock), Almondbury Grammar School’s bronze plaque had a small relief of St George and the Dragon, and the Borough Council’s Roll of Honour for its employees was embellished with flags, the coat of arms, and a laurel leaf border. The latter type of decoration may well have been relatively common for paper or parchment rolls, or those composed of painted wood, as ornamenting them was easier and cheaper than placing motifs on stone or metal. Reference to the impact of colour on the figures depicted on the roll of honour in the vestibule of the New Church in Dalton, suggested that that was such an artefact.

²³ See Chapter 1, p. 5, Chapter 4, p. 105, and Chapter 8, pp. 242-243.

²⁴ HDE 23 Dec. 1918.

²⁵ The destruction of the cathedral by fire, in September 1914 became an iconic symbol of German atrocities and was depicted on posters, postcards etc. The church sought to be assured about the circumstances of the removal of the crucifix from the ruins before sanctioning its retention, and also made a contribution to the cathedral’s rebuilding fund. (Churchwardens’ Minute Book, Easter Vestry 1919; Church Council May 1923).

²⁶ Christ Church, Woodhouse.

²⁷ Cowcliffe and Netheroyd Hill Liberal Club; Park Road Wesleyan church, Crosland Moor; Fartown Conservative Club; Lockwood and Salford Conservative Club; and Mount Pleasant Wesleyan church, Lockwood.

Public and Private Space

The dominance of the tablet as the main form of memorial also indicates that most of the town's commemorative symbols were erected in private space; that is, inside buildings. They were sited so as to be at the heart of the communities whose members were being remembered, whether that was a place of worship, a clubhouse or a schoolroom.²⁸ However, not all followed that pattern. Newsome Mills placed their plaque on the outside of the main building, and that for the Public Abattoir was also on an outside wall.²⁹ A few churches differentiated between the tablet for the fallen, which was placed in the main interior space for worship, and the separate roll of honour for those who had returned, which went into the vestibule. A few also chose the vestibule as the location for their main memorial.³⁰ Such choices suggest that the wartime pride in displaying the list of those serving for all to see was, in some cases, being carried over by placing the roll of honour where public and private space met, although usually reserving a place in the inner sanctum for those who had died.

An important group of Huddersfield's memorials was clearly placed in civic space, as the focus for the community of a geographical area, rather than a particular associational grouping. Visually, the two most impressive were Fartown and Birkby's soldier bronze, placed on a terrace facing into the centre of Norman Park, and Longwood's ornate obelisk, located at the meeting of three roads. In contrast, Lowerhouses and Longley's small plain obelisk, in the green recreational space

²⁸ The centrality of billiards in social life was reflected in the placing of memorials in billiards rooms (Cowcliffe and Netheroyd Hill Liberal Club; Fartown Conservative Club), or the presentation of memorial trophies for the game (Christ Church, Woodhouse). St Mark Longwood lamented that the young men had deserted the church institute in favour of the Conservative Club, as the latter had a full size billiards table, and hoped that the church would also have one soon (Church Council 4 Dec. 1918). (S Gunn, *The Public Culture of the Victorian Middle Class: Ritual and Authority and the English Industrial City 1840-1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), p. 94; D Bebbington, 'Evangelism and Spirituality in Twentieth-Century Protestant Nonconformity', in A P F Sell and A R Cross (eds.), *Protestant Nonconformity in the Twentieth Century* (Carlisle: Paternoster Press, 2003), 184-215, p. 189).

²⁹ *Yorkshire Post* 10 Mar. 2008; HWE 28 Aug. 1920.

³⁰ In Lindley, for example, Oakes Baptist and Thornhill United Methodist had the church interior plus vestibule arrangement, whereas Salendine Nook Baptist had its sole memorial in the vestibule.

formed by a road junction, is easily missed.³¹ Birchencliffe's painted wooden Roll of Honour, erected on a piece of empty ground, and the Dock Street and Swallow Street memorials in the centre of town, both relating to just a couple of streets, were also all in civic space.³² A more debateable member of the group is the memorial at Deighton Working Men's Club. Its obelisk stands in front of the clubhouse on ground within the Club's boundaries. The dedication of the memorial brought together the parish church, and the United Methodist chapel in Deighton. The newspaper report of the event was headed "Deighton Roll of Honour". The obelisk used, as part of its inscription, a verse which began "Sons of this place..." and the Club is not mentioned explicitly anywhere in the text. No records survive for the Club or the Methodist church in the relevant period; those for the parish church, Christ Church, Woodhouse, do not address the question. However, the case for regarding this as a civic rather than an associational memorial is considerably strengthened by events in later years. In 1920, one year after the dedication, the parish magazine referred to a procession around the boundary of the area commemorated by the memorial. Recollections of the Whitsuntide crownings of Sunday School Queens in the 1930s referred to the processions pausing at the memorial to lay wreaths or bouquets.³³

A more widespread area of uncertainty surrounded memorials placed in or outside Church of England churches throughout the borough. In constitutional terms, the parish church and its graveyard were undoubtedly civic space, given the rights of all residents, Anglican or not, in relation to the Established Church.³⁴ However, in the context of the commemoration of the war, what that meant emotionally and practically varied considerably. As late as 1960, a member of the Old Contemptibles Association was featured in the local press as having been campaigning since 1945

³¹ See Appendix A, Figures 4, 5 and 6.

³² Birchencliffe is no longer extant, although a fragment is said to be in the porch of St Philip's parish church. Swallow Street and Dock Street were both moved when their original locations were demolished, and both are now believed lost. There may also have been a drinking fountain in Outlane, but, if the project did come to fruition, the resulting construction has disappeared.

³³ Magazine Aug. 1920; H Wheeler, *Huddersfield in Old Photographs: A Second Selection* (Stroud: Alan Sutton, 1990), pp. 68-69.

³⁴ *Halsbury's Laws of England* (4th edn.; London: Butterworth, 1973), Vol. 14 Ecclesiastical Law, sections 561-562.

for a memorial to commemorate the dead of both world wars, on the grounds that Paddock had never had a memorial for the dead of the Great War. In fact, the parish church of All Saints had dedicated a window and a mosaic tablet for that purpose in October 1920.³⁵ The old soldier's view may well have been shared more widely, as funds were finally raised to erect a stone shelter and garden at the main crossroads, with a dedication to the dead of both World Wars.³⁶

In the case of Paddock, the lack of local records or histories makes identifying reasons for a possible distrust of the parish church, and its appropriateness as a place of community commemoration, difficult.³⁷ In Birchencliffe, it is much easier. The parish church's own history characterised the Vicar of the period, Revd J T Taylor, as "the holiday parson" who regarded parish visiting as somewhat beneath him, and who was a hypochondriac.³⁸ It is not therefore surprising that Birchencliffe should have had a community-based rather than church-based Soldiers' and Sailors' Comforts Fund throughout the war, and that that body was responsible for the erection of a community war memorial, not in the church or the graveyard, but on a piece of empty ground near the church, donated by a local man. The Vicar was present at its dedication, and said prayers, but was not explicitly recorded as dedicating the memorial. The church itself consecrated an oak chancel screen to the memory of the son of an influential local family, in July 1919, but had no other memorial to the Great War.³⁹ In contrast, Holy Trinity, Huddersfield, described by its Vicar, in March 1918, as "dominated by the well-to-do" with "a certain tradition and air about the place which would keep it from becoming for some considerable time attractive to people in general", nevertheless gave practical support to all in the

³⁵ Ironically, the church is now a private house. After lengthy negotiations, the tablet has been loaned to the Huddersfield Drill Hall so that a focus for commemoration is once again available. The window is believed to remain in situ.

³⁶ HDE 12, 14 Nov. 1960. The Association was restricted to frontline members of the British Expeditionary Force Aug.-Nov. 1914 (Connelly, *Memory and Ritual*, p. 179).

³⁷ The presence of the Society of Friends meeting house in Paddock, a focus of support for conscientious objectors, no doubt made relationships in the area particularly tense during the war.

³⁸ Crowther, *A History of St Philip's Church Birchencliffe 1877 - 2002: The First 125 Years*, pp. 16-20.

³⁹ The present Great War memorial sundial in the churchyard dates from 1937 (and was cleaned, and moved, in 2002). It was erected when the original outdoor memorial had deteriorated beyond repair (HDE 27 Sept. 1937).

parish during the war, and dedicated its memorial to “men connected with this church and parish”.⁴⁰

At the other end of the spectrum, there were memorials in parish churches where the allocation of formal roles to non-Anglican individuals at the dedication ceremonies suggested a reasonable degree of community consensus that the location was appropriate for a memorial for the whole area, regardless of religious affiliation. It was a matter of celebratory comment in the *Examiner*, as a unique event in the history of Crosland Moor, that a memorial window and tablets with the names of the fallen were dedicated in the parish church of St Barnabas, with all denominations present, and over a thousand people attending.⁴¹

Between these extremes there are six places where the commemorative process and the location of the memorial suggested the creation of a sensitive balance between different views of an appropriate civic space for commemoration. In Longwood, and in Almondbury, memorials sat in prominent cross-roads locations. It has been suggested that memorials were erected at the main departure points in communities, as the last place families and their menfolk were together before setting off for war.⁴² However, in both these cases, the sites were also originally part of the parish church graveyards, but had been formally transferred from the church to a local community body for the purpose of erecting the monuments. In Almondbury, the discussions about a memorial began in the parish church council but, after a public meeting called by the church, decision-making moved to an external committee with representation from religious and secular organisations across the area. In Longwood, the Longwood Local Aid Society seems to have taken overall responsibility for the commemorative process from the outset. In Armitage Bridge, control was also in the hands of a committee representative of various bodies in the local community by the time of the dedication, but the memorial was sited in the parish church graveyard itself. As far as is known, the decisions concerning the

⁴⁰ The description was in a letter of 12 March to the Archdeacon, preserved loose in the Church Council Minute Book. For the dedication wording see Order of Service, 24 July 1921.

⁴¹ Anglicans, Baptists and Methodists were recorded as taking key roles in the ceremony, reflecting all the denominations with places of worship in the parish (HDE 28 Jan. 1921). For a more general discussion of interdenominational activity see Chapter 7, pp. 225-233.

memorial erected in the graveyard of Christ Church, Woodhouse, were made entirely within the church. However, local postcards always labelled it simply as the Sheepridge memorial, with no mention of its parish church location, and its inscription bears the same poem, "Sons of this place..." as the Deighton memorial. As well as the churchyard memorial, in the form of a cross, Christ Church also had a window, a tablet and a chapel of remembrance inside the church. Both All Hallows, Almondbury, and St Mark, Longwood, had memorials inside their churches in addition to those erected on the former sections of their graveyards. St Thomas, Longroyd Bridge, had a cross in the churchyard, facing out into the area, and a rood screen inside dedicated to an individual casualty. The decisions at St Thomas's seem to have been entirely internal.

Some of the factors influencing the choice and location of memorials can probably be inferred from the characteristics of the areas concerned. In addition to the impact of particular personalities, as at Birchencliffe, it is probably significant that Armitage Bridge and Longroyd Bridge were both dominated economically by industrial dynasties with strong Anglican and Conservative affiliations, the Brookes at Armitage Bridge, and the Starkeys at Longroyd Bridge. Almondbury also had a strong bias in the same religious and political directions, linked to the presence of the King James' School⁴³, and to the influence of the Earls of Dartmouth and of the Brookes. Longwood had a Grammar School with close links with the Church of England but, in that area, the influence or otherwise of the Anglican establishment may have less important in determining the location of the memorial than the community's long history of interdenominational cooperation in support of charity. Longwood Sing, established since 1873, had raised so much money for the Huddersfield Infirmary that its founder was made a life member of the Board.⁴⁴

⁴² Brown, 'Recording War Memorials', p. 218.

⁴³ Local feelings against the Headmaster of the School had reached such a pitch in the 1890s, over what was seen as his fuelling of class conflict over the split in rugby, that he was stoned in the village and caricatured in the press (Dowling and Hargreaves (eds.), *King James's School*, pp. 25-26).

⁴⁴ Unlike the denominationally competitive rituals of Whit Walks, Sings were much more cooperative events celebrating the musical life of the area and supporting worthy causes. They were particularly popular with Nonconformists but were also supported by the Church of England. Longwood Sing's founder, Jabez Iredale, had also founded the local Working

Whether the Longwood Local Aid Society existed before the war is not known but the machinery necessary for the Sing was an obvious precedent for community-wide support during the war. Churchmanship may also have played a part. St Thomas's was Huddersfield's only church with a strong Anglo-Catholic tradition. Christ Church, although firmly in the mainstream of Anglicanism from a national perspective, gave more prominence to the Church of England's Catholic heritage than the majority of churches in the area. Local people uneasy about a memorial inside those churches might have found a churchyard location far more acceptable.

Whatever the reasons, it seems that a number of communities in the borough felt that the sensitivities of all sectors of the local community would be best served by a degree of detachment from their parish churches. The use of part of the churchyard as the location for the memorial gave unfettered public access to all, yet preserved a link with the place where all their ancestors had traditionally been buried before the advent of graveyards attached to other denominational buildings and the cemeteries of local authorities and private companies. Where a formal transfer of ownership had taken place, individuals had more diverse ways of regarding the resulting location. In Almondbury, for example, the churchwardens' minute book had an anonymous note that, "the whole of the war memorial site is really still part of the churchyard". A speaker at the unveiling ceremonies at Longwood reminded his listeners that the memorial was placed on "sacred ground", although it seems likely that he meant that the location of any such memorial was sacred, rather than referring to the ground's previously consecrated nature.⁴⁵ It is also significant that, apart from Longwood, where the memorial was a classically-derived obelisk, all the other memorials are crosses. Wayside crosses and market crosses had a long history, not only as religious symbols but also as markers of boundaries and meeting places.⁴⁶

Men's Club. (A Griffith, 'Yorkshire Sings: A Musical and Social Phenomenon', *Huddersfield Local History Society Journal*, 11 (2000-2001))

⁴⁵ HDE 4 Sept. 1924.

⁴⁶ However, efforts to promote wayside crucifixes and calvaries, as opposed to crosses, were unsuccessful (E Hermitage Day, 'Wayside Crosses and War-Shrines', in K Kennedy (ed.), *The Crucifix: An Outline Sketch of its History* (London: A R Mowbray, 1917); King, *Symbolism and Politics of Remembrance*, pp. 73-74).

Decision Making

Although the means by which decisions were reached on the borough-wide memorials are reasonably well documented, those at local level are much more fragmentary. At the Longwood unveiling ceremony, a speaker asked that all the records should be deposited with the Mechanics Institute so as to be the property of the community for all time, but his hopes were not realised and the records, if they have survived, are in unknown private hands. Similarly, the local committees responsible for the decisions in Almondbury, Armitage Bridge and Birchencliffe are only glimpsed through occasional newspaper reports and references in the minutes of other bodies. The most ambitious of the local area civic memorials, that for Fartown and Birkby, also has no surviving records. But, as the area covered was so large, more of the process was reported in the local newspaper, and its correspondence columns revealed some of the tensions.⁴⁷ The resulting story probably gives a fair indication of the types of things which would have been happening in the other areas with civic memorials, where ad hoc groups representing different elements of the community were brought together.

The earliest reference to a memorial being planned for the two wards is from October 1917, when a local church was invited to appoint a representative on a committee.⁴⁸ A few days after the Armistice, a newspaper carried a notice requesting subscriptions, accurate information on names, and lady volunteers for the Fartown and Birkby Roll of Honour and War Memorial.⁴⁹ By June 1919, a public meeting was being held. Ostensibly for the purpose of initiating district visiting to collect names of the fallen and of all those who had served, the level of dissent at the meeting, and in subsequent correspondence in the local paper, suggests that it was convened to head off trouble. The Committee already had a preferred scheme for a sculptural monument costing in the region of £750-1,000, although maintaining that "the people of the district must decide". Two speakers from the floor opposed the committee, both expressing a preference for the majority of the money to go to a

⁴⁷ Two council wards with 3,200 registered voters in 1918 (Balmforth, *Jubilee History*, p. 106).

⁴⁸ Hillhouse United Methodist church, Fartown, (Minute Book 26 Oct. 1917).

⁴⁹ HWE 16 Nov. 1918.

practical scheme benefitting the more unfortunate of the returning soldiers, with the addition of a simple memorial. All the money should not go on “stone and bronze”, on a monument “military throughout” and one which one of the speakers “doubted... represented the spirit of the boys who went out”. No vote was taken and the meeting was adjourned, a gathering of all the old soldiers of the district being urged on the committee.⁵⁰

The debate in the paper became increasingly bitter, with the efforts at conciliation by one of the committee’s co-secretaries being undermined by the combative stance of his colleague. References to the “Big Five” indicated a feeling that decisions had already been taken by an influential group of councillors and clergy.⁵¹ They were accused of raising money by false pretences, as those calling at homes collecting money had said that it was for a memorial tablet in Norman Park and almshouses. It was no answer to say that the funds raised were not enough for almshouses; the money would be forthcoming for a proper scheme. One of the co-secretaries was said to have regarded the main letter writer as showing “bad taste and ignorance”. He, in turn, described an almshouse project as “a fitting war memorial and would enshrine the spirit in which the lads went, the spirit of service and sacrifice, of real and true patriotism, a very different thing to the Brummagem tinsel patriotism suggested by the man in khaki stuck on a stone.” A tablet would be “chaste in design and beautiful in execution”, almshouses would be “harbours of refuge to those who, broken in the fight, are unable by their own efforts to augment the Government dole; and when this generation has passed away it would continue its appeal for service and sacrifice.” He would “stand bareheaded before a Garibaldi, a Lincoln, a Lloyd Garrison, a Shaftesbury, a Nurse Cavell, a Jack Cornwell or at the simple Kirkheaton grave of those martyred children”.⁵² But in front of a statue of a

⁵⁰ HDE 4 June, HWE 7 June 1919.

⁵¹ Councillor Arthur Sykes, an architect, and Liberal member for Birkby ward, Councillor Thomas Canby, dying and finishing business man, and Conservative member for Fartown, Revd Mark Richardson, Vicar of St John the Evangelist, Birkby, and Revd David C Tincker, Minister of Hillhouse Congregational Church, Fartown. Who was perceived as the fifth member of the Big Five is more difficult to decide; probably either the Committee Treasurer, Mr William P Yates, the head master of Fartown Grammar School, and Vestry Clerk of St John’s, or one of the Co-Secretaries, Mr Philip Lee (see Chapter 8).

⁵² This litany of heroes from both sides of the Atlantic, invoked reformers (Anthony Ashley 7th Earl Shaftesbury (1801-1885) – prime mover behind the Factory Acts and the Coal

warrior he saw only a “symbol of brute force – the suggestion of the ape and the tiger in man”.⁵³ However, the Committee was also under pressure from an opposing direction, namely from those who quoted the 1917 circular, “the form which the memorial will take depends upon the amount subscribed, and will be decided at a later date” and threatened to secede and plan their own memorial if that principle was breached. In the end, the views of the subscribers, particularly, no doubt, those capable of making substantial contributions, triumphed over those expressed in other forums. Certainly, by the beginning of August, a formal quotation for a bronze soldier on a plinth was being accepted. It was April 1921 before the memorial was unveiled, by which time the cost was £1,370.⁵⁴ Even then, the controversy was not entirely over. In July, the Huddersfield branch of the National Association of Discharged Sailors and Soldiers was sued by a member of its own executive committee over the disputed terms of his contract to photograph the memorial.⁵⁵

The overwhelming majority of the memorials created in the borough were, of course, those for individual associations: churches, schools, places of work, and recreational clubs. Here the question is not just of the survival of records, but also of the extent to which the decisions relating to the commemoration of war were taken within the organisation’s existing formal structures.

A good overview of the commemorative process should be available for the Nonconformist churches, given their reputation for having some of the most complete sets of records available for private bodies. However, the reality is rather different. In the most extreme cases, memorials are known to exist and minutes

Mines Act regulating child labour; and William Lloyd Garrison (1805-1879) - founder of *The Liberator* in the United States, and associated with campaigns against slavery, for female suffrage, and for temperance, he was also a pacifist, and had made a speaking tour in the UK), fighters for freedom (Abraham Lincoln (1809-1865) – 16th United States President, a key figure in the abolition of slavery, and famous for the Gettysburg address at the dedication of the Soldiers’ National Cemetery in 1863; and Giuseppe Garibaldi (1807-1882) – hero of the Italian independence movement), victims of the Great War (Edith Louisa Cavell (1865-1915) – a British nurse shot by the Germans, famous for her statement “patriotism is not enough”; and John Travers Cornwell (1900-1916) – “Boy Jack” awarded a posthumous VC at the battle of Jutland), and victims of capitalism (17 girls died on the night shift behind locked doors in a factory fire, in February 1818). Unfortunately, the identity of the writer, who wrote under the pseudonym “Hopeful”, is not known.

⁵³ HDE 18, 24 June, HWE 7, 21, 28 June 1919.

⁵⁴ HWE 5 July, 9 Aug. 1919, 25 Sept. 1920, HDE 4 Apr. 1921.

⁵⁵ HDE 14 July 1921.

survive, but they contain no trace of a memorial. The Wesleyan church at Gledholt, for example, has Trustees and Leaders minutes covering in some detail wartime matters, but neither mentioned the creation of their Roll of honour displaying those who died, and those who served and returned.⁵⁶ Mount Pleasant Wesleyan church in Lockwood also has both Trustees and Leaders meeting minutes extant. It had three elements to its memorial: an Institute, a tablet in the chapel, and pictures of the fallen in the school, none of which would be known were it not for the newspaper reports of the opening and dedication ceremonies.⁵⁷ At Hillhouse Congregational church, Fartown, the Church Minute Book contains no reference to the decision to create a Peace Memorial Institute, or its subsequent opening ceremony, despite the fact that the Pastor's proposal to the annual church meeting was reported in the newspaper, as was the opening ceremony.⁵⁸ The Church Minute Book of the Great Northern Street Congregational Church, Huddersfield, recorded the unveiling of a memorial tablet as a past event but has no trace of its genesis.⁵⁹

Explanations for the patchy record are not easy to identify. In some instances there was clearly tension within the formal structures of governance. A particularly unpleasant episode occurred at the United Methodist church in Brunswick Street, Huddersfield, where the Trustees refused to authorise payment of the account for the brass memorial tablet, saying that the committee which ordered it should pay for it, as the Trustees had not agreed the costs. Although that might have been strictly correct, the decision to have a memorial had been the outcome of a joint meeting of Trustees, Leaders and the School and, subsequently, the Trustees had repeatedly deferred a decision on the exact positioning of the tablet until it was received and ready for fixing. A compromise was reached whereby the Trustees, the School and the Church each paid a third of the bill.⁶⁰ At the Baptist church in Birkby, the only explicit reference to the war memorial is in the annual report, presented to the church meeting, which recorded the unveiling of a Roll of Honour a few months earlier. However, there are brief references in the Church Meeting Minute Book to the

⁵⁶ The memorial was recorded in the Kirklees War Memorial Survey, in April 1995.

⁵⁷ HWE 11 Oct. 1919, HDE 2, 4 Dec. 1920.

⁵⁸ HDE 6 Feb., 13 Mar., 2 June 1919.

⁵⁹ 13 Nov. 1921.

⁶⁰ Trustees 2 Feb., 2 Mar. 1920, 28, 30 Oct. 1921.

creation of two committees, one a Returned Soldiers Committee and the other a Soldiers Room Committee, neither with terms of reference or any indication of their remit. The former was a large group including all the deacons, and members of the Finance Committee and of the Ladies Committee, whereas the latter had just five members. The most probable explanation is that one or both of these bodies steered the commemorative process throughout.⁶¹ The use of ad hoc committees may well be the explanation for most of the problems with the records. Both positive and negative reasons can be suggested for their use. A specialist committee, with representatives from various groups could, if it had the confidence of all concerned, sidestep much of the normal to-ing and fro-ing between committees, thus speeding up the process and maintaining a tighter focus on the matter. It could also arrange to consult those who were not members or regular attenders of the church but who regarded themselves as of the denomination, and whose menfolk had been part of the group who had received “soldiers’ comforts” during the war.⁶² On the negative side, if confidence broke down, as in Brunswick Street, the scars would be long lasting.

In contrast to the Nonconformist churches, the Church of England had no requirement for any committee structure prior to 1920, apart from that associated with church rates. After that point decision-making ought to be easier to trace but, once again, reality could be rather different.⁶³ The story of the holy table, reredos and memorial tablet, in St Paul’s Huddersfield, can be followed in some detail in the church council minutes up to the point where the statutory parochial church council was created, when it disappeared from the formal record entirely.⁶⁴ The new body’s records did, however demonstrate that its members had little idea of the context of their work, resolving to ask the Bishop at his forthcoming visitation “whether the resolutions and business of Church Councils have any legal standing”.⁶⁵ In Newsome, St John the Evangelist does not appear to have had a discretionary church

⁶¹ 29 Jan., 2 Apr. 1919, 28 Jan. 1920.

⁶² At Park Road Wesleyan Methodist Church, Crosland Moor, it was the comforts committee which carried on as the body responsible for the detailed work on its memorial (7 Feb., 24 June, 4 Nov. 1921).

⁶³ Church of England Assembly (Powers) Act 1919, and Parochial Church Councils (Powers) Measure 1921. Prior to that legislation, vestry meetings of all ratepayers, were the only corporate decision makers.

⁶⁴ 21 Mar., 6, 19 June, 7 July, 29 Oct. 1919, 16 Feb. 1920.

council. After the creation of the new parochial church council, a war memorial committee was appointed, but no further reference was made to the matter until the Vicar reported that the unveiling of a memorial (of unspecified nature) had taken place.⁶⁶

Occasionally, where the formal structures were fully utilised, and informative minutes kept, particularly if supplemented by surviving copies of magazines, the story can be followed in detail. Emmanuel parish church, Lockwood, is such a church. Its records demonstrated that the process of commemoration could be just as fraught within a single organisation as it was when attempting to combine the interests of the inhabitants of the two wards of Fartown and Birkby. From the spring of 1918, the Rector of Lockwood was determined that the church should have a Memorial Institute. Unlike some of the similar projects elsewhere, this was to be an entirely new building on land to be leased from the Ramsden Estate. For the next ten years, the project became an increasing burden and embarrassment to the parish until it was finally abandoned, and the monies already collected applied to the building of a new vestry and the abolition of pew rents. A significant part of the problem was the cost. The second of two elaborate appeals brochures had maintained that the capital sum required was about £3,000, with a further £100 per annum for maintenance, and that those sums could be met from donations, annual levies on church funds, and income from hiring of facilities. However, a more sober assessment made about eighteen months later, in December 1920, put the capital cost at over £10,000, and pointed out that even the purchase, erection and equipment of an ex-YMCA officers' hut would require about £2,000, over twice the amount of the funds in hand. That assessment was made after the Rector had departed to join a family-run East Coast prep school. It is difficult not to conclude that his personality was the main factor in the adoption of the Institute plan in the first place.⁶⁷ Once he

⁶⁵ Admittedly, the Vicar was absent (26 Sept. 1922).

⁶⁶ 26 Nov. 1920, 26 Oct. 1921.

⁶⁷ The Rector, Revd Alfred Hagen Gowe, had come to the parish from that of Holmebridge, not far outside the borough, towards the end of 1917, so stayed only two years in the post. Part of the problem may have been a degree of prejudice about his origins as, prior to his induction, he had announced in the parish magazine that he had changed his surname from Goetz, "As a British-born subject, I have decided to follow the example set in high places and renounce my former foreign sounding name and to acquire instead the family name

had gone, the church was not only free to be more realistic about what could be afforded, but it was able to change its overall priorities completely, and put all its efforts into creating a conventional war memorial plaque in the church; a project which was successfully completed by October 1923. It was the Rector's successor but one who oversaw the complicated procedure of obtaining the consent of the fifty or so subscribers to the Institute scheme for their contributions to be used for another purpose.⁶⁸

The changes in clerical leadership at Emmanuel were not unique.⁶⁹ In looking at the post-war records of the churches of all denominations, it should be remembered that there had been a degree of "holding on until after the war", which meant that there was then a surge of resignations and retirements of both ministers and lay officers⁷⁰, as well as the return from the war of many people who had now a much wider perspective from which to judge traditional ways of doing things.

Costs, Designers and Designs

Information about costs survives for only a minority of memorials and, within that group, figures are often estimates or quotations at the commissioning stage rather than final accounts, and it is often difficult to be certain whether all the elements of memorial and all the associated costs are represented. With those reservations, the available figures do give some indication of orders of magnitude. The lowest figures for a tablet are £25 at St James' Presbyterian church and £27 at Hillhouse Methodist chapel. At the other end of the range, a bronze tablet incorporating a relief of St George and the Dragon at King James' School, Almondbury cost about £165, which

which I sign below, not seeking to avoid identity in any way whatsoever, but simply availing myself of the right which in war-time is only allowed to British subjects." (Church Magazine Sept. 1919)

⁶⁸ Church Council 3 Feb. 1921 - 22 Oct. 1929, War Memorial Hall Minutes 23 May 1918 - 12 Oct. 1929, Parish Magazine Oct. 1918 - Nov. 1923.

⁶⁹ The Baptist church at Birkby lost a much loved and respected Pastor to the Principalship of Manchester Baptist College, in 1919. His successor resigned after six months, and the next Pastor was soon at the centre of turmoil which did not end until he agreed to leave after a formal arbitration by the Yorkshire Baptist Association. Stability did not return to the church until the end of 1923. (Church Minutes 13 Apr. 1919-24 Feb. 1923)

⁷⁰ In Highfield church, Huddersfield, the senior Congregational church in the area, no new Trustee had been appointed since 1878 [sic] and, by 1919, there were 7 members left from a

probably did not include the original design work. A brass tablet at Brunswick Street chapel cost £42-15-0, a mahogany and oak roll of honour and a bronze tablet at Trinity Wesleyan chapel, Fartown, together cost about £80. Tablets of unknown design or materials at Emmanuel parish church, Lockwood, and St Mark's parish church, Longwood, cost about £78, and between £75 and £100, respectively. Organs were the most expensive projects, ranging from £750 at Cowcliffe Wesleyan chapel and £790 at Taylor Hill Primitive Methodist chapel at Lockwood to about £1,000 at Hillhouse United Methodist chapel. Restoring an existing organ could be even more costly - around £1,800 at Buxton Road Methodist chapel.⁷¹ The cost of windows obviously reflected both size and complexity of design, Christ Church, Woodhouse, contriving to complete theirs for £100, whereas that in St Peter's, Huddersfield, was described as costing well over £1,000. Other relatively modest windows were completed at Wesley chapel, Lindley, for £195, at St Barnabas, Crosland Moor, for £350-400 (including two tablets), at Holy Trinity, Huddersfield, for £430 (including a stone tablet), and at St Mark, Longwood for £425, although St John the Evangelist, Huddersfield, rivalled St Peter's at £1,150. The difficulty of establishing what exactly the creation of an Institute involved is reflected in the diverse information about costs. The Memorial Institute at Parkwood United Methodist chapel in Longwood cost £1,266-4-3 but Mount Pleasant Wesleyan Methodist chapel managed to fund an Institute, a tablet and portraits of the fallen for about £350. A Peace Memorial Institute for Hillhouse Congregational church, Fartown, was estimated to cost between £600 and £700. Changes to church furnishings could also be accommodated within a variety of budgets. Whilst St Andrew's parish church, Huddersfield, spent about £700 on an altar, reredos, panelling, credence table and the redesignation of a chapel, St Paul's, also in the town centre, acquired a holy table, a reredos and a tablet for about £250. Christ Church, Moldgreen, was even more frugal with an altar, cross, candlesticks and a tablet for about £57. Tablets and a

total of 15, and 2 of those were completely inactive. Yet it was July 1922 before a new set of Trustees was in place. (Trustees 27 Dec. 1919, 22 June 1921, 20 June, 13 July 1922)

⁷¹ The status of the restoration project is no entirely clear. It was initiated and partly funded by Mr Norman Sykes, as a thank offering for his safe return from the war. However, the report of its re-dedication makes no mention of a memorial context. There is no evidence of any other war memorial in the church. (Trustees Minutes; HWE 12 Feb. 1921)

memorial chapel at Christ Church, Woodhouse, cost about £160. Information about the memorials in civic space is frustratingly sparse. The bronze of the soldier in Norman Park, with the associated bronze plaques commemorating the dead of the Fartown and Birkby wards, had a final contracted sum of £1,370. The only other indications of cost are for the cross in the churchyard at Sheepridge, for which the bill was £163, and a combined figure of £540 for the churchyard cross and rood screen in St Thomas, Longroyd Bridge, the greater part of which is probably attributable to the cross.

The cost of a memorial obviously reflected a number of factors, design, materials, location and suppliers being the most significant. For a tablet, the main variables were the choice of materials, wood, stone, metal, ceramic, and the gradations within that – granite, marble or sandstone, brass or bronze, etc. – and the type of lettering – painted, engraved in relief or incised, or applied in a different material. A careful adjustment of those choices could help ensure that a community could create an affordable memorial which satisfied the main criterion, that of naming the dead in a dignified manner. The expertise called for was well within the normal range of work carried out by firms in a town the size of Huddersfield prior to the war, so familiar contacts and procedures could be used. The designers and makers of tablets are not often named but, where they were, the use of local resources was clear. The firm of Thomas Kendalls, engravers, and Mr Joseph Spratt, sign writer, were each mentioned a number of times⁷², as were other local tradesmen.⁷³ Going outside the area for a tablet seemed to have been very unusual.⁷⁴ If a particular community included someone with relevant skills, they might offer to

⁷² Kendalls: Brunswick Street United Methodist, Hillhouse United Methodist, St James Presbyterian, and Christ Church Woodhouse; Spratt: Birkby Baptist, Crosland Hill Wesleyan, Dock Street, Taylor Hill Primitive Methodist, and Emmanuel, Lockwood.

⁷³ Fred Haigh, joiner and cabinet maker, and Thomas Ellis, painter, for Birchencliffe; William Topham, joiner, at Taylor Hill Primitive Methodist; Preston Brothers, manufacturing stationers, and Varley & Son, painters, at Christ Church Woodhouse.

⁷⁴ The Wesleyan church at Netherton, whose sole memorial was a brass tablet mounted on oak, used Messrs George W Hammer & Co Ltd, London. A specialist firm of makers of tablets and brasses, F Osborne & Co Ltd, London, supplied the tablet for Huddersfield College, which was designed by Herbert Wauthier who was associated with the company. The other examples are explained by their association with a memorial window, where the tablet was supplied as part of the overall commission (Holy Trinity, Huddersfield, St John. Newsome, and All Saints, Paddock).

contribute by supplying part or the whole of the memorial at no more than the cost of materials. The art master at Almondbury Grammar School, Bradley Shaw, designed their tablet.⁷⁵ At Emmanuel parish church, Lockwood, Alderman Joseph Berry volunteered to produce a new design for a memorial tablet when both the original submissions were considered unsatisfactory, one being too plain and the other out of keeping with the style of the church.⁷⁶

Major alterations to church interiors, or the building or adaptation of auxiliary premises to create an Institute, were also familiar if occasional types of activities. Much general expertise was again available locally and, in addition, there were national firms which specialised in the ecclesiastical market and had catalogues with examples of the small and large items which could be supplied. St Paul, Huddersfield, used a local architect and surveyor, J W Cocking, to design a holy table, reredos and commemorative tablet, whilst St Cuthbert, Grimscar, commissioned a carved oak altar with riddell posts and hangings from the Warham Guild in London.⁷⁷ Making or repairing organs was again something which was an established trade, albeit a highly expert one. Huddersfield had its own organ builders, Peter Conacher & Sons. Although there were probably more stained glass window specialists in the country than organ builders, the nearest to Huddersfield were in Leeds.

In a town which had not favoured statues to local worthies, local expertise on which to draw for memorials in the open air was less obvious, although by no means absent.⁷⁸ From the limited descriptions in the newspapers, it is evident that the Dock Street and Swallow Street shrines, and the Birchencliffe Roll of Honour, were created using the same type and level of craftsmanship as the tablets inside buildings, with

⁷⁵ At the school 1901-1920, so would have taught many of the men concerned (Dyson, *Almondbury School*, pp. 240-243; Dowling and Hargreaves (eds.), *King James's School*, p. 29).

⁷⁶ Parish Magazine Aug., Nov. 1922, Oct. 1923.

⁷⁷ St Paul Church Council 6, 19 June, 7 July 1919; St Cuthbert HWE 7 May 1921. Both the wording, "holy table" as opposed to "altar", and the suppliers, indicated the different traditions of Anglicanism in the two churches. The Warham Guild was committed to full exploitation of the Ornaments Rubric of the Book of Common Prayer from a "high church" perspective.

⁷⁸ See Chapter 2, p. 60.

the addition of glass frames to protect them.⁷⁹ The obelisks created at the Deighton Working Men's Club, and the Lowerhouses and Longley Recreation ground were simple structures with an obvious design provenance in parts of almost any Victorian graveyard or cemetery.⁸⁰ The four open air memorial crosses in the borough demonstrated the range of choice available to those commissioning that type of memorial.⁸¹ At one extreme, two were designed by Sir Charles Nicholson, the architect of the borough memorial, whilst, at the other, a local firm of monumental masons supplied the third cross; and a local architect produced the design for the fourth, with a monumental mason executing it. Nicholson's reputation had been built on his expertise in designing Gothic buildings, and he would not have needed the efforts of the Wayside Cross Society to remind him of the long tradition of the genre.⁸² The two he designed for Huddersfield had similar stepped bases but very different heads. That at Almondbury was a relatively plain Latin cross with foliated arms, appropriate for a memorial in civic space commissioned by an inter-denominational group. For St Thomas, Longroyd Bridge, he created a lantern cross with the crucifixion scene within the lantern head, reflecting the Catholic tradition of the church, but depicting a strictly biblical scene suitable for a wider audience. Mr E W Lockwood, the local designer of the cross at Armitage Bridge, created a lightly ornamented, Latin cross at its head⁸³, but placed it on a substantial six-sided cylindrical base to carry all the inscriptions. Demonstrating a different tradition, Norman Jury Ltd provided Christ Church, Woodhouse, with a roughly textured Celtic cross with bosses on the head, placed on a stepped base. Around the base, on four small rough-cut boulders, were the names of twelve army and navy battles, three on each stone.⁸⁴

⁷⁹ HDE 29 Oct. (Dock Street), 23 Dec. (Swallow Street), HWE 23 Nov. 1918 (Birchencliffe).

⁸⁰ See Appendix A, Figures 6 and 7. A local painter and decorator, Mr Raistrick, designed the Deighton Club obelisk (Christ Church Woodhouse Parish Magazine, July 1919). No details of the Lowerhouses and Longley memorial are known.

⁸¹ See Appendix A, Figures 8-10, 13.

⁸² See Chapter 4, p. 102, and Chapter 5, p. 146.

⁸³ Similar to that at Almondbury, unveiled six months previously, so possibly influenced by it. Irvin Mallinson was the monumental mason.

⁸⁴ Mons, Loos, Ypres, Givenchy, Somme, Neuve Chapelle. Arras, Bullecourt, Cambrai, Jutland, Falklands, Suvla Bay.

The battle honours at the base of that cross linked it with the design of the Longwood civic memorial, the most elaborate of all the local commemorative symbols in the borough.⁸⁵ On two sides of that memorial, heavy bronze ropes connected ten plaques each bearing the name of a battle.⁸⁶ The tapering stone column bearing those plaques had a stone cross with wreathed head in relief on its front face. The column was topped by a pediment crowned by a stone pine cone, set on a stepped base. The design thus combined Christian and classical tributes to the dead. The cross's dimensions and positioning made it easy to see it as a reversed Crusader sword, the wreath had associations with both classical victory and Christian burial, and the pine cone, an ancient symbol of masculinity, fertility and immortality, was also sometimes placed at the top of depictions of the Tree of Life.⁸⁷ Both the design and execution of the bronze figure of a soldier in Norman Park were those of Hart, Sons, Peard & Co Ltd of Birmingham. Those involved in the decision making for that memorial, for the Fartown and Birkby wards, had close links with the commissioners of the Boer War memorial, also a soldier bronze, and the choice of the same firm can have been no coincidence.

It must have been tempting to think that using an individual or firm with a national or specialist reputation would ensure a more individual and higher quality memorial than would be obtained by using local people. However, in most cases, the reality was probably more complex. Local standards of craftsmanship for all but the most complex structures might well be as high as those elsewhere, and any limitations in the traditional range of design portfolios could be offset by copying or adapting images from elsewhere. The strengths of using local people were that face to face interaction was easier and faster, making both the original refinement of ideas and subsequent modifications far simpler. Although that process was rarely caught in any detail in minutes and newspaper reports, occasional glimpses showed that the role of the local tradesmen was not solely reactive. Joseph T Spratt, the sign writer,

⁸⁵ See Appendix A, Figure 5.

⁸⁶ Mons, Marne, Aisne, Ypres, Cambrai, Lens, Loos, St Quentin, Kut-el-Amara, Jutland.

⁸⁷ The designer, Ivor Beaumont, was a Longwood man and "an artist of more than local repute" according to the paper (HDE 4 Sept. 1920). He was probably the Ivor Beaumont who later became head of the Belfast School of Art, after training at the Royal College of Art in London. Thomas Judd & Co, London, manufactured the memorial.

was involved with at least five memorials in various parts of the borough.⁸⁸ By the time the Trustees of Taylor Hill Primitive Methodist church, Lockwood, were creating theirs, his experience enabled him to make suggestions about design and execution which addressed both aesthetics and costs.⁸⁹

In contrast, communication with those not based locally was much more reliant on formal written exchanges and occasional special journeys. Prior to the war, it would have been reasonable to expect a fairly high degree of personal attention and detailed interaction, albeit limited by the level of funding available. After the war, the volume of commemorative work was such that time was probably a far greater restraint than money for national firms and, unless a commissioner of a memorial was very influential or had an unusually large budget, the need to effect economies of scale by creating variations on a limited number of stock schemes must have become much more pressing. The skill would have been in presenting options to clients in such a way as to minimise their consciousness of that. If the outcome was a memorial which was different from others locally, even if almost identical to those further afield, then both parties would have been satisfied.

The statue of the soldier in Norman Park was one obvious case. It was the only such Great War statue in the borough, but the type is found all over the country, and an examination of the firm's order books would no doubt show that a handful of basic designs was customised for different clients by altering the details of uniform and equipment. Comparing Huddersfield's example with its predecessor from the same firm, in Greenhead Park, the latter is much more visually interesting.⁹⁰ The earlier statue was the outcome of a sketch by a local man, a full design by a member of staff at the *Illustrated London News*, and executed by a modeller at the Birmingham firm. Although the Boer War did produce a significant demand for military representations of ordinary soldiers, the volume bore no comparison with that after 1918.⁹¹

Stained glass windows were also a major area of interaction between local communities and specialist firms. Ten places of worship commissioned windows as

⁸⁸ See p. 172 above.

⁸⁹ 13, 30 May 1921.

⁹⁰ See Appendix A, Figures 3 and 4.

memorials in the borough, nine in parish churches, and one in a Methodist church. The suppliers are known in all but two cases.⁹² Three churches used Leeds-based firms⁹³, one a Liverpool company⁹⁴, two a famous London firm⁹⁵ and two individual designers who were based in the South of England.⁹⁶ The church records of East Street chapel, Lindley, are rather more informative about the process by which their window was obtained than the sources for the other churches. After the Armistice, the Secretary to the Trustees was asked to get the names of a few stained glass window makers with a view to obtaining approximate costs and designs. Replies were received, in March 1919, from Messrs Jones & Willis of Liverpool, Mr William Pope of Leeds, and Messrs Heaton, Butler and Bayne of London. The Liverpool firm's response was preferred, and it was asked to send a representative to confer with the Trustees. However, it does not seem that a face-to-face meeting took place. At the next meeting, it is recorded that Jones & Willis had sent several coloured drawings. It was agreed to ask the ladies for their views. A joint meeting of Trustees and Leaders, at the end of May 1919, was informed that a further sketch from the firm was promised. By the middle of July, a decision was made to order the "sepulchre window" at £195 inclusive of inscriptions, names, delivery, fixing and wire guards. The firm was asked "to make the wings of the angel more natural [!] and more in harmony with the colour of the rest of the figure". Letters and a further sketch were received, suggesting that the dates be 1914-1919, not 1918, and advising that the names of the fallen should only be included in the window if numbering ten or fewer. As it was thought that the total was 17, the Trustees agreed to opt for a

⁹¹ Gildea, *For Remembrance*, gives a good indication of the styles of memorial used.

⁹² In St John, Newsome, there are no surviving parish records, and the newspaper report described the window but did not name the "Leeds firm" responsible. However, the description of the accompanying ceramic memorial tablet strongly suggests that the firm was the same as that at All Saints, Paddock, (Kayll and Read) where a similarly described tablet was provided. At St Stephen, Rashcliffe, again with no extant parish records, only the existence of the window was recorded.

⁹³ Mr Charles E Steel was used by St Barnabas, Crosland Moor, and St Mark, Longwood, with Kayll and Read supplying All Saints, Paddock.

⁹⁴ The Wesleyan Methodist church at Lindley used Messrs Jones and Willis, a Liverpool branch of the parent company in Birmingham.

⁹⁵ James Powell & Sons (Whitefriars) Ltd, was the choice of St John the Evangelist, Huddersfield, and Christ Church, Woodhouse.

⁹⁶ J C N Bewsey was the designer for Holy Trinity, and Sir Ninian Comper for St Peter, both town centre churches.

brass tablet to be affixed near to the window.⁹⁷ Further minor suggestions about colouring were made. St Barnabas, Crosland Moor, did attempt to exercise more control over the process by preparing their own sketches of the window they would like and asking for a “religious modern window” in which “the idea of sacrifice should be borne in mind”. However, that was when they were dealing with a Mr Whall; some eighteen months later he had disappeared from the record and Mr Steele’s designs were under discussion. The final design was indeed on the theme of sacrifice and was modern, at least in the sense that it contained representations of servicemen with Christ.⁹⁸

There are three common themes in the windows for which design details are known. Either the Sacrifice and Resurrection of Christ, or His reign in Glory, is portrayed; the saints chosen are related to the nations of Britain, to the patron saints of the church, to martyrdom, or to a combination of these; and servicemen (and women) are depicted. Most of the imagery could be found in pre-war designs of the nineteenth century and earlier. The new element is the explicit linking of groups of ordinary people with named saints, all in the presence of a triumphant Christ. The evidence strongly suggests that the value of a window as an indicator of an individual church’s attitude to the war and its war dead is almost certainly limited to the choice of general theme, a choice which may itself have been restricted by the designs offered by the suppliers.

In contrast to the commissioning of stained glass windows, the process of creating a new organ or restoring an old one was always a unique effort. Although organ builders would be known for particular general types of organ, the specification for any individual one, given the physical, acoustic and stylistic characteristics of the intended location, could not be dealt with at arms length. Those specialist firms knew that they had to be able to deliver individual attention at locations across the country. In a place with a strong musical tradition, and a reputation as a cradle of organists, Huddersfield’s churches would be particularly

⁹⁷ Trustees 18 Feb., 30 Dec. 1918, 6 Mar., 8 Apr., 29 May, 15 and 29 July 1919.

⁹⁸ Church Council 13 May, 15 July 1919, 4 July, 5 Oct. 1920; HDE 28 Jan. 1921.

demanding clients.⁹⁹ Organs were at the centre of commemorative activity in four places, three new ones being commissioned and one extensive restoration put in train.¹⁰⁰

Inscriptions

Whether using local or national craftsmen, the choice of inscription was one area where the group commissioning a memorial had full control. That evidence has been found for 61 memorial inscriptions is, therefore, particularly useful.¹⁰¹ About two-thirds of the inscriptions included a quotation of some type, although the boundaries between the two groups cannot be precisely drawn. The inclusion of the phrase “Lest we forget”, for example, might be regarded as a generalised sentiment or as a direct quotation from Kipling’s *Recessional*. Only the (rare) inclusion of quotation marks in an inscription gives an unequivocal message about the context intended. Given that almost no evidence has survived of discussions about inscriptions, the problem of definition is further complicated by the certainty that those responsible for the original decisions would each have had their own views of the significance and origin of particular texts. In the example given, some would have judged the phrase on its face value, others would have associated it with a hymn, either during the Great War or as a product of the Boer War, and the number making a connection to a nineteenth century poem may well have been quite small, whilst those steeped in their bibles might have thought not of Kipling but of Deuteronomy 6:12 “...beware lest thou forget...”. Where quotations were obviously intended, the dominant source was religious. There were 17 inscriptions which include biblical texts, the most popular being Ecclesiasticus 44:14 “Their bodies are buried in peace; but their name liveth for evermore.” However, in all six examples, only the second part of the verse appeared, thus identifying the direct source not as

⁹⁹ Sir Edward Bairstow (1874-1946) was a native of Huddersfield, as was Sir Walter Parratt (1841-1924). Just before the war, “thirteen of the best buffets in Scotland” were said to be occupied by Huddersfield organists (Sir William Raynor at Primrose Hill c. 1913 (Oct. 1963 press cutting “Fifty Years Ago” in Primrose Hill Trustees minute book)).

¹⁰⁰ Taylor Hill Primitive Methodist church, Lockwood, used Conachers, and Hillhouse United Methodist church, Messrs Ernest Wadsworths Ltd, Manchester. The supplier for the new organ at the Wesleyan Methodist church at Cowcliffe, and the renovator of that at the Wesleyan church in Buxton Road, were not named.

¹⁰¹ Including 7 relating to individual commemorations.

the Bible but as the Imperial War Graves Commission's choice of those words to appear on the Great War Stone in the overseas war cemeteries.¹⁰² Nearly as frequent was the more conventional Christian text, John 15:13: "Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends".¹⁰³ Only one other text occurred more than once, Revelation 2:10, where the full verse reads "Fear none of those things which thou shalt suffer: behold the devil shall cast some of you into prison, that ye may be tried; and ye shall have tribulation ten days: be faithful unto death, and I will give thee a crown of life". One memorial used the extract "Be thou faithful unto death and I will give thee a Crown of Life"¹⁰⁴ and the other two simply "Faithful unto death".¹⁰⁵ The remaining biblical sources ranged widely: from the New Testament, John 3:16 "God so loved the world", Matthew 25:21 "Well done, thou good and faithful servant" and Romans 8:18 "The sufferings of this present time are not worthy to be compared with the glory which shall be revealed in us", and, from the Old Testament, Wisdom 3:4 "Their hope is full of immortality"¹⁰⁶ and Nehemiah 4:14 "Remember the Lord, and fight for your brethren, your sons, your daughters, your wives and your homes". The latter, being the choice of the Wesleyan Methodist church in Paddock, looks as though it was a direct challenge to the peace testimony of the Society of Friends on the other side of the street.¹⁰⁷ As well as biblical quotations, the memorial inscriptions with a religious origin included a phrase from the Te Deum, "Make them to be numbered with the Saints",¹⁰⁸ and a group of English translations of part of the Mass for the Dead, "Requiem aeternam

¹⁰² And later used on the base of the Cross of Sacrifice. The text was chosen by Kipling (Stamp, *Silent Cities*, p. 13).

¹⁰³ Already a very well-known text in relation to Christ, God and man, redeeming mankind by His death, the war gave it an added resonance but a more worldly context.

¹⁰⁴ Almondbury Grammar School.

¹⁰⁵ Lockwood Baptist, and the Wesleyan church at Netherton.

¹⁰⁶ The churchyard cross, Huddersfield St Thomas; part of window design, Paddock All Saints; churchyard cross Woodhouse Christ Church; and tablet Paddock Congregational.

¹⁰⁷ The full verse makes the point even more strongly "And I looked, and rose up, and said unto the nobles, and to the rulers, and to the rest of the people, Be not ye afraid of them: remember the Lord, which is great and terrible, and fight for your brethren, your sons, and your daughters, your wives, and your houses."

¹⁰⁸ Window in Longwood St Mark.

dona eis, Domine: et lux perpetua liceat eis”¹⁰⁹, rendered as either “Grant them, O Lord, eternal rest and may light perpetual shine on them”, “Rest eternal grant them O Lord” or “Grant them Lord eternal rest”.¹¹⁰ The window in St Barnabas, Crosland Moor, included the phrase “Mors janua vitae”.¹¹¹

Interestingly, none of the religious texts chosen in Huddersfield was listed in the Victoria and Albert Museum’s publication of 1919, *Inscriptions suggested for War Memorials*.¹¹² However, the influence of that publication can be seen in some of the other choices. The first stanza of a short poem contributed by Revd T F Royds was used for the obelisk in front of the Deighton Working Men’s Club, and for the cross in the churchyard of Christ Church, Woodhouse.

“Sons of this place let this of you be said,
That you who live are worthy of your dead;
These gave their lives that you who live may reap
A richer harvest ere you sleep.”¹¹³

Another contributor, J Maxwell Edmonds, was the source of an epitaph whose origins appear to be a mixture of Shakespeare’s Henry V and Simonides’ account of Thermopylae:

“How went the day?
Went the day well?
They died and never knew,
But, well or ill,
England, they died for you.”¹¹⁴

Unsurprisingly, the verse appeared on the memorial at the Huddersfield and County Conservative Club.

¹⁰⁹ The regimental chapel of the Duke of Wellington’s West Riding Regiment, in York Minster, also adapted this as “Aeterna fac cum sanctis tuis” for the cabinet enclosing the Roll of Honour.

¹¹⁰ Churchyard cross, Armitage Bridge St Paul; Almondbury and District cross; tablet Huddersfield St Peter.

¹¹¹ Attributed to St Bernard of Clairvaux, but probably more familiar from its use on cemetery entrances, and as the subject of some Victorian paintings.

¹¹² C Harcourt Smith (ed.), *Inscriptions Suggested for War Memorials* (Victoria and Albert Museum Publication No 133, London: Victoria and Albert Museum, and HMSO, 1919). The Preface explained that a letter to *The Times* had urged close attention to the subject matter of inscriptions, urging that they should be specially written or at least derived from English literature. The volume, part of which had been available for the War Memorials Exhibition (see Chapter 5, pp. 148-149), was a compilation of some of the suggestions received.

¹¹³ Harcourt Smith (ed.), *Inscriptions*, p. 25.

Kipling's *Recessional* also appeared in the Victoria and Albert Museum's publication, as did Rupert Brooke's "The Soldier" from which "There's some corner of a foreign field that is for ever England." was chosen by Zion United Methodist church, Lindley, for its roll of honour. Although the booklet did not entirely omit classical authors, it did exclude the most famous quotation from Horace "Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori".¹¹⁵ Although sometimes thought of as epitomising Great War commemoration, it appeared in its entirety in no Huddersfield memorial so far encountered, and in a truncated form in only two places.¹¹⁶ The Drill Hall memorial to the 5th Battalion of the Duke of Wellington's Regiment used only the latter part, "Pro Patria", and St Andrew's Huddersfield adapted it to read "Pro Deo et Pro Patria".

The Museum's booklet was not, of course, the only source of ideas. Much poetry had been published during the war, and there were always the resources from earlier times to be found on the bookshelves of the well-read. Wartime poems by Oxenham were the source for the inscription, "They died the noblest death a man can die, fighting for God, for Right, for Liberty" on the memorial in the Tolson Museum to the two dead nephews of the donor. The same source provided the following, printed in the souvenir service sheet at Zion United Methodist church, Lindley:

"And after!....
...What?
God grant the sacrifice be not in vain!
These valiant souls who set themselves with pride
To hold the ways...and fought...
And fought...and died;
 But, to the end of time,
The virtue of their valiance shall remain,
To pulse a nobler life through every vein
of our humanity."¹¹⁷

¹¹⁴ Harcourt Smith (ed.), *Inscriptions*, pp. 11-12.

¹¹⁵ Odes III ii 13.

¹¹⁶ It appears 362 times in the UKNIWM database (1 Mar. 2009).

¹¹⁷ From *All's Well* (1916) (<www.gutenberg.org> EBook #27126, 8 Mar. 2009). John Oxenham (pen name of John Arthur Dunkerley (1852-1941)) was the most popular poet during the war (Todman, *The Great War: Myth and Memory*, pp. 154-155).

A tablet in Emmanuel parish church, Lockwood, quoted Tennyson, “They wear a truer Crown than any man can weave for them”.¹¹⁸ Part of a Harrow School song appeared on a memorial to A H Crosland, in Christ Church, Woodhouse:

“So today and oh! If ever
Duty’s voice is ringing clear.
Bidding men to brave endeavour.
Be our answer “We are here”.
Come what will.
Good or evil.
We will answer, “We are here”.¹¹⁹”

Not surprisingly, a strong influence on the choice of non-religious inscriptions was the scroll issued with the medallion which went to every next of kin of the war dead, the “Dead Man’s Penny”. It read:

“He whom this scroll commemorates was numbered among those who, at the call of King and Country, left all that was dear to them, endured hardness [sic], faced danger, and finally passed out of the sight of men by the path of duty and self-sacrifice, giving up their own lives that others might live in freedom. Let those who come after see to it that his name be not forgotten.”

The wording did not flow easily but expressed important sentiments, and so tended to be used in an adapted form.¹²⁰ One inscription reduced the text to “These left all that was dear to them, endured hardness, faced dangers, and finally passed out of the sight of men, giving their own lives that others might live in freedom” and another only differed from this in changing “hardness” into “hardship”; a third took just the final part and amended it to “Let those who come after see that they are not forgotten”.¹²¹

The adaptations chosen for inscriptions derived from the Dead Man’s Penny Scroll form a bridge to the vocabulary used in the memorials without quotations, as well as to the descriptive material more generally. The words used, and not used, help to illustrate the ways in which the war and the deaths were seen. The lack of enthusiasm for Horace was reflected in the relatively low profile of equivalent sentiments in English. The phrase “King and Country” made six appearances, in a

¹¹⁸ From the end of his “Ode on the Death of the Duke of Wellington” (1852) (C Ricks (ed.), *The Poems of Tennyson* (2nd edn., Harlow: Longman, 1987), Vol. 2, pp. 480-492).

¹¹⁹ “Here Sir” (1888) by E W Howson, referring to the Harrow Roll Call (partially quoted in C Tyerman, *A History of Harrow School, 1324-1991* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 351).

¹²⁰ The wording was the outcome of a committee (Dutton, ‘Dead Man’s Penny’).

wide range of settings: Almondbury and District, and Fartown and Birkby¹²² civic memorials, the National School in Armitage Bridge, Newsome Mills, a Baptist chapel in Lindley, a Methodist chapel in Fartown, and a window in Christ Church, Woodhouse. Additionally, Great Northern Street Congregational church referred to “Country” but not “King”, and Mount Pleasant chapel, Lockwood, to “Nation”, again without pairing it with “King”. The supposedly ubiquitous phrase, “supreme sacrifice”, occurred only four times, none of them in either a civic setting or a parish church; and there were only two further examples of the use of “sacrifice” as a verb.¹²³ The dead were referred to as “fallen heroes” only once, in a Baptist context.¹²⁴ It is surely significant that Holy Trinity, Huddersfield, St John, Newsome, and Milton Congregational church, all chose to adapt and compress the quotations from the Dead Man’s Penny Scroll so as to omit the sections containing the words “sacrifice”, “King and Country” and “duty”, although the two Anglican churches included “freedom”, which was also used in two other inscriptions.¹²⁵ Indeed “duty” did not occur in any of the borough’s inscriptions¹²⁶, and “right” was used only once.¹²⁷

“High diction” did have its place - most men were described as giving or laying down their lives, rather than just dying, although that type of phraseology did have the practical benefit of avoiding the need to distinguish between those killed, dying of wounds and dying from other causes. More importantly, the convention emphasised the voluntary nature of their service, despite the realities of conscription, and thus carried forward the cherished ideal that the state did not have the right to

¹²¹ Holy Trinity, Huddersfield; St John, Newsome; and Ramsden Street Congregational church, Huddersfield.

¹²² The phrase used is actually “King and Nation”, “country” having been used earlier in the inscription.

¹²³ “Supreme sacrifice” occurred for post office employees, in Crosland Moor Wesleyan and Paddock United Methodist churches, as well as Great Northern Congregational church; “sacrificed” is in Emmanuel parish church, Lockwood, and the United Methodist church at Hillhouse.

¹²⁴ Lockwood Baptist.

¹²⁵ The National Schools, Armitage Bridge, and the Rugby Union Football Club.

¹²⁶ Except for the quotation from E W Howson’s poem.

¹²⁷ Again at the Rugby Club.

compel men to take up arms. The dead and those who served and returned were rarely described as “lads” in inscriptions; only two instances of that being found.¹²⁸

If explicit patriotism, the defence of English values, and chivalric language were not the foremost themes of Huddersfield’s permanent commemorative symbols, what were the dominant ideas? The answer is “God” and “Memory”. About a third of the inscriptions referred to the deity, almost all using the phrase “to the glory of God”, with two of those also thanking God for the return of men who served. Those references were in addition to those invoking God’s mercy on the souls of the departed without naming Him in the inscription, or those using biblical or other religious quotations. God was also invoked as part of a trilogy, “God, King and Country”, “God and King and Home”, “God, Right and Liberty”, or “Pro Deo et Pro Patria”. However, as all but three of those inscriptions were in churches and chapels, their use as evidence of attitudes to the role of God in the war is of limited value. “To the glory of God” also feels somewhat like a necessary shibboleth, warding off any criticism of the commemoration of the departed, or of any implicit commentary on the role of the divine will in war. Invocation of Christ was absent from all the inscriptions, leaving aside the handful of uses of verses from St John’s gospel which referred to but did not name Him. Only the churchyard cross at St Thomas, Huddersfield, had the petition “Jesu Mercy”.¹²⁹ It is difficult to conclude that the inscriptions in themselves give a picture of more than a very generalised religious belief.

There can be no reservations about the importance of remembrance as displayed in the inscriptions. In “memory”, “grateful memory”, “glorious memory”, “honoured memory”, “honoured and loving memory”, “loving memory”, “proud and loving memory”, “undying memory”, “affectionate remembrance”, “loving

¹²⁸ Birchencliffe, and St Thomas, Huddersfield. Although, in personal recollection, sons would always remain “lads” to their mothers, the wartime use of “our lads” mainly reflected two things: colloquial usage amongst male friends of all ages, and the perspective of an articulate minority for whom there had appeared to be an abrupt shift from schoolroom to battlefield. In contrast, the sons of most families had been wage earners, and important contributors to the domestic economy, from at least early teenage. By the time they were fighting and dying, they were unquestionably young men, not lads, and were naturally formally commemorated as such.

¹²⁹ Suppressing, in the interests of wider community acceptance, the second part of the standard petition, “Mary Pray”.

remembrance” - well over half of the inscriptions used those phrases. The use of the more formal “In memoriam” was minimal. The impression of a shared grief whose pain was to be somewhat alleviated by the presence of the memorial is overwhelming.

Inscriptions also shed additional light on the issue of the perceptions of civic space in relation to the Church of England. The roll of honour inside St Thomas, Huddersfield, explained that “To all who gave their life for England in the Great War AD 1914-1919 and among them especially the men and lads connected with the church and schools of this parish, we have reared the churchyard cross in grateful remembrance, praying God of His great love and mercy to receive their souls and admit them into His eternal peace.”; thus confirming that the memorial was not created for the church congregation alone. The cross in the graveyard at Christ Church, Woodhouse, also known as the Sheepridge memorial, bore the inscription “To the glory of God in honoured and loving memory of the men of this parish and district who fell in the Great War 1914-1919”, thus taking the function of the memorial even beyond the parish boundaries.¹³⁰ Two tablets within parish churches also made explicit reference to their function of commemorating all those in the area: St Stephen, Lindley, had “To the Glory of God and in Honoured Memory of the Men of this Parish who fell in the Great War” and even more precisely, in Emmanuel, Lockwood, “To the Glory of God, and in Honoured Memory of the Men of Lockwood Church and Parish who Sacrificed their Lives in the Great War, 1914-1918”.

Rhetoric

The inscriptions on war memorials carried a view of the dead, and of the returned, which was intended to be a permanent reminder of how each individual community had felt at the end of the war. Information about those feelings is also contained in the reports of addresses given at unveiling and dedication ceremonies. However, far fewer of those survive, and they pose largely irresolvable questions

¹³⁰ See the earlier discussion of these two memorials on page 162-163 above.

about their significance.¹³¹ They are, by their nature, the views of individuals whose representativeness cannot be determined. Moreover, the process of recording, extracting and condensing, prior to their inclusion in a newspaper report, can introduce a significant level of uncertainty about what was actually said or indeed meant.¹³² It is also inevitable that big ceremonies, or those involving national speakers, were the most likely to be covered by the papers.¹³³ Nevertheless, the frequency with which some themes recurred suggests a wider validity for them.

The memorial itself, whatever its physical form, was often described in terms of both a current function and one for the future. For the bereaved, the returning servicemen, and the community more generally, it was a reminder of what had happened and of those whose names were recorded. It surely evoked mixed emotions – “tears... thankfulness and pride”.¹³⁴ When all those with personal memories were gone it would still be there as “a perpetual witness” for future generations.¹³⁵ Children should be brought to it and taught about its significance, as “they would then... not look on the memorial as a tombstone, but as a living, real testimony to the usefulness of the great sacrifice made by their great and brave predecessors”.¹³⁶ Their participation in annual ceremonies would remind them of the “joy of service” and the “happiness of remembering the welfare of others”.¹³⁷ The ground on which a memorial stood “was sacred and...every man and woman and every boy and girl [should] defend and guard it as a sacred spot”¹³⁸, it should be “kept in a good state of preservation and free from disfigurement”.¹³⁹ Nevertheless, the role of the physical memorial, however long-lasting the “granite and bronze”¹⁴⁰,

¹³¹ Just over thirty reports of ceremonies included some information about speeches as compared with over sixty memorials for which the inscription is known.

¹³² Comments included in reports often ran to little more than a couple of sentences.

¹³³ About a third of the ceremonies for which some part of the speech was reported involved an individual from outside the borough.

¹³⁴ The Mayor at Birchencliffe (HDE 18 Nov. 1918).

¹³⁵ The Archdeacon of Huddersfield at Emmanuel (Lockwood Parish Magazine Nov. 1923).

¹³⁶ General Maxse at the dedication of the Sheepridge cross (HDE 31 October 1921).

¹³⁷ The parish church Lay Reader at the Deighton WMC memorial on the first anniversary of its unveiling (Christ Church Woodhouse Parish Magazine Aug. 1920).

¹³⁸ Mr J I Swallow, proposing the vote of thanks to all who at supported the Lockwood Aid Society's efforts to create their memorial (HDE 4 Sept. 1920).

¹³⁹ Councillor Jagger at the unveiling of the Swallow Street memorial (HDE 23 Dec. 1918).

¹⁴⁰ General Hamilton at the Fartown and Birkby ceremony (HDE 4 Apr. 1921).

was more limited than that which could be played by those who had the opportunity to change the world for the better; “we should build up in our lives a better memorial than any of wood and stone”.¹⁴¹

References to the problems of that post-war world were numerous, although only one speaker was recorded as referring explicitly to a “world fit for heroes”.¹⁴² “If the spirit shown in 1914 could be embodied in their lives... today, there would quickly be an end to trouble between capital and labour, and between class and class”.¹⁴³ By an end to “the barriers of class and creed”¹⁴⁴ and “better understanding between rich and poor, between masters and men... the conditions of a great many could be improved”.¹⁴⁵ “What if having conquered military paganism, England goes down before industrial paganism. Syndicalism aims at the universal strike; its avowed aim is to threaten the life of the community by the stoppage of supplies”.¹⁴⁶ “Our duty [was] to ensure that industries were fully employed, world-wide trade flourished and our goods went to the four corners of the world.”¹⁴⁷ More specifically, the plight of “the widows and children of the fallen”¹⁴⁸ was highlighted, as was the need for the country to “to pay its debts to the maimed and helpless”,¹⁴⁹ “the crippled and the broken”¹⁵⁰. Women who now had the vote were urged to use it “in the best interests of those who had fought for them and those left to mourn”.¹⁵¹ If ex-servicemen would put aside their differences, they had a good case which should be recognised.¹⁵² Confidence that solutions were being found was singularly lacking.

¹⁴¹ Mrs Benson at the dedication of the Almondbury and District memorial (HDE 17 May 1921).

¹⁴² Mr J E Bruce, at the Huddersfield Liberal Club (HWE 29 Oct. 1921).

¹⁴³ Revd Walls, Pastor of High Street United Methodist church, at the dedication of the memorial tablet at Hillhouse United Methodist church, Birkby (HDE 24 Jan. 1921).

¹⁴⁴ Archdeacon at Emmanuel Lockwood (Parish Magazine Nov. 1923).

¹⁴⁵ Councillor Jagger at the Swallow Street ceremony (HDE 23 Dec. 1918).

¹⁴⁶ Dr Townshend, the former Pastor, at the Baptist church, Birkby (HDE 17 Oct. 1919).

¹⁴⁷ Mr Ratcliff, a Bradford MP, at the Huddersfield Public Abattoir unveiling (HWE 28 Aug. 1920).

¹⁴⁸ The unidentified chairman of the Dock Street ceremony (HDE 29 Oct. 1918).

¹⁴⁹ Former CSM Hobson, responding on behalf of the servicemen at Mount Pleasant Wesleyan church Lockwood (HWE 4 Dec. 1920).

¹⁵⁰ Archdeacon at Emmanuel Lockwood (Parish Magazine Nov. 1923).

¹⁵¹ Councillor Platts in Dock Street (HDE 29 Oct. 1918).

¹⁵² General Hamilton at the Fartown and Birkby unveiling (HDE 4 Apr. 1921).

One speaker remarked that “the sacrifice had not had the effect they had hoped” but prayed that the dedication ceremony “would give new courage and inspiration”.¹⁵³

Looking beyond the country’s internal preoccupations, a desire for “a peace that should prevent any further war”¹⁵⁴, and that “other means [should be] devised to settle international disputes”¹⁵⁵, was heard, including a ceremony where the speaker urged his hearers to join the League of Nations¹⁵⁶. The men had known “that they fought to end all war for the good of future generations”.¹⁵⁷ Although two military speakers referred to the fate of the country if the war had been lost, “the despoiled vassals of a foreign state”¹⁵⁸, “under the rigorous and crushing government of the Hun”¹⁵⁹, and one clerical visitor from London spoke of German derision for British courage and ability¹⁶⁰, most speeches talked of the hardships and challenges of war in terms which could have been applicable to soldiers on both sides, rather than by demonising the enemy. Those who had served in the war, the living and the dead, had had “perils and terrible experiences”¹⁶¹, and had known “heroism, hunger, the cold and the fever”.¹⁶² “Under most trying and distressing circumstances”¹⁶³ they had displayed “cheerfulness in adversity... [and] unity of purpose”.¹⁶⁴ Consequently, “none had had a higher standing than the West Riding soldier for cheerfulness, courage, resolution and self-sacrifice.”¹⁶⁵ They had shown “self-sacrifice and self-denial... devotion to duty, and love of their fellow-men”¹⁶⁶, having “left comfortable homes and all friends to go out and endure hardships and give their lives for those at

¹⁵³ Canon Whorlow at the Fartown and Birkby ceremony (HDE 4 Apr. 1921).

¹⁵⁴ Alderman Wheatley at the Dock Street ceremony (HDE 29 Oct. 1918).

¹⁵⁵ Councillor Stephens at Longwood (4 Sept. 1920).

¹⁵⁶ Revd Walls at Hillhouse, Birkby, (HDE 24 Jan. 1921).

¹⁵⁷ Colonel Sugden at St Stephen Rashcliffe (HWE 17 Nov. 1923).

¹⁵⁸ Captain Walker at Lindley Zion (HDE 1 Nov. 1921).

¹⁵⁹ General Maxse at Christ Church Woodhouse (HDE 31 Oct. 1921).

¹⁶⁰ Dr Whitehead, son of a previous Pastor of the New Church, Dalton (HWE 24 Apr. 1920).

¹⁶¹ Mr Heeley, Salem Berry Brow (HWE 17 July 1920).

¹⁶² Dr Townshend at Birkby Baptist (HWE 18 Oct. 1919).

¹⁶³ Mr Charlesworth at Netherton Wesleyan church (HDE 31 May 1921).

¹⁶⁴ Colonel Sugden at St Stephen Rashcliffe, adding that that cheerfulness had had an impact on their French allies ((HWE 17 Nov. 1923).

¹⁶⁵ Captain Walker at Lindley Zion (HDE 1 Nov. 1921).

¹⁶⁶ Mrs Benson at Almondbury (HDE 17 May 1921).

home”.¹⁶⁷ Explicit references to patriotism were rare: “the country they loved and for which they died”¹⁶⁸, “the heroic dead... who counted not their lives dear in the face of the demand of King, country, God and Home”¹⁶⁹, and a plea “to keep alive the feelings of patriotism, one of the finest words in the English language”.¹⁷⁰ It was not just the local context of the commemorative ceremonies being reported which determined the focus on fighting for the communities they knew, rather than for a more generalised nation. A former officer told the story of a soldier dying in his arms, saying “They will be proud of us in Lindley when we get home”¹⁷¹ and the members of the Borough Police who had fought were commended for upholding “the honour of Huddersfield”.¹⁷² Even a General was anxious to highlight motives other than those traditionally voiced by his class: “they fought and died not for the glories of this world, still less for its possessions, but for fair play all round, to small as well as great, and for an everlasting end to war.” Equally unexpectedly, he pleaded for “compassion, generosity and magnanimity in victory”.¹⁷³

The fear that the unveiling of memorials would “open old wounds”¹⁷⁴ kept references to the bereaved short, albeit almost universal. “No [memorial] could tell of the quiet sorrow and suffering of parents and relatives”¹⁷⁵, whose “loving hearts [had] cheered them on, bravely bore uncertainty, the loss and the heart-break in the same great unselfish cause... They should be remembered as well.” It was hoped that “younger ones, seeing names of fathers, brothers and friends” on the memorial would find that “an inspiration, an example of duty fairly done and danger bravely borne”.¹⁷⁶ Some of the speakers referred to their own losses. A councillor and Sunday School teacher spoke of unveiling the memorial as “one of the most difficult tasks he had ever performed, as he had known all of the names inscribed and most

¹⁶⁷ Councillor Sykes at Fartown and Birkby, echoing the inscription on the Dead Men’s Penny Scroll (HDE 4 Apr. 1921).

¹⁶⁸ Mrs Benson at Almondbury (HDE 17 May 1921).

¹⁶⁹ Revd Tincker at Fartown and Birkby (HDE 4 Apr. 1921).

¹⁷⁰ Colonel Hoyle at Longwood Grammar School (HWE 31 July 1920).

¹⁷¹ Colonel Walker at Lindley Zion (HDE 1 Nov. 1921).

¹⁷² General Atcherley (HWE 1 Oct. 1921).

¹⁷³ General Hamilton at Fartown and Birkby (HDE 4 Apr. 1921).

¹⁷⁴ Mr Bruce at the Huddersfield Liberal Club (HWE 29 Oct. 1921).

¹⁷⁵ Councillor Jagger at Swallow Street (HDE 23 Dec. 1918).

¹⁷⁶ Colonel Walker at St Stephen Lindley (HWE 13 Aug. 1921).

had passed through his class".¹⁷⁷ Another teacher spoke of being associated with the young men named on the memorial for over twenty years. He had been looking forward to welcoming them into adult roles in the church and school when war came and now that hope had been thwarted.¹⁷⁸

The ex-servicemen had not only shared the experience of those who had died but they were also among the bereaved, whether through relatives or comrades. In almost all cases the rank and file were the silent participants in the ceremonies, being spoken of but not having a voice. However, the press recorded one exception, when a returned soldier spoke on behalf of comrades: "they had been sustained by the prayers of the churches and the lessons taught at home, and they gave thanks for the parcels and letters."¹⁷⁹ Huddersfield's MP contrasted "the hundreds and thousands of lads who had returned from the army unnoticed" with the reception given to men such as Hawker, "received in London as though he had beaten the whole of Germany", and Brown and Alcock, who had been knighted.¹⁸⁰

Overtly religious content in the addresses reported was by no means universal and sustained commentary of that type relatively rare. The soldiers had done what they had "in faithfulness to God, who gave us the victory"¹⁸¹, "God had enabled them to conquer, and stood by them in the time of trial"¹⁸², their courage had been "God-given".¹⁸³ "All that was best in the lives of those that had gone, and in the lives of those who had returned, was chiefly inspired by what that church had taught them. It was in the services of the church that these young men learnt how to put themselves upon the altar in the interests of others".¹⁸⁴ The men were "young Christian soldiers

¹⁷⁷ Councillor Woffenden at Hillhouse Birkby (HDE 24 Jan. 1921).

¹⁷⁸ Mr Heeley at Salem Berry Brow (HWE 17 July 1920).

¹⁷⁹ Former CSM Hobson at Mount Pleasant Lockwood (HWE 4 Dec. 1920).

¹⁸⁰ Sir Charles Sykes, at Hillhouse Congregational Church, Fartown (unidentified press cutting in Church Minute Book, relating to Welcome Home on 27 June 1919). L G Hawker VC (1890-1916) was an RFC air ace. J Alcock (1892-1919) and A W Brown (1886-1948) completed the first non-stop trans-Atlantic flight.

¹⁸¹ Mrs Benson at Almondbury (HDE 17 May 1921).

¹⁸² Mr Calam at Trinity Fartown (HWE 24 Dec. 1920).

¹⁸³ Captain the Revd Hiley, President of the Baptist Union, at Salendine Nook (HWE 16 Apr. 1921).

¹⁸⁴ Revd Walls at Hillhouse Birkby (HDE 24 Jan. 1921).

[who] saw a vision that they were needed and obeyed gladly to die in the fighting line".¹⁸⁵

Some attempts were made to introduce a Christian perspective. The Archdeacon of Huddersfield, preaching on the text "The righteous shall be had in everlasting remembrance", explained that "the righteous man is the man who is in a right relation with man and God. The man who does his duty is entitled to be called righteous"; "certain elements of the Christ-like spirit were shown by the fallen: breaking down of the barriers of class and creed, comradeship, cheerfulness in adversity, and surrender of self in the common cause."¹⁸⁶ The Vicar of Christ Church, Woodhouse, also addressed the question of righteousness, using part of a verse from Hebrews which recalled that Abel's sacrifice had been preferred to that of Cain. He spoke of the two types of sacrifice that had been made by the men of the district; the lesser was devotion to duty, the greater was giving up their lives "that we might inherit the greater glories of victory and peace. In this they closely followed Christ, and they who were now in God's keeping would be recognised in the great hereafter, when we could realise their nobler and purer lives beyond the grave".¹⁸⁷ A third clergyman, this time a Congregational minister, assured his hearers that the sacrifice of the soldiers and sailors had not ended with their death. "Their lives were perpetuated, they were continuing in another sphere their services of devotion and heroism so faithfully rendered here...If they could speak to them that morning they would say as they said in their letters on earth, "Cheerio. We are all right. Don't break your hearts for us."; ...one day they would meet them again".¹⁸⁸

Interestingly, it was two generals who made most of the theme of communication between the living and the dead. General Plumer, speaking at the Drill Hall, described those who had died as human like the rest of us but "when the All Merciful God sent out to men a summons to meet death in a manner which might otherwise be appalling, he sent them a strength and a courage that was His own to enable them to meet death like the Christian soldiers". He did not think he was

¹⁸⁵ The Vicar at St Thomas Huddersfield (HWE 23 Apr. 1921).

¹⁸⁶ Revd Harvey at Emmanuel Lockwood. The text is from the Psalms, 112:6. (Parish Magazine Nov. 1923)

¹⁸⁷ Revd Whorlow. The text of his address was from Hebrews 11:4. (HDE 31 Oct. 1921)

¹⁸⁸ Revd Tincker at Fartown and Birkby (HDE 4 Apr. 1921).

suggesting anything wrong by saying that “the dead men would receive the message (of steadfast memory) from this ceremony and that they would send one back (hold dear the honour of the regiment, the safety and freedom of the country, and the Glory of God).”¹⁸⁹ At the Fartown and Birkby ceremony, General Hamilton, pictured those present as “standing there, compassed about by a cloud of witnesses¹⁹⁰, visible and invisible”; they should “join hands in trying to guide our country along the lines the armies of the dead would have chosen”. If they felt that it was presumptuous of him to speak for the dead, “then let me call upon the dead to speak for the dead – soldiers for soldiers. Listen to the words of the most famous and most successful soldiers of antiquity.”¹⁹¹

It seems to have been left to the Baptists to introduce a sterner note into the commemorations. The President of the Baptist Union, himself a Forces Chaplain, cautioned that “soldiers were the last to wish to be seen as heroes or half-saints, they were human like their fellows”. There was “a need to abhor war not glorify it”.¹⁹² The Principal of Manchester Baptist College, addressing his old congregation at Birkby, took texts from the Old and New Testaments: “for herein is the saying true, one soweth and another reapeth”, “for they have sown the wind, and they shall reap the whirlwind” and “the fathers have eaten sour grapes and the children's teeth are set on edge”.¹⁹³ “Fathers, mothers, wives and lovers will carry their sorrows to the grave... reaping what the men on the Roll had sown”. “Our brothers believed in the triumph of spiritual force over physical force. They shattered the paganism of the

¹⁸⁹ HWE 6 Sept. 1924.

¹⁹⁰ A phrase from Hebrews 12:1.

¹⁹¹ HDE 4 April 1921. Then followed his plea for compassion, generosity and magnanimity in victory (see p. 190 above), citing Alexander the Great, Julius Caesar and Lord Kitchener. Hamilton, described by one historian as “intellectual, loquacious and left-leaning politically” (J Macleod, ‘The British Heroic-Romantic Myth of Gallipoli’, in J Macleod (ed.), *Gallipoli: Making History* (London: Frank Cass, 2004), 73-85, p. 74), certainly displayed an unusual sensitivity to the context of his audience. In Batley, a few miles from Huddersfield, when unveiling their memorial, in 1923, he paid a very specific tribute: “The men went forth into battle and the women wove the khaki. Miles and miles of khaki cloth poured out of Batley and the fighting men wore it, fought in it, died in, and were buried in it. So here today we have unveiled a figure of one of those brave Yorkshire fighters” (quoted in C Moriarty, ‘The Absent Dead and Figurative First World War Memorials’, *Transactions of the Ancient Monuments Society*, 39 (1995), 7-40, p. 37).

¹⁹² At Salendine Nook (HWE 16 Apr. 1921).

¹⁹³ St John 4:37, Hosea 8:7, and Ezekiel 18:2.

military ideal.” “The Christian Church must resist every form of physical force by proclaiming and practising the triumph of spiritual force.” Turning to those who had returned from war, he challenged them with “My brothers, your name is there; it will remain there; it is something to have your name on the roll of honour in a Christian church. But I am thinking of another roll of honour - the Lamb's book of life. Is your name written there?” Strong meat, particularly as, by implication, it also brought into question the status of the dead in that same “Lamb’s book”.¹⁹⁴

¹⁹⁴ HDE 17 Oct. 1919.

PAGE

NUMBERING

AS ORIGINAL

Chapter 7 – Spiritual Consolation through Words and Music

Speeches and sermons reflected the views of the speaker more reliably than those of the people addressed, however sensitively crafted with a particular audience in mind. The content of dedication ceremonies as a whole provides a better guide to those aspects of commemoration particularly important to individual communities. That is particularly so when, as in Huddersfield, iconographic analysis of the memorials themselves is of limited value. Only a handful of programmes for such ceremonies has survived¹, along with scattered references in minutes and magazines. The most comprehensive source is the Huddersfield *Examiner*. The degree of detail on individual unveilings varied considerably, but most reports had at least a little more than the basics of date, place, and purpose. It cannot be assumed that every dedication event made its way into the newspaper. However, as local reporting was the life blood of any local paper, maximum coverage was an important objective. Just over half of the memorials identified during the course of this research were placed within churches and chapels. For those located elsewhere, nearly half had an unveiling ceremony which had explicit religious content, such as a dedication by a clergyman or minister, hymns, or prayers. The remainder are split almost equally between those where the information available suggests no such religious elements, and those where the evidence is too slight to make a judgement. Consequently, ceremonies with no overt religious element, formed no more than a quarter of the total, and possibly were as low as 10-12%.

Music

If the predominant context for commemorative events in Huddersfield was religious, its principal mode of expression, as reflected in newspaper reports, was that of hymns and other music. The texts or content of sermons, the references for biblical readings, and the nature of the prayers were much less often reported. Apart from the most prestigious occasions, when the *Examiner* would have had its own reporter present, the accounts were derived from material sent in by the organisations concerned, sometimes, particularly in outlying districts, in collaboration with the

¹ See pp. 212-213 below.

paper's local correspondent. Given constraints on space, the version published also reflected the sub-editor's view of the aspects of most interest to the paper's readers. The prominence given to music was testimony to its importance on such significant occasions.

It was not necessary to be an adult church-goer for hymns to be a normal part of life. Experience of day school and Sunday school was steeped in them, and they often figured alongside popular secular music in informal music-making in homes, clubs and public houses. In the opinion of an army chaplain, "a hymn mediates to an Englishman a better country; [it] is his chosen sacrament of approach to God".² Their familiarity was also indicated by their use as the basis for many parodies.³ Nor were they necessarily a denominationally partisan heritage. Although each church group tended to have its own hymnal or favoured choice of hymn books, by the early twentieth century, the hymns they contained were drawn from a variety of sources, and many of the most popular appeared in collections across the denominational spectrum.⁴ The West Riding of Yorkshire had a particularly strong tradition of

² E Milner-White, 'Worship and Services', in F B Macnutt (ed.), *The Church in the Furnace: Essays by Seventeen Temporary Church of England Chaplains on Active Service in France and Flanders* (London: Macmillan & Co Ltd, 1917), 175-236, p. 196. From a different perspective, "the songs of the English-speaking people are for the most part hymns", (W T Stead, *Hymns that have Helped* (London: The Masterpiece Library, 1895), p. 21, quoted in J Wolffe, "'Praise to the Holiest in the Height"- Hymns and Church Music', in J Wolffe (ed.), *Religion in Victorian Britain* (Culture and Empire, 1997), 59-100 and 284-299, p. 83). Modern commentators have concurred. "If there has been a "common religion" in England in the last hundred years it has been based not on doctrine but on the popular hymns" (J Obelkevich, 'Music and Religion in the Nineteenth Century', in J Obelkevich, L Roper, and R Samuel (eds.), *Disciplines of Faith: Studies in Religion, Politics and Patriarchy* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1987), 550-565, p. 554); "hymns were the most universally popular art-form, and the nearest thing to a cultural inheritance common to women and men, working class and middle class, old and young, the sceptical and the devout" (H McLeod, *Religion and Society in England 1850-1914*, ed. J Black (Social History in Perspective; Basingstoke: Macmillan Press Ltd, 1996), p. 105); and, of particular relevance here, "It was apparent that for many, whether in or out of church, music and, above all, the communal singing of hymns constituted a key focus for the expression of religiously orientated feelings of collective grief" (J Wolffe, *Great Deaths: Grieving, Religion, and Nationhood in Victorian and Edwardian Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press in association with the British Academy, 2000), p. 91).

³ The popular soldiers' song, "*Fred Karno's Army*" was set to the tune of "*The Church is One Foundation*", and included the line "Oh death where is thy sting a ling, Oh grave thy victory" (Gregory, *The Last Great War: British Society and the First World War*, pp. 86, 179).

⁴ Probably the most unlikely example being "*Faith of our fathers*", written by an Anglo-Catholic who converted to Rome, but contained, in a slightly modified form, in Methodist and Baptist hymnals, and popular in many evangelical circles (D MacCulloch, *Reformation: Europe's House Divided 1490-1700* (London: Allen Lane, 2003), pp. 668-669).

music-making at all levels, amateur and professional, with a correspondingly broad repertoire of sacred and secular music.⁵ Huddersfield was a major centre within the region.⁶ The *Examiner*'s emphasis on music is not, therefore, surprising and it is reasonable to assume that the choices of music were the result of considerable thought in each community.

Hymns

Two hymns stand out as being chosen most frequently for Huddersfield's war memorial dedication ceremonies: "*For all the Saints who from their labours rest*" and "*O God our help in ages past*".⁷ Each appeared at about a dozen services, including five occasions on which both were sung.⁸ This partly reflected their use in the national context. "*For all the Saints*" was the processional hymn at Evensong on 11 November 1919 at Westminster Abbey, and was included as one of the optional hymns in the form of service issued by the Archbishops for use on the Sunday nearest to Armistice Day, in 1921.⁹ "*O God our help*" was a recommended part of the national services of intercession in January 1916, was sung at the unveiling of the Cenotaph in 1920, and at the 1921 Armistice Day service there.¹⁰ However, there

⁵ For the general background see D Russell, *Popular Music in England 1840-1914: A Social History*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987); and A Smith (ed.), *Music Making in the West Riding of Yorkshire - the exploration of a unique musical phenomenon* (Huddersfield: R H Wood, 2000).

⁶ "The people of Huddersfield give probably more time to music than do those of any town of a similar size in England" (Russell, 'Music in Huddersfield', p. 653, quoting the *Musical Home Journal*, 10 Mar. 1908).

⁷ See Table 4.

⁸ Both were sung at events in one civic (Longwood), two Anglican (Huddersfield Holy Trinity and Lindley St Stephen) and two Methodist contexts (one Wesleyan (Netherpton) and one United Methodist (Lindley Zion)). In addition, "For all the Saints" was sung at two Anglican (Huddersfield St John and St Peter) and two Wesleyan churches (Queen Street Huddersfield and Longwood), a Conservative Club (Huddersfield and County) and a Territorial Hall (5th Battalion Duke of Wellington's Regiment). "O God our help" was additionally sung at four civic (Almondbury and District, Greenhead Park and Edgerton Cemetery, Huddersfield, and Longwood), two Anglican (Crosland Hill St Barnabas, Lockwood Emmanuel) and two Methodist (one Wesleyan (Longwood) and one United (Lockwood Taylor Hill)) ceremonies.

⁹ The Anniversary of the Armistice, Westminster Abbey, St Martins' Day, November 11th, 1919 (Lambeth Palace Library (LPL) H 5133 1000 15.1); *Service of Thanksgiving and Memorial for those who were Killed in Action or Died of Wounds and Sickness during the Great War, November 6th 1921; Being the Sunday preceding the Third Anniversary of the Armistice Day* (London: SPCK, 1921) (LPL G199 55.41). The content of the 1920 and 1921 services is conveniently summarised in Gregory, *Silence of Memory*, pp. 185-186.

¹⁰ Services for the Days Appointed by the Archbishop [Canterbury] for Special Intercession for the Help of God in the Present War, namely on Friday Dec. 31st, Saturday Jan. 1st and

Table 4: Hymns used in Dedication Ceremonies and Memorial Services

<i>Hymn</i>	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Context of Ceremonies</i>
Abide with me	2	CofE; Liberal Club
All people that on earth do dwell	1	Civic
And now, beloved Lord	1	CofE
Be with me gracious lord today	1	Civic
Children of the Heavenly King	1	CofE
Come thou fount of every blessing	1	Baptist
Come thou holy spirit	1	CofE
Fight the good fight	1	Baptist
For all the saints	12	Civic; CofE (5); Methodist (4: 1UM, 3WM); Military (1); Conservative Club
For Ever with the Lord	2	CofE; Wesleyan Methodist
God moves in a mysterious way	1	CofE
God of Our Fathers, Known of Old	2	Wesleyan Methodist; Conservative Club
God of the living	2	CofE (2)
Heavenly Father, Thou has brought us	1	Wesleyan Methodist
How bright these glorious spirits	3	CofE
Jesu, lover of my soul	4	Civic; CofE (2); Wesleyan Methodist
Jesus lives	3	CofE
Lead kindly Light	1	United Methodist
Let saints on earth	2	CofE
Mine eyes have seen the glory	1	Wesleyan Methodist
Now pray we for our country	1	Civic
Now thank we all our God	1	CofE
O God our help	14	Civic (5); CofE (5); Methodist (4: 1PM, 1UM, 2WM)
O thou before whose presence	1	CofE
O thou whose hand has brought us	1	Civic
O valiant hearts	6	Civic; CofE (4); Military
On the Resurrection morning	1	CofE
Out of the deep	1	Congregational
Peace, perfect peace	1	Wesleyan Methodist
Praise my soul the king of heaven	3	Civic; Baptist; CofE

Sunday Jan. 2nd 1916 (Gibbs and Sons) (LPL G199 32.4). It had also been used as an optional part of the national services of intercession during the Boer War, in 1900, (A Form of Intercession with Almighty God on behalf of Her Majesty's Naval & Military Forces now in South Africa to be used in all Churches and Chapels in England and Wales, and in the Town of Berwick-upon-Tweed, on such occasions as each Bishop shall appoint for his own diocese (Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1900) (LPL G199 44.03).

<i>Hymn</i>	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Context of Ceremonies</i>
Rock of Ages	1	Liberal Club
Soldiers who are Christ's below	1	CofE
Ten thousand times ten thousand	2	Baptist; CofE
The King of love my Shepherd is	1	CofE
The saints of God	1	CofE
There is a land of pure delight	1	Wesleyan Methodist
Who fathoms the eternal thought?	1	United Methodist
Ye holy angels bright	1	CofE

were ample intrinsic reasons for the inclusion of these hymns in such services. “*For all the Saints*” had local connections, having been written by the first Bishop of Wakefield in the middle of the nineteenth century, and had earned a place in both Anglican and Methodist hymn books. A long hymn, written to celebrate the communion of saints, its appeal for the bereaved in the aftermath of war was particularly evident in the later verses, with their references to faithful soldiers, the cessation of war, and the vision of their celestial rest, wherever their physical remains might be¹¹:

“O may Thy soldiers, faithful, true, and bold,
Fight as the Saints who nobly fought of old,
And win, with them, the victor's crown of gold.
Alleluia!

O blest communion, fellowship Divine!
We feebly struggle, they in glory shine;
Yet all are one in Thee, for all are Thine.
Alleluia!

And when the strife is fierce, the warfare long,
Steals on the ear the distant triumph-song,
And hearts are brave, again, and arms are strong.
Alleluia!

The golden evening brightens in the west;
Soon, soon to faithful warriors comes their rest;
Sweet is the calm of Paradise the blest.
Alleluia!

But lo! there breaks a yet more glorious day;
The Saints triumphant rise in bright array:
The King of glory passes on His way.

¹¹ Indeed, a couple of the later stanzas were included in Harcourt Smith (ed.), *Inscriptions*.

Alleluia!

From earth's wide bounds, from ocean's farthest coast,
Through gates of pearl streams in the countless host,
And singing to Father, Son and Holy Ghost.
Alleluia!"¹²

Bishop How was following the longstanding tradition of using the image of the Christian soldier for all those who tried to follow Christ's teaching. Such ordinary Christians could draw inspiration from the apostles, evangelists, saints and martyrs, as forming with them a single body of the Church in heaven and on earth, and could look forward to the resurrection of the dead reuniting all the Church at the Last Judgement. The "cloud of witnesses" in Chapter 12 of Paul's Epistle to the Hebrews, the text on which the hymn was based, depicted a continually encouraging presence for the earthly pilgrim.¹³ It is, of course, impossible to be certain what interpretation those choosing the hymn, or singing the lines, placed on the ideas in the very different circumstances of unprecedented casualties after 1914. The rhetoric of some churchmen during the war had portrayed dead soldiers as Christian martyrs, regardless of the circumstances of their deaths or the state of their souls, or even as ones who had laid down their lives for mankind in the same way as Christ had.¹⁴ However, the choice of "*For all the Saints*" did not, in itself, justify the attribution of heterodox or heretical views.

¹² The texts for hymns are quoted in the version printed in *Hymns Ancient and Modern* (1889 edition) unless otherwise stated. This edition has been used, in preference to that of 1904, as the latter did not obtain much popular support (N Temperley, *The Music of the English Parish Church*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), pp. 299-302). Information about authorship and other background material has been derived either from hymnals or from J R Watson (ed.), *An Annotated Anthology of Hymns* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).

¹³ Hebrews 12:1. All biblical references are to the Authorised King James Version with Apocrypha.

¹⁴ "[P]atri-passionism, the redemption of the world through the blood of soldiers, was the informal civic religion of wartime Britain" (Gregory, *The Last Great War: British Society and the First World War*, p. 156). If so, then its high priest was usually thought to be the Bishop of London, whose public statements were sometimes breathtaking (Gregory, *The Last Great War: British Society and the First World War*, pp. 168-170, 184-185). Some attempts have been made to defend him (Wilkinson, *The Church of England and the First World War*, pp. 251-254; S Mews, 'Spiritual Mobilization in the First World War', *Theology*, 74 (1971), 258-264, and the letter to the editor, from D Y Thompson, which immediately followed Mews' article). Discussion has not been helped by a blurring of the lines between imagery and rhetoric based on the devotional tradition of "imitatio Christi", and that asserting equivalence of sacrifice.

“*O God our help*” had been composed by Isaac Watts nearly a century and a half earlier than “*For all the Saints*”, and had entered many hymnals from the Old Dissenting tradition. Based on the first five verses of Psalm 90¹⁵, its appearance in the (Wesleyan) *Methodist Hymn Book* in the section “Time, Death and Eternity”, under the sub-section “Human Life: Vicissitudes, Sickness, Old Age”, summed up the hymn’s theme well. Its message for the bereaved after the First World War was much more general than that in “*For all the Saints*”. Indeed, it has been suggested that its lack of explicitly Christian content, and the fairly universal appeal of its juxtaposition of the transitory nature of life with the eternal nature of God, made it a particularly appropriate choice for occasions when those present might hold a wide range of beliefs.¹⁶ However, the reference to forgetting the dead, in the following extract, must surely have jarred at a time when the emphasis was on memorials which were to record the names of the dead for eternity:

“Time, like an ever-rolling stream,
Bears all its sons away;
They fly, forgotten, as a dream
Dies at the opening day.

O God, our help in ages past,
Our hope for years to come,
Be Thou our guide while troubles last,
And our eternal home.”¹⁷

Although the two hymns discussed above were the most popular choices, over thirty others featured in dedication ceremonies and memorial services. With some important exceptions, the list illustrates how the themes noted in “*For all the saints*” and “*O God our help*” were those around which the choices clustered. The image of the Christian soldier figured prominently, whether expressed in the language of “*Fight the good fight with all thy might*”, where all attention was concentrated on the earthly struggle, or as a prelude to the heavenly reward, as in the following:

¹⁵ One of the psalms specified for use in the Burial Service in the Book of Common Prayer.

¹⁶ And, indeed, may have been chosen for the unveiling of the Cenotaph, in 1920, for that reason, Jewish, Muslim, Sikh and Hindu representation being wanted at the ceremony (Parsons, *Perspectives on Civil Religion*, p. 33).

¹⁷ Although the tune to which it was usually sung, St Anne, tended to emphasise the initial words of each line and sweep the singers through the remainder.

“The saints of God! their conflict past,
And life’s long battle won at last,
No more they need the shield or sword,
They cast them down before their Lord.”
(The saints of God)

“All they who war against them, in strife so keen and long,
Must in their Saviour’s armour be stronger than the strong.
...
Lead on till peace eternal shall close this battle hour:
Till all who prayed and struggled to set their brethren free,
In triumph meet to praise Thee, most Holy Trinity”
(O Thou, before whose presence)

“Let saints on earth in concert sing
With those whose work is done;
For all the servants of our King
In Heav’n and earth are one.

One army of the living God,
To His command we bow;
Part of the host have cross’d the flood,
And part are crossing now.”
(Let saints on earth)

The latter extract also returned to the subject of the Communion of the Saints, the unity of the Church across the divide of death. Reassurance was also needed about the fate of the dead:

“... we must not say
That those are dead who pass away;
From this our world of flesh set free,
We know them living unto Thee.

Not spilled like water on the ground,
Not wrapp’d in dreamless sleep profound,
Not wandering in unknown despair
Beyond Thy Voice, Thine Arm, Thy care;
Not left to lie like fallen tree,-
Not dead, but living unto Thee.”
(God of the Living)

“Lo! These are they from sufferings great
Who came to realms of light;
...
Hunger and thirst are felt no more,
Nor suns with scorching ray;
God is their sun, Whose cheering beams
Diffuse eternal day.”
(How bright these glorious spirits)

“The armies of the ransom’d Saints
Throng up the steeps of light:
'Tis finish’d! all is finish’d,
Their fight with death and sin;
Fling open wide the golden gates,
And let the victors in.

...

What knitting sever’d friendships up
Where partings are no more!
Then eyes with joy will sparkle
That brimm’d with tears of late;
Orphans no longer fatherless,
Nor widows desolate.”
(*Ten thousand times ten thousand*)

Other hymns affirmed the message of Easter and Christ’s Resurrection, notably “*Jesus lives! thy terrors now can no longer, death, appal us*”, affirmed the vision of the Resurrection of the Dead at the Second Coming, with “*On the resurrection morning, soul and body meet again, no more sorrow, no more weeping, no more pain*”, and presented a picture of heaven in “*There is a land of pure delight where saints immortal reign, infinite day excludes the night, and banishes the pain*”. A less militant imagery of life’s pilgrimage, based on Psalm 23, was also present, as in “*The King of love my Shepherd is*”. An emphasis on the help available on the journey through life appeared in “*Come, thou fount of every blessing*”, “*Come, thou Holy Spirit, come*”, “*For ever with the Lord*”, “*Jesus, lover of my soul*”, “*Peace, perfect peace, in this dark world of sin*”, and in the section of “*Praise, my soul, the King of Heaven*” where the singer was reminded that “*Father-like, he tends and spares us; well our feeble frame he knows*”.¹⁸

Some hymns traditionally associated with death and funerals were also used at dedications, although not as frequently as might be expected. They described the earthly journey of the Christian, “*Abide with me*” being probably the most famous example, with “*Lead, kindly Light, amid the encircling gloom*” and “*Rock of ages*” also very well known.¹⁹ “*Out of the deep I call*” and “*And now, beloved Lord, thy*

¹⁸ “Praise, my soul, the King of Heaven” had been included in the 1919 Armistice Day service of Holy Communion at Westminster Abbey (The Anniversary of the Armistice, Westminster Abbey, St Martins' Day, November 11th, 1919 (LPL H 5133 1000 16.1)) and in the optional hymns for the national services on the Sunday preceding Armistice Day 1921 (*Service of Thanksgiving and Memorial (Nov. 1921)*)(LPL G199 55.41)).

¹⁹ *Abide with Me* and *Lead, kindly Light*, were used at the interment of the Unknown Warrior (Wolffe, *Great Deaths*, p. 263).

soul resigning” are less well known, although derived from texts once habitually associated with the last rites.²⁰ “*Be with us, gracious Lord, today*” and “*O Thou whose hand has brought us*” - hymns normally used for the dedication of churches in the Nonconformist rather than Anglican tradition - were imaginatively chosen as a pair for the unveiling of an outdoor, free-standing roll of honour for the district of Birchencliffe.

Only three hymns appeared to fall into the category of patriotic affirmations.²¹ “*God of our fathers, known of old*” was originally Kipling’s poem *Recessional* of 1897, set to music and adopted as a hymn during the Boer War. Although, as with much of Kipling’s other output, this tends to be seen as patriotic, imperial propaganda, its words were in fact a stern warning against thinking that military might can prevail without obedience to God, emphasised by the “Lest we forget” of the refrain. Only two ceremonies, at the Huddersfield and County Conservative Club and at the Wesleyan Methodist Queen Street mission, used the poem.²² Another “war horse” was “*O valiant hearts*”, the only hymn choice to have a First World War origin.²³ Six ceremonies included it.²⁴ Its wording made the most explicit connection between death in battle, medieval chivalry, Christian martyrdom and Christ’s sacrifice, but remained (just) on the orthodox side of the line:

“O valiant hearts, who to your glory came
Through dust of conflict and through battle flame;
Tranquil you lie, your knightly virtue proved,
Your memory hallowed in the land you loved.

Proudly you gathered, rank on rank, to war,
As who had heard God’s message from afar;
All you had hoped for, all you had, you gave
To save mankind – yourself you scorned to save.

²⁰ “Out of the deep” is based on Psalm 130, the *De Profundis* of medieval requiems, and “And now, beloved Lord” on “Father, into Thy hands I commend my spirit” (Luke 23:46), a traditional medieval commendation for the dying soul.

²¹ Apart from one appearance, at a civic ceremony, of “Now pray we for our country”, an anodyne poem of mid-nineteenth century origin.

²² Also used at the interment of the Unknown Warrior (Wolffe, *Great Deaths*, p. 263).

²³ It was first published in 1919 as the poem “The Supreme Sacrifice”, the work of John Stanhope Arkwright (1872-1954), a barrister, and Conservative MP for Hereford.

²⁴ At four Anglican churches (Crosland Moor St Barnabas, Huddersfield Holy Trinity, Newsome St John and Rashcliffe St Stephen), a civic ceremony (Almondbury), and a military one (Huddersfield Drill Hall). At Holy Trinity, it was used in sections to frame the procession to the memorial, its unveiling and dedication, the unveiler’s address, and the procession’s return to the chancel. It was also used at the interment of the Unknown Warrior (Wolffe, *Great Deaths*, p. 263).

Splendid you passed, the great surrender made,
Into the light that never more shall fade;
Deep your contentment in that blest abode,
Who wait the last clear trumpet-call of God.”²⁵

No example of the use of that other Great War creation, “*I vow to thee my country*” by Spring-Rice, has yet been found in a Huddersfield dedication ceremony.²⁶ The hymn known as the Battle Hymn of the Republic, “*Mine eyes have seen the glory of the coming of the Lord*”, had strong military imagery, deriving from its origins in the American Civil War, and undertones of both the Christian as soldier and of fighting for one’s country. However, its primary message was that of the awesome vision of God’s powerful interventions in the world. Its choice by the central Wesleyan Methodist mission in Huddersfield was, no doubt, intended to recall those emotional crusades which had brought many of the young men commemorated into the church, at a time when the hymn was a popular evangelical tool.

In a Protestant culture where liturgical spectacle, if present at all, was normally low key, hymns provided the most acceptable and most widespread vehicle for the expression of emotion within worship. The linking of words and music combined to produce an entity far more easily committed to memory than most biblical passages or set prayers. Moreover, that same combination also served to add the reinforcement of oral transmission to that of the written text, thus enhancing the appeal to the less well educated.²⁷ At a communal level, the poetic imagery used in hymns gave a flexibility to the ideas being conveyed which individuals could adapt to their own needs, without feeling excluded from the collective ethos. Particularly in the Nonconformist tradition, hymns also played a crucial role as material for private prayer and meditation, many hymnals being arranged with that function in mind.²⁸

²⁵ Words quoted as in *Songs of Praise* (1925). There are another four verses, which, by the inclusion of phrases such “in his steps they trod, following through death the martyred Son of God” and “lesser Calvaries” balanced the overall theology of the hymn.

²⁶ Sir Cecil Spring-Rice (1859-1918). It appeared in full in *Inscriptions suggested for War Memorials*.

²⁷ Watson (ed.), *An Annotated Anthology of Hymns* made the point that elderly relatives could often sing hymns when all other memory had gone. Some had known no other poetry, so hymns had been a vehicle for the expression of deep emotions (p. 2).

²⁸ It used to be said that an Anglican going into hospital took the Book of Common Prayer and a Methodist, the Methodist Hymn Book (Watson (ed.), *An Annotated Anthology of*

Psalms

Psalms fell somewhere between vocal and spoken texts, sometimes appearing as the basis of hymns with full congregational involvement, or as chants, also intended as congregational activities but with very variable degrees of success, as anthems for choirs, or as individual or communal readings. Psalms, either sung or said, featured in Anglican, Baptist and Wesleyan Methodist dedication services.²⁹ Echoing some of the hymn choices, Psalm 23, "*The Lord is my shepherd*", was chosen four times³⁰, once more than Psalm 121, "*I will lift up mine eyes unto the hills*"³¹, with its comforting message that "The Lord shall preserve thy going out and thy coming in from this time forth for evermore".³² Psalm 84, "*How amiable are thy dwellings*" was an obvious choice for the dedication of new vestries as war memorials at Emmanuel parish church, Lockwood, and, with its contemplation of the joys of heaven, formed an Old Testament partner to hymns such as "*There is a land of pure delight*". Psalm 126, "*When the Lord turned again the captivity of Sion*", referred to the release of the chosen people from captivity and included the lines "They that sow in tears shall reap in joy. He that now goeth on his way weeping, and beareth good seed shall doubtless come again with joy".³³ At a memorial service in Emmanuel parish church, Lockwood, in 1920, the psalms used were 66, "*O be joyful in God, all ye lands*", and 67, "*God be merciful unto us and bless us*". Although the former seemed a strange choice, its references to God testing those whom he loved, "Thou broughtest us into the snare...we went through fire and water", were more

Hymns, p. 6. Hymns in the Free Church tradition were not "liturgical interludes to move the action on from one key moment of worship to another, but... sung texts integral to service". The content of hymn-books "has sometimes been a better guide to the liturgy of the people than the books in the hands of their pastors and preachers" (N Wallwork, 'Developments in Liturgy and Worship in Twentieth Century Protestant Nonconformity', in A P F Sell and A R Cross (eds.), *Protestant Nonconformity in the Twentieth Century* (Carlisle: Paternoster Press, 2003), 102-131, p. 103).

²⁹ The Anglican churches were Crosland Moor St Barnabas, Huddersfield Holy Trinity, Paddock All Saints, Lockwood Emmanuel, and Woodhouse Christ Church, plus Salendine Nook Baptist at Lindley, and Queen's Street Wesleyan Methodist Mission Huddersfield. Memorial services at Emmanuel, and at Rashcliffe St Stephen, also included psalms.

³⁰ At St Barnabas, Holy Trinity, and Queen Street, as well as at the memorial service at St Stephen.

³¹ At St Barnabas, All Saints, and Salendine Nook.

³² Unless stated otherwise, all psalm texts (and their numbering) are from the 1662 Book of Common Prayer, rather than the Authorised Version of the Bible, as being the more familiar to most congregations.

³³ The churchyard cross dedication at Christ Church Woodhouse.

then apt.³⁴ Interestingly, although almost all the various forms of service issued nationally during and immediately after the war included recommended psalms, none of Huddersfield's choices, with the predictable exception of Psalm 23, was drawn from that source.³⁵ The psalms set for the Prayer book burial service, "*I said, I will take heed to my ways*" (39) and "*Lord, Thou hast been our refuge*" (90), were also not used. However, as few newspaper reports gave information about psalms and most local service sheets have not survived, that pattern may be unrepresentative.

Other Music

Hymns and psalm chants were by no means the only music used at the unveiling of war memorials. Many anthems, organ voluntaries and other similar music were included in the special services. From a twenty-first century perspective, it may be tempting to see the inclusion of those types of music as performing a similar function to that of the insertion of pop songs into modern funeral services, that is, as a bridge between the church's rites of passage and people who never attend church. Such an analogy would be very misleading. Just as almost all adults would have been familiar with a range of hymns, so many other forms of religious music would have been equally familiar. An anthem or similar piece, sung by the choir, was a regular part of most Sunday services, especially the evening ones, as well as an important element of church and Sunday School anniversaries, dedication festivals and other special occasions. In addition, complete performances of oratorios were widespread in individual places of worship, not solely or even mainly as entertainment, but as forms of worship, exemplified by such phrases as "a Messiah service".³⁶ Organists demonstrated their range of repertoire equally frequently. Standards in the average church or chapel were much higher than is usually the case today. A survey by the Diocese of Wakefield, in 1914, noted that there were 65 paid

³⁴ Although the two psalms are those set for the 12th evening, the service did not take place on that date, so the choices were not determined by the liturgical context.

³⁵ Psalm 121 was, however, chosen for the national thanksgiving services, in 1902, after the Boer War (Form of Prayer and Thanksgiving to Almighty God for the Restoration of Peace in South Africa. Issued, under the direction of His Majesty The King, by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, for use in their respective provinces, on Sunday, June 8th, 1902, in such manner as may be authorized by the Bishop of each Diocese (LPL G199 41.05)).

³⁶ Described as such in Lockwood Baptist church (Church Meeting 29 Sept. 1915), and in about half a dozen Methodist church minutes. It was "a compendium of basic Christianity set to music, exhilarating for both listener and performer" (Russell, *Popular Music*, p. 155).

singers in church choirs in the diocese, of whom 31 were in Huddersfield.³⁷ In many of the Nonconformist churches, professional singers were also appointed to lead and strengthen the amateurs.³⁸ Choir members reinforced the resident groups of other churches and chapels for their special occasions both within and across denominations. The musical networks were also enhanced by the movement of organists.³⁹

As with the hymn choices, the selection of special music displayed a core of particular favourites set against an amazing range of other material (see Table 5). Funeral marches figured widely, but with a surprising diversity of composers. Chopin's version was not significantly more popular than those of Handel, Beethoven and Mendelssohn, despite its use for the Unknown Warrior's cortege down the Mall in 1920.⁴⁰ The most frequent choral choice was a Stainer anthem "*What are these that are arrayed in white robes*", sung at over a dozen services. Based on Revelations 7:13-17, it set the following lines:

³⁷ Report of the Bishop's Committee into Diocesan Church Choirs (*Wakefield Diocesan Gazette* XX 6 (Oct. 1914)). The largest church choir in the diocese was that of St Paul's Huddersfield, with 72 members. In the deaneries of Huddersfield and Halifax, women members of choirs were reported to be numerous. Green, *Religion in the Age of Decline* commented on the professionalization of choirs in Halifax and Keighley (pp. 187-188).

³⁸ East Street Wesleyan church, Lindley, spent much of the war struggling to pay and retain the services of principal singers, a soprano and a tenor being mentioned (Trustees Minutes). Brunswick Street United Methodist church had a principal for each of the four sections of its choir, and negotiated contracts which specified holiday entitlement as well as remuneration (Trustees Minutes).

³⁹ Milton Congregational church was assisted by Salendine Nook Baptist choir for its Pleasant Sunday Afternoon Brotherhood anniversary (HDE 9 Nov. 1920). Lamb Hall Wesleyan church, Longwood, was variously visited by Salendine Nook, as well as the choirs of Parkwood United Methodist and Crosland Hill Wesleyan Methodist churches (Leaders Minutes). The organist at Crosland Moor Wesleyan Methodist church was offered a post by Salendine Nook Baptist (Trustees 17 Sept. 1919). There was even movement between Roman Catholic and Protestant churches (R A Edwards, *And the Glory: A History in Commemoration of the 150th Anniversary of the Huddersfield Choral Society* (Leeds: W S Maney & Son Ltd in association with the Huddersfield Choral Society, 1985), pp. 2, 58, although the examples are from the mid-nineteenth century).

⁴⁰ HWE 13 Nov. 1920. Both Chopin and Beethoven's versions had been used during the passage of Queen Victoria's coffin from the Isle of Wight to the mainland J S Curl, *The Victorian Celebration of Death* (Stroud: Sutton, 2000), p. 252).

**Table 5: Other Music used in Dedication Ceremonies and Memorial Services
(excluding psalms and the National Anthem)**

<i>Title</i>	<i>Author(s)</i>	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Context of Ceremonies</i>
Agnus Dei in D	Monk	1	CofE
Ave verum corpus	Gounod	1	CofE
Bells across the snow	Tennyson/?Havergal	1	Wesleyan Methodist
Be thou faithful unto death	Mendelssohn (St Paul)	4	Baptist (2); CofE (2)
Beyond the dawn	Weatherley/Sanderson	2	CofE; Wesleyan Methodist
Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord	Stanford	1	CofE
Blest are the departed	Spohr	1	CofE
Brother, thou art gone before us	Sullivan (The Martyr of Antioch)	2	Civic; Wesleyan Methodist
Come unto him	Handel (Messiah)	1	CofE
Comrades' Song of Hope	Adam/Stallybrass/Fletcher	1	Civic
Crossing the Bar	Tennyson/various	3	CofE; Congregational; Military
Dead March	Handel (Saul)	4	Baptist, CofE, Congregational; United Methodist
Funeral March	Beethoven	4	CofE (3); Wesleyan Methodist
Funeral March	Chopin	5	Civic; Baptist; CofE (2); United Methodist
Funeral March	Mendelssohn	1	Primitive Methodist
Funeral March	Unspecified	2	Baptist; Military
Give rest O Christ	Kontakion/W O Birkbeck/various	5	CofE
God shall wipe away all tears	Sullivan (The Light of the World)	3	CofE
Hallelujah	Beethoven (Christ on the Mount of Olives)	1	CofE
Hallelujah	Handel (Messiah)	2	Civic
I know that my Redeemer liveth	Handel (Messiah)	1	Wesleyan Methodist
Introit (Requiem)	Viner	1	CofE
Largo	Handel (Xerxes)	1	CofE
Lest we forget	Kipling	1	CofE
Nunc Dimittis	(settings not stated)	2	CofE (2)
O Jesu king of paradise	?Monk	1	CofE
O rest in the Lord	Mendelssohn (Elijah)	9	Baptist; CofE (2); Methodist (6: UM4, WM2)
Pomp and Circumstance	Elgar (which not stated)	1	Civic
Sanctus and Benedictus in C	Brewer	1	CofE
Soldier's Chorus	Gounod (Faust)	1	Civic

<i>Title</i>	<i>Author(s)</i>	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Context of Ceremonies</i>
Te Deum	Smart	1	Civic
The Homeland	?Rutt	1	CofE
The Lord is mindful of His own	Mendelssohn (St Paul)	1	United Methodist
The sun shall be no more thy light	?Greene	1	Wesleyan Methodist
The Trumpeter	Dix/Barron	1	United Methodist
There is a land beyond the setting sun	Smieton	1	Wesleyan Methodist
What are these that are arrayed in white robes	Stainer	13	Civic; Baptist (3); CofE (5); Methodist (4: UM3, WM1)
Whoso dwelleth under the defences of the Most High	Davies	1	CofE
Ye nations, offer to the Lord	Mendelssohn (Hymn of Praise No 10)	1	Civic
Yea, though I walk	Sullivan (The Light of the World)	1	Wesleyan Methodist

“What are these that are arrayed in white robes and whence came they? These are they which came out of great tribulation and washed their robes and made them white in the blood of the Lamb. Therefore are they before the throne of God, and serve Him day and night in his temple. They shall hunger no more, neither thirst any more. For the Lamb which is in the midst of the throne shall feed them, and shall lead them unto fountains of living waters: and God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes.”

An aria from Mendelssohn’s *Elijah*, “*O rest in the Lord*” figured almost as often, either as a solo or in organ transcription.⁴¹ It gave the message:

“O rest in the Lord. Wait patiently for Him, and He shall give thee thy heart’s desires; commit thy way unto him and trust him. And fret not thyself because of evil doers.” (an adaptation of Psalm 37:4-5 and 7)

In addition to its obvious general appeal to those in despair, the aria sits at the fulcrum of the oratorio, just before God appears and takes the prophet up into heaven. Many of those present would have been sufficiently familiar with the context to recognise that additional layer of meaning.

Over thirty other musical choices were made across the borough, most appearing at just one ceremony or, at most, three or four. The influence of the oratorio tradition is clear. Firmly biblical in content, their use was theologically

⁴¹ In the context of a detailed review of a performance of the full oratorio by the Huddersfield Glee and Madrigal Society, the *Examiner* referred to “long familiarity with this great choral work”. The soloist for “O rest in the Lord” was praised for “commendable reticence” in a piece which was often “too sentimental and sugary” when performed (HDE 24 July 1916).

uncontroversial and, indeed, for many people it was difficult to hear some biblical texts without imagining the sound of a particular setting behind them. However, Handel's *Messiah* was by no means dominant, Mendelssohn's *St Paul* and Sullivan's *Light of the World* and *The Martyr of Antioch* featuring strongly. Relatively little use was made of Anglican canticles and other traditional liturgical texts, most being used at one particular church's memorial service for an individual casualty.⁴² Two hymns, "O Jesu King of Paradise" and "There is a land beyond the setting sun", were used as choir pieces rather than congregational ones. Kipling appeared again, with "Lest we forget", the refrain of "God of Our Fathers, Known of Old", but performed by the choir rather than sung generally. Tennyson's poem, *In Memoriam*, provided the source of "Bells across the snow" from the section "Ring out wild bells", and was sung by a Sunday School choir. *In Memoriam* was also the source of "Crossing the Bar", a section of which was included in some hymn books but was probably, in that instance, one of the many special settings of the poet's lines.⁴³ The Book of Revelation again figured significantly in the biblically-based choices, being the source of *Be thou faithful unto death* (2:10), *Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord, Blest are the departed* (14:13), *God shall wipe away all tears* (21:4), *O Jesu King of paradise* (2:7), and *What are these that are arrayed in white robes* (7:13-17).

A few of the items were clearly related more to secular music and, particularly, to the kind of popular pieces featured in military band concerts during the war. *The Soldiers' Chorus* from Gounod's *Faust* was the best known example, but the *Comrades' Song of Hope* and *The Trumpeter* were others, mainly, though not exclusively, chosen in a civic rather than a religious setting.⁴⁴ Some pieces mentioned in reports of ceremonies are now very difficult to identify, though were no doubt familiar at the time.⁴⁵

⁴² At the requiem mass for R H Owen, in St Thomas Huddersfield, the service included the Ave Verum Corpus and the Nunc Dimittis, as well as the integral Sanctus, Benedictus and Agnus Dei (HDE 28 Apr. 1915).

⁴³ A local setting by Arnold Rowntree was, for example, used at the 1919 Holmfirth Sing, as the customary tribute to supporters who had died during the previous year (HWE 7 June 1919).

⁴⁴ The *Comrades' Song of Hope* was based on Adolphe Adam's *Comrades in Arms* with less martial words by J S Stallybrass. *Comrades in Arms* had appeared as a cornet solo in the Royal Albert Hall, in 1900, at a Festival held in aid of the Daily Mail Boer War fund (Russell, *Popular Music*, p. 239).

⁴⁵ Even an apparently simple reference to "Beethoven's Hallelujah", baffled more than one modern day organist and choirmaster consulted by the author, before being identified as the final chorus from *Christ on the Mount of Olives*.

Perhaps the most surprising choral choice, made in five Anglican churches, only one of which had a marked Anglo-Catholic tradition, was that of “*Give rest O Christ*”, the Russian Contakion of the Departed from the Eastern Orthodox Memorial Service. In a translation by W J Birkbeck, its unequivocal petition for the souls of the dead ran:

“Give rest, O Christ, to thy servant with thy saints: where sorrow and pain are no more; neither sighing but life everlasting.

Thou only art immortal, the Creator and Maker of man: and we are mortal formed from the dust of the earth, and unto earth shall we return: for so thou didst ordain, when thou created me saying: "Dust thou art and unto dust shalt thou return."

All we go down to the dust; and weeping o'er the grave we make our song:
Alleluia, alleluia, alleluia.”

It had been included in the *English Hymnal*, published in 1906, but must first have come to public attention when it was used at the memorial service for Queen Victoria in St Paul's on the day of her funeral.⁴⁶ In many services, the final item sung by the congregation was the National Anthem. It had already appeared as a hymn in some books, such as the (Wesleyan) *Methodist Hymn Book*. But it was during the First World War that it became customary to sing it at the end of many different kinds of occasions.⁴⁷

Given the much sparser survival of information about biblical readings, texts for sermons, and prayers, music gives the most comprehensive clue to the theological flavour of such occasions. It is true that, on the average Sunday, the Church of England had a reputation for being rather less concerned with the match between the choice of hymns and the rest of the liturgy than its Nonconformist counterparts, but it is surely right to assume that on such emotional occasions, those choices would have been made very carefully.⁴⁸ It also seems unlikely that the selection of music for such an event would have been solely that of the organist, choirmaster and minister,

⁴⁶ *English Hymnal* No 744. Bishop, later Archbishop, Davidson had strongly advised against the family's choice of the Kontakion (the alternative spelling) for the funeral service itself, but it had been included in the service at St Paul's, where its use appeared to have passed off without adverse comment (Wolffe, *Great Deaths*, p. 79). The tune printed by the *English Hymnal* was edited by Sir Walter Parratt (1841-1924), a native of Huddersfield, perhaps giving the prayer an additional appeal.

⁴⁷ Searle, *A New England? Peace and War 1886-1918*, p. 7.

⁴⁸ "Hymns are to us Dissenters what the liturgy is to an Anglican. They are the framework, the setting, the conventional, the traditional part of the divine service as we use it. They are, to adopt the language of the liturgiologists, the Dissenting Use....the Anglican, though he can write a hymn, cannot use it" (B L Manning, *The Hymns of Wesley and Watts: Five Informal Papers* (London: Epworth, 1942), pp. 133-134).

although they would, no doubt, have been the main initiators of ideas. The views of choir members, church and Sunday School office holders and other regular worshippers were presumably also influential, especially once news of the content of the services of other bodies began to circulate. It is therefore significant that such a clear pattern of thematic clusters emerges. The smallest group was that which appeared to celebrate God's support for the nation at war, although, as indicated above, a careful reading of some of the texts somewhat belies their simplistic patriotic reputation. Of the two main groupings, one addressed the tribulations of life and, in particular, the pain of bereavement, and did so through material familiar from more normal times. The second group highlighted the central message of Christianity, the death and resurrection of Christ and His Second Coming, again a familiar theme, but with a new emphasis on the shared life of the living and the dead. Although the communion of saints was included in the shortest credal affirmation of faith, the Apostles Creed, a text shared across the denominations, it had played little obvious part in Protestant liturgy and worship since the Reformation.⁴⁹ The 1662 Book of Common Prayer, following the 1552 precedent, had restricted the Prayer for the Church to the "Church militant here on earth", apart from a short reference to blessing God for the example of the lives of his departed servants, thus discouraging all notions of prayer for the dead. Without, in most cases, breaching that shibboleth, the musical choices made at dedication ceremonies brought back into the centre of worship a notion of the Church as a body embracing both the living and the dead, in a way which must have brought much comfort to many of the bereaved.

Liturgical Structure and Content

Only six complete orders of service for the dedication of war memorials in Huddersfield have survived in local public archives. However, they represent a rather more varied group than might have been the case, comprising a civic dedication (Almondbury and District⁵⁰), three Anglican ceremonies from places of diverse churchmanship (Holy Trinity, New North Road, Huddersfield⁵¹, St Stephen, Lindley⁵², and Christ Church, Woodhouse⁵³), and two Methodist examples, from a

⁴⁹ Apart from the Anglican collect for All Saints' Day.

⁵⁰ 14 May 1921 (WYAS(W) WDP 12).

⁵¹ 24 July 1921 (WYAS(W) WDP 56/2/3/1).

⁵² 10 August 1921 (WYAS(W) WDP 129/26).

⁵³ 30 October 1921 (WYAS(W) WDP 42/28).

United Methodist chapel with a New Connexion heritage (Zion, also in Lindley⁵⁴) and from the Queen Street Wesleyan Mission in the town centre.⁵⁵ All but one occurred during a six month period from May to October 1921, the exception being Queen Street, which took place in November 1920. Four of the six included all the texts of the various elements of the service, whether or not the congregation was actively involved at that point, the exceptions being the Almondbury and District programme, which gave least detail, and the Queen Street service sheet, which was variable in its coverage.⁵⁶

These leaflets were also, of course, to become cherished keepsakes. All contained the names of those whose deaths were being commemorated. In addition, Lindley Zion produced a separate Roll of Honour in leaflet form, with both the names of the fallen and of those who had returned after war service. Almondbury included a photograph and description of the memorial, together with a list of "Principal Events of the War".⁵⁷ Christ Church, Woodhouse, reproduced the main dedication on the memorial cross, and Holy Trinity headed the list of the dead with the inscription on the wall tablet.⁵⁸ Together, these service sheets give some indication not just of the liturgical details but also of the atmosphere of the occasions.

The orders of service also help to place in context the more fragmentary evidence of other dedication ceremonies, where newspaper reports or church magazines mentioned the readings used or the texts on which sermons were based, or sometimes a particular ceremonial innovation which had caught the attention of the author. In addition, there were some references in newspapers and magazines to memorial services during and after the war which were not related to the dedication of war memorials but which filled out the picture of what must have been the many regular, small-scale, commemorative events on which the main ceremonies drew.

⁵⁴ 31 October 1921 (WYAS(K) WYK 84/7/1).

⁵⁵ 14 November 1920 (pasted into the Trustees Minute Book, WYAS(K) N/QS5).

⁵⁶ There are also two flyers for the dedication of the memorial tablet at Oakes Baptist church, on 14 November 1920, one of which had an outline of the intended shape and content of the service (pasted into the Church Minute Book), thus giving a third example from the group of churches in Lindley, and an additional denomination to the spread.

⁵⁷ Described as reprinted from the Fartown and Birkby War Memorial Programme (Apr. 1921), which has not itself survived.

⁵⁸ A flyer for the dedication service at Oakes Baptist church, Lindley, promised that a photograph of the memorial tablet would be presented to every bereaved family (Nov. 1920, pasted into Church Minute Book). After the memorial tablet at Emmanuel Lockwood had been unveiled, the parish magazine announced that photographs, with all the names clearly visible, were now on sale (Oct. 1923).

None of the five complete orders of service took the form of an existing liturgy. Rather, each was an *ad hoc* compilation of prayers, readings and music. Nationally, the frameworks for intercession, thanksgiving and commemoration published during and after the First World War had included options for services based on Morning or Evening Prayer, on the Litany, on Holy Communion, or on the Burial Service, as well as provision for public prayer which fell outside such structures. In choosing to follow the least restrictive precedents, familiar material from a variety of sources could be combined with the most attractive of the war-related innovations.

Each order of service contained one or two readings from the Bible. Hebrews 11:13-17 and 33-40 appeared as the only reading in both the services in Lindley, at Zion chapel and at St Stephen's. This was far from a traditional or comfortable choice for Christian consolation:

“These all died in faith, not having received the promises, but having seen them afar off, and were persuaded of them, and embraced them, and confessed that they were strangers and pilgrims on the earth./ For they that say such things declare plainly that they seek a country./ And truly, if they had been mindful of that country from whence they came out, they might have had the opportunity to have returned./ But now they desire a better country, that is, an heavenly: wherefore God is not ashamed to be called their God: for he hath prepared for them a city./ By faith Abraham, when he was tried, offered up Isaac: and he that had received the promises offered up his only begotten son,/...

Who through faith subdued kingdoms, wrought righteousness, obtained promises, stopped the mouths of lions,/ Quenched the violence of fire, escaped the edge of the sword, out of weakness were made strong, waxed valiant in fight, turned to flight the armies of the aliens./ Women received their dead raised to life again: and others were tortured, not accepting deliverance; that they might obtain a better resurrection:/ And others had trial of cruel mockings and scourgings, yea, moreover of bonds and imprisonment:/ They were stoned, they were sawn asunder, were tempted, were slain with the sword: they wandered about in sheepskins and goatskins; being destitute, afflicted, tormented;/ (Of whom the world was not worthy:) they wandered in deserts, and in mountains, and in dens and caves of the earth./ And these all, having obtained a good report through faith, received not the promise:/ God having provided some better thing for us, that they without us should not be made perfect.”

The passages do not appear to have been used in any of the national orders of service. The latter part, from verse 33 onwards, was part of the prescribed readings for Mattins for the feast of All Saints, but there, it was followed by the rather more familiar start to Chapter 12, which spoke more directly of Jesus and the

consequences of faith and backsliding.⁵⁹ Interestingly, the text for the sermon at Christ Church, Woodhouse, also came from Hebrews 11, the Vicar using the latter part of verse 4, “God testifying of his gifts, and by it he being dead yet speaketh”, the context being a comparison between the acceptability of the sacrifices of Cain and Abel. The general theme of that part of the Epistle was that of the necessity of unswerving fidelity to Jesus whatever the adversity. Had there been a local tradition during the war of using those parts of Hebrews to address the question of why God allowed evil, and to show that dreadful suffering for the faithful was an established part of the Christian experience?⁶⁰

Although texts for sermons were usually drawn from material used elsewhere in the service, the reading chosen for the Woodhouse ceremony was not from Hebrews, nor any of the Epistles, but from St John’s vision of the new Jerusalem in Revelation 21:1-7:

“And I saw a new heaven and a new earth: for the first heaven and the first earth were passed away; and there was no more sea./ And I John saw the holy city, new Jerusalem, coming down from God out of heaven, prepared as a bride adorned for her husband./ And I heard a great voice out of heaven saying, Behold, the tabernacle of God is with men, and he will dwell with them, and they shall be his people, and God himself shall be with them, and be their God./ And God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes; and there shall be no more death, neither sorrow, nor crying, neither shall there be any more pain: for the former things are passed away./ And he that sat upon the throne said, Behold, I make all things new. And he said unto me, Write: for these words are true and faithful./ And he said unto me, It is done. I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the end. I will give unto him that is athirst of the fountain of water of life freely./ He that overcometh shall inherit all things; and I will be his God, and he shall be my son.”

This passage had been included in the first national day of intercession in January 1915, and was also part of the published orders of service for the 1920 and 1921 anniversaries of Armistice Day. Its attraction is much more obvious than that of the passage from Hebrews, although its apocalyptic vision had not been a particularly prominent text in Prayer Book worship. The same verses from Revelation were also

⁵⁹ Mattins, 2nd Lesson, Hebrews 11:33-40, 12:1-7 (1871 Lectionary).

⁶⁰ For Nonconformist explorations of theodicy in the context of the war, see A P F Sell, 'The Theological Contribution of Protestant Nonconformity in the Twentieth Century: Some Soundings', in A P F Sell and A R Cross (eds.), *Protestant Nonconformity in the Twentieth Century* (Carlisle: Paternoster Press, 2003), 33-62, pp. 39-42; Williams, *Religious Belief and Popular Culture in Southwark c. 1880-1939*, pp. 69, 169-170, looked briefly at the question in the context of folk religion.

chosen by St Stephen's parish church in Rashcliffe for its war memorial dedication.⁶¹ A different part of St John's vision, from Revelation 7:9-17, was chosen as a reading at the Drumhead Service in Greenhead Park, as part of the Peace celebrations in 1919, and for the dedication of the Armitage Bridge memorial in 1921.⁶² That section ran:

“After this I beheld, and, lo, a great multitude, which no man can number, of all nations, and kindreds, and people, and tongues, stood before the throne, and before the Lamb, clothed with white robes, and palms in their hands;/ And cried with a loud voice, saying, Salvation to our God which sitteth upon the throne, and unto the Lamb./ And all the angels stood round about the throne, and about the elders and the four beasts, and fell before the throne on their faces, and worshipped God,/ Saying, Amen: Blessing, and glory, and wisdom, and thanksgiving, and honour, and power, and might, be unto our God for ever and ever. Amen./ And one of the elders answered, saying unto me, What are these which are arrayed in white robes? And whence came they?/ And I said unto him, Sir, thou knowest. And he said unto me, These are they which came out of great tribulation, and have washed their robes, and made them white with the blood of the Lamb./ Therefore are they before the throne of God, and serve him day and night in his temple: and he that sitteth on the throne shall dwell among them./ They shall hunger no more, neither thirst any more; neither shall the sun light on them, nor any heat./ For the Lamb which is in the midst of the throne shall feed them, and shall lead them unto living fountains of waters: and God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes.”

A slightly different selection from the same chapter had been prescribed as the Epistle in the Communion service for All Saints Day, and had also been one of the choices of biblical texts for the national day of intercession in 1900, during the Boer War.⁶³ Again, the message was a much more comforting one, but clothed in imagery with which most people would not have been familiar as part of the Sunday pattern of the Established Church. However, Revelation had been a fertile source for evangelical preaching and hymn singing, with the exhortation to be “washed in the blood of the Lamb”.⁶⁴

In the fourth complete order of service⁶⁵, that for the Almondbury and District memorial, the readings chosen were Wisdom 3:1-9 and 1 Thessalonians 4:13-18. The passage from Thessalonians continued the theme of the last days:

⁶¹ HWE 17 Nov. 1919.

⁶² HWE 26 July 1919, HDE 24 Oct. 1921.

⁶³ LPL G199 44.03.

⁶⁴ In addition, in both England and Germany, the outbreak of war was seen as a sign of the Apocalypse (N Ferguson, *The Pity of War* (London: Penguin, 1998), pp. 209-211).

⁶⁵ The order of service for Queen Street Mission did not give the biblical reference for the lesson used.

“But I would not have you be ignorant, brethren, concerning them which are asleep, that ye sorrow not, even as others which have no hope./ For if we believe that Jesus died and rose again, even so them also which sleep in Jesus will God bring with him./ For this we say unto you by the word of the Lord, that we which are alive and remain unto the coming of the Lord shall not prevent them which are asleep./ For the Lord himself shall descend from heaven with a shout, with the voice of the archangel, and with the trump of God: and the dead in Christ shall rise first:/ Then we which are alive and remain shall be caught up together with them in the clouds, to meet the Lord in the air: and so shall we ever be with the Lord./ Wherefore comfort one another with these words.”

Although not a prescribed reading for a Prayer Book burial service, the extract had been used, in 1910, for the national memorial services for Edward VII, and was an obvious option in such a context.⁶⁶

Almondbury and District’s first lesson, from Chapter 3 of the book of Wisdom, was the most widely attested choice across all the Huddersfield dedication ceremonies for which material is available. Almondbury had verses 1-9, Huddersfield Holy Trinity, Newsome St John⁶⁷ and Rashcliffe St Stephen ended the extract at verse 6, as did Armitage Bridge, although the latter added verses 15 and 16 from Chapter 5. The report of the service at Huddersfield St John did not specify how many verses from the beginning of Chapter 3 were used.⁶⁸ Given those precedents, it seems very probable that the unspecified reading from the book of Wisdom at the dedication of Huddersfield’s main memorial at Greenhead Park was also from Chapter 3.⁶⁹ The first nine verses ran:

“But the souls of the righteous are in the hands of God, and there shall no torment touch them./In the sight of the unwise they seemed to die: and their departure is taken for misery,/ And their going from us to be utter destruction: but they are in peace./For though they be punished in the sight of men, yet is their hope full of immortality./ And having been a little chastised, they shall be greatly rewarded: for God proved them, and found them worthy for himself./ As gold in the furnace hath he tried them, and received them as a burnt offering./ And in the time of their visitation they shall shine, and run to and fro like sparks among the stubble./ They shall judge the nations, and have dominion over the people, and their Lord shall reign for ever./ They that put their trust in him shall understand the truth: and such as be faithful in love shall abide with him: for grace and mercy is to his saints, and he hath care for his elect. But the righteous live for evermore; their reward also is with the Lord, and the care of them is with the most High./ Therefore shall they receive a

⁶⁶ LPL G199 (1910).

⁶⁷ HWE 12 Nov. 1921.

⁶⁸ HDE 24 Oct. 1921.

⁶⁹ See Chapter 4, p. 107.

glorious kingdom, and a beautiful crown from the Lord's hand: for with his right hand shall he cover them, and with his arm shall he protect them."

Wisdom was a book of the Apocrypha, a group of writings which the Thirty Nine Articles referred to as "for example of life and instruction of manners" but not "to establish any doctrine".⁷⁰ As non-canonical books, they were split off into a separate section in Anglican and Lutheran bibles, and omitted altogether from Calvinist, Presbyterian and similar bibles.⁷¹ Some Apocryphal texts had survived in the lectionaries of the Church of England, and Wisdom Chapter 3 was set for Mattins on the feast of All Souls.⁷² However, none of the national wartime and post-war service orders included passages from the book of Wisdom, so their appearance in Huddersfield's services must represent a very conscious decision, and one made in both Anglican and non-denominational settings. Taken together with the passages from Hebrews, Thessalonians and Revelation discussed earlier, there was a clear concentration on a number of interrelated themes: an assurance that the sufferings of servicemen were not a sign of sin but of the elect; a picture of the elect in heaven either now or at the last coming; a portrayal of saints as a much broader group than a few familiar names, and one in which ordinary people had their place; and, a heightened awareness of the community of the church which transcended the barriers of death.

It is surprising how little evidence there is for the use of the traditional liturgical texts associated with death in the Church of England. Only at Newsome St John were the familiar sentences which began the Prayer Book burial service⁷³ recorded as being used at a dedication service, although the first and most famous of them, "I am the resurrection and the life...." (St John 11:25-26), did appear at the start of the Holy Trinity and Christ Church services.⁷⁴ Two of the texts chosen for sermons were of a more traditional kind: the reassurance from the Epistle to the Romans that nothing could separate us from the love of God⁷⁵, and the statement

⁷⁰ Article VI "Apocrypha".

⁷¹ R Carroll and S Prickett (eds.), *The Bible, Authorized King James Version, with Apocrypha* (Oxford: Oxford World's Classics, 1997), pp. 385-386.

⁷² Mattins, First Lesson, 1871 Lectionary.

⁷³ St John 11:25-26, Job 19:25-27, 1 Timothy 6:7 and Job 1:21.

⁷⁴ Holy Trinity replaced the other opening sentences by two passages from 1 Corinthians 15, 20-22 and 57, both memorably set by Handel in the Messiah.

⁷⁵ Romans 8:38-39, used by Christ Church, Woodhouse (at the dedication of a different war memorial than that for which the full order of service survives) (Church Magazine Oct. 1922).

from St John's Gospel that "Greater love hath no man than this"⁷⁶; although the latter, with its emphasis on sacrifice for others, had become a much more potent passage since the beginning of the war with its emphasis on the comradeship of civilians in uniform.

During the war, in addition to the officially prescribed national services of intercession, many compilations of prayers had been published, for both public and private use. Some were intended for a national audience, others were circulated in a particular diocese, some were issued under episcopal authority, others published more informally. After the war, similar compilations do not seem to have been produced specifically for dedication ceremonies, although much of the wartime material remained relevant, and the Book of Common Prayer and other denominational compilations continued to be a source from which material could be extracted and modified to suit the new circumstances. In the Church of England, episcopal approval was, in theory, required for all services which departed from the Prayer Book's specifications, but, unless there was a history of friction between a parish and its bishop, or disagreements within parishes could not be resolved amicably, such approval was rarely insisted upon.⁷⁷ In the Nonconformist churches, ministers were not constrained in the same way, although friction within particular congregations might require mediation from elsewhere in the denomination. Roman Catholic liturgical discipline tended to be much stricter, but had, in any case, approved material already in everyday use for both prayers for the dead and the dedication of a wide variety of religious objects. In England, it also had a well-developed tradition of Sunday evening devotions with congregational singing.⁷⁸

From the evidence available for Huddersfield dedication ceremonies, it is clear that a wide range of material was being drawn upon in creating these special services, as there was little overlap in the choice of prayers. It is also evident that the compilers were content to follow the national trend towards a much more overt approach to prayers for and about the dead in public worship than would have been

⁷⁶ St John 15:13, used at All Saints, Paddock. (HDE 1 Nov. 1920).

⁷⁷ The Bishop of Wakefield made that degree of flexibility explicit on a number of occasions during the war; for example, *Gazette* XX 13 (July 1915), when he said that the funeral service could be adapted for memorial services for the fallen.

⁷⁸ J Ainslie, 'English Liturgical Music before Vatican II', in J D Crichton, W Winstone, and J Ainslie (eds.), *English Catholic Worship: Liturgical Renewal in England since 1900* (London: G Chapman, 1979), 47-59.

the case before the war.⁷⁹ Overwhelmingly, in both the Methodist and Anglican services, the Prayer Book was either the direct source of particular prayers, or it was the basis, both in language and liturgical form, from which adaptations or new texts had been created.

Three of the complete orders of service gave the prayers at the moment of dedication in the ceremonies.⁸⁰ Preceded, in one case, by a formal request spoken by the unveiler, “In the name of this congregation and the people of this Parish, I unveil this Cross as a Memorial to the Men of this Parish who gave their lives in defence of their King and Country in the Great War of 1914-1919, and I ask that it may be dedicated to the Glory of God”⁸¹, the dedicatory sentences referred variously to “the Men of this congregation who stood between us and the enemy at the gate, and who laid down their lives in the defence of King and Country” (Zion), “the Men of this Parish who laid down their lives in the defence of their King and Country” (St Stephen), and “in loving memory of His servants, Men of this parish and congregation, who died for their King and Country”(Woodhouse). As well as ending in all cases with an invocation of the Trinity, the prayers began by linking the act of dedication to faith in Jesus Christ (St Stephen, Woodhouse) and to the glory of God (Woodhouse), and in two cases were followed by an additional prayer placing the act of dedication in the context of the scriptural justification for the action and the implications for the living:

“O God, our Heavenly Father, from whom every good and perfect gift proceeds, yet who is ever, well-pleased with the grateful offerings of His children, we humbly beseech Thee to accept these Memorials, which we now Dedicate to Thy honour, for the beautifying of Thy house, and In Memory of the Men whose names are inscribed thereon, and to grant us grace to dedicate

⁷⁹ In 1917, the bishops of Liverpool and Manchester were the only two diocesan bishops to object to the authorisation of overt prayer for the dead (Wilkinson, *The Church of England and the First World War*, pp. 177-178), although such material had been available, in nationally authorised forms of service, at the time of the Boer War. For example, the petition “For all those who have fallen in the true faith of Thy Holy Name – that they with us may enter into the rest which Thou hast prepared for them that believe in Thee; Hear us, good Lord”, had been an optional element of the 1900 Intercession service (LPL G199 44.03). For similar pressure within the Nonconformist churches, see D W Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A History from the 1730s to the 1980s* (London: Unwin Hyman, 1989), p. 200.

⁸⁰ Reflecting the iconoclastic sensitivities of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Prayer Book contained no prayers for dedications, even of a church, although that deficiency had had to be made up many times in the succeeding centuries.

⁸¹ Lieutenant-General Sir Ivor Maxse, at Christ Church, Woodhouse.

ourselves, body, soul and spirit, to Thy service, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen” (Zion)

“O Eternal God, Whose Divine Majesty filleth Heaven and Earth, Who dost condescend to receive our offerings of what Thyself hast given, we humbly pray Thee to accept this Memorial which we now Dedicate to Thy honour for the beautifying of Thy house and In Memory of the Men of this Parish whose names are inscribed thereon, and to grant us grace to dedicate ourselves, our souls and bodies to Thy service: through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.” (St Stephen)

On either side of this central point in the service, the prayers identified by name each of those being commemorated, placed them within a depiction of all those who had given their lives in the war, and in a bigger community of all the faithful dead. The congregation at Christ Church, Woodhouse, prayed:

“Almighty God, we commend to Thy loving-kindness the souls of Thy servants, our brethren, who have given their lives to defend us. Accept, O Lord, the offering of their self-sacrifice and grant to them, with all thy faithful servants, a place of refreshment and peace, where the light of Thy countenance shines for ever, and where all tears are wiped away: through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.”

Those at St Stephen’s Lindley:

“O Almighty God, Heavenly Father, by whom all souls do live, whose Blessed Son Jesus Christ hath by his death destroyed death, and by his rising again hath restored to us everlasting life: we give Thee humble thanks for all those Thy servants who waxed valiant in fight and, counting not their lives dear unto themselves, laid it down for their friends in the cause of righteousness, and we pray Thee that having fought a good fight here on earth they may rejoice evermore with them that have come out of great tribulation and have washed their robes and made them white in the Blood of the Lamb, and stand before Thy throne and serve Thee day and night for ever: through Jesus Christ our Lord who liveth with Thee and the Holy Ghost, one God, world without end. Amen.”

In both places the Collect for All Saints reinforced the message⁸²:

“O Almighty God, who hast knit together Thine elect in one communion and fellowship in the mystical body of Thy Son, Christ our Lord: Grant us grace so to follow Thy blessed saints in all virtuous and godly living, that we may come to those unspeakable joys which Thou hast prepared for them that unfeignedly love Thee. Through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.”

⁸² Practice at St Mark’s Longwood further emphasised the importance of the theme of the communion of saints. In November 1920, at a “requiem eucharist” the names of the departed as listed on the war memorial were read out, before the Prayer for the Church Militant, anticipating the changes to that Prayer in the 1928 Prayer Book when the restriction to the “Church militant here on earth” was removed, and a section referring to the fellowship of the Saints added. The following year, at a similar service, the sermon was on the text “Called to be saints”, from the initial greetings used by Paul in two of his epistles (Romans 1:7, Corinthians 1:2). (HWE 13 Nov. 1920, 12 Nov. 1921.)

Holy Trinity expressed similar sentiments in two prayers:

“O God of the spirits of all flesh, we praise and magnify Thy holy Name for all Thy servants who having fought a good fight, have finished their course in Thy faith and fear: and we beseech Thee that encouraged by their examples and strengthened by their fellowship we, with them, may be found meet to be partakers of the inheritance of the saints in light, through the merits of Thy Son Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.”

“Most merciful Father, grant unto us, who are still in our pilgrimage and walk as yet by faith, that having served Thee with constancy on earth, we may be joined hereafter with Thy blessed saints in glory everlasting: through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.”

Sermons at the dedication of the memorial to the 5th Battalion of the Duke of Wellington’s regiment, and at the dedication of the memorial cross outside St Thomas, Huddersfield, both emphasised responses to God’s call to duty, the former with Paul’s account to King Agrippa of his vision on the road to Damascus, and the latter with the call of Samuel when with Eli in the temple.⁸³ Conspicuous by their absence are any prayers thanking God for victory over our enemies, an omission which reflected the absence of “patriotic” hymns from most of the services.

Prayers were also directed towards the needs of the bereaved. Holy Trinity, Huddersfield, Lindley St Stephen, and Christ Church Woodhouse all used the prayer:

“Comfort, O Lord, we pray Thee, all who are mourning the loss of those who are near and dear to them: Be with them in sorrow. Support them with the knowledge of Thy love; teach them to rest and lean on Thee; Give them faith to look beyond the troubles of this present life and to know that neither death nor life can separate us from the Love of God which is in Jesus Christ our Lord, to Whom with the Father and the Holy Ghost be all honour and glory now and for ever. Amen.”

However, comfort was linked to a renewed call to service:

“Almighty God, Who hast made us citizens of this realm and Empire, enable us who now dwell in the safety of our homes to be worthy of those who have died for us. Grant us with a willing mind to do whatever duty may be laid upon us, and to make any sacrifice to which we may be called, so that whether by patience or service we may take our part with our brethren in the hour of our country's need. Through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.” (Lindley St Stephen)⁸⁴

and to a request for all to work towards peace:

⁸³ Acts 26:19 (HWE 23 Apr. 1921); 1 Samuel 3:1-6 (HWE 6 Sept. 1924).

⁸⁴ Holy Trinity, Huddersfield, used a slightly different version of the same prayer, omitting reference to the Empire, referring to “a willing spirit” rather than “mind”, expanding the reference to sacrifice “with gladness to make all sacrifices...”, and adding an additional clause “and with undaunted faith to shed abroad in the hearts of the people both courage and good cheer”.

“Almighty God, from Whom all thoughts of truth and peace proceed: kindle, we pray Thee, in the hearts of all men the true love of peace, and guide with Thy pure and peaceable wisdom those who take counsel for the nations of the earth; that in tranquillity Thy kingdom may go forward, till the earth be filled with the knowledge of Thy love; through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.”
(Huddersfield Holy Trinity)

Interestingly, the two Methodist services both used the format of the Prayer Book Litany for their main intercessions. Queen Street Mission chose the final section of the Litany⁸⁵, beginning:

“Minister: O Lord, deal not with us after our sins
Response: Neither reward us after our iniquities
O God, merciful Father, that despisest not the sighing of a contrite heart, nor the desire of such as be sorrowful: Mercifully assist our prayers that we make before Thee in all our troubles and adversities, whensoever they oppress us: and graciously hear us, that those evils, which the craft and subtilty [sic] of the devil or man worketh against us, be brought to nought: and by the providence of Thy goodness they may be dispersed: that we Thy servants, being hurt by no persecutions, may evermore give thanks unto Thee in Thy holy church: through Jesus Christ our Lord.”

It continued with a number of short petitions followed by two collects. Zion chapel used the liturgical pattern of a litany but with a text which was not drawn from the Book of Common Prayer. There is no evidence for the origin or authorship of this “Litany of Commemoration” but its words exemplified much of the essence of these dedication services:

“O Almighty God, most merciful Saviour and Lover of all souls, before Whom stand the spirits of the living and of the dead, we Thy children, whose mortal life is but a span, give thanks to Thee, the Eternal Father, for all those through whom Thou hast blessed us in our earthly pilgrimage:

For all who are with Thee in the communion of Christ's spirit and in the strength of His love:

Thanks be to Thee, O Lord.

For the faithful who witnessed a good confession, upholding truth, and resisting evil even unto death:

Thanks be to Thee, O Lord.

For all who laboured for freedom, justice and brotherhood, consecrating their powers to noble service and shaping life to larger ends, that Thy kingdom might come, and Thy will be done, on earth as it is in heaven:

Thanks be to Thee, O Lord.

For lives that have quickened our better selves within us, and shadows that fell with healing on our wearied souls:

Thanks be to Thee, O Lord.

⁸⁵ With an interpolation “O God, we have heard with our ears, and our fathers have declared unto us, the noble works that Thou didst in their days, and in the old time before them. Response: O Lord, arise, help us, and deliver us for Thine honour”, which later appeared in the 1928 Prayer Book.

For those through whose sacrifice we live, our brethren who gave themselves mightily in defence of freedom, mercy and good faith among the nations, and were slain in the glory of their strength:

Thanks be to Thee, O Lord.

For comrades and dear kindred of our homes, whose faces we shall see no more, but whose love abides in our hearts:

Thanks be to Thee, O Lord.

O Lord, establish us in full assurance of faith, that we may know and feel within our souls that death cannot snatch Thy children from out Thy love and care:

We beseech Thee to hear us, O Lord.

Sanctify the ties that bind us to the Unseen, that we may hold the dead in continued remembrance, that the blessing of their fidelity and fortitude may rest upon us, that with cleansed hearts and strengthened wills we may walk with humble steps the way that leadeth unto Life:

We beseech Thee to hear us, O Lord.

In the communion of all saints, the redeemed of all ages, and our blessed dead who dwell at Home in Thee, in fellowship of Thy whole family in earth and heaven, we render thanksgiving and glory unto the Lord our God; through Jesus Christ our Saviour. Amen.”

Six complete orders of service, albeit spread across three denominations and one civic ceremony, supplemented by about a dozen isolated references to other, almost entirely Anglican, dedications, is a limited basis on which to draw conclusions about such ceremonies as a whole. Certainly, the bias towards evidence from the Church of England, and from the Methodist groups, is overwhelming. However, given the enhanced role which the Established Church came to play in Huddersfield as a consequence of the war⁸⁶, and the evidence of the use of Prayer Book material by other denominations, the effect of that bias may not actually be as significant as might first be assumed. What is striking is the extent to which the limited liturgical evidence reflected the themes already identified in the musical choices, where the evidence is much more broadly based, both in numbers of references and in the variety of their origins. The convergence of evidence from the two types of sources, and the importance of music in the Huddersfield context, considerably strengthens the case for accepting the limited material on the shape and content of the dedication ceremonies as giving a reasonably reliable guide to the essence of many of the events which took place.

Huddersfield's Great War dead were not, in general, celebrated by romantic comparisons with medieval knights, improbable attributions of saintly characteristics or theologically doubtful comparisons with Christ's unique sacrifice. They were

⁸⁶ See Chapter 5, pp. 127-128, 131-132.

ordinary human beings who had done their duty in the extraordinary situation in which they found themselves. However, the comfort offered to the bereaved - and almost every person in Huddersfield and elsewhere fell into that category - went beyond that traditionally offered in more normal times. In the "words against death" in the various ceremonies, there was a new emphasis on the fact that the living and the dead were all part of a community which stretched across the divide, and that the stunning imagery of the Church Triumphant could be proudly and publicly used for them.⁸⁷

Interdenominational Relations

A further aid to understanding the context of the dedication ceremonies is the increase in interdenominational activity during the war. On the outbreak of war, a Huddersfield and District Free Church Council was already in existence, reflecting the national impetus towards the exploration of the ideal of Free Church Unity.⁸⁸ Its standing was sufficiently important for an invitation from its ladies committee to the Unitarian church in Fitzwilliam Street, Huddersfield, to be a matter for self-congratulation, as an indication of a degree of acceptance into respectable and orthodox Nonconformity.⁸⁹ The local Free Wesleyan, Wesleyan Reform and New Connexion churches had come together in the United Methodist denomination, formed nationally in 1907, although the circuit structure remained one in which the previously separate groups were almost entirely untouched. Given the nature of the local population, civic religion was not habitually Anglican in character, the annual ritual of Mayor's Sunday being as likely to take place in a Nonconformist place of worship as in a parish church.⁹⁰ There were, however, no formal local mechanisms bridging the Nonconformist, Anglican and Roman Catholic communities and, indeed, the national pressure on local Catholic churches had been towards an

⁸⁷ "Words against death" was the phrase adopted in Davies, *Death, Ritual and Belief: The Rhetoric of Funerary Rites* to encompass the religious and secular final rites which are mankind's response to the challenge of death, and which are even more effective when allied to music or architecture (pp. 1-2). War memorials and war cemeteries received some attention in that context (p. 159).

⁸⁸ Bebbington, 'Evangelism and Spirituality', pp. 184-185.

⁸⁹ 1916 Annual Report (Church Meeting 12 Feb. 1917).

⁹⁰ HDE 18 Nov. 1918, HWE 19 Nov. 1921.

increased separation from other denominations.⁹¹ In the poorest part of the town centre, the Rock Mission had been in existence in various forms since 1877. From 1882, it had operated as a separate church rather than sending converts to established places of worship, as they had not felt welcome there and denominational divisions were said to “puzzle and paralyse them”. The sponsoring churches were a mixture of Baptist, Congregational, and Methodist societies in collaboration with the Young Men’s Christian Association (YMCA), with a less formal involvement from the Church of England. The mission enjoyed the protection of the chairman of the nearby chemical works, and the assistance of the agent for the Ramsden Estate.⁹² The huge influx of workers to the British Dyes plant during the war also prompted that company to build a Working Men’s Institute operating on similar lines to a YMCA, with cross-denominational support.⁹³

From the first days of war, Crosland Moor’s United and Wesleyan Methodist churches had come together for joint prayer meetings for war intercession.⁹⁴ By January 1916, a United Service was being held in Huddersfield Town Hall, probably as part of the annual pattern of intercession nationally. An intercession service at St Peter’s parish church, Huddersfield, in May 1918, seems to have been supported by churches from other denominations.⁹⁵ Those stray references in minute books probably reflected a much wider pattern of ad hoc cooperation within and across denominational boundaries.⁹⁶ In some areas, more substantial relationships developed. In October 1915, Mount Pleasant Wesleyan Methodist church, in Lockwood, and St Stephen’s parish church, in Rashcliffe, arranged a united prayer meeting in the Wesleyan Sunday School. For Christmas 1917, the two churches came together to hold a United Meeting of Intercession, and a joint concert to raise funds for the soldiers and sailors comforts funds. Collaboration then progressed to an exchange of pulpits in March 1919, with the Minister preaching in the parish

⁹¹ H Mcleod, 'Building the Catholic Ghetto: Catholic Organisations 1870-1914', in W J Sheils and D Wood (eds.), *Voluntary Religion: Studies in Church History* 23 (Oxford, 1986), 411-444.

⁹² Historical summary prefacing Mission Minute Book 1921 f.

⁹³ Christ Church Woodhouse Church Council, 17 Feb. 1916.

⁹⁴ Park Road Wesleyan church annual meeting (3 Feb. 1915).

⁹⁵ Mount Pleasant Wesleyan, Lockwood, (Leaders 17 Dec. 1915); Hillhouse Congregational (Church Meeting 1 May 1918).

⁹⁶ At the Baptist church in Birkby, during a period when the Pastorate was vacant and the congregation seriously divided, a Sale of Work was opened by an Anglican layman, and chaired by a member of the Church of Christ (HDE 8 Nov. 1920).

church and the Vicar in the chapel.⁹⁷ In addition, in Lockwood, the 1918 New Year intercession service was held in the Mechanics Institute and the costs were borne jointly by every church in the district. Plans were also made for United Outdoor Services that summer, involving Lockwood Baptists, Bentley Street United Methodists, Mount Street Wesleyans and St Mark's parish church.⁹⁸

As wartime restrictions began to bite, economic factors reinforced other motives for collaboration. In Moldgreen, in 1918, delegates from the local churches met to discuss united services to save fuel and lighting costs. The parish church, Christ Church, was represented but declined to participate on the basis that the loss of collections would be greater than the savings, as they had ceased to heat the church some time previously.⁹⁹ On the other side of the town, similar moves prompted by financial considerations blossomed into something much more significant. On and near to New North Road were a group of churches with congregations of some significant social standing: New North Road Baptists, Highfield Congregationalists, St James' Presbyterians, Brunswick Street United Methodists, and Holy Trinity Anglicans. For the winter months, from mid-October to mid-April 1918-1919, the first four churches named agreed to have joint morning and evening services on one Sunday each month and a joint weekly evening service on a Wednesday, the individual churches to host those services in rotation. By the end of January 1919, the arrangements had to be revised. Holy Trinity had expressed a wish to be involved in the weekday services, and St James' had proved too small to hold those regularly attending the joint Sunday services. With adjustments to take account of those kinds of matters, the joint services flourished and were not suspended over the summer months when economic pressures would have lessened. In the 1919 Year Book of Highfield church, the Pastor's letter commented that Anglicans, Baptists, Congregationalists, Methodists and Presbyterians worshipping together week after week would have seemed very unlikely a few years ago, and that it was "a delightful and enriching experience". The end of the war did not bring united worship to an end, its continuance being reinforced by regular rounds of

⁹⁷ Leaders 16 Sept. 1915, 14 Dec. 1917, 21 Mar. 1919. A bold move for its time. The Bishop of Ripon had warned that it was not yet the time for an exchange of pulpits, or for the participation of ministers from other denominations in services, although the latter might occasionally be permitted for exceptional events such as a peace service (HDE 6 January 1919).

⁹⁸ Bentley Street United Methodist Church (Minute Book 5 Dec. 1917, 29 Apr. 1918).

⁹⁹ 14 October 1918.

consultation about the arrangements in each participating church. Easter 1919, brought joint communion services at the Baptist church on Good Friday and Easter Day, and such Easter services at rotating venues continued at least up to 1921. The weekly mid-week services ended in the middle of 1920, partly because of some concerns about their effects on scheduling other individual church activities, but also because Holy Trinity was forced to withdraw pending the outcome of the Lambeth Conference. The joint Sunday services settled into a quarterly pattern after 1920.¹⁰⁰

By September 1923, a Council of Christian Congregations had been established in Huddersfield. It spanned almost the full religious spectrum from the Church of England to the Society of Friends, with only the Roman Catholic Church absent. At the outset it was a mixed clerical and lay body, with three representatives from each participating church, the inclusion of a woman in each group being stressed as desirable. The emphasis was on social and moral issues, and the first focus for its activities was housing conditions.¹⁰¹ The more contentious issue of "The Reunion of Christendom" was also being explored in a series of lectures in 1919, hosted by the Primitive Methodist church on South Street, Huddersfield. The first speaker was the Vicar of Huddersfield, Revd A D Tupper-Carey. He may well have been invited after participating in the Annual Meeting of the Ramsden Street Congregational church, the previous year. There, he had reminded his audience that, 25 years ago when a curate at Leeds parish church, it would have been "very, very naughty" to have come to such an occasion.¹⁰² However, his speech in South Street was much less tactful, praising the papacy as "a wonderful institution" and suggesting that, in modified form, it might be a good structure for the future.¹⁰³ In November 1920, at the time of the Queen Street Mission's Anniversary, the Bishop

¹⁰⁰ Highfield Deacons Minutes have the most detailed record of the collaboration, with briefer references in St James' Session Minutes, and one entry in Holy Trinity Council Minutes; no minutes were available for New North Road Baptists. Holy Trinity referred to the Wednesday evenings as "lecture sermons" rather than joint services (10 Feb. 1919). One of the areas of preparatory work for the Lambeth Conference of 1920 was concerned with relationships with other churches. The outcome, the "Appeal to all Christian People" (Resolution 9), was an important symbolic gesture, but existing church discipline was not significantly affected (Resolutions 10-31, particularly Resolution 12) (R Lloyd, *The Church of England 1900-1965* (London: SCM Press, 1966), pp. 403-410).

¹⁰¹ Huddersfield St Paul Church Council Minutes (28 May, 27 Nov. 1923).

¹⁰² HDE 29 Oct. 1918.

¹⁰³ HDE 5 Feb. 1919. The second speaker in the series, also an Anglican, found himself "indisposed" and unable to appear. Tupper-Carey's "bricks" were well known (see Chapter 9 below).

of Wakefield spoke on church unity at a meeting in the Town Hall, chaired by Sir Joseph Turner.¹⁰⁴ Unfortunately his line of argument on that occasion was not reported. However, in the *Diocesan Gazette* of June 1919, he had appeared to take a more flexible line than some of his episcopal colleagues. Acknowledging that "there is a movement in some places towards a united and corporate act of thanksgiving on the part of all Christians for the restoration of peace", the article avoided any explicit prohibition of the participation of other denominations in services in Anglican churches, or indeed of clerical participation in services in other churches. Instead, the open air, or public buildings, were described as to be preferred as venues for joint services, there being "no reason why other ministers should not take part" in those contexts, although cautioning that such services should not replace parish church thanksgivings. The article also referred to choices being made "if local religious leaders feel appropriate" and if they "advance brotherhood".¹⁰⁵

If the war had had an impact on the permeability of religious divisions among the civilian population, then its effects were perhaps even more marked among those away in the armed forces. Although the number of non-Anglican chaplains had increased considerably during the war, they were still spread very thinly, and institutional religion in the services remained overwhelmingly that of the Established Church.¹⁰⁶ The fighting also brought many into contact for the first time with countries where Roman Catholicism was the dominant religion, and with Catholic chaplains, who were often regarded as more visible in the front lines than their

¹⁰⁴ HDE 3 November 1920. Turner was an important figure in the interdenominational Rock Mission, as well as a leading Wesleyan Methodist.

¹⁰⁵ XXV 2.

¹⁰⁶ At the start of the Great War, the Chaplains' Department had 117 men (89 Church of England, 17 Roman Catholics, 11 Presbyterians, and 40 temporary appointees whose denominational affiliation was not stated). By Armistice Day, the total was 3,475 (1,985 Church of England, 649 Roman Catholics, 302 Presbyterians, 256 Wesleyan Methodist, 251 United Board (Baptists, Congregationalists, Primitive and United Methodists), 16 Jews, 10 Welsh Calvinists, and 5 Salvation Army), excluding temporary appointees. (J Smyth, *In This Sign Conquer: The Story of the Army Chaplains* (London: A R Mowbray & Co Ltd, 1968), pp. 156, 202-203). The Irish, Scottish and Welsh regiments were well provided with Catholic and Nonconformist chaplains, but English regiments tended to have only a few non-Anglican padres whose impact below regimental level was limited. The "default setting" for a service man's record of "Religion: Church of England" was also swelled by those, such as Jews, who thought it wise to blend into the background in the unfamiliar environment of service life, or those like a young Baptist, who registered as an Anglican to avoid the danger of coming under the supervision of a Baptist chaplain of the wrong theological colour (Snape, *God and the British Soldier: Religion and the British Army in the First and Second World Wars*, pp. 87, 144).

Protestant counterparts.¹⁰⁷ One ex-serviceman recalled that he had gone to a church wherever he could during the war, from Roman Catholic to Primitive Methodist, as he thought that was the spirit of the peacetime bible classes.¹⁰⁸

The changing religious climate was most obviously visible at the dedication of the memorial in St Barnabas parish church, Crosland Moor, when over a thousand people were reported to have attended a service “unique in the district”. The unveiling was carried out by a Wesleyan Methodist Borough Councillor, and the dedication by the Anglican Archdeacon; the lessons were read by Baptist and United Methodist ministers.¹⁰⁹ That breadth of participation was not reflected elsewhere in any ceremony located in a parish church, but the use of ministers of other denominations was not unique. At the service of dedication held in St Andrew’s, Huddersfield, a lesson was read by the minister of the Great Northern Congregational church.¹¹⁰ When the churchyard cross of Christ Church Woodhouse was dedicated, a Wesleyan Methodist minister played a part in the service.¹¹¹ Services at other Anglican churches appear to have remained within the constraints of official policy. On at least one occasion, a Church of England clergyman was invited to a Nonconformist dedication ceremony. The Vicar of Huddersfield assisted at the service in the Queen Street (Wesleyan) Methodist church.¹¹² At the ceremonies for the dedication of memorials in civic space, an inter-denominational approach was the norm. The service in Greenhead Park for the unveiling of the main borough memorial had major roles for both the Vicar of St Peter’s, and the President of the Huddersfield Free Church Council.¹¹³ In Norman Park, the dedication of the Fartown and Birkby memorial involved the Vicars of St John’s Birkby and Christ

¹⁰⁷ Wayside calvaries and churches destroyed by artillery made a considerable impact. Crucifixes and religious medals were collected as “lucky” emblems. Becker, *War and Faith*, p. 61; N J Saunders, 'Crucifix, Calvary, and Cross: Materiality and Spirituality in Great War Landscapes', *World Archaeology*, 35/1 (2003), 7-21). For the reputations of chaplains see Snape, *God and the British Soldier: Religion and the British Army in the First and Second World Wars*, pp. 83-87.

¹⁰⁸ Quarterly Meeting, Huddersfield and District Bible Classes' and Mutual Improvement Societies' Association (HDE 10 Feb. 1919).

¹⁰⁹ The presence of the Archdeacon reinforces the impression that the Wakefield diocese was inclined to let local sentiment determine inter-denominational activity (HDE 28 Jan. 1921).

¹¹⁰ HDE 1 Dec. 1921.

¹¹¹ A Revd A E Newman also officiated; he has not been identified but was probably another Methodist minister (HDE 31 Oct. 1921)

¹¹² HDE 18 Nov. 1920.

¹¹³ Revd Bruce H White, from Brunswick Street United Methodist church (HDE 26 Apr. 1924).

Church, Woodhouse, with the minister of Hillhouse Congregational church.¹¹⁴ The cross in the churchyard of St Paul, Armitage Bridge, was unveiled at a ceremony at which lessons were read by Revd R Robertson, a Wesleyan Methodist minister, and a Revd J G Williams.¹¹⁵ At Longwood, a vote of thanks to the unveiler was proposed by Revd F Norman Charley, a Wesleyan minister, and honorary forces chaplain.¹¹⁶ Even Almondbury Grammar School, with only four non-Anglican boys in the school around 1890, gave one of them the honour of dedicating its memorial.¹¹⁷

For Catholics, both clergy and laity, any contact with non-Catholic religious events was forbidden.¹¹⁸ It is not surprising, therefore, that no Catholic priest is recorded as appearing at any of the ceremonies in Huddersfield during or after the war, nor is any identifiably Catholic lay man or woman. There does, however, appear to be at least one occasion on which the rules were bent. St Patrick's was the mother church of Huddersfield's Catholics but did not have a war memorial within it. Instead, at least three memorials were erected in community centres, at Dock Street and Swallow Street, both in the form of street shrines, and at the Irish Club. All were dedicated by a priest from St Patrick's. At one of the ceremonies, the Vicar of St Thomas, in whose parish the Swallow Street memorial lay, was not only present but gave a short address and offered "extempore prayer". In normal Huddersfield usage, that phrase would have been used of a Nonconformist minister demonstrating the tradition of "spontaneous" intercession, prompted by the immediate circumstances of an event. However, as the Anglican clergyman concerned was in charge of Huddersfield's only Anglo-Catholic parish, a more probable explanation is a liturgically-based intervention designed to emphasise that prayer for the souls of the departed was a bond between the two traditions. The way it was described in the

¹¹⁴ HDE 4 Apr. 1921

¹¹⁵ Mr Williams may have been the Vicar of St John the Evangelist, Ranmore, Sheffield, who had been a pre-war army chaplain (HDE 24 Oct. 1921).

¹¹⁶ HDE 4 Sept. 1920.

¹¹⁷ Revd Frank Chambers, a United Methodist minister and forces' chaplain (Hinchliffe, *King James's Grammar School*, pp. 185-186, 266-267). The ceremony had been preceded by a service in the parish church, taken by the Vicar.

¹¹⁸ In a pastoral letter of 1918, the Bishop of Leeds warned his flock, who included Huddersfield Catholics, that they were not to take part in ecumenical services. "We cannot in loyalty to Christ and to His one true Church, take part in the work, or joint acts of worship of the sects which are thus opposed to her. Those who hold such services do so in good faith but in so doing they reject the teaching and authority of the one, true Church." Joint services were "absolutely contrary to the Catholic doctrine concerning the Church of Christ" (Finnegan and Hegarty (eds.), *The Bishops of Leeds 1878-1985: Essays in Honour of David Konstant*, p. 90).

newspaper report, might, however, have enabled his Roman Catholic counterpart to disown it as the actions of an unpredictable Protestant, if word got back to his bishop. It is possible that the Vicar of St Thomas appeared uninvited at the largely Catholic ceremony but, as both the Dock Street and Swallow Street events included prominent roles for local, non-Catholic, councillors and other senior civic figures, it seems very unlikely.¹¹⁹ There must also be a certain amount of scepticism about the extent to which the Catholic laity always complied with the church's discipline when it came to supporting neighbours and workmates in bereavement.¹²⁰

The denominational balance apparent in these commemorations of the war was an interesting mixture. For those memorials which were clearly conceived as community rather than associational tributes, the approach was either interdenominational or recognised the role of the Church of England as having a wider responsibility for the inhabitants of an area than any other church, or combined the two elements in the relative importance of the roles played in services. Whatever may have been the case elsewhere, the position accorded to the Church of England cannot be attributed to the result of social deference, or a wish to attain social respectability for non-Anglicans.¹²¹ The social standing of Nonconformists in Huddersfield was not an issue. It was typical that the committee which planned the main civic memorial, and which was composed of those with the wealth and influence to make things happen, was chaired by a Primitive Methodist.¹²² From this position of strength, acknowledging the unique position of the established church did not involve a loss of face. However, things could well have been different. In Monk Bretton, near Barnsley, some 18 miles (c. 29km) away, the suggestion that the war memorial should be in the parish church met considerable opposition, as ninety per cent of the dead were said to be Nonconformists.¹²³ The largely amicable acceptance

¹¹⁹ HDE 23 December 1918. For the issue of Catholic participation elsewhere, see Gaffney, *Aftermath*, pp. 126-128, and Gregory, *Silence of Memory*, pp. 196-202.

¹²⁰ After all, many remembered the time when they or their parents had contracted marriages in the parish church which had been valid in the eyes of the Church (J D Crichton, W Winstone, and J Ainslie (eds.), *English Catholic Worship: Liturgical Renewal in England since 1900* (London: G Chapman, 1979), p. 20), and, before the advent of municipal cemeteries, families had been buried in the parish churchyard.

¹²¹ Wilkinson, *The Church of England and the First World War*, p 263; Connelly, *Memory and Ritual*, p. 67.

¹²² Sir William Pick Raynor (see Chapter 8). His fellow members also included a number of Nonconformists (see Chapter 4, p. 92).

¹²³ *Barnsley Chronicle* (8 Mar. 1919), quoted in King, *Symbolism and Politics of Remembrance*, p. 89.

of the Church of England as *primus inter pares* reflected both the considerable practical support given by Anglican churches to the welfare of all families during the war and also the new levels of spiritual cooperation.

Chapter 8 – Individuals and Networks

Many of the names mentioned in newspaper reports and minutes remain, unfortunately, no more than that, but it is possible to identify a few with confidence. An exploration of the characteristics of those individuals, and of the networks to which they belonged, helps bring to the foreground a further essential dimension to the overall picture of Huddersfield's commemoration of the war. Decision making is an art rather than a science. The impact of individual personalities and their relationships, inside and outside formal committees, has often been crucial to the outcomes.

The Borough's Members of Parliament

The first point to emphasise is the absence of both Huddersfield's lord of the manor, and of the constituency's members of parliament, from any very significant role in the borough's corporate and individual commemorations. Five members of parliament served Huddersfield during the period of the Boer War and Great War commemorations. The first, Sir James Woodhouse, proposed the vote of thanks to Sir John French at the unveiling of the Fallen Heroes statue in Greenhead Park, in 1905, but was not otherwise involved in the processes which led up to that event.¹ Sir Charles Sykes was similarly employed for the vote of thanks to Sir Ian Hamilton at the Fartown and Birkby dedication ceremony in 1921. He was on the War Hospital Committee, and on the later borough memorial committee, but does not appear to have played any significant role in the latter.² Mr A J Sherwell,³ Sir Arthur Marshall⁴ and Mr J H Hudson⁵ were all Huddersfield MPs during and after the First World War, yet none was recorded as taking an active part in any aspect of commemoration. With the exception of Sykes, none of the members of parliament

¹ MP 1895-1906 (Liberal). HDE 22 May 1905.

² MP 1918-1922 (Coalition Liberal). He did, however, appear at the Fartown Congregational Church Welcome Home (HDE 9 May, 28 June 1919, 4 Apr. 1921).

³ MP 1906-1918 (Liberal).

⁴ MP 1922-1923 (Liberal).

⁵ MP 1923-1931 (Labour).

was a local man, and Sherwell's stance during the war would have made him a particularly unlikely choice for the public remembrance of the war dead, whatever may have been the private responses to his views.⁶

Ramsdens and Brookes

A much more surprising absence was that of the Ramsden family. They had been lords of the manors of Huddersfield and Almondbury since the early 1600s, owners of the freehold of about a third of the land of the borough, and patrons of the livings of three churches.⁷ The fifth baronet, Sir John William, handed over control of the estates to his son, John Frecheville, in 1909. At the old baronet's death, in April 1914, the local papers, both Conservative and Liberal, carried what appeared to be genuinely appreciative reviews of his contributions to Huddersfield, although it was obvious that his involvement had been much less in his later years. However, neither paper could find much to say about the new baronet's links with the area, apart from citing his provision of a tenement building in Kirkgate, and making vague references to the number of times he and his wife had visited the town. Other comments were more telling. The new baronet was described as resident in Northamptonshire, of "a quiet and retiring disposition", one who had so far shown no inclination for a public or political career, had artistic, literary and sporting interests, and enjoyed motoring and travel.⁸ The picture was that of a man whose interests were not those of an urban industrial landowner, and whose geographical focus did not include Huddersfield, but who had gone through the motions until his father's death. The elder Ramsden appeared only in the supplementary list of subscribers for the Fallen Heroes memorial after the Boer War, donating five guineas, and neither he nor his son was present at the statue's dedication.⁹ The son was briefly involved in promising land for the abortive library and art gallery war memorial project and his

⁶ See Chapter 2, pp. 67.

⁷ See Chapter 2, p. 53. The Vicars of two of the Ramsden churches were themselves patrons of a further six livings, thus extending considerably the family's influence.

⁸ HWE and HWC 18 Apr. 1914. On his death in 1958, the Examiner's obituary had nothing to add to his Huddersfield and Yorkshire connections, apart from the information that he had been a Deputy Lord Lieutenant for the West Riding for one year in 1898. A term of office as High Sheriff of Buckinghamshire (1920-21) and war service as a Captain in the Norfolk Yeomanry confirmed his geographical allegiances (HWE 11 Oct. 1958).

name appeared, in 1920, as having promised £500 towards the borough memorial.¹⁰ In 1919, the *Examiner* had reported without comment that he had agreed to underwrite up to £2,000 of the costs of the war memorial at Gerrards Cross.¹¹ After the family sold the Huddersfield estates and relinquished the ecclesiastical patronages, his only active involvement in the town's commemorations, if indeed it can be classed as that, was a brief appearance in 1923 to unveil a window, though not to make a speech, in St John's church, Birkby. The church had been founded by his father, and the window was not exclusively a war memorial but was described as commemorating all those who had died since the foundation of the church.¹² The baronet's presence seemed to have been more a tribute to his father than to a section of Huddersfield's war dead. He did not attend the dedication of the Greenhead Park borough memorial in 1924.

The leading Anglican, Tory, role which the Ramsdens might have been expected to continue to perform in the borough was in fact undertaken by a family of similar antiquity but, until the late nineteenth century, of lesser social status. These were the Brookes of Armitage Bridge, from a village which was the industrial equivalent of a manorial demesne. The creation of a baronetcy for Thomas Brooke, in 1899, and, after his only son predeceased him, a second creation for his brother, John Arthur, in 1919, indicated how important the gap was felt to be by the national establishment. Uniquely, three out of the four Brooke brothers were awarded the Freedom of the borough, and the tributes paid on those occasions showed that the various individuals had been much more than figureheads.¹³ John Arthur was a member of the Boer War memorial committee, and William of the Mayor's wartime Relief Committee.¹⁴ However, by the time the Great War was over, Thomas and Joshua had already died, and the two other brothers died in 1920. Thereafter, the practical importance of the family was much reduced, as male heirs were sparse, and

⁹ HWC 27 May 1905.

¹⁰ By no means the largest sum in comparison to others on that preliminary list (HWE 13 Mar. 1920).

¹¹ HDE 17 Mar. 1919.

¹² HWE 2 June 1923.

¹³ The awards were made to Thomas (1830-1908) in 1901, William (1834-1920) in 1906, and John Arthur (1844-1920) in 1918. The fourth brother, Joshua Ingham (1836-1906), was Archdeacon of Halifax.

the main residences were outside the borough. However, Major T Brooke, the unveiler of the war memorial at Armitage Bridge, in 1921, was almost certainly a relative.¹⁵

At a different level in society, the gap left by the Ramsdens was filled to some extent by their land agent, Mr F W Beadon,¹⁶ who was resident in the borough at Longley Hall. Although from Somerset, with a wife from County Durham, he had become an essential part of Huddersfield life. Everything to do with the estate and the family's church patronage went through his office and he seems to have been liked and respected in the execution of his duties. In addition, he supported many activities beyond his official responsibilities.¹⁷ He took over the chairmanship of the committee for the Boer War memorial when the previous office holder, Colonel E H Carlile, left the district, and responded to the toast of the services at the dinner after the dedication of the memorial, in 1905. His status at that time was a Colonel in the volunteers.¹⁸ Although already over 60 by the outbreak of the Great War, he continued to be an active participant in many of the town's affairs. Two of his sons were on active service, one's death was recorded on both the Almondbury and Longley and Lowerhouses memorials, the other survived and was awarded the Military Cross.¹⁹

Volunteer and Professional Soldiers

Individuals such as Beadon - who were civilians with part-time military associations in peacetime and who then became much more heavily involved, even if

¹⁴ HWC 27 May 1905.

¹⁵ HDE 24 Oct. 1921.

¹⁶ Frederick Watson Beadon (1853-1933). He was their agent in the West Riding from 1885 to 1920, when the local estates were sold.

¹⁷ His obituary recorded that he had served on the Infirmary Board for 26 years, including 18 as Honorary Secretary (1902-1920), was also Honorary Secretary of the Deaf and Dumb Institute (1893-1915), and was District Commissioner for the Huddersfield and Halifax Scouts 1911-1920. He was said to be a Conservative but to have taken no prominent part in local political affairs. (HDE 23 Jan. 1933).

¹⁸ He served as Lieutenant-Colonel of what became the 5th battalion of the Duke of Wellington's regiment 1904-1908, then taking the same office in the 7th battalion 1909-1910. His association with the volunteer movement began in 1885, and he was also involved with the Huddersfield and District Army Volunteers Association 1895-1920. (HDE 23 Jan. 1933).

¹⁹ HDE 6 Jan. 1919. Basil Herbert Edwards Beadon died 1 Aug. 1915.

too old for active service, when war came - were an important bridge between the professional armed services and the general population. They included men such as Lieutenant-Colonel G. P Norton, whose eclectic popularity saw him unveiling memorials at Fartown Conservative Club, Huddersfield Liberal Club, St John's parish church, Birkby, and the Wesleyan Methodist Mission at Queen Street, Huddersfield.²⁰ Lieutenant-Colonel James Walker had almost as high a profile as Norton, joining him as an unveiler at the Queen Street Mission, and also performing the same service at St Andrew, Huddersfield, St Stephen, Lindley and Oakes Baptist chapel, Lindley.²¹ Lieutenant-Colonel H Wilson, who unveiled the memorial at Trinity New Connexion chapel, Paddock, was the same Wilson as had received the Freedom of the borough as a Boer War hero.²² Major A V Priestley, the unveiler of tablet at Emmanuel parish church, Lockwood, in 1923, was a key member of the committee which brought the borough Great War memorials to fruition.²³ Other individuals of a similar background took leading roles at ceremonies at All Saints, Paddock (Major S C Brierley²⁴), St John, Newsome (Major E Lindesay Fisher²⁵), Longwood Grammar School (Lieutenant-Colonel E Hoyle, who also chaired the ceremony at the Longwood civic memorial²⁶), St Stephen, Rashcliffe (Colonel R E Sugden²⁷), and Moldgreen Congregational chapel (Colonel E G Coward²⁸). There were also men who may not have had pre-war military connections, given their more junior rank, but who were accorded a military title when performing their duties at a

²⁰ A partner in the chartered accountants, Armitage and Norton, with offices in Huddersfield, Bradford, Halifax, Leeds and London, and a company director, he was originally from Middlesex. He had come to Huddersfield about 1881.

²¹ A pre-war Territorial officer, but not otherwise positively identified.

²² A Mirfield card clothing manufacturer.

²³ He was one of the committee's choice of representatives to meet the Council's General Purposes Committee in July 1921, and laid a wreath on behalf of the committee at the dedication ceremony in 1924. He was also related to the Brookes of Armitage Bridge by marriage.

²⁴ Clifford Brierley, a pre-war Territorial officer, but not otherwise positively identified.

²⁵ A solicitor with a practice in the centre of town.

²⁶ Emmanuel Hoyle (1866-1939). A Conservative Councillor for Marsh Ward from 1916, a Wesleyan Methodist, and a woollen manufacturer, he had commanded the West Riding RASC MT(TF) during the war, and was made a baronet in 1922.

²⁷ Richard Edgar Sugden (1871-1951) had served as a volunteer in the Imperial Yeomanry in the Boer War and was a Brigadier-General when he retired from the Territorial Force in 1929.

²⁸ A General Practitioner in Moldgreen.

commemorative ceremony, such as Captain the Revd D J Hiley²⁹, at Salendine Nook Baptist chapel, Major T Brooke, at the Armitage Bridge memorial, and Captain H Gordon Kaye³⁰ at the Huddersfield and County Conservative Club. Where a figure with military rank performed a key role at a dedication ceremony it was as likely to be one of these types of men as a professional soldier.

If there was a pattern to the choice of professional soldiers, it was that they were more often invited by groups with a strong ex-servicemen's or Conservative influence. Thus, the memorials in the Duke of Wellington's Regiment Drill Hall were unveiled by Field Marshall Lord Plumer³¹ and in the Huddersfield Police headquarters by Major-General L W Atcherley.³² The committee for the Fartown and Birkby memorial invited General Sir Ian Hamilton,³³ and that for the Longwood memorial, Major-General D C F Macintyre.³⁴ Both the borough memorials in Greenhead Park were unveiled by Generals, Sir John French,³⁵ in 1905 and Sir Charles Harington,³⁶ in 1924. Why Holy Trinity, Huddersfield, (Brigadier-General Sir Allington Bewicke-Copley³⁷) and Christ Church, Woodhouse, (Lieutenant-

²⁹ President of the Baptist Union, and a former forces chaplain (HWE 16 Apr. 1921).

³⁰ Henry Gordon Kaye (1889-1956), whose father, Joseph Henry, was created a baronet in 1923 but died in the same year. The first baronet had stood as the Conservative candidate for the Huddersfield constituency in December 1910. The second baronet was a director of the Huddersfield Building Society.

³¹ Herbert Charles Onslow Plumer (1857-1932). He headed Northern Command 1911-14 and commanded the Second Army on the Western Front for most of the war.

³² Llewellyn William Atcherley (1871-1954). Following his army career he was Chief Constable of the West Riding of Yorkshire (1908-19) and then an Inspector of Constabulary (1919-36, 1940-45).

³³ Ian Standish Monteith Hamilton (1853-1947). After a very successful army career he had commanded the disastrous Gallipoli expedition. After retirement in 1920 he took a keen interest in the British Legion.

³⁴ Donald Charles Frederick Macintyre (1859-1938).

³⁵ John Denton Pinkstone French (1852-1925), a charismatic cavalry leader in the Boer War but a less successful commander of the British army in the field in 1914-15.

³⁶ Charles Harington, formerly Poë (1872-1940). He had commanded the 49th (West Riding) Division in 1915 soon after the territorials first arrived in France and was in charge of Northern Command from 1923 to 1927.

³⁷ Robert Calverley Allington Bewicke Bewicke-Copley (1855-1923). He had commanded the West Riding (Yorkshire) Volunteers, served in the Boer War commanding mobile columns and held a senior position in Northern Command.

General Sir Ivor Maxse³⁸) made their choices is less clear.³⁹ In most cases, the senior figure selected had either commanded a formation which had included a battalion from the Duke of Wellington's Regiment, or had been the officer in charge of Northern Command in York. The desire for a significant connection with Huddersfield was emphasised at the ceremony in the Drill Hall. Plumer included in his speech a justification for his presence there, rather than that of the battalion's honorary colonel. An outsider, he said, was able to pay tribute more impartially. However, a letter to the newspaper after the ceremony, making a rather lame attempt to give the Field Marshall a Yorkshire pedigree, suggested that views on the subject had been mixed.⁴⁰

A particularly crucial figure in interpreting the military to the civilian, and vice versa, was the columnist "Old Volunteer".⁴¹ Originally a weekly feature in the Conservative paper, the *Chronicle*, it was taken over by the Liberal paper, the *Examiner*, when the former closed, in 1916. Initially, it combined practical announcements of drills, parades and camps, and news mainly of interest to insiders, with items of more general interest aimed at improving recruitment and general goodwill. The "Old Volunteer" column was an important catalyst in the process of turning the Boer War commemoration into something much more comprehensive than civic recognition for a couple of middle class volunteer officers.⁴² When war came a second time, the column, whilst continuing to fulfil its old functions for the

³⁸ Ivor Maxse (1862-1958). He preceded Harington as GOC Northern Command (1919-23), having made a considerable reputation as a successful innovator in training and organisational methods.

³⁹ At Huddersfield St Peter, the presence of Major-General Sir George Carey and Admiral Sir Reginald Tupper appeared to be solely the result of their being relatives of the Vicar.

⁴⁰ HWE 6 Sept. 1924. The letter was from Colonel Brierley.

⁴¹ In 1908, the army was reorganised, resulting in the disappearance of the disparate volunteer forces, and the creation of a Territorial Force designed for home service during war time, to allow the professional forces to be deployed overseas. Each regular regiment had a third Territorial battalion attached to it. Thus "volunteer" came to have a number of connotations: those of the late nineteenth century infantry and cavalry groups whose members were part-time; those non-regulars who had served in South Africa; the part-time post-1908 members of the territorial battalions; and, finally, those civilians who signed up in after the outbreak of war but before the introduction of conscription.

⁴² Captain Charles Brook and Lieutenant Harold Wilson were awarded the Freedom of the borough in May 1901 (see Chapter 3, p. 76). Brook was the offspring of a marriage uniting the Armitage Bridge Brookes with another industrial dynasty of Brooks in Meltham. Wilson was from a mill-owning family in Mirfield.

home-based territorials, extended its remit to include news of Huddersfield forces at the front. After the Armistice it covered the increasingly fraught matter of demobilisation, and the problems of the ex-servicemen in obtaining jobs, training, pensions and other welfare support. It was also the vehicle for an appeal to those ex-servicemen when they threatened to boycott the peace celebrations in Huddersfield in protest at substantial monies being spent on that rather than on practical help.⁴³ It was therefore the natural place where the wider public of the borough was kept informed of the views of the demobilised men on the early stages of the plans for the borough memorial. The author of the “Old Volunteer” column was Mr H R Milnes, Huddersfield-born, and recorded in the 1901 census as “journalist and author”, although little else is known of him.⁴⁴

Woodheads

As the sole general newspaper in Huddersfield after 1916, the *Examiner* was the main formal channel of information for most sections of local life in both the borough itself, via its daily evening edition, and in the surrounding area, by means of its weekly Saturday edition. It took that responsibility seriously and, whilst taking a generally Liberal line in editorials, gave space to all sections of society in its articles, announcements and advertising, even when the scarcity of newsprint reduced the size of the paper. The paper was owned by the Woodhead dynasty and was also edited by them until 1924. Its founder, Joseph Woodhead, had handed the editorship of the paper over to his son, Ernest, in 1885, and died in 1913. Both father and son were borough councillors, aldermen and Mayors, and both were awarded the Freedom of the Borough. When Ernest accepted his honour in 1918, he referred to the extent to which the newspaper’s coverage of local affairs had been constrained by the need to respect the confidentiality of information gained through the council work of its editors. A councillor proposing the grant of the Freedom to another recipient on that occasion, referred to having read the *Examiner*’s appreciation of the new freeman and having had to remind himself that the two were on opposite political sides.⁴⁵ Allowing for the conventions of the occasion, the newspaper did appear to deserve its

⁴³ HDE 26 June 1919.

⁴⁴ TNA RG 13/4110/16/24.

reputation for separating fact and opinion, and for acting as a paper of record. Its coverage of commemorative events, and the sometimes acrimonious debates which preceded them, never appeared to deny a platform to those of a different point of view from the Editor. In 1924, Elliot Dodds⁴⁶ took over as Editor, a man from outside Yorkshire but a Liberal and Congregationalist, as the Woodheads were, and he continued the *Examiner's* tradition.⁴⁷

The second generation of Woodheads were unusual in Huddersfield society in being graduates. All had been educated at Huddersfield College, the Nonconformist proprietary institution founded in 1838, and all had proceeded to the University of Edinburgh, except for the youngest, Frank Ellis, who went to Cambridge but was withdrawn by his father when he began to acquire habits of which his father disapproved.⁴⁸ In the borough council of 1918, only Ernest Woodhead and two doctors, Henry Pullon and Louis Demetriadi, were listed as having degrees. The Woodheads' educational background contrasts with that of the Brookes, for whom public schools outside the area, sometimes followed by Oxford, were the norm.⁴⁹ Both families would have shared a familiarity with the classics, though no doubt with different views of the interplay between them and theological matters, and of their relevance for political life. Most of the Anglican clergy of the area had had an education more on the lines of that of the Brookes'. The backgrounds of the Catholic priests and Nonconformist ministers were much less uniform, and few appear to have

⁴⁵ HDE 21 Sept. 1918.

⁴⁶ George Elliott Dodds (1889-1977). He was also an influential figure at the national level of the Liberal Party.

⁴⁷ In addition to Ernest as editor, two of Joseph's other sons, Arthur Longden Woodhead and Frank Ellis Woodhead were both Directors of the company, the former specialising in the business and financial management of the paper and the latter being its sports editor under the pseudonym "Rouge". Prior to her marriage, the only daughter, Catherine Mary, introduced new typesetting methods to the firm. Joseph's wife had been a member of the Society of Friends before her marriage. (Cooksey, *Public Lives*)

⁴⁸ Two other sons read medicine, Sir German Sims Woodhead, a Cambridge Professor of Pathology, being knighted for advances in battlefield water chlorination, and Herbert Miall Woodhead, a GP in Cheshire, was appointed OBE for his services as Sale's Medical Officer of Health. (Cooksey, *Public Lives*)

⁴⁹ All the brothers were educated at Cheltenham College, apart from John Arthur, who attended Repton; both he and Joshua Ingham went on to Oxford.

had a degree.⁵⁰ Most of the urban elites engaged in the textile trades favoured a different style of education. For the older generation, formal schooling often ended at a similar age to that of their working class contemporaries and they began working life at the bottom of the industrial hierarchy to learn the business from the inside. The younger generation was more likely to have had a longer formal education, at Huddersfield College, with the emphasis as much on commercially and technically useful subjects as on the more traditional ones. A period of work and study abroad in Europe or the Americas was also desirable to make contacts and to see alternative designs and technologies. Both they and their working class counterparts also had the resources of the Technical College. Given this educational culture, with its very different emphasis from that of the elites of southern towns and villages, it is not surprising that the war memorials of Huddersfield have few examples of classical imagery and quotations from classical authors.

Borough Councillors

By 1900, the Council of the borough was as likely to attract self-made men as members of the industrial upper middle classes. A councillor crucial to the development of the town was Mr W H Jessop. In a pattern familiar to many working class families, he had left school aged 9, a church school maintained by two of the local mill owners, and had gone to work in the warehouse of one of them, Starkey's. At 16, he took another path and joined his uncle's construction firm, then engaged in building St Thomas's church with Starkey's' funding. He later became a partner and, after his uncle's death, the sole proprietor of the business, which also owned stone quarries. Contracts for schools, churches, chapels, offices and many other buildings were won by the firm. Jessop also entered politics in 1882, being elected an alderman in 1892 and remaining a member until his death in 1921, when he was Father of the Council. He was four times Mayor, the first Conservative to hold that office, and was made a Freeman in 1918, at which time good-humoured reference was made to his tendency for not always letting his right hand know what his left was doing in his business dealings. His firm carried out the building work for the Boer

⁵⁰ A prominent exception being the Pastor (1910-1919) of Birkby Baptist, Henry Townsend, who had a London DD, and subsequently became Principal of Manchester Baptist College.

War and Great War memorials in Greenhead Park, for the Fartown and Birkby memorial in Norman Park, and for the civic memorials in Almondbury and Longwood. His personal commitment to the armed services began with his membership of the Volunteer Rifles as a young man, and continued with membership of the committee for the Boer War memorial and later of the Military Service Tribunal during the Great War. Jessop's political and religious affiliations – he was an active churchman at St Paul's Huddersfield - gave him access to one set of groupings in Huddersfield society; his business interests probably ensured that he was well known in every other quarter of it.⁵¹

A Conservative councillor with contacts only a little less extensive was Mr J A Woolven. He had first come to Huddersfield in 1873 from Sussex as a clerk on behalf of the Pickfords haulage company to undertake a local audit. He had stayed, married a publican's daughter, and later taken over her father's public house in the town centre near the market. He stood for the council in 1892 for the ward in which he had his business and, although later moving to a better residential area in the town centre and beginning additionally to trade as a wine and spirits merchant, he remained as councillor for the same area. He was elected an alderman in 1913 and held the office of Mayor for two years, 1919-1921. His market tavern experience would have given him considerable familiarity with the realities of working class life in the crowded inner areas of the town. That is reflected in the 55 years he spent organising the workmen's penny contributions scheme for the Royal Infirmary, beginning before he joined the Council. As his political and business interests developed, so did his range of personal and business contacts.⁵²

Boer War Links

Jessop, Woolven, and a Mr P H Lee, demonstrate important links between the Boer War and Great War commemorative processes. Lee, like Woolven, came from outside Huddersfield, and had come to the town with his parents and brothers as an

⁵¹ Freedom of the Borough (HDE 21 Sept. 1918), death and funeral (HDE 26 Aug. and HWE 27 Aug. 1921). He was also a close friend of the parish priest of St Patrick's (W Cosgrove, *The Irish of Huddersfield and District* ([Huddersfield], [c. 1928]), p. 6).

⁵² Freedom of the Borough (HDE 26 July 1934); TNA RG10/4364/87/19; RG11/4381/71/9; RG12/3566/61/6.

accountant's clerk in about 1878. The family, at least on the evidence of the censuses, was occupationally middle class but not sufficiently well off to employ a live-in servant.⁵³ Whether to bring himself to the attention of those who could benefit his career, or out of unknown connections to the Volunteers or to the regular army, or as a consequence of simply being around when a more senior individual was commandeering help, Lee became the joint secretary of the committee which fought for the Fallen Heroes memorial from the outset.⁵⁴ He later occupied a similar position on the committee of the Fartown and Birkby memorial. Woolven was mentioned, in 1906, as at the first of the annual ceremonies at the Fallen Heroes memorial. Initially, he was clearly the junior representative of the Conservative interest on those occasions, playing a supporting role to Alderman Beaumont.⁵⁵ Jessop, Lee and Woolven, indicate the wider group of people who were needed to sustain the annual commemorative rituals that provided Huddersfield with its ready-made temporary memorial from the first day of the Great War. When Woolven was made a Freeman, in 1934, tributes compared him to "a notable classic winner in long distance races ...with never a hair out of place whether he won or lost". This group of people also passed on the experience they had gained from their efforts to achieve a Boer War memorial and thus assisted the many groups struggling with similar tasks.

It is fair to say that although the Boer War commemoration itself was eventually cross-party, the annual ceremonies of remembrance were sustained by the veterans and the Conservatives. It was not until war came again that the Liberal party joined the regular commemorations. During and after the Great War, the scale of bereavement was such that traditional party ties to the armed forces, or to voluntaryism and non-violence, became largely irrelevant. The Labour party was, in general, conspicuous by its absence throughout the commemorative story. Most of its activists were opposed to the war, and even more so to conscription. Yet it too was divided. It was not until September 1917 that the last pro-war "patriotic socialist" director of *The Worker* resigned. A notable exception was Alderman

⁵³ Philip Henry Lee (TNA RG12/3571/20/20 and RG13/4108/5/1).

⁵⁴ The other secretary was H R Milnes, "Old Volunteer".

⁵⁵ Ernest Alexander Beaumont (see p. 247 below).

William Wheatley, the senior member of Labour's small group of councillors, who was an energetic military recruiter from the outset, yet retained the vice-presidency of the Trades Council throughout the war.⁵⁶ He was a member of the War Hospital Committee from its formation, and subsequently of the borough War Memorial Committee. He was also a speaker at the dedication of the Dock Street war memorial.⁵⁷

Debaters and Freemasons

A body almost totally absent from the normal run of press reports, but having an eclectic membership who enjoyed vigorous discussion, was the Union Debating Society. Founded in 1864, its custom of an annual vote of no confidence in the government of the day, and an annual toast to the clergy and ministers of all denominations, as well as its home in the one of the rooms of Highfield Independent chapel's Sunday School, reflected its flavour. By the early twentieth century its membership ranged across the religious and political spectrum, exemplified by the run of presidents from 1913 to 1917: J H Robson, Quaker, Liberal councillor and dyestuffs manufacturer, G P Norton and S C Brierley, both pre-war territorial officers, and D R H Williams, Anglo-Catholic, Conservative activist, and worsted manufacturer.⁵⁸

Another strand which undoubtedly contributed to the networks which transmitted information and ideas across Huddersfield during and after the First World War was that of freemasonry. The extent of its influence is difficult to gauge, not because of secrecy, as would be the case later in the twentieth century, but simply because of the random survival of evidence. Newspapers covered Masonic occasions in exactly the same way as they reported other society events and business, and references in speeches, obituaries and other sources of information also show no reticence. With royal and aristocratic patronage, there was ample reason for Conservatives and Anglicans to regard membership as socially respectable. The

⁵⁶ Pearce, *Comrades in Conscience*, pp. 115-117, 217-218, 307.

⁵⁷ HDE 29 Oct. 1918.

⁵⁸ For Norton and Brierley see p. 238 above; for Williams see Chapter 9. Robson resigned from the Liberal party over conscription, and remained on the Council as an Independent.

religious sensibilities of Nonconformists might be assumed to have balked at the ritual elements of freemasonry, but the former minister of Zion New Connexion chapel at Lindley, Revd Harry Rowe, delivered the eulogy at Sir William Raynor's funeral in his capacity as Provincial Grand Chaplain of West Yorkshire.⁵⁹ Huddersfield, by 1920, had nine lodges, four of which had been formed since 1917.⁶⁰ Aldermen Jessop and Woolven were members, and references to "the Great Architect of the Universe" and "the Ruling Hand" in the speeches at the Freedom ceremony of 1918 strongly suggested that Alderman E A Beaumont and former Alderman B Broadbent were also members.⁶¹ In an editorial on the death of Sir William Raynor, Woodhead's approving reference to the new freeman's encouragement of "the helpful and philanthropic side" of freemasonry suggests that he had reservations about its other activities and was not a Mason himself.⁶²

Women

Evidence of the influence of women is more difficult to identify than that of freemasonry. Most of those who were mentioned in the newspaper reports and minutes of commemorative occasions appeared to be there as adjuncts to their husbands, fathers or brothers. At worst, they were not even named, being recorded as either "...and xx ladies" in the membership of a proposed committee, or simply as a separate "ladies' committee". In most other cases they were Mrs X or Miss Y, with

The Society actively discouraged any reporting of its debates. (J W Dicks, *UDS The Old Society: The First Hundred Years* (Huddersfield: The Examiner Press, 1964))

⁵⁹ HDE 29 Aug. 1927.

⁶⁰ 'The Freemasons of the Province of Yorkshire (West Riding)'. <www.wrprovince.co.uk/i_contents.htm> (12 Apr. 2002). From 1899, the secretaries of the Huddersfield Conservative Association, the Liberal Association, and the Huddersfield Lodge met annually to co-ordinate dates for the organisations' social events. Prior to the war, in 1913, the Grand Lodge had warned that membership was being seen as little more than another benevolent society. Four of the Huddersfield lodges contributed a total of £2,526 to hospital expenses during the war, in addition to individual lodge support for other war charities. (F Hall, *The Huddersfield Lodge No 290, 1793-1993* ([Huddersfield]. [1993]), pp. 90-91, 168-69, 217).

⁶¹ HDE 21 Sept. 1918. Ernest Alexander Beaumont (1857-1922) was an accountant and a volunteer soldier. He had been a Conservative councillor for 39 years at the time of his death. Benjamin Broadbent (1850-1925) was the owner of Parkwood Mills, Longwood, and a councillor from 1886 to 1913. His work to reduce infant mortality was recognised by his appointment as CBE in 1918.

no additional identifying detail. Their relative anonymity misleads. All voluntary associations and special projects in peacetime depended on many individuals to bring the plans of the leaders to fruition, and in most cases that meant women, organising catering, collecting subscriptions, making things to sell at bazaars, publicising events, cleaning premises, and so on.⁶³ During and after the war those same skills became even more essential, as the numbers of male helpers dramatically reduced. When such a masculine organisation as the Deighton Working Men's Club paid tribute to the women without whom their memorial would never have happened, they were certainly not being merely conventionally polite.⁶⁴ In more exalted circles, courteous thanks to the ladies were more the norm, but should not be regarded as platitudes. The Scottish Tommies Ladies, an offshoot of the Presbyterian church, St James's, grew out of the resolution of a church meeting to ensure that a wreath was lain at every Scottish soldier's funeral in Huddersfield⁶⁵ and, although not further documented in the church records, became a significant support for all Scots, particularly those in the war hospitals as patients or staff, judging by the number of references to them in post-war ceremonies.⁶⁶ Experience suggests that women would also have been highly influential in privately chivvying their men folk into continued action when projects appeared to be losing momentum.

Some women did emerge from the records with rather fuller identities. At least eight women either unveiled or officially inaugurated memorials. The most predictable example was when the Lady Mayoress and the Deputy Lady Mayoress each planted one of the memorial saplings in Beaumont Park, in November 1921.⁶⁷ As tree planting was a traditional role for women in public life, with undertones of the female part in the creation of new life, the choice was not unusual. The Mayoress was also the unveiler of the local civic memorial at Birchencliffe, but that took place

⁶² HDE 26 Aug. 1927. Although Elliott Dodds had taken over as the normal editor by that time, the tone and content of the editorial suggested that Ernest Woodhead was the author.

⁶³ F K Prochaska, *Women and Philanthropy in Nineteenth Century England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980).

⁶⁴ Christ Church, Woodhouse, Parish Magazine Aug. 1920 (WYAS(W) WDP 42/127).

⁶⁵ Committee of Management, 19 October 1915.

⁶⁶ For example, HDE 22 May 1916, 15 Oct. 1929, HWE 15 Jan. 1921.

⁶⁷ See Chapter 4, p. 111.

in the presence of the Mayor, who made the speech.⁶⁸ In other examples, the extent to which the woman concerned had been chosen in her own right, or took a more substantive part in the proceedings, was rather more varied. At the Cowcliffe and Netheroyd Hill Liberal Club, Mrs T Stead was a substitute for the Club President, who was unexpectedly absent, when she unveiled a framed Roll of Honour and framed portraits of those who had died. The newspaper report referred to her “appropriate little speech” without mentioning any of its content.⁶⁹ At the Zion Methodist New Connexion chapel in Lindley, a memorial tablet to those who had served and returned was unveiled in the porch by Mrs F W Sykes, a man having unveiled the plaque inside the chapel for those who had died. She is not recorded as having made a speech.⁷⁰ At the Primitive Methodist chapel in Taylor Hill, Lockwood, the wife of a former minister, Mrs Bradbury, formally opened the organ, which was the chapel’s memorial. Her speech, commenting on the importance of music in worship, and therefore the appropriateness of an organ as a memorial, and paying tribute to the way all those from the church had done their duty, was reported in the newspaper in exactly the same way as a speech by a male unveiler. If her husband was also there, neither the order of service nor the newspaper report mentioned the fact.⁷¹ In the school assembly room of Trinity Wesleyan Methodist church in Fartown, a Roll of Honour for all those who had served in the war was unveiled by Miss Pilling in the afternoon, followed by a similar ceremony in the chapel in the evening, when a tablet for the fallen was dedicated by a man. The afternoon ceremony was an impressive occasion and Miss Pilling spoke of the great sacrifice of the men, comparing it to the biblical pillar of fire in the wilderness. It seems probable that Miss Pilling was a long-serving teacher who had known many of those on the Roll.⁷²

⁶⁸ HDE 18 Nov. 1918. Mrs Carmi Smith was the Mayoress.

⁶⁹ HWE 24 Sept. 1921.

⁷⁰ Mrs Sykes, was described as “of Green Lea”, identifying her as the wife of a West Riding County magistrate living in Lindley (HDE 1 Nov. 1921; Order of Service WYAS(K) WYK 84/7/1).

⁷¹ HWE 9 July 1921; unidentified press cutting in Trustees Minutes (WYAS(K) NM/HSC/V/4).

⁷² HWE 24 Dec. 1920.

All the events referred to above were indoors, in the context of a particular voluntary society. However, apart from the Lady Mayoress in Birchencliffe, there was one other outdoor civic ceremony where a woman played a major part. When the cross and curved wall of engraved stones was dedicated in Almondbury, at the main cross roads by the church, the unveiler was Mrs E R Benson. She was a borough magistrate, the President of the women's Unionist Association in the village, and the wife of the Vice-Chairman of the Parochial Church Council. Her husband was no doubt present at the ceremony but played no official part. The memorial was dedicated by the Archdeacon, and hers was the only speech. As well as unveiling the memorial, she also laid a wreath on behalf of the women of the village. Her speech was quoted extensively in the newspaper report and it ended with thanks to the people of Almondbury for the honour they had done to her, making her one of themselves, "one with you and with them", thus identifying herself as "a comer-in" in the local phraseology.⁷³

The memorial project in Almondbury began in the parish church but was then taken over by a committee representative of all the churches and societies in the village, and the dedication ceremony was interdenominational.⁷⁴ There was therefore nothing inevitable about the choice of Mrs Benson amongst all the other local dignitaries. Her husband, Edward Riou Benson, was from a clerical and military background, though he himself was a woollen manufacturer.⁷⁵ She, however, fifteen years his junior, was the daughter of a railway clerk. Consequently, Grace Benson combined a very modest lower middle class background with the acquisition, by marriage, of much more elevated connections. As such, it may well have been easier for a much wider group of Almondbury's residents to identify with her than might otherwise have been the case.

⁷³ HDE 15 Nov. 1920, 17 May 1921, HWE 12 Nov. 1921; Programme 14 May 1921 (WYAS(W) WDP 12/no doc. ref.).

⁷⁴ HWE 4 Jan., 26 Apr. 1919, HDE 20 May 1919, Church Council 3 Dec. 1918 (WYAS(W) WDP 12/191-192) and Vestry 21 Apr. 1919 (Church Wardens Minute Book, WYAS(W) WDP 12/179).

⁷⁵ TNA RG10/2736/32/2, RG11/1320/25/44, RG12/3556/51/24 and RG13/4094/54/10. His elder brother was Brigadier-General Riou Philip Benson (1863-1939) and the family was in some way connected with the Brookes of Armitage Bridge. He married Grace Fanny Weston in 1902.

Mrs Benson was the clearest and most prominent example of a woman playing an important role in a war memorial ceremony for reasons which did not obviously differ from those leading to the choice of a man. That is not to say that some of the other women featuring in ceremonies were not chosen for their own qualities, rather than for the position they derived from their husbands, but the evidence is not available to make that judgement.

Some individual women were also mentioned as musicians.⁷⁶ The most interesting reference, however, was to an artist, Miss Greta Duffy, the daughter of the minister of Dalton New Church (Swedenborgian), whose design and execution of their war memorial drew admiring comments in the newspaper. The memorial depicted Manhood appealed to by Honour, drawing a sword on behalf of defenceless women and children, described as a “vigorous conception and artistic skill of very considerable merit...deservedly viewed with admiration”.⁷⁷

Children

Even less noticeable in the records were the children. Conventionally, they are regarded as part of the groups of bereaved, sometimes laying wreaths with their widowed mothers, and, more generally, as the future generations for whom the memorials were to be an example of a noble way of life, and death. However, that picture fails to recognise their much more active role in the war. In a society where the majority left school at the beginning of adolescence, it was normal to begin to take on adult roles as helpers to the men and women in the associations to which they belonged. In addition to those voluntary roles in peace time, most of the adolescents worked to contribute to the family economy.⁷⁸ Wartime made their paid and voluntary work even more crucial. The provisions of the Factory Acts had been relaxed to facilitate more overtime working by children.⁷⁹ The minority who were

⁷⁶ Such as Madame Doris Hirst, the soloist at Rashcliffe St Stephen, (HWE 17 Nov. 1919), Mrs E A Green, who sang the solo at Fartown Trinity (HWE 24 Dec. 1920), and Mrs Herbert Haigh, the organist at Newsome parish church, who had been in post since 1872 at the time of the dedication of its memorial (HWE 12 Nov. 1921, 14 Apr. 1923).

⁷⁷ HWE 24 Apr. 1920.

⁷⁸ See Chapter 2, p. 40.

⁷⁹ Early in 1917, the Minister for Education stated that 600,000 children had been withdrawn to employment during the first three years of war (Emden and Humphries, *All*

members of uniformed organisations, such as Scouts, Guides, Boys Brigade, Red Cross, and St John's Ambulance Brigade were formally organised in aid of the war effort; others joined ad hoc groups.⁸⁰ Most of the actual process of egg collection for the war hospital was carried out by children.⁸¹ In schools, sock making and bandage rolling was not just an occasional project but a regular feature of life.⁸² After the war, traces in minutes, such as a reference to a church committee being warned that it was illegal for children to sell scent bags door-to-door for the war memorial fund, showed that it was not only the adults who were involved in the process of turning plans into reality.⁸³

Dock Street

It is very rarely possible to describe the ordinary people involved in a particular commemorative process in any detail. However, with one Huddersfield memorial, the nature of the community can be described with some confidence, even though, with possibly three exceptions, the precise individuals involved cannot be identified. In the census taken on 31 March 1901, the section of the enumerator's book covering Dock Street and Watergate⁸⁴ revealed quite a lot about the nature of the neighbourhood and its inhabitants. Dock Street itself had 51 dwellings of which 18

Quiet on the Home Front: An Oral History of Life in Britain during the First World War, pp. 272-73).

⁸⁰ In Saddleworth, and elsewhere, boy scouts were despatched to guard the reservoirs at the outbreak of war (Mitchinson, *Saddleworth 1914-1919*, p. 15; M Meadowcroft, 'The Years of Political Transition, 1914-39', in D Fraser (ed.), *A History of Modern Leeds* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1980), 410-436, p. 412).

⁸¹ See Chapter 10, p. 283. A picture in Haigh and Gillooley, *A Century of Huddersfield*, 44, indicates how young those involved could be.

⁸² *The Three Rs Through Three Centuries: A record of education in the village of Holme, West Yorkshire, from 1694 to 1994, published to coincide with the Tercentenary of Holme Sunday School* (Holme: The Friends of Holme Junior and Infant School, and Holme Sunday School Committee, 1994), pp. 47-48. Also a regular feature, was a child being called home when news of a serviceman's death came through, and special prayers and hymns being said daily for those serving, and for the recently bereaved. (M Arthur, *Forgotten Voices of the Great War* (London: Ebury Press in association with the Imperial War Museum, 2002), p. 171; Emden and Humphries, *All Quiet on the Home Front*, p. 101)

⁸³ Lockwood Emmanuel, War Memorial Hall Committee, 10 Dec. 1918.

⁸⁴ TNA RG13/4104/171-178.

were unoccupied.⁸⁵ Of the remaining 33 houses, 18 had heads of households born in Ireland, the mother of another head was of Irish birth, and a further ten heads had surnames common in Ireland, suggesting that something approaching 90% of the households in the street would have regarded themselves as culturally Irish. Watergate, with 29 dwellings, all but three occupied, was less obviously dominated by the Irish but there were still six heads of household born in Ireland, an Irish wife in another household, and a further three heads with surnames of probable Irish origin, making a total of nearly 40%. It is also striking how many households were headed by a widow or widower: 14 in Dock Street and six in Watergate. Add to that three heads in Dock Street who were single, and two in Watergate, as well as a married women with three small children, “living on charities”, with no male in the household, and over 50% of the households in Dock Street and nearly a third in Watergate did not have the economic advantages of a traditional two-adult structure.

The occupations stated were mainly at the bottom of the working class hierarchy. Many of the men were labourers, mostly at the nearby chemical works or in masons’ or brick-making yards. It was the adolescents, male and female, and the adult women, who were most likely to be in the textile trade, but there were few weavers and spinners, and far more sorters, rug makers and rag pickers, suggesting employment in the textile recycling firms at the lower end of the market. There were also charwomen, hawkers, and a “travelling draper”. It is unlikely that many could rely on regular work all year round. That picture was reinforced by the three households in Dock Street where all but the youngest were of Italian birth, and each of the three family units was extended by adult boarders. One was a household of ice cream hawkers, and the other two of organ grinders. There was no trace of a corner shop, although the hawkers may have been unofficial resident traders. The heart of the community was, no doubt, 42 Dock Street, presided over by Bernard Gallagher, the publican.⁸⁶

⁸⁵ These dwellings may have been genuinely unoccupied, as a result of the fluid population of the most poverty-stricken areas, or their residents may have preferred to evade the enumerator’s inquiries - not difficult with few material possessions.

⁸⁶ The entry in the schedule did not give a public house name, and Kellys Directory for West Yorkshire of 1908 recorded a beer retailer at that address, so the premises may not have become an official public house until some time later.

The Roman Catholic society in Huddersfield regarded itself as entirely Irish in origin, with no continuing pre-Reformation heritage, though no doubt with a number of nineteenth century English converts by marriage.⁸⁷ Taken together with the Italian households, it is easy to see why the inhabitants of the two streets would regard themselves as a largely if not exclusively Catholic community, whether or not churchgoing was a regular part of their lives. The pre-war army had always had a strong Irish element and, indeed, the 1901 census caught one such soldier home on furlough in Dock Street.⁸⁸ Economic pressure would have been a strong incentive to volunteer when war was declared. In such an environment, a street shrine as a focus for prayers for all those serving would have been a natural development, rapidly turning also into a memorial to the dead and, after the war, into the permanent street war memorial which was the only thing to have left traces in the historical record. At its unveiling, at the end of October 1918, the Roll of Honour was described as containing 83 names from Dock Street and 16 from Watergate, with only one house unrepresented. 18 of those named had made the ultimate sacrifice.⁸⁹ The landlord of the Dock Tavern, Mr Luke Galvin, had overseen the creation of the memorial, in conjunction with Mr John Conroy and Mr Harry Conroy DCM, and all the costs had been born by the streets' inhabitants.⁹⁰ The formal ceremony was attended by Alderman Beaumont, who unveiled the memorial on behalf of the Mayor, Alderman Wheatley and Councillor Platts, all councillors for the local wards, and Father McCarthy, the parish priest of St Joseph's Catholic church, who led the prayers. Mr Galvin and his wife, with Mrs Scally, Dock Street's oldest resident who had been born there and had lived in the area all her life, then entertained the residents and

⁸⁷ Cosgrove, *The Irish*, p.4; F X Singleton, *A Historical Record of St Patrick's Church, Huddersfield 1832 to 1932* (Huddersfield: Swindlehurst and Nicholson, 1932) p.12, 14-16.

⁸⁸ Edward Hopkins at 35 Dock Street (TNA RG13/4104/172/16). Fitzpatrick, 'A Curious Middle Place: The Irish in Britain 1871-1921', p. 23.

⁸⁹ A newspaper article of 1947 described a six foot (c. 1.8 metres) glass-cased tablet with gold lettering, costing 16 guineas (HDE 22 Mar.). When Dock Street was demolished the memorial was placed in the Council's estates office but has since disappeared (Kirklees War Memorial Survey).

⁹⁰ In the 1901 census, No 8 Watergate was occupied by Daniel and Catherine Conroy and their 2 year old son John. John and Harry Conroy were very probably the sons of that family. (TNA RG 13/4104/177/25).

guests to “a pleasant evening”.⁹¹ As the evening’s proceedings were on licensed premises, and included several songs from Mr Galvin and Mrs Scally, it is safe to assume that the occasion was one for both laughter and tears in the long tradition of the Irish wake. The presence of three councillors, two Conservative and one Labour, at the unveiling, and the later appearance of Sir William Raynor, a Liberal, to join the evening’s activities, served to emphasise that, whatever the divisive impact of Irish Home Rule and the 1916 rebellion, all of Huddersfield’s political parties were content to recognise publicly the Irish community’s contribution to the war effort.⁹²

Sir William Raynor

The mention of Sir William Raynor brings into focus a man whose background and connections bore little resemblance to the Anglican and Conservative stereotype of the knighted public figure, yet who was probably the most important factor in the history of Huddersfield commemoration. William Pick Raynor was a Huddersfield man, born in 1854, whose father was the buyer for Messrs Thomas Hirst, wool merchants. He joined the same firm as an office boy aged 13, becoming a junior partner after his father died in 1888, and becoming one of two sole partners in 1909. The firm was at the forefront of the development of fine worsted coatings using colonial crossbred wools. His position in the cloth trade nationally was recognised by the chairmanship of the Colonial Wool Buyers Association. He became President of the Huddersfield Liberal Club and of the Liberal Association in 1902, chairing their election committees for the contests of 1902, 1910 and 1918. He had been brought up a Primitive Methodist, becoming successively a scholar, teacher and officer at South Street chapel. Although he later transferred to the New Connexion chapel in High Street, he took the chair at the local celebrations of the Primitive Methodist centenary in 1920, regretting that Northumberland Street chapel was not full for the occasion, and recalling the period in his father’s time when “not a labour movement for the betterment of the people but what had had a Primitive Methodist preacher or class leader at its head”.⁹³

⁹¹ In 1901, Mary A Scally was at No 25 Dock Street, a widow aged 48 with four daughters and two sons (TNA RG 13/4104/172/15).

⁹² HDE 29 Oct. 1918.

⁹³ HDE 11 Oct. 1920.

Thus far the description fitted easily into the Liberal Nonconformist textile tradition, even if the Primitive Methodist strand was somewhat unusual for a mill owner. Yet he had also been a freemason since 1879 and rose to the position of Provincial Grand Master of West Yorkshire, which he held from 1919 to 1926, being succeeded by Viscount Lascelles. He was also a Vice-President of the Huddersfield branch of the ultra-patriotic Royal Society of St George. One of his oldest friends was Alderman Woolven, who had been his guest to “see in Christmas” for 50 successive years by 1926, an occasion which was clearly not teetotal, despite his Methodism. His knighthood dated from 1912, and thus recognised his commercial, political and masonic achievements well before the special circumstances of the war.

During the war his activities included the chairmanship of the Recruiting Committee, of the Lord Derby’s Registration Committee, and of the Civilian Training Corps. He also initiated the raising and equipping of the 168th Brigade of the Royal Field Artillery, provided funds for their Christmas entertainments every year while on active service, and hosted a reunion for about 600 officers and men in 1919. He was Vice-Chairman of the War Relief Fund, a Trustee of the Royal Infirmary and one of the initiators of the Huddersfield War Hospital. His part in the creation of the borough war memorials is described in Chapter 3 above. When he was granted the freedom of the borough, in 1926, the *Examiner*’s article was headed “Huddersfield’s Grand Old Man”. His funeral, the following year, may have seen the largest attendance of mourners and the general public that Huddersfield had ever witnessed.

Raynor’s importance lay in the way he formed a bridge between different groups in Huddersfield society. Although the embodiment of Liberalism for many years, his personal relationships were not confined by party loyalties, and his advice was freely available to all groups on the Council. His business interests necessarily crossed political, religious and social boundaries locally, regionally and nationally. His role in freemasonry reinforced that perspective. The range of his activities was considerable, but he never seems to have been a mere figurehead, declining a number of offices to which he believed he could not give sufficient attention. Descriptions of him as having “a reputation for forthright honesty”, “never mealy-mouthed”, know[ing] how to take as well as give hard knocks”, “attain[ing] power and wealth by the power of his personality and us[ing] both very freely for the common good”.

“energy, breadth of grasp and determination”, “uprightness and integrity even when [that] meant material loss”, “generous to the suffering of whatever party or creed” indicated the nature of the man who rescued the borough’s commemoration of the war from divisive stalemate.⁹⁴

Clergy and Ministers

Another well-established set of networks, within and beyond Huddersfield, was those of the clergy and ministers of religion. In addition to their personal interactions and individual membership of religious and secular organisations, there were formal bodies within denominations, such as the Methodist circuit system, the Yorkshire Baptist Union, the Huddersfield and District Congregational Council, and the Convocation of the (Anglican) Province of York, as well as the interdenominational Huddersfield Free Church Council. They, and the laymen and women who took key roles in their churches, were crucial links in the overlapping circles of Huddersfield life. The Vicar of the town’s parish church was, by virtue of his office, a member of many of those circles, and his church might have been expected to have been at the centre of Huddersfield’s commemoration of the war. The next chapter explores why that was not the case.

⁹⁴ Freedom of the Borough (HDE 17 Dec. 1926), death and funeral (HDE 26/29 Aug. 1927).

Chapter 9 – Huddersfield’s Parish Church, St Peter

A New Vicar and a New Start

On 12 July 1917, the Bishop of Wakefield inducted the new Vicar of the parish of St Peter, Revd A D Tupper-Carey. He also appealed in his address for people to “rally round the mother church and the new vicar”. As he explained, new districts had grown up, and worshippers had taken their places in the churches of those districts, with the result that the situation of St Peter’s was not easy. Moreover, it was not often that a residentiary canon of one of our great cathedrals, and one accustomed to important diocesan duties, “stepped down as it were again into parish work”.¹ This description of the Vicar was perhaps not the most diplomatic way of introducing him to the parish and the town, but Tupper-Carey’s credentials certainly appeared appropriate for one who was expected to build up the congregation and its role in the town to more impressive levels. He came to St Peter from York Minster, where Archbishop Lang had appointed him to a new post of Missionary Canon in 1910.² He and Lang had met as students at Oxford, trained together at Cuddesdon College, and served together as curates in the parish church of Leeds. Thereafter, Tupper-Carey had been the head of Christ Church, Oxford’s Mission in Poplar, in the East End of London, and then Rector of St Margaret, Lowestoft, Suffolk, before rejoining Lang in York.³ The parish of St Peter was of medieval origins, and had been attached to Nostell Priory. It, and the larger parish of Almondbury, covered the whole of the later borough, as well as substantial areas of land in the Colne and Holme Valleys.⁴ After the Dissolution, the advowsons and properties of both Huddersfield and Almondbury passed into lay hands and came to be held by the same

¹ HDE 13 July 1917.

² Cosmo Gordon Lang (1864-1945), Archbishop of York (1908-1928) and Archbishop of Canterbury (1928-1942).

³ Albert Darell Tupper Carey (1866-1943). His surname had been changed to Tupper-Carey by Deed Poll in 1887. He had refused the Huddersfield living when it had been offered to him seven years earlier (Church Wardens Minute Book 1817-1933, 2 Apr. 1918, WYAS(W) WDP 32/89).

⁴ A small area of the borough around Dalton was part of the parish of Kirkheaton.

family, the Ramsdens. The creation of other churches in the town began in the early 1800s. By 1917, there were six other Anglican places of worship in Huddersfield town itself⁵, as well as those in adjacent areas of the borough.⁶

Something of the nature of the parish, prior to the arrival of the new Vicar, can be judged from the Vestry minutes. The annual meetings of 1914, 1915 and 1916 each attracted under a dozen ratepayers, and arguments over minor items of expenditure rumbled on from year to year.⁷ When, in November 1916, a special Vestry meeting was called following the resignation of the incumbent, the Ramsdens' agent successfully argued that making a new appointment would be easier if the Vestry would make a commitment to allocate a stated sum per year to the Vicar from church funds, rather than continue the previous custom of annual ad hoc decisions. A promise of £150 per annum was duly made, but those present urged the Church Wardens to restart sales of work to raise funds.⁸ The Church Wardens Accounts for the same period showed that the number of seat holders was declining yet it was those people who were being asked to make special contributions to offset the absence of income from sales of work. The 1915-16 accounts had shown a surplus of £26-6-10, compared with one of £155-16-0 at the end of the previous year.⁹ Information in the records about the parish's response to the war was sparse. The

⁵ Holy Trinity, St Andrew, St John, St Mark, St Paul and St Thomas, as well as some mission halls.

⁶ J Addy, 'The Church in Huddersfield, 600-1743', in E A H Haigh (ed.), *Huddersfield, A Most Handsome Town. Aspects of the History and Culture of a West Yorkshire Town* (Huddersfield: Kirklees Cultural Services, 1992), 85-100; Royle, 'Religion in Huddersfield', pp. 101-104, 116-119.

⁷ 10 July 1914, 13 July 1915 and 29 Aug. 1916 (Vestry Minutes 1855-1921, WYAS(W) WDP 32/88). It took, for example, from 1914 until 1917, for it to be accepted that responsibility for painting the railings around the churchyard had ceased to be a charge on the Poor Law in 1855, when general burials in the churchyard had ended; even then the conclusion was not unanimous. The vestry was made up of all those resident or occupying land in the parish, and paying rates, regardless of religious persuasion.

⁸ Only ten people attended the special meeting. Canon Cecil Henry Rolt, Vicar of Huddersfield since 1910, was leaving to become Dean of Cape Town. (Vestry 29 Nov. 1916)

⁹ Most other churches had resumed normal fund-raising events after the first six months or so of war. The finances would have been in greater trouble had it not been for a legacy of £100 in 1914-1915, and payment of arrears of income from another legacy contributing £272-13-11 to the 1916-1917 outturn. (Church Wardens Accounts 1903-1921, WYAS(W) WDP 32/92). A further factor was the end of the arrangement whereby the Vicar was

People's Warden, a member of the Territorial Force, had been called up at the outbreak of war, and two curates had left to take up war duties. Mid-day intercession services had been taking place on a daily basis from at least April 1915, although attendance was disappointing.¹⁰

The impact of a change in leadership began to be evident in the Vestry meetings of Spring 1918. Presiding over the Easter Vestry meeting, Tupper-Carey outlined his view of the role of the church. It was not just a place to come to worship; it was "where [we] generated spiritual powers and forces and created aggressive forces that could go out and further the Kingdom of God on earth. We were passing into an entirely new world and the Church had got to [take action]". The parish needed "Some corporate body on the lines of democracy and representative government and more congregational meetings to get to know each other better". At his request, the meeting increased the number of sidesmen by two, to assist church work.¹¹ Over a hundred people attended the annual Vestry meeting a few weeks later, where it was agreed that a Church Council should be set up. The accounts presented to that meeting showed a small surplus. Although the number of seat holders was still a matter of concern, there had been a few new lets and the income from subscriptions in lieu of a sale of work had increased. The printed accounts also recorded thanks to the ladies who had been "instrumental in erecting the war shrine".¹²

Chaplain to the consecrated section of the Borough Cemetery, a significant source of fees (Wardens Minutes, 5 Apr. 1915).

¹⁰ Vestry 11 Aug. 1914, Wardens Minutes 24 Apr. 1916 and 9 Apr. 1917.

¹¹ Wardens Minutes 2 Apr. 1918.

¹² 31 May 1918. The occasion was minuted both as a Vestry meeting, with formal approval of the accounts, and as the first entry in what was to become the (Parochial) Church Council minute book (1914-1924, WYAS(W) WDP 32/94). Church Councils had been encouraged as a means of facilitating lay participation in church affairs since the late 1800s (F Knight, *The Nineteenth Century Church and English Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 195-200), although they had no formal powers. Initially the council of St Peter's had 21 members comprising the Vicar, as Chairman, the two Wardens, the eight sidesmen, one representative from each of St Aidan's (a chapel of ease), the Sunday School, the Day Schools and the Parochial Hall, two from the Choir, and four from the congregation. In April 1920, the body met for the first time as a PCC, anticipating the passage of the Parochial Church Councils (Powers) Measure 1921, although not yet with an elected membership, the first parish meeting to conduct such elections taking place in April 1921.

Decision Making

The first appearance of discussions about a war memorial occurred in the minutes of the new Church Council. In January 1919, the Vicar reported a letter he had received concerning the erection of a memorial tablet to an individual war casualty.¹³ The Council agreed that the inquirer should be asked to wait until there had been a full discussion of a general war memorial "fully representative of all who had laid down their lives". The Vicar suggested that, if anything was to be done, it should "command attention and respect". The Council then went on to agree to ask four leading architects for advice as to the suitability and possible costs of erecting a new chancel with side chapels, naming the architects to be approached as Nicholson, Hodgson Fowler, Comper, Aldrid Scott [sic] and Temple Moore.¹⁴ A few weeks later, the Council received letters from Nicholson, Temple Moore and Comper, with specimens of their work. Nicholson's offer of a sketch and preliminary advice was accepted, and a member of the Council was deputed to meet him the following day to show him round. It was explained to the Council that the outline proposals were for a chancel, side chapels and vestries at the east end of the present church "which might eventually become the beginning of an entirely new church".¹⁵ The speed with which the initial visit by Sir Charles Nicholson took place suggests that, although the question of a war memorial was new to the Council, the Vicar at least had already given considerable thought to the subject, had determined on the nature of the

¹³ 17 Jan. 1919. The letter was from Mr G J F Tomlinson in relation to the death of Hugh Tomlinson (Royal Flying Corps, died 2 April 1917). On All Souls Day 1918, the Vicar had held a special commemoration service at which all the names on the church's Roll of Honour had been read out, and that occasion may have triggered the letter (HWE 9 Nov. 1918).

¹⁴ For Nicholson see Chapter 4. John Ninian Comper (1864-1960) had strong aristocratic and Anglo-Catholic connections, and was commissioned to provide a high altar and reredos for Ripon cathedral at about that time. Temple Lushington Moore (1856-1920) was the architect of a number of Yorkshire churches, notably St Wilfred, Harrogate, and of the Priory of St Wilfred for the Community of the Resurrection in Leeds. He had also been responsible for a number of reredoses in the county. He was still in active practice but died about six months after the initial approach from St Peter's. Fowler and Scott were already dead before the war began, so their names were probably introduced during the meeting as ones familiar to some of those present. Charles Hodgson Fowler (1840-1910) was the architect of the church in Bishopthorpe, the village containing the palace of the Archbishop of York, and of a number of other Yorkshire churches including St Barnabas, Crosland Moor. John Aldrid Scott (1841-1913), had worked on the restoration of Selby Abbey.

¹⁵ 11 Feb. 1919.

scheme which he would like to see carried out, and had probably made an initial approach to one or more of the architects. The subject of a memorial was then absent from the Council minutes until July, but newspaper reports enable the story to be followed.

In the parish magazine for April, Nicholson was reported to have conducted a survey, and prepared a preliminary plan for the church officers in early March. The basis for his work was a proposal from the Vicar that, as a "permanent memorial of peace", a chancel and side chapel should be added to the east end of the present church in anticipation of a completely new church at a later date. "A really beautiful and devotional church, or part of a church, in the centre of the business part of our town, would be an inspiration and a stimulus to the spiritual life of the whole community. As it stands, no one can say that in itself it draws one's thoughts to higher things."¹⁶ On the basis of that brief, Nicholson's preliminary proposal was for a new chancel, 49 feet long and 38 feet wide (c. 15 by 11.5 metres), the organ on the south side and vestries underneath, with a processional staircase from them to the church. The church would thus extend to the end of the present churchyard and, Nicholson was quoted as saying, "The architectural effect of the east end rising sheer from the street would be very striking". The cost of that first phase was estimated at £15,000. The church officers were said to have £5,000 in hand, the remainder being feasible for the congregation to raise over two years. The second phase envisaged a new 100 foot nave (c. 30.5 metres), balanced by a 100 foot tower. The whole scheme was projected to cost about £50,000.¹⁷ At the Easter Vestry, towards the end of April, an indication of an alternative proposal emerged. Tupper-Carey informed the meeting that there was a dilemma - whether to build a new chancel as the church's war memorial or to alter the existing building to "make it more beautiful and worthy

¹⁶ The 1834-36 building of J P Pritchett was in the Gothic style with galleries. Its east end had been re-designed in 1894, with the introduction of a reredos, but the overall impression was no match for the mid and late Victorian iconic structures of the ecclesiological movement to which the Vicar was no doubt comparing it. (P Ahier, *The Story of the Three Parish Churches of St Peter the Apostle, Huddersfield*, (Huddersfield: Advertiser Press, 1948-1950), Part III p. 244).

¹⁷ HDE 7 Apr. 1919. How a church, which had been concerned only a year or so ago about its ability to commit £150 p.a., came to have £5,000 in hand and felt able to raise twice that amount over two years was not explained. The accounts for 1918-1919 did not reflect that financial assessment (Wardens Accounts June 1919).

of the worship of God in a wealthy town". Presumably some of the practical and financial implications of Nicholson's outline scheme were beginning to be appreciated. The site of the church sloped fairly steeply downhill from west to east. Building a substantial extension east of the existing chancel would not only require planning permission from the borough but might well be difficult structurally. An additional complication, which no doubt precipitated consideration of alternatives, was that the Ramsden Estate had offered part of the churchyard to the borough, as a site for an art gallery.¹⁸

Nicholson's plan was not mentioned again in the available sources and, when the Council met in July 1919, the Vicar was recorded as explaining the (unspecified) views of Ninian Comper. It was agreed that they should be discussed further when plans were available.¹⁹ A year then passed without any trace of the topic in the Council minutes. In July 1920, the Vicar proposed a scheme for a "war memorial to the fallen" and, after lengthy but unrecorded discussion, it was unanimously agreed that "an appeal be made for funds for the erection of a memorial to those who fell in the Great War on the lines of the scheme as submitted by Mr J N Comper of London". One or more ad hoc committees were to be formed in relation to building, collecting and working arrangements.²⁰ Later in 1920, the Vicar asked the Council for its views on a rood screen as a war memorial. The question was deferred and was not mentioned again in the minutes.²¹

In January 1921, the Council received a letter, from Mrs D Jowitt, inquiring about a proposal to remove the names of those who served, leaving only those who lost their lives. It was agreed that she should be informed that the Council had no knowledge of such a proposal and they would like to be informed of the source of the

¹⁸ HDE 25 Apr. 1919. The record of the meeting in the Church Wardens Minute Book mentioned the art gallery development (see Chapter 4, p. 88) and recorded the Vicar as saying that a church war memorial should proceed. He was in touch with eminent architects "to get the best scheme promulgated which should be worthy of the Church and Town and a fitting tribute to those who had laid down their lives in the war" (24 Apr. 1919).

¹⁹ 24 July 1919.

²⁰ 21 July 1920. No details of the scheme, nor even of its basic character, were contained in the minutes. No nominations were made to the committees, nor their number or composition determined.

²¹ 27 Oct. 1920.

suggestion.²² Later that year, Mrs Jowitt wrote again to the Council urging them to put a scheme in hand, as a result of which a Sub-Committee was appointed to bring forward proposals.²³ In October, a member of the Sub-Committee reported that they had interviewed representatives of a Cheltenham firm willing to submit sketches for crosses suitable for erection outside the church; the firm had also supplied photographs of work they had done for an inside scheme suitable for a memorial. Consideration of the Sub-Committee's report was deferred. The Council recommended that Mrs Jowitt should join the War Memorial Committee, when it was formed.²⁴

A month later, the Vicar informed the Council that he had been notified of a legacy of £500 from the late Mrs Stringer, which he intended to use to place a new window at the east end of the church. He also reported that he had collected £380 "from persons not connected with the church or congregation" and proposed that the war memorial take the form of a new altar.²⁵ An alternative scheme for a cross in the south-west corner of the churchyard was proposed, but lost on a show of hands.²⁶ A second motion was then proposed: that the war memorial should be an altar, as proposed by the Vicar, and, if funds were available, a churchyard cross should be added to the scheme.²⁷ That motion was carried with a large majority. A Sub-Committee was then appointed, with powers of co-optation.²⁸ By December, a member of the new Sub-Committee, Mr Williams, was reporting on a meeting with Comper in London.

²² The minute was not very clearly worded, either in terms of Mrs Jowitt's position on the matter or of the context of the alleged proposal. It could have referred to a planned roll of honour or have been part of the general war memorial debate (26 Jan. 1921).

²³ Comprising W H E Calvert, J R Armitage and Mrs Jas Hirst (30 Sept. 1921). The minutes did not make it clear whether this sub-committee was to investigate different matters from those contained in the resolution in the previous June. In the meantime, the first elected PCC had come into being (6 Apr. 1921) and it might have been thought necessary to start afresh with the appointment of sub-committees. On the other hand, the general decision to appoint one or more committees the previous year might never have been implemented.

²⁴ 26 Oct. 1921.

²⁵ 24 Nov. 1921.

²⁶ The motion was proposed by Mr C H Carr, and seconded by Mr Armitage, a member of the Sub-Committee which had been appointed in September 1921.

²⁷ By Mr C F Arnold, and seconded by Mr D R H Williams.

²⁸ Composed of Mr Williams, Mr Arnold, Mr A V Day, Mrs D Jowitt, Mrs Jas Hirst and Miss Pye Smith. That group excluded those appointed in September, with the exception of Mrs Hirst.

Plans of the east window were being prepared for approval by the Council. The Vicar reported substantial progress with the collection of funds for the memorial and window.²⁹ In the following March, Mr Williams gave the Council a description and illustrations of the proposed memorial and formal authority was given for Comper to proceed with work on the war memorial window. Williams was then given authority to carry on negotiations with Comper "and make all arrangements as he shall think fit for the completion of the war memorial".³⁰ No further discussion in the Council was recorded, until August 1923, when it was reported that the war memorial window would be ready towards the end of October. A Sub-Committee was appointed "to take the work in hand, arrange details with the architect and be generally responsible" with a membership of the Vicar, as Chairman, Mr Williams, as Vice-Chairman, the church wardens and the secretary of the council, with powers of co-option.³¹ In October, Mr Williams, chairing the Council meeting in the absence of the Vicar, explained what plans had been made for the sanctuary. The Council agreed to accept estimates for the work, authorise expenditure and give a letter of authority to Williams to put work in hand with the contractors. The Council also agreed that a faculty should be applied for, to cover "alterations and additions to the sanctuary and the east window, removal of tablets, creation of an altar in the transept and removal of pews". It was finally agreed that all the names on the roll of honor (sic) be included in the list to be inserted on the tablet.³² Some six weeks later, the church's war memorial was dedicated.³³

Inconsistencies and Ambiguities

Throughout the series of Council minutes there were inconsistencies concerning the exact nature of the war memorial. Although it was clear that the question of how to commemorate the parish's experience of war provided the original impetus for the discussions, some minutes indicated that the altar with its canopy constituted the formal memorial, and that the new east window was a

²⁹ 21 Dec. 1921. At that meeting it was also agreed that Mrs Rittener should replace Miss Pye Smith on the committee, as the latter wished to resign.

³⁰ 8 Mar. 1922. Again the minutes contained no details about the plans.

³¹ 30 Aug. 1923.

³² 3 Oct. 1923.

separate but closely associated development, others read as though all the new elements in the church were collectively the memorial. That ambiguity continued into the accounts of the dedication service contained in the local newspaper. On the day before the service, an article appeared describing the memorial as taking the form of “a tester and new altar, and a new east window”. However, it then went on to distinguish between the presentation of the memorial and that of the window.³⁴ The day after the ceremony, the report of the occasion referred to “the memorial altar and canopy” and, separately, to the east window.³⁵ The principal historian of the parish church, writing in 1950, firmly stated that the memorial comprised the window, baldachino, altar and tablet, all of which were dedicated on 17 November 1923.³⁶ The last, at least, was almost certainly wrong. The tablet was mentioned nowhere in the newspaper accounts of the ceremony. The intention to have a tablet with names was mentioned briefly, for the first time, in the October before the dedication ceremony.³⁷ However, at a meeting in December, after the dedication, the Council was only at the point of agreeing to order “a tablet recording the names of all those from the parish church who fell in the War 1914-1918”, at a cost of “say £100”.³⁸ Those are the only references in the minutes to a memorial tablet, although, the following November, a discussion about flowers brought as commemorative tributes indicated that a tablet was by then in place.³⁹

The confusion about the exact nature of the memorial was not simply a matter of loose wording. Part of the uncertainty no doubt stemmed from the use of the same architect to design both the window and the altar. Comper viewed the commission as a single project with a number of elements. It would not appear, however, that his

³³ Saturday, 17 Nov. 1923.

³⁴ HDE 16 Nov. 1923.

³⁵ HDE 19 Nov. 1923.

³⁶ Ahier, *St Peter*, Part III pp. 251-252.

³⁷ PCC Minutes 3 Oct. 1923.

³⁸ 5 Dec. 1923.

³⁹ 12 Nov. 1924. The minute recorded that, on a number of occasions, flowers had been brought for the war memorial but there had been nowhere to put them. It was agreed to see whether a small shelf could be put under the memorial. This cannot refer either to the altar or the window.

brief extended to the provision of a memorial tablet.⁴⁰ A further source of confusion seems likely to have been the funding of the project. At the time of the unveiling ceremony, the newspaper reported that the window had cost “well over £1,000” but no mention was made of the cost of the altar and canopy. Most unusually for reports of war memorial dedications, there was no reference to any kind of public or congregational subscription; even though the Church Council had agreed to an appeal for funds in July 1920.⁴¹ Instead, the newspaper mentioned only the source of the funding of the window, referring to a legacy from a former member of the congregation, Mrs Ann Scholes, having provided £400, and the remainder having been “raised by the vicar”.⁴² Financial details in Council minutes are extremely sparse up to the time of the dedication ceremony. In January 1923, at the annual parish meeting, a War Memorial Account reported a balance of £195-11-9 and the general accounts had a sum of £9-5-6 identified as “war memorial expenditure”.⁴³ After the unveiling, in March 1924, the Council authorised the payment of accounts for the war memorial but did not specify the amounts involved or the elements covered by the payments.⁴⁴ By May 1924, the Council was informed that the parish

⁴⁰ The RIBA catalogue of Comper’s drawings refers to a window and altar, but not to a tablet. A Symondson and S Bucknall, *Sir Ninian Comper: An Introduction to His Life and Work with Complete Gazetteer* (Reading: Spire Books in association with the Ecclesiological Society, 2006) lists the window, a ciborium, and a re-ordering of the sanctuary (p. 310).

⁴¹ 21 July 1920.

⁴² HDE 16 and 19 Nov., HWE 17 and 24 Nov. 1923. Information about the legacy was itself contradictory. It was reported to the Council as £500 from Mrs Stringer (24 Nov. 1921) not £400 from Mrs Ann Scholes, as stated in the newspaper. The only grant of probate which appears to fit most of the reported facts is one of 15 June 1921, for the will of Ann Stringer, who had died in Huddersfield in August 1920. She had left an estate of £952 (net) and, apart from two small bequests to individuals, the main item was £500 to place a stained glass window in Kirkheaton parish church, in memory of her daughter Mrs Elizabeth Hannah Scholes, the residue of the estate going to her nephew, Albert Ellam. Mrs Stringer, her husband, and her daughter had all been born in Kirkheaton, although all were resident in Huddersfield at the time of their deaths. If the probate identification is correct, there is no obvious explanation for the change from Kirkheaton to Huddersfield parish church, unless all the legatees had agreed a variation of terms.

⁴³ 24 Jan. 1923. A newspaper report of the 1921 Easter Vestry recorded £94-3-0 having been subscribed for the war memorial, but that is not mentioned in the Wardens Minutes (HWE 9 Apr. 1921).

⁴⁴ 5 Mar. 1924. As the Vicar had reported to the Council, in November 1921, in the context of a discussion of a war memorial, that he had collected £380 “from persons not connected

had an overdraft of £482 and that the war memorial account was overdrawn by £126-4-2, a figure only slightly reduced by July of that year.⁴⁵ The third contributory factor to the confusion over the nature of the war memorial was probably the absence of plans for a permanent record of those who had died until a very late stage of the process. Although the names of the fallen were read out by the Vicar at the dedication ceremony, to many present the parish's war memorial would have been regarded as incomplete without that final element.⁴⁶

The inadequacies of the Parochial Church Council minutes, viewed as a guide to the development of the plans for a war memorial, cannot be attributed to the variability of secretarial skills alone. Sub-committees were regularly set up in the early stages but either had their work set aside at the Council meeting⁴⁷ or were superseded without it being clear whether they had ever been convened.⁴⁸ From March 1922 to August 1923, which was the crucial period between the formal authorisation of Comper's commission to the announcement of its imminent completion, one man, Mr D R H Williams,⁴⁹ had sole authority to oversee progress.⁵⁰ The Council itself initially had twenty elected places, for which there had been keen competition.⁵¹ In 1923, the Vicar unsuccessfully attempted to reduce that number to twelve.⁵² He repeated that proposal in the following year and, as a result of an amendment, the elected element was reduced not just to twelve but to eight. Despite the Council's statutory responsibility for the control of the parish's finances it seems

with church or congregation", it seems probable that he was holding such monies separately from the official church accounts (24 Nov. 1921).

⁴⁵ May and 2 July 1924 (£106-0-9 overdrawn on the latter occasion).

⁴⁶ HDE 19 Nov. 1923. Names had a "transcendental importance", and were a particular characteristic of Great War commemoration (King, *Symbolism and Politics of Remembrance*, pp. 184-187).

⁴⁷ As happened to the proposals concerning a churchyard cross (30 Sept., 26 Oct. and 24 Nov. 1921).

⁴⁸ For example, 21 July and 30 Sept. 1920.

⁴⁹ Denys Roger Hesketh Williams (1879-?). A director of John Taylor Ltd, worsted manufacturers of Colne Road Mills, Huddersfield.

⁵⁰ PCC Minutes 8 Mar. 1922 and 30 Aug. 1923.

⁵¹ In 1922, at the first election, there were 34 nominations (printed list of 22 Feb. 1922 enclosed with PCC Minutes of 8 Mar. 1922).

⁵² Annual parish meeting of 24 Jan. 1923. That meeting was informed that there were 1,328 persons on the electoral roll of the parish, and therefore eligible to vote and to stand for office, 614 of whom were resident and 714 non-resident.

to have been largely passive in the whole process.⁵³ The overriding impression is that of decisions made outside Council meetings, which were then expected to be endorsed without undue debate.

It is probably indicative of the way decisions were being made that an application for a diocesan faculty to cover all the planned changes was not initiated by the Council until 3 October 1923, some six weeks before the dedication service. The faculty should have been applied for no later than March of the previous year, when the formal decision to commission Comper's scheme was taken, and no commitments should have been entered into until a faculty had been issued. As a former Canon of York Minster, the Vicar could have been in no doubt about that, and the Diocesan Gazette had contained clear warnings about the procedures to be followed, and the consequences of not doing so.⁵⁴ A confirmatory faculty was finally issued by the Chancellor of the Diocese on 12 January 1924.⁵⁵

Dedication Service

The service of dedication, held on Saturday 17 November 1923, was attended by the Mayor and members of the Corporation, a number of local clergy, members of the 5th and 7th Battalions of the Duke of Wellington's (West Riding) Regiment, representatives of the St John's Ambulance Brigade and of the local Boy Scouts and a large number of relatives of the fallen. After the processional hymn "For all the saints who from their labours rest", the Vicar led the congregation in prayer and the choir sang the Russian Contakion for the Dead "Give Rest, O Christ".⁵⁶ The People's Warden⁵⁷ invited Major-General G G S Carey⁵⁸ to present the window on behalf of the donors and the Vicar's Warden⁵⁹ gave a similar invitation to Admiral

⁵³ Under the Parochial Church Councils (Powers) Act 1921.

⁵⁴ The *Gazette*, aimed primarily at the clergy of the diocese, first referred to an application for a faculty for a war memorial in January 1916 (XXI 19), and carried extensive coverage of the severe consequences of a failure to obtain a faculty prior to the installation of a memorial in December 1920 (XXVI 7). A further warning was issued in February 1921 (XXVIII 7).

⁵⁵ Faculty Book No 3. The decision was reported in the *Gazette* with all the other approvals for that month, but without indicating that its nature had been retrospective (XXIX 10).

⁵⁶ See Chapter 7, p. 211.

⁵⁷ Mr C F Arnold.

⁵⁸ George Glas Sandeman Carey (1867-1948) of the Royal Artillery, the Vicar's brother.

⁵⁹ Mr G F Tinker.

Sir Reginald Tupper⁶⁰ in respect of the altar and canopy. The Bishop of Whitby⁶¹ then dedicated the window, altar and canopy.⁶² Both Admiral Tupper and the Bishop gave addresses. The Admiral stressed the importance of the armed forces and, particularly, the navy, both in the past conflict and in the years to come. He urged patriotism and the need to “defeat those enemies who were in their midst spreading discontent, dissension, class-hatred, and rebellion”. The bishop expressed sympathy with the ex-servicemen who felt bitter at their neglect and called for loyalty to self, class and country to be controlled by a higher loyalty to God, expressed in Christ’s call “by love to serve one another”. The service concluded with a reading of the names of the fallen, the Last Post, Reveille and the National Anthem.⁶³

The new additions to the parish church were certainly impressive. The east window, described as “a beautiful and noble work” by the newspaper,⁶⁴ had at its centre a seated figure of Christ in Glory surrounded by an aureole, with the warrior saints St Michael and St George on either side. Four coats of arms above the figures represented the wartime allies. At the bottom of the window another figure of Christ⁶⁵ was flanked by Saints Mark and Peter at one side, and Paul and Aidan at the other.⁶⁶ The top section of the window contained cherubim, seraphim and archangels. The new altar was of “dark oak” with “a tester or square four-pillared canopy with rose-coloured hangings”; “a figure of a dove will be suspended from the centre of the tester”, suggesting that, at the time of the dedication service, that part of the assemblage was incomplete.⁶⁷ The structure over the altar was potentially the most controversial aspect of the overall design. In practical and aesthetic terms it

⁶⁰ Reginald Godfrey Otway Tupper (1859-1945). He was not identified in the newspaper article as related to the Vicar but the surname suggests a connection.

⁶¹ Rt Revd Henry St John Stirling Woolcombe DD (1869-1941). He and the Vicar had both been members of the staff of York Minster 1912-13.

⁶² The account of the service did not record the dedication of a cross and candlesticks, presented by Mr and Mrs J Brook of Almondbury in memory of their sons Charles Douglas and George William Brook, although their presentation had been noted in the newspaper article prior to the ceremony (HDE 16 Nov. 1923).

⁶³ HDE 16 and 19 Nov. 1923.

⁶⁴ HDE 16 Nov. 1923.

⁶⁵ Depicted as “a vigorous young man” (*Huddersfield Parish Church: A Short Guide* (Huddersfield, [c. 1960s])).

⁶⁶ The church’s patron saint (St Peter) and those of its daughter churches (*Huddersfield Parish Church: A Short Guide*).

⁶⁷ HDE 16 Nov. 1923.

was placed so near to the new window that most of the lower part of the latter was completely obscured. In an ecclesiological context it was a symbol of the centrality of the Blessed Sacrament in the design of a church and, in Comper's architectural vocabulary, was properly described as a ciborium.⁶⁸ In more general architectural vocabulary, it was a Baroque baldachino set in an otherwise Gothic revival church.⁶⁹ The memorial tablet, the later addition to the group, was a simple dark stone tablet with incised lettering, erected on the north side of the chancel. The inscription read "In Memory of/The Men of this Parish and of those/Who Worshipped in this Church/And gave their lives in the Great War/1914-1918", followed by four columns of names, 91 in total, and the line "GRANT THEM O LORD ETERNAL REST".⁷⁰

Disillusionment

The installation of the window, altar and canopy, and tablet within the small chancel, necessitated extensive changes in existing furnishings. The current east window was taken out and destroyed,⁷¹ also the old altar and reredos were removed; the former being placed in the south transept⁷² and the latter, along with the marble sanctuary steps, the altar rails, the sanctuary lights, and other displaced items were put into storage in the crypt.⁷³ Consultation about those consequential changes had, however, been inadequate; if, indeed, it had taken place at all. At the first meeting of the Council after the dedication service, it was reported that the Misses Armitage had requested that the altar rails and pendant lights, which they had presented in memory of their father, be returned to them, if they were unwanted.⁷⁴ In July of the following year, Colonel Beadon wrote to protest at the re-positioning of the Ramsden memorial

⁶⁸ Only the third example to be installed in an English church. Comper proposed ciboria to many clients but few chose them. (Symondson and Bucknall, *Comper: Life and Gazetteer*, p. 173).

⁶⁹ Ahier remarked acerbically that "if it was the intention of the promoters to imitate the procedure in Roman Catholic Churches, the Baldachino should have been placed at the intersection of the transepts and the main aisle; such as is the case at the churches of St John the Lateran, Santa Maria Maggiore, etc. at Rome" (Ahier, *St Peter*, Part III p. 252).

⁷⁰ See Appendix A, Figure 11.

⁷¹ A decision taken because of its bad condition and fragile state, according to Mr Williams (PCC 5 Dec. 1923), and "an act of vandalism", according to Mr Philip H Lee of Old Halifax Road, (quoted in Ahier, *St Peter*, Part III pp. 251-252).

⁷² To form "a kind of Lady Chapel for quiet devotion" (HDE 16 Nov. 1923).

⁷³ PCC 5 Dec. 1923 and 10 Mar. 1926.

tablet and to request its removal to the parish church at Almondbury at St Peter's expense.⁷⁵ At a subsequent meeting with the Bishop and the Archdeacon of Huddersfield, the churchwardens were told to go to Wakefield and examine the papers relating to the granting of the faculty themselves, as they were reluctant to accept that no permission had been sought for any change to the Ramsden memorial. It was also impressed upon them that nothing could be changed, added or taken away without prior approval by means of a faculty, and that the terms of the application had to be displayed outside the church for a period of 15 days. Having confirmed that the parish had no defence to the Ramsden complaint, the Council agreed to send a letter of apology.⁷⁶

During August and September, the Council minutes referred to the Vicar as being in poor health and, at some point prior to 6 October 1924, he resigned on medical advice. The Diocesan Gazette contained a notice of appreciation of his contribution, referring to his "winning personality...convincing enthusiasm", and to his "own characteristic way" of doing business, and concluded that he had "greatly endeared himself both to clergy and laity".⁷⁷ The local paper reproduced that announcement without comment.⁷⁸ As the patronage of the living had passed from the Ramsden family to the Bishop, on the sale of the Ramsden's Huddersfield estates, the Parochial Church Council was invited to indicate to the Diocesan Board of Patronage what qualities it would seek in a new incumbent. The members suggested "a broad-minded sympathetic churchman, one interested in the schools and their work, one able to take his place in the town as the head of the church".⁷⁹ At the following meeting, it was reported that an accommodation had been reached with the

⁷⁴ 5 Dec. 1923.

⁷⁵ 31 Aug. 1924. The tablet commemorated the 4th and 5th baronets, then lords of the manor and patrons of the living. Colonel Beadon was their agent in Huddersfield.

⁷⁶ PCC 31 Aug. and 3 Sept. 1924. There was no record of the Vicar being present at any of those meetings.

⁷⁷ XXX 6 (Oct. 1924). On leaving Huddersfield, Tupper-Carey spent a brief period as chaplain in St Raphael, France (1925-1927), a term as organising secretary for the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in the dioceses of Ripon and Wakefield (1927-1930), and then the remainder of his working life as chaplain in Monte Carlo, until forced to return to England in 1940. He died in London, in 1943, aged 77.

⁷⁸ HDE 17 Oct. 1924.

⁷⁹ 6 Oct. 1924. It is probably significant that the schools were mentioned in the PCC minutes only once throughout Tupper-Carey's incumbency.

Misses Armitage, which would see the pendant lights hung in the chancel.⁸⁰ Following an interim agreement to let the matter of the Ramsden memorial rest for twelve months, it was formally reported that no further action would be taken against the parish.⁸¹ The Council initially accepted the request of Canon Tupper-Carey that no leaving collection should be made for him, then reversed that decision, and finally reverted to its original stance.⁸² The Mayor wrote to the *Examiner*, saying that he was willing to co-ordinate a collection.⁸³ At the beginning of 1925, the elected membership of the PCC was restored to 20 places and it was reported that the deficit on the War Memorial Account had been cleared.⁸⁴

Tupper-Carey, Comper and Williams

It is impossible at this distance in time, and in the absence of much more complete records, to be certain about the motives of the Vicar and the mood of his congregation. However, there are some indications about his character, and of that of two of his main collaborators, which help to fill out the factual record. Archbishop Lang, who wrote a biography of his friend, painted an affectionate picture of a man who was always an enthusiastic and committed evangelist but whose personality and style created problems throughout most of his career. He was "volatile", "a husband very much more trying than many husbands are apt to be", "his judgement was not equal to his zeal, and he was too apt to speak and act upon impulse. He was too ready to "drop bricks", though ... equally ready ...[with] a charm of apology", "he never quite grew up and had an impish sense of fun".⁸⁵ In Poplar, there had been friction with the existing congregation, as his attention was always more with the

⁸⁰ 12 Nov. 1924.

⁸¹ 3 Sept. 1924 and 12 May 1926.

⁸² 6 Oct. and 12 Nov. 1924, although, by the latter date, £60-16-0 had been collected.

⁸³ HDE 21 Oct. 1924. He explained that the initiative had been suggested to him by some who had wished to give but who were not well enough off to run such an exercise for themselves.

⁸⁴ 27 Jan. 1925. On two occasions it was reported that Tupper-Carey had offered to continue to raise funds for the memorial but the Council had agreed that those offers should not be taken up. The source of the monies used to clear the deficit was not recorded in the minutes (12 Nov. 1924 and 8 July 1925).

⁸⁵ C G Lang, *Tupper (Canon A D Tupper-Carey): A Memoir of the Life and Work of a Very Human Parish Priest by His Friend* (London: Constable & Co, 1945), pp. 8 and 38-39. See Chapter 7, p. 228 for one of his "bricks".

prodigals. He was not cut out for a cathedral, feeling that the style of worship at York was cut off from the people, and that the dignity and restraints of a Canon were irksome. York people felt that he took everything too lightly.⁸⁶ "To the appeal of noble music his soul and ear were alike deaf".⁸⁷ What in Poplar, in his youth, was regarded as some lack of decorum later constituted, in Lang's view, a complete lack of it. Yet his work among the working class in Leeds, where he was very active in house and pub visiting, Poplar, where outdoor processions and open air preaching attracted much attention, and Lowestoft, where he went out with fishermen in their boats, was much valued.⁸⁸ For an account of his time in Huddersfield, Lang was reliant on an unidentified correspondent who spoke of him taking the whole town by storm at the outset. "His attractive appearance, his sparkling personality, his friendliness, his tireless energy, and his amazing memory for faces, as well as his sense of fun and almost boyish joy of living, made him welcome in every house and in a few weeks he seemed to be an old friend. At first he almost took away our breath by his jokes, his funny stories, and his light-heartedness, but later we found that these traits veiled a deeply spiritual soul, to whom prayer was as natural as breathing. He admitted that he was shy of approaching the deeper things of life, that he waited months, sometimes years, for people to "open out", but once they had done so, they found the real man of God, to whom they could bring all their troubles and difficulties and be sure of sympathy and help." He was "an unequalled sick visitor and instituted a prayer group for spiritual healing which he continued to supervise by post after he had left".⁸⁹ Revealingly, Lang said "I wish I had more to say about his share in the general life of the town and of the church in the town and the diocese" but, he presumed, he must have played a leading part. Tupper-Carey did indeed sit

⁸⁶ Lang, *Tupper*, pp. 14-15, 21-22,

⁸⁷ Lang, *Tupper*, p. 22. At his first Easter Vestry in Huddersfield, the Vicar said that some liked elaborate music and others, like himself, preferred it simple and congregational, although he added that it was evident that the congregation appreciated the choir (Vestry 2 Apr. 1918).

⁸⁸ Lang, *Tupper*, pp. 9-10, 17-20. Further details of the relationship with Lang are in J G Lockhart, *Cosmo Gordon Lang* (Hodder and Stoughton, 1949), pp. 35, 62, 79, 82, 89, 218-219, 223 and 252. His work in Poplar is also covered in N Scotland, *Squires in the Slums: Settlements and Missions in Late-Victorian London* (London: I B Tauris, 2007), pp. 73-77.

on a number of important committees in the town and the diocese. However, press reports usually highlighted his more colourful activities.⁹⁰

Lang's biography also shed light, indirectly, on some aspects of the war memorial saga. In Poplar, Tupper-Carey had mounted a very successful fund-raising campaign for the mission, initially by approaches to members of his Oxford college and then, through them, by the formation of ladies' committees in Oxford and London.⁹¹ It may well have been those and similar contacts which funded the extra-parochial contributions to the Huddersfield parish church transformation. It was also not the first time Tupper-Carey and Comper had worked together. In Lowestoft, he had commissioned Comper to design a new altar, and the fishermen had packed the parish meeting to ensure that the application for a faculty was approved, despite reservations amongst some of the other parishioners.⁹² Comper worked at a distance from the rest of the architectural profession, having no formal qualifications, refusing to become a member of the Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA), and having a frequently expressed contempt for diocesan advisory committees, which he believed encouraged mediocrity.⁹³ It is very unlikely to have been an accident that the application for a faculty for the radical changes at St Peter was submitted too late for any effective opposition at either parish or diocesan level. Information about the third key player, D R H Williams, is less comprehensive. Like Tupper-Carey, he was a clergyman's son, born at Uppingham School, but presumably in less affluent

⁸⁹ Lang, *Tupper*, pp. 25-26, 29. All Lang's other sources are named, suggesting that the Huddersfield informant wished to remain anonymous. He was also silent on the subject of the changes to the appearance of the parish church.

⁹⁰ He was a member of the Diocesan Board of Finance (Gazette 1919 XXIV 12), of the Borough's Education Committee, and of the Governors of the Technical College (Balmforth, *Jubilee History*, p. 120). The College governing body may have been where he and Williams first met, as Williams was already a member when Tupper-Carey joined in 1917. As for press reports, "Chorus Girls Camp out in Vicarage Garden" was not untypical (HDE 19 June 1919).

⁹¹ Lang, *Tupper*, pp. 13-14.

⁹² Lang, *Tupper*, pp. 18-19. Lang refers to an "English" altar by Cowper [sic], a misprint for Comper, who worked in St Margaret, Lowestoft, from 1905 to 1942 (Symondson and Bucknall, *Comper: Life and Gazetteer*, p. 300).

⁹³ Indeed, relationships were so publicly strained that the Central Council for the Care of Churches, actively discouraged parishes, via diocesan advisory committees, from using Comper. Symondson and Bucknall, *Comper: Life and Gazetteer*, pp. 213-214, J Betjeman, 'A Note on J N Comper: Heir to Butterfield and Bodley', *The Architectural Review*, 85/February (1939), 79-82.

circles, since he was grammar school educated. He came to Huddersfield at some point before 1901, when he was described as a worsted manufacturer's apprentice. By 1912, he was a Director of the firm, a Technical College Governor, and a member of various advisory committees concerned with technical education and the junior labour market.⁹⁴ He was not a seat holder at St Peter prior to 1923, and the first point at which there was a certain connection with the church was 1919-1920, when a small donation from him to the Clergy Fund was recorded. He was not a sidesman or church warden but was a member of the Parochial Church Council, probably from the outset.⁹⁵ His churchmanship was clearly similar to that of the Vicar, and of Comper, as he presided over a meeting of the Fraternity of the Resurrection at St Peter's in November 1921.⁹⁶ He also shared Tupper-Carey's Conservative politics, being a President of the Junior Conservative Association in about 1924.⁹⁷ Something of his character was caught in the history of Huddersfield's Union Discussion Society, which appointed him Society poet in 1918, a post he held for the next six years. He was recalled as the "debonair DRH, a beau chevalier in many fields, ranging from art to commerce", a fluent writer, "an astringent touch was noticeable in [his] offerings and the bauble of the Court Jester was filled with prickles on occasion".⁹⁸ Although only 34 at the outbreak of war, he does not appear to have undertaken any form of military service, perhaps being exempted by virtue of his occupation.

Huddersfield in the early twentieth century was not the East End of London in the late nineteenth. The theological and aesthetic attractions of Anglo-Catholic worship were already available in the town, at St Thomas, in a setting designed by George Gilbert Scott.⁹⁹ Mission work among the poor was well-established, with the

⁹⁴ Census of England and Wales 1901 (TNA RG13/4105/61/24); *Yorkshire Who's Who* (London: Westminster Publishing Co, 1912), pp. 440-441.

⁹⁵ Church Wardens Accounts passim.

⁹⁶ The Fraternity was attached to the Community of the Resurrection at Mirfield, an Anglican monastic order (HWE 12 Nov. 1921).

⁹⁷ Tupper-Carey had been a member of the Canning Club at Oxford (Lang, *Tupper*, p. 4).

⁹⁸ Dicks, *UDS*, p. 41. Williams was recorded as a proposer of motions for debate from 1909 onwards, as Secretary 1914-1915, and as President 1916-1917. The Society's Poet was required to produce verse for performance at formal dinners. (pp. 33-44, 83, 114-120).

⁹⁹ St Thomas was consecrated in June 1859, having been built by private initiative, that of the Starkey family, local mill owners. It had recently been enhanced by Sir Charles

Wesleyan Methodist Queen Street Mission, St Patrick's Roman Catholic church and its satellites, and the interdenominational Rock Mission.¹⁰⁰ Amongst the Anglicans, St Thomas itself worked in that context, as did St Mark. Indeed, during 1921, the town was uneasy about the way in which the Church authorities were going about merging the parish of St Mark with St Peter, against the wishes of its incumbent and its parishioners. In the eyes of the Vicar of St Mark, his parish had been created from the original parish of Huddersfield to "thrust out" his parishioners "because of their poverty" and that process was now being reversed, so that its finances could be added to St Peter.¹⁰¹ At the other end of the social spectrum, Holy Trinity and St John the Evangelist were easily accessible from the fashionable areas of Edgerton and Birkby, and offered different Anglican theological and liturgical emphases.¹⁰² There was, no doubt, room for a vibrant new focus in the town centre, but its creation was dependent upon support from across class divisions, both financially and in terms of active involvement. St Peter's position, as the mother church of the town, would always have the advantage of a certain latent loyalty. But to translate that into sustained commitment was another matter entirely. Tupper-Carey's apparent conviction that the physical transformation of the church building was a crucial element in achieving that proved divisive rather than inspirational. The impression that the commemoration of the church and the parish's war dead was a distinctly subordinate part of his plans may well have been unfair to the Vicar yet almost certainly contributed significantly to the collapse of his ministry in Huddersfield.

Nicholson's new rood screen, a war memorial to the son of a prominent local lawyer, a development which may have prompted Tupper-Carey's suggestion of a rood screen as a memorial (see p. 263 above).

¹⁰⁰ For a short while (c. 1912-1915) there was also a highly successful missionary initiative from Ramsden Street Congregational church, which collapsed from financial problems and the departure of key individuals (Church Minute Book 1909-1933 WYAS(K) NI/RS/5).

¹⁰¹ The Commission of Inquiry's proceedings, at hearings in Huddersfield in April, were reported in detail by the Examiner, which also reported the parishioners' protest about the choice of a weekday afternoon for such an important event. (HDE 21 and 23 Apr., 10 Dec. 1921).

¹⁰² Holy Trinity, a Simeon Trustees' parish, was very firmly Low Church, whereas St John's, originally built by the Ramsdens, was of a more middle of the road tradition.

Christ Church, Woodhouse: What Might Have Been

At the time of Tupper-Carey's induction, the Bishop had obviously hoped that his appointment would not only revitalise St Peter's but would also substantially enhance the standing of the Church of England in the borough and beyond. The outcome must have been bitterly disappointing. However, as the Bishop had informed the Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Discipline in 1905, in the context of northern attitudes to the significance of a clergyman's churchmanship, "it is probably the feeling of most laymen, that a man's character, his earnestness and spirituality, are of much more importance than his views".¹⁰³

It is interesting to compare the sad sequence of events at St Peter's with those at Christ Church, Woodhouse, only a few miles away. There, Revd A Whorlow presided over the amicable creation of more war memorials than any other organisation in the borough.¹⁰⁴ Inside the church was a memorial window, with a brass plate below it recording the names of the fallen, and a chapel of remembrance.¹⁰⁵ Outside, in the graveyard, was a cross for the Sheepridge area of the parish.¹⁰⁶ In addition, Whorlow dedicated, at the other end of the parish, the memorial outside Deighton Working Mens Club, which served as the communal memorial for that area.¹⁰⁷ Individual casualties were commemorated within the church by a new chancel screen¹⁰⁸, two tablets¹⁰⁹, a set of pendant lamps for the sanctuary¹¹⁰, and a gold medal and silver bowl as billiards trophies¹¹¹. The general memorials were not part of one grand overall scheme, except, perhaps, in Whorlow's private thoughts, but individual projects over a period from 1916 to 1922. They were

¹⁰³ He was quoting "a very leading layman" in his introductory remarks to the Commission, during his main examination, 30 Mar. 1905 (Minutes of Evidence: 17463) (BPP 1906 XXXIV Cd 3069-71).

¹⁰⁴ Alfred Whorlow (1852-1937). He was Vicar of Christ Church for thirty years (1898-1928).

¹⁰⁵ Completed in November 1918, January 1920, and October 1922 respectively.

¹⁰⁶ Dedicated in October 1921.

¹⁰⁷ Unveiled in June 1919 (see Chapter 6, p. 159).

¹⁰⁸ In memory of Malcolm Hewley Graham (killed in action 15 June 1915) and dedicated in the period March 1916 to April 1917.

¹⁰⁹ For Trevor Allington Crosland (died 22 June 1916) dedicated Mar. 1916-Apr. 1917, and Edward Stringer (died 1 May 1917), c. May 1918.

¹¹⁰ Also for T A Crosland, Spring 1920.

¹¹¹ In memory of Norman Clayton (died 5 July 1916), given Jan./Feb. 1920.

relatively modest designs, within the financial capacity of the parish when spread over time, and supplemented by occasional special donations from individual parishioners.¹¹²

The parish was active before the war in mission work, having three satellites in Leeds Road, Fartown, and Sheepridge. The expansion of British Dyes was partly within the parish boundaries, and the church was an active partner in the Working Men's Institute established to care for the influx of workers. Like most churches, it supported its servicemen through a comforts fund.¹¹³ Whorlow himself was obviously much loved within the parish, and well respected outside it.¹¹⁴ His politics and personal churchmanship were probably similar to Tupper-Carey's, and he was also a southerner, but his background was much more unconventional, being a shoe maker's son who had initially trained as an elementary school teacher, and had gone to Cambridge as a mature student. That broader experience, in addition to his character, may well have been the key to his ability to work successfully with people in many levels of society, but still have the contacts to attract prominent individuals for a dedication ceremony.¹¹⁵ If fate had placed Whorlow in Huddersfield's mother church, rather than Tupper-Carey, then St Peter's might have become a central focus for the borough's commemoration along side the memorial in Greenhead Park.

¹¹² The window cost just under £100, and the cross £163. The cost of the brass plate (c. £120) below the window was met by an individual parishioner, Mr Wimpenny, and Mr Crosland, the father of T A Crosland, paid for the reorganisation of an area near the font as the memorial chapel (c. £160) (CC 7 Feb. 1919, 22 Jan. 1920, 10 Jan. 1922, Magazine Aug. 1922).

¹¹³ Church Council Minute Book 1903-1920 (WYAS(W) WDP 42/97).

¹¹⁴ The churchyard has gateposts in memory of Whorlow's incumbency. He was the reserve choice of Emmanuel parish church, Lockwood, for the preacher at its war memorial dedication service, after the Archdeacon (PCC Minute Book Vol. II 1921-1929, 24 July 1923, WYAS(W) WDP 97/Box 6).

¹¹⁵ His politics are indicated by being Fartown Conservative Club's choice for the dedication of their memorial, outside the parish (HWE 6 Sept. 1919). His commitment to Empire and something of his personal spirituality came through in the parish magazine (1918-1924 WYAS(W) WDP 42/127). General Sir Ivor Maxse unveiled the churchyard cross (for Maxse, see Chapter 8, p. 240).

Chapter 10 - Cross of Sacrifice: Huddersfield and the Wider World

On 14 October 1929, in Edgerton Cemetery, the Imperial War Graves Commission (IWGC) formally presented a Cross of Sacrifice to the Borough Council. As the inscription on the screen wall framing the cross recorded:

“This Cross of Sacrifice is one in design and intention with those which have been set up in France and Belgium and other places throughout the world where our dead of the Great War are laid to rest.”

The Cross itself bore the same biblical text as all the others: “Their name liveth for evermore”.¹ It was one of 323 such memorials erected in Britain by the Commission, as a focus for local remembrance.² Its primary symbolic purpose was, of course, to transport the bereaved, at least in imagination, to the gravesides of all those buried away from home as a consequence of war. However, its location in a cemetery which itself contained war graves of some who had had no previous connection with Huddersfield prior to their death, was a reminder that the borough’s support for those serving in the war, both in life and in death, had not been restricted to its own people.

War Hospitals and War Graves

The work of the IWGC is not often thought of as having had a significant role inside the United Kingdom. This is not surprising, as its initial efforts were directed entirely towards finding, identifying and burying those who had died overseas. However, many servicemen did not die on the battlefield, or in the field hospitals, but were brought back to British hospitals. Those hospitals, of course, took not only British patients but also those from other parts of the Empire, and from allied countries. Abroad, the Commission’s authority was unchallenged, and the permanent cemeteries it established were placed on land designated as British territory. At home, the Commission’s position was much more problematic. Many months after the end of the war, the Army unexpectedly transferred responsibility for service

¹ Ecclesiasticus 44:14 (see Chapter 6, p. 179). See also Appendix A, Figure 12.

² P Longworth, *The Unending Vigil: A History of the Commonwealth War Graves Commission, 1917-1984* (revised edn.; London: Leo Cooper in association with Secker and Warburg, 1985), pp. 123-124.

graves to the Commission, having itself registered only 36,000 out of over 90,000 graves spread across more than 9,000 churchyards and cemeteries. The IWGC was left to negotiate piecemeal with relatives, cemetery companies, churches, and local authorities, and had no power to enforce the use of the common pattern of headstone. By March 1925, it had made 4,500 separate agreements covering 40,000 graves and, by 1931, nearly 50,000 headstones had been erected in nearly 7,000 cemeteries. The process is still continuing. In effect, the Commission became responsible for those dead servicemen for whom no other arrangements had been made, and later, if requested, for war graves which were no longer cared for. It was given some flexibility to erect an alternative memorial in a different place where it was impossible or impracticable to continue to maintain the original.³

Edgerton Cemetery contains 95 war graves from the Great War which are registered with the IWGC's successor, the Commonwealth War Graves Commission. The other large groups are 18 in Lockwood Cemetery, and a further 19 in Almondbury Cemetery.⁴ Although about a third belong to the Duke of Wellington's West Riding Regiment, and are thus likely to have been local men, others, such as the six in Edgerton Cemetery who had been serving in Canadian regiments, show how

³ Longworth, *Unending Vigil*, pp. 45, 123-124, 237 and 244. The definition of a war grave in the Commission's charter covered all servicemen who had died from "wounds inflicted, accident occurring, or disease contracted while on active service" in the period 4 August 1914 to 31 August 1921 (p. 121).

⁴ Data extracted from the CWGC database <www.cwgc.org> (3 Sept. 2008). The contemporary inscription behind the Cross of Sacrifice recorded 87 in Edgerton and 16 in Lockwood. Almondbury was not mentioned on the inscription but was referred to in the speeches; the IWGC began the process of making an agreement about the Almondbury graves in October 1929 (Parks and Cemeteries Committee 2 Oct.). Plaques added more recently record the names on graves in Emmanuel churchyard, Lockwood, and Zion Methodist chapel burial ground, Lindley, which can no longer be maintained in situ. Other individual war graves are scattered throughout the area and include that of a nurse, Ada Stanley, at St Paul, Armitage Bridge (died 22 Dec. 1915).

eclectic any such group is likely to be.⁵ For the most part, the graves reflect the presence in Huddersfield of a large network of military hospitals.⁶

Initially, casualties brought back to this country were placed in ordinary hospitals or in the few permanent military hospitals. The numbers soon made additional resources desperately necessary. The War Department was very dependent upon local assistance in setting these up, both financially and practically. In the summer of 1915, local civic and military dignitaries, awaiting the arrival of a convoy of wounded for the Huddersfield Royal Infirmary, began discussion of the provision of a dedicated military hospital. Within three months, a 500 bed hospital had been built, equipped and handed over to the military authorities, at a cost of £30,121 from voluntary subscriptions, and with land and services gifted by the Council. The speed of completion of the project, and the fact that no government funds were involved, was a matter of considerable local pride. The building was located at Royds Hall, Paddock, and opened on 4 October 1915, with 500 beds. As the war progressed, a further 100 beds were added to Royds Hall, and about 21 auxiliary sites were established within and outside the borough boundaries. By the time the special hospitals were closed, in 1919, some 22,000 patients were said to have been treated, with only 114 deaths.⁷

⁵ The Parks and Cemeteries Committee concluded an agreement with the IWGC to care for the Canadian graves (6 Dec. 1922) and, a few months later, made a further arrangement whereby the Commission could erect headstones over service graves without paying the usual fee and the Council would maintain them (7 Feb. 1923). The latter reflected an earlier decision, in 1917, that the upkeep of all soldiers' graves should be a charge on the Council (14 April 1917).

⁶ Some Huddersfield men, who died elsewhere in Britain, and whose relatives could afford to bring the body home for burial, or who died after being discharged on health grounds, accounted for some of the war graves, and also for some individual or family interments marked by ordinary gravestones.

⁷ The auxiliary sites were mainly in existing buildings of various types. A site at Bradley Wood, already earmarked for a TB sanatorium, was opened as a major auxiliary hospital in March 1917, and equipped by local subscription at a further cost of £2,043. The Paddock elementary school was an example of one of the smaller sites. Crosland Moor workhouse hospital provided 300 beds, and the Lunatic Asylum at Storthes Hall took both the physically wounded and the mentally disturbed; some of the latter remaining there for life. The Royal Infirmary developed a specialist physiotherapy unit for rehabilitation. (HDE May 9 1919; Balmforth, *Jubilee History*, p. 86; A Littlewood, *Storthes Hall Remembered* (Huddersfield: University of Huddersfield, 2003), pp. 30, 81-82; and G Thurgood, 'Nurses and Nursing in Huddersfield, 1870-1960', in S Wade (ed.), *Aspects of Huddersfield: Discovering Local History 2* (Barnsley: Wharncliffe Books, 2002), 111-126, p. 118.)

In the view of the *Examiner*, war hospitals appealed to the public imagination more than any other aspect of war work. Real sympathy, rather than morbid curiosity, was felt to be the driving force which brought them to see the convoys arrive, and that was also evident in the generous donations and other help. The newspaper cited, among other examples, a fully equipped gymnasium for Royds Hall, presented by the Freemasons of the area, a 24-hour casualty transport service by ambulance and private car, provided by the Automobile Association, accommodation for relatives, provided by the Paddock Adult School, and the equivalent of over £8,000 of new-laid eggs.⁸ The last item sounds like hyperbole but may well have been correct. Almost no surviving records which contain any details of wartime activities omit egg collection as a major feature.⁹ The Church Council at St Barnabas, Crosland Moor, noted, in April 1916, that a weekly collection rate of 4,000 eggs had been achieved over the previous six weeks by the whole collecting area.¹⁰

In addition to egg collection, organisations supported the wounded soldiers in other ways. Produce brought to harvest festivals was allocated to the military hospitals,¹¹ special socials were organised for the convalescent,¹² board games, books and magazines were donated, and refreshments were provided.¹³ Ministers of the different denominations organised voluntary chaplains and the YMCA provided the same type of hut facilities as it did overseas.¹⁴ However, it is clear that initially

⁸ HDE 9 May 1919.

⁹ For example, Birkby Baptist (Church Meeting 8 Mar. 1916); Trinity Wesleyan Methodist Fartown (Leaders Meeting 10 Aug. 1915), at which a target of 1,000 fresh eggs was set; Thornhill United Methodist, Lindley, where the Pastor and two church representatives served on the Lindley district egg collection committee (Church Meeting 30 June 1916); Newsome United Methodist church held a Flower Service on 25 July 1915 when 230 eggs were collected (Leaders Meeting 13 June 1915); Paddock Adult Institute had thought its performance poor initially but nevertheless collected 1,021 eggs over 3 years 2 months plus £17-5-3 of cash in lieu (School Committee 16 Mar. 1919).

¹⁰ Its own contribution to the total for the week prior to the meeting had been 313 eggs (11 Apr. 1916).

¹¹ Birkby Baptist (Church Meeting 31 July 1918); Thornhill, Lindley (Trustees 27 July 1917).

¹² Birkby Baptist (Church Meeting 29 Nov. 1916); Paddock Adult School (School Committee 11 Nov. 1917).

¹³ Holy Trinity, Huddersfield (Council 30 July 1917); St Paul, Huddersfield (Council 26 Sept. 1918).

¹⁴ The Council's General Purposes Committee (1 Aug. 1916) had a tart minute about Royds Hall wasting money on the appointment of a chaplain, when local ministers would provide

idealistic views of the implications of having large numbers of soldiers around, and premises run by the military authorities, gave way to rather more realistic assessments. Almost as soon as war had been declared, the Trustees at Trinity Wesleyan Methodist church, Fartown, unanimously resolved to offer the Schoolroom as a military hospital and to inform the Mayor to that effect. However, by September 1916, a member of the Leaders Meeting was drawing attention to the bad language used in the army, and to the adverse influence on young men who had gone from Christian homes, churches and Sunday Schools. When the authorities sought to take up the offer of hospital facilities, in January 1918, the response, although positive, was much more cautious and worldly wise. The name of the Executive Officer responsible for making the arrangements was requested, and a condition in the agreement provided that "that no beer, stout, spirits, wine or other intoxicating liqueurs (except those required for medical and surgical purposes) shall be bought, consumed, accepted, sold, or otherwise received into or about the premises either by officials, staff, patients, visitors or any other person either in the ordinary dietetic arrangements of the hospital or for other purposes".¹⁵ Various approaches from the Mayor and the military authorities in 1917, requesting the Sunday School at Gledholt Wesleyan Methodist church for a war hospital, met with a somewhat reluctant response. Subject to adequate compensation arrangements, the request was approved but the authorities were urged not to implement the arrangement unless absolutely essential, as the work undertaken there was of an important character.¹⁶ Brunswick Street United Methodist church, Huddersfield, permitted the War Office to use the School Room in May 1917; but, by July 1918, the Trustees were writing to the military authorities in York about the failure of the occupants to pay the gas bill. When the School Room was released by the authorities in the latter part of 1918,

that service for free. Queen Street Wesleyan Methodist Mission provided a chaplain for its denomination (Mission Committee 13 Mar. 1916). Huddersfield and District Congregational Council arranged one for its constituency (Executive Committee 28 Oct. 1915). That Council placed a letter in the *Christian World*, the *Christian Commonwealth*, and the *British Weekly*, offering to visit and care for wounded Congregationalists in Huddersfield's military hospitals. Demonstrating that denominational rivalry was not dead, it also established a Recreation Room, which aimed to provide "as good if not better support than the YMCA" (Quarterly Meeting 18 Oct. 1917).

¹⁵ Trustees 1 Sept. 1914, 6 and 23 Jan., and 5 Mar. 1918; Leaders Meeting 12 Sept. 1916.

¹⁶ Trustees 14 Mar. 1917.

drawers were found to be missing from tables, the area needed to be cleaned and thoroughly disinfected, and the church waited some months for dilapidations payments.¹⁷ Friction arose at Park Road Wesleyan Methodist church, Crosland Moor, over the provision of evening services for soldiers at the Workhouse Hospital and about whether or not they should be expected to contribute to the collection.¹⁸

Migrant Workers and Refugees

Care for the patients was not the only aspect of the military hospitals which had an impact on normal life. The hospitals also brought with them many professional and volunteer staff of both sexes from outside the area. When added to the impact of the munitions factories, the textile trades, and other industries working flat out to meet wartime orders, migrant workers were present in the town in numbers probably never seen before.¹⁹ The resulting housing problems fell mainly on the Council but other organisations were concerned with the general welfare of those temporary residents. Queen Street Mission, noting that the population of the town was now about 123,000, as a result of the expansion of British Dyes and the establishment of five new and enlarged engineering works, and that the housing situation was very serious, especially in working class areas, proposed a new mission circuit incorporating Buxton Road and Gledholt churches, which were nearest to the main areas of expansion.²⁰ St Patrick's Roman Catholic church opened a temporary place of worship in Leeds Road for the migrant workers of its faith.²¹ St James Presbyterian church held a Strangers Social.²²

Huddersfield had also volunteered to take its share of Belgian refugees. The first group of sixty men, women and children arrived on 7 October 1914, the total numbers reaching about 450. At that early stage, it was assumed that the families were likely to need assistance throughout their stay and a borough committee was set up to raise and administer funds for that purpose. However, by 1918, the Jubilee

¹⁷ Trustees 16 Aug. 1917, 11 Sept., 19 Nov. and 6 Dec. 1918.

¹⁸ Trustees 11 Sept. 1917 and 8 Feb. 1918.

¹⁹ See Chapter 2, pp. 64.

²⁰ Quarterly Meeting 28 Sept. 1917.

²¹ S Habron, *175 Years of St Patrick's Church, 1832-2007: A Brief History* ([Huddersfield], 2007), p. 20.

²² Committee of Management 8 Feb. and 14 Mar. 1916.

History could record that, because of the healthy wartime economy, almost all the refugees had been able to support themselves.²³ The families were found homes in small groups in various parts of the borough. The Old Manse at Trinity Wesleyan Methodist church at Fartown was used for that purpose²⁴ and, at Lockwood, the Baptist church was offered a couple of houses rent free so it could take part.²⁵ Emmanuel parish magazine, also in Lockwood, announced, in January 1915, that “our Belgian family” had arrived, a couple from Antwerp with seven boys. At the end of the war, the Church Meeting at the Baptist church at Lockwood noted that its Belgian guests wished to place a commemorative tablet in the chapel “as a memorial of their gratitude for hospitality given to them by members of the church and friends during the war”.²⁶ In 1920, the Treasurer of the main Belgian fund-raising committee in the borough was awarded the King Albert Medal, in recognition of the borough’s support for Belgium during the war, both by receiving Belgian families and by contributing to the national Committee for the Relief of Belgium.²⁷

Financial Support for War and Its Victims

That pattern of support for those in need locally, at borough level, and elsewhere, was not confined to the Belgian crisis. The *Jubilee History* recorded the sums raised by Mayoral appeals during the war as totalling £112,080 spread across thirty three funds, of which the most significant were the Military Hospital Fund (£32,179 for its initial establishment), the War Relief Fund (£24,315, of which £14,387 went to soldiers’ dependents and the remainder allocated to civil relief²⁸)

²³ The Belgian Refugee Clothing Committee was wound up as early as June 1915 (Balmforth, *Jubilee History*, pp. 86 and 88).

²⁴ Leaders 16 Oct. 1914, and Historical Notes for the Jubilee Celebration 1881-1931.

²⁵ Church Meeting 1 Nov. 1914.

²⁶ Church Meeting 29 Jan. 1919.

²⁷ Mr Arthur Longden Woodhead (1862-1957), a member of the Woodhead family at the *Examiner* (HDE 14 May 1920; Cooksey, *Public Lives*, p 53). No doubt in part because of the booming economy, Huddersfield’s experience of Belgian refugees seemed to be more harmonious than elsewhere; see, for example, Mitchinson, *Saddleworth 1914-1919*, pp. 41-43.

²⁸ Although, “in consequence of work being plentiful”, only £1,425 was disbursed. Of the residue, £2,450 was transferred to the local Prisoners of War Fund and £2,000 to the Prince of Wales Central Fund. Presumably, at the time of the publication of the History, the remainder was being held until the pattern of continuing war-related hardship became clearer.

and the Comforts for Soldiers and Sailors Fund (£12,182, mainly clothing distribution). Although most of the charities were closely related to Huddersfield, sums were also raised for Poland, Russia, Syria and Palestine, Roumania [sic] and Serbia, as well as the more predictable locations of France and Belgium.²⁹ The History was careful to emphasise that the list did not include the sums raised by the *Examiner* and others.³⁰

In common with the rest of the country, Huddersfield was a target of government fund-raising. In addition to the regular promotion of investments in government bonds and certificates, there were a number of special periods during which towns competed to raise the most money per head of population. The first covered January and February 1917 with the issue of "The Victory War Loan", Huddersfield's contribution being over £4,500,000. The year 1918 saw a "Tank Week" in January and a "War Weapons Week" in July, raising £2,689,000 and £604,902 respectively in Huddersfield. The regular savings campaign was not neglected in favour of those exceptional campaigns. Huddersfield had been set a weekly target of £53,000, representing about 10/- per inhabitant, but, during the period 1 October 1917 to 15 August 1918, the weekly rate was over £105,000, more than double the target, and placing Huddersfield at seventh place in the national league tables for contributions per head of population. In total, during the war, Huddersfield invested £9,384,925 in War Loans and Bonds and £1,166,592 in War Savings' Certificates.³¹ The Armistice did not bring an end to government fund-raising. In July 1919, a "Victory Loan Week" raised a further £4,084,505 in Huddersfield.³² Nor did it end war-related charity collections. In addition to the obvious local and national collections for widows, orphans and ex-servicemen, Huddersfield had adopted two French villages, Havrincourt and Hermies. A progress

²⁹ Balmforth, *Jubilee History*, pp. 84-88.

³⁰ In addition to borough wide appeals, there were, of course, all the individual fund-raising efforts of churches, clubs and firms. In addition to those already mentioned, collections for St Dunstan's, the Red Cross and the YMCA were those most frequently mentioned in minutes.

³¹ Balmforth, *Jubilee History*, pp. 89-92.

³² HDE 14 July 1919.

report, in November 1920, showed a total of £830 raised for the reconstruction of those communities.³³

Service Burials

Support for the living and for the war effort was therefore impressive in its scope and level. However, care was also needed for the dead. Although deaths at the military hospitals, in the context of total patient numbers, were not as high as might have been feared, they nevertheless presented problems which took some time to address. In normal times, anyone dying in the borough without means to pay for a private funeral, whether resident or visitor, was buried at the expense of the Huddersfield Poor Law Union, a process involving a minimum of ceremony and a place in an unmarked and usually communal grave. Establishing whether those dying in a military hospital had assets, and who were their next of kin, was not always easy. Although all servicemen had minimal details on their identity disks, their papers might well have been lost or destroyed, they might not have been able to provide coherent information about next of kin and, even if such details were known, addresses easily became out of date. Even if next of kin could be identified and contacted, the difficulty and expense of removal of the body to where they lived or of arranging a private funeral in Huddersfield could be daunting.³⁴ Nearly 40% (37 out of 95) of the war graves in Edgerton Cemetery were recorded as being unable to be marked, with the names of the dead placed instead on the screen wall behind the Cross of Sacrifice.³⁵ However, all the names had a plot number listed, indicating that the men lay in communal graves. The dates of death for that group of men spanned the full range from 1914 to 1921. The minutes of the Parks and Cemeteries Committee of the Borough Council, for June 1916, referred to setting aside, free of

³³ HWE 13 Nov. 1920.

³⁴ Some recognition of that was shown by the decision that military funerals could take place before noon without additional charge (Parks and Cemeteries Committee 2 May 1917).

³⁵ Almondbury had 3 such unmarked burials and their names were recorded on a small memorial shaped like a standard Commission headstone. There were no such burials recorded at Lockwood.

charge, a special grave for wounded soldiers who died locally.³⁶ That appears to confirm that, prior to the middle of 1916, there were service burials in the normal communal pauper graves but that, from then onwards, although the grave was communal and without individual name markers, the special status of the war dead was being recognised to some degree.³⁷ In addition to the efforts of the Council to come to grips with new circumstances, the local Territorial Force Association was providing a military escort for service funerals by April 1915³⁸ and, in 1915, the Presbyterian church in Huddersfield agreed to send a wreath whenever a Scottish serviceman died.³⁹

In June 1926, the IWGC approached the borough council with proposals for the erection of a "War Cross" in Edgerton Cemetery, of standard Commission headstones over service graves not already marked, and for the site of the cross and of the marked graves to be handed over to the Commission in perpetuity. Detailed discussions then began about how the common graves were to be treated. Initially, it was agreed that they should have special headstones. However, in October 1927, the Commission notified the council that the costs of the overall scheme now exceeded the available monies. A compromise was agreed whereby the common graves were to be left unmarked, and panels added to the retaining wall for the cross with inscriptions relating to those burials. Later the council itself decided to provide permanent markers for three common graves containing the remains of twenty soldiers.⁴⁰

³⁶ Parks and Cemeteries Committee 2 June 1915. The first interment under this provision was noted in the minutes as that of Private Richard Wright of the King's Liverpool Regiment. His name was one of those recorded as having an unmarked grave on the Edgerton inscription.

³⁷ There is also a reference, two months later, to two grave spaces being allocated to the Army Veterans Association (Parks and Cemeteries Committee 23 Aug. 1916). In 1924, the Council granted the Association free use of two horses for veterans' funerals (Transport Committee 6 Oct. 1924).

³⁸ HDE 23 Apr. 1915.

³⁹ Huddersfield St James, Committee of Management 19 Oct. 1915. An organisation known as the Scottish Tommies Ladies was prominent throughout the war and was probably in the main drawn from the congregation of St James. It arranged special services and social events for Scottish servicemen, such as the "Scottish service for Wounded Soldiers" planned for Autumn 1917 by St James (Committee of Management 12 June 1917).

⁴⁰ Parks and Cemeteries Committee 7 July 1926, 5 Oct. 1927 and 25 June 1929.

Dedication of the Cross of Sacrifice

Fifteen years after the first burial of a Great War serviceman, the Examiner's report of the dedication of the Cross of Sacrifice at Edgerton Cemetery described the ceremony as "simple but impressive" in front of "a large and representative assembly". The Chairman of the Parks and Cemeteries Committee gave an opening address in which he congratulated the Imperial War Graves Commission on its work. He explained that the Corporation had given the land for the Cross, which commemorated those buried at Edgerton, Lockwood and Almondbury cemeteries. The Commission had placed headstones on those graves which did not already have crosses, and the Corporation had promised to look after the graves and plant flowers etc. After the singing of the hymn "O God Our Help In Ages Past", the representative of the Commission formally handed over the memorial to the Mayor, who, on behalf of the Council, accepted the trust "for now and the future". He spoke of the "great debt of gratitude that all owed to the men who gave their lives". "[E]veryone hoped", he said, "that there would be no more wars and no more sacrifices of that kind...Let their hearts and minds turn to something higher and nobler than strife, and let them do all they could to encourage thoughts of peace". The Vicar of Huddersfield then dedicated the memorial, and the President of the Free Church Council read a lesson and offered prayers. After the two minute silence, buglers of the 5th Battalion of the Duke of Wellington's Regiment sounded Last Post and Reveille, and the service concluded with the National Anthem. Wreaths were laid on behalf of the Mayor and Corporation, the British Legion, and the Scottish Tommies Ladies. Other official groups recorded as present included the British Red Cross Society, the Order of St John, and the Huddersfield Liberal Association.⁴¹

The newspaper report was in some respects more interesting for what it did not contain. The phrase "Cross of Sacrifice" appeared nowhere, either as a picture caption or as part of the report, although the Mayor's use of the phrase "no more sacrifices of that kind" was an indirect allusion. The reader was given no description of the memorial, beyond the phrase "memorial cross", and no background to the significance of its design. Nor was the inscription on the retaining wall quoted to

⁴¹ HDE 15 Oct. 1929.

convey that information more directly.⁴² The speeches contained no glorification of death in war, although that had been absent from most of Huddersfield's commemorative events. More surprisingly, no patriotic appeal was made to the younger generation, and there was no reference to the presence of cadets, scouts or school children.⁴³ The civic party was referred to as comprising, in addition to those identified above, the Deputy Mayor and "several" members of the Council. Political parties, other than the Liberals, were not mentioned, neither was the Royal Society of St George, prominent at many earlier ceremonies. The overall impression is of an occasion which was an important but not a vital commitment for local people, and in which a continuing feeling of grief and loss was mixed with a certain weariness and apprehension about the future. By the end of the 1920s, a belief in a brave new post-war world had been badly dented. Views of the war itself had become more complex, influenced, at least for the majority of people, more by the everyday personal experience of its continuing physical and emotional toll than by the growing output of the poetry and prose which received so much attention in later decades.

⁴² The background may, of course, have been felt to be all too familiar, and to reiterate it, an insensitive heightening of the emotion of the occasion.

⁴³ The ceremony took place on a Monday, possibly because of difficulties of finding dates for an IWGC representative to attend. This would have limited casual participation, but the apparent absence of representatives from certain groups is still significant.

Chapter 11 - Conclusions

The aim of this study has been to broaden in a number of ways the basis on which the commemoration of the Great War has so far been studied. Firstly, it has focused on an urban location within the three largest conurbations outside London - South West Lancashire, the West Midlands, and the West Riding of Yorkshire - recognising that, in the early years of the twentieth century, the majority of the population of England and Wales were urban dwellers, and that no extended studies of places in those areas have been published. Secondly, by examining not just the creation of the main memorial for that place, but also the many activities in the layers beneath, in districts, and in individual associational groups, whose memorials constitute by far the largest percentage of the total numbers created, and thus deserve much closer attention than they have normally received. Then, it has followed developments from the outbreak of war onwards, to recognise that the earliest days of war brought not only civilian volunteers, but also the deaths of those already fighting, and that recognition of service and sacrifice was not deferred until after the Armistice, but was present throughout the war. Finally, it has highlighted the religious aspects of commemoration, in a context where a common heritage of religious education in day schools and Sunday schools was almost universal, but where, in those midland and northern industrial areas, the position of the Church of England was not automatically dominant. Such an in-depth study of a particular provincial urban setting breaks new ground and complements existing work on national and metropolitan commemoration.

The location of the study, Huddersfield, in the West Riding of Yorkshire, was, in the early 1900s, a much more prosperous and important sub-regional centre than it is today. It had a well-diversified textile industry, which enjoyed a reputation both at home and abroad as a producer of high quality fabrics, strong engineering and chemical sectors supporting textile production, and a range of professional and other services underpinning the life of the town and its hinterland. The local elite was predominantly Liberal in politics and Nonconformist in religion, without excluding those of different persuasions, and that diversity of political and religious allegiance

was mirrored at other levels of society. When war came, the borough made crucial contributions to equipping the armed forces with munitions, clothing, and other equipment, as well as creating an important military hospital network.

Findings

The volume of commemorative activity found across the different levels of borough society amply justified the choice of Huddersfield as the focus for the study. The level of detail available about any one project is, as was to be expected, very variable. However, the cumulative range of evidence not only conveys the variety and complexity of the commemorative process, but also suggests that the patterns which do emerge are unlikely to have been seriously distorted by the differential survival of archival material.

The nature of the elements within the borough's official memorial scheme – keeping in balance the commemoration of the dead and the needs of the living - and the scale of the funds raised, would have been a considerable achievement at any time, and were particularly impressive during a deteriorating economic climate. When placed against the level of fund-raising at borough and local level for comforts funds, refugees, and the country's war effort during the hostilities, as well as the costs of all the individual memorial funds after it, the overall commitment of time and energy, as well as money, was staggering. There can be no doubt that the town functioned as a recognisable entity, an urban community to which its inhabitants had a strong allegiance. The committee which brought the borough project to a successful conclusion, after the initial period of conflicting aspirations, was separate from, but worked in harmony with the council. The core of its membership reflected the industrial and commercial elite, but was not monochrome in its political and religious allegiances, and took active steps to ensure that those from outside the elite had continuing access to discussions as they developed. Such a successful outcome could not be assumed. The population after the war was, no doubt, united in its grief, but not necessarily in any other respect. The evidence suggests that human nature did not change, and that the impact on decision-making of personalities, ideologies, and practicalities was as potentially complicated as it had been before the war. From cities to villages, commemoration of the war could be highly divisive. Huddersfield was not, of course, different in that respect. The parish church of St Peter was the

most prominent example of discord, but other examples of unhappy relationships have been uncovered at district level, and in other individual churches and chapels.

Rolls of honour have emerged as playing a central role in focussing and defining the extent and nature of each wartime community at all levels of the town. They were dynamic, working documents, serving a number of functions for both the living and the dead during the war, and providing an essential basis for more permanent commemoration afterwards. In the absence of any access to official records of the names and details of those who had served or died from a particular geographical area, whether associated with it by birth, place of enlistment, or family connections, the rolls were crucial. Studies to date have tended to see such rolls as being primarily part of the story of recruitment activities in the first, volunteer, phase of the war, with their significance diminishing once conscription was introduced. They have been linked with the, by no means universal, street shrines movement but, in the post-war period, they have tended to be regarded more as a relic of war, than as a continuing influence. Yet, in Huddersfield, both memorials, and the ceremonies connected to them, displayed a concern for the living and the dead, which echoed the wartime balance inherent in the nature of the rolls of honour.

The discovery of the commemorative use made of the Boer War memorial throughout the Great War, of the unbroken tradition of annual ceremonies from 1905, and of the role played by the Fallen Heroes Committee in the borough war memorial scheme, was very surprising. Nevertheless, it seems highly unlikely that Huddersfield was unique in that respect. An examination of sources elsewhere would probably unearth similar examples. It does, however, serve to indicate that the influence of the Boer War on the civilian sphere in the First World War may be more important than previously documented. The inclusive commemoration of the dead, whether regular soldiers or volunteers, the extraordinary number of individual donations in relation to the number of dead, and the perseverance of a committee independent of the municipal authorities, all indicated what might happen in the future. The annual round of commemorations, with their development of ceremonial rituals normally associated with a period after Armistice Day, helps to explain why the organising committee became such a crucial player after the second conflict.

The dominant Liberal and Nonconformist ethos of Huddersfield's elite set the tone for attitudes during the war. Each individual had to come to terms with the

assault on many of their values which the war brought; naturally, the conclusions reached were not uniform. What did continue to be common ground was a compelling need for sensitivity to the positions taken up by others, and a presumption that their views had not been arrived at without considerable thought and, indeed, pain. The treatment of conscientious objectors was a particularly prominent example of that. That sensitivity was carried over into the rhetoric of speeches and the language of memorial inscriptions. The cruder manifestations of patriotic expression were largely absent, the predominant emphasis being on individuals doing their duty as they conscientiously perceived it, rather than on any overriding imperative to serve one's country and empire, right or wrong. The absence of any widespread challenge to that approach from the Conservative section of the town's elite, revealed the existence of a more tolerant, more consensual society than might have been expected. Individuals on all sides expressed their views strongly but habits of conciliation were clearly well-embedded. There was a similar lack of evidence of significant and sustained dissent from either the socialist groupings or the working classes at large. The particular character of the town was also reflected in the very limited use of the type of imagery for which an art historical analysis is appropriate, and by a similar dearth of classical influences in designs or inscriptions.

Given that background, the role played by the Church of England in the town during and after the war is of particular interest. Its churches and its clergy could not expect to be accorded the unchallenged primacy which obtained elsewhere. In areas where the assumption of such a role had been an issue before the war, community commemoration tended to take the form of multi-representational decision-making bodies placing memorials in non-denominational civic space. Elsewhere, when the parish church had worked to transform constitutional control over a parish into actual pastoral care of all its inhabitants, a memorial in the parish church became an acceptable focus for the community as a whole. Between those extremes, can be seen various ways by which the use of the parish churchyard as, in some senses, neutral yet religious territory, could satisfy the sensitivities of all parties.

Underlying those decisions had been a significant increase in interdenominational contacts and activities. During the war, pragmatic considerations such as the increased cost of heating buildings, a common need for regular intercession services, and the contacts generated by the creation and

maintenance of rolls of honour, all served to extend pre-war knowledge of and tolerance for patterns of organisation and worship in other denominations, a process which was also going on among those serving in the armed forces. Again, the nature and extent of such developments varied from place to place, as did the degree to which they survived after the war, but, in some parts of the borough at least, cooperation seems to have advanced at a faster pace than the policies at national level endorsed.

Had the lead from St Peter's, the town's mother church, been less divisive within Anglicanism, and more sensitively attuned to the town's Nonconformist heritage, the fortunes of the Church across the borough as a whole might have been greatly enhanced in the inter-war period. In St Peter's, as elsewhere in the borough, the personality and style of the Anglican incumbent appears to have had a far greater impact on his reputation and standing within his congregation, and in the community more generally, than issues of churchmanship. The importance of personalities and their network of relationships was also evident in many other aspects of commemorative activity within the borough.

Looking beyond the denominational picture, it is clear not just that a formal religious input was present at almost all ceremonies, wherever they were held, but that the dominant purpose of addressing the needs of the grieving was carried out within a predominantly religious framework. Through words and, particularly importantly for Huddersfield, through music, the traditional consolations offered to the bereaved were substantially enhanced by the recovery of an emphasis on the continuity of a loving community across the divide of death, which had been generally obscured since the Reformation. The theologically literate might have thought of that in terms of restoring the doctrine of the communion of the saints to a more prominent place in worship. Most ordinary people probably discovered that their instinctive need to pray for the departed had become publicly acceptable, and that they were to have the consolation of hearing their loved ones' names in church on an annual basis.

This study was not designed to attempt to gauge the extent of the private trauma suffered by individuals during the war and after it. Hard evidence for such emotion, and, even more, for judging gradations of it, must always be in short supply. Material such as a letter of sympathy sent to a church member from its central body,

or a pastoral letter in a magazine, sometimes gives an indication of the shock felt by those witnessing the first impact of the loss. Neither the levels of corporate activity during and after the war, nor the relatively limited attendance at the dedication of the Cross of Sacrifice in Edgerton Cemetery in 1929, should be taken as evidence that the impact of the war on individuals was less devastating than has traditionally been argued. A determination that life had to go on, for the sake of the rest of the family, particularly the children, and for the organisations that the dead individual had held dear, must have been a strong counterbalance to individual desolation.

Ways Forward

The most immediate task, after the completion of this thesis, is to prepare the data gathered during the course of the study for submission to the United Kingdom Inventory of War Memorials. Only a minority of the memorials now known to have existed in the borough are at present recorded in the Inventory and, even in those cases, some of the details are now known to be incorrect, and there is little dating and other contextual material recorded. All the others need to be submitted for inclusion in the database with, wherever possible, the addition of information about current whereabouts and condition.

The second priority, having secured the addition of substantial new factual data into the public domain via the Inventory, is to disseminate the more discursive findings. For Huddersfield itself, there would an interest in the story of the overall borough memorial scheme, as well as in those areas where sufficient information has been obtained to give a similarly detailed account. When the economic situation improves, a book aimed at that general audience might find a local history publisher. Whether or not that is possible, local societies provide a less formal means of reaching a wide audience. Within a professional context, there are aspects of the research undertaken which it is hoped will find a place in the academic literature, most probably in the form of one or more journal articles.

On a longer timescale, extending the research beyond the boundaries of this thesis might be fruitful in some areas. Extending the chronological scope to cover the development of commemorative activity between the wars, and the experience of the borough after the Second World War, is an obvious option. However, there are already studies of that type of timescale elsewhere, and it might be more profitable to

look in more detail than was possible for this study at what was happening in the town during and after the Boer War. Given the Huddersfield Army Volunteers' Association's links with the earlier wars of Victoria's reign, a further extension back into the nineteenth century might also be productive.

There have been intriguing glimpses during this research of the picture which might emerge from looking at the totality of remembrance within particular areas of the borough. Paddock is the most obvious example, where the presence of the Society of Friends, alongside a number of other churches, all almost next door to one other, must have produced a potentially very tense set of relationships. Some progress might be made in unearthing additional source material to that end, but a substantial breakthrough is, regrettably, unlikely.

The almost complete absence from both national and local studies of the Labour Party's attitude to commemoration ought to be explored, as ought the very limited coverage of the Roman Catholic church's involvement, especially below national level. The dearth of source material for the latter may be an insuperable problem. For the former, the absence of coverage almost certainly owes more to the uneasy relationship between the theoretical underpinnings of socialism and the realities of warfare between nations than to a paucity of evidence.¹

If the research is extended in any of the ways indicated above, it should be within a framework which looks at commemoration as an activity which is related to events and emotions during a war. That is not to say that the present and the future were not also important influences in the minds of those concerned, but to fail to recognise the significance of the paths which led through a period of conflict to the desire to create memorials, diminishes our appreciation of the full picture.

¹ A brief example of the tensions, in the context of commemoration, is given in P Ward, *Red Flag and Union Jack: Englishness, Patriotism and the British Left 1881-1924* (London: The Boydell Press in association with The Royal Historical Society, 1998), pp. 168-169.

Appendix A – Illustrations

All the pictures in this Appendix were taken by the author.



Figure 1: The main path through Greenhead Park, showing the relative positions of the Boer War and Great War Memorials



Figure 2: Great War Memorial, Greenhead Park



Figure 3: "Fallen Heroes" Boer War Memorial, Greenhead Park

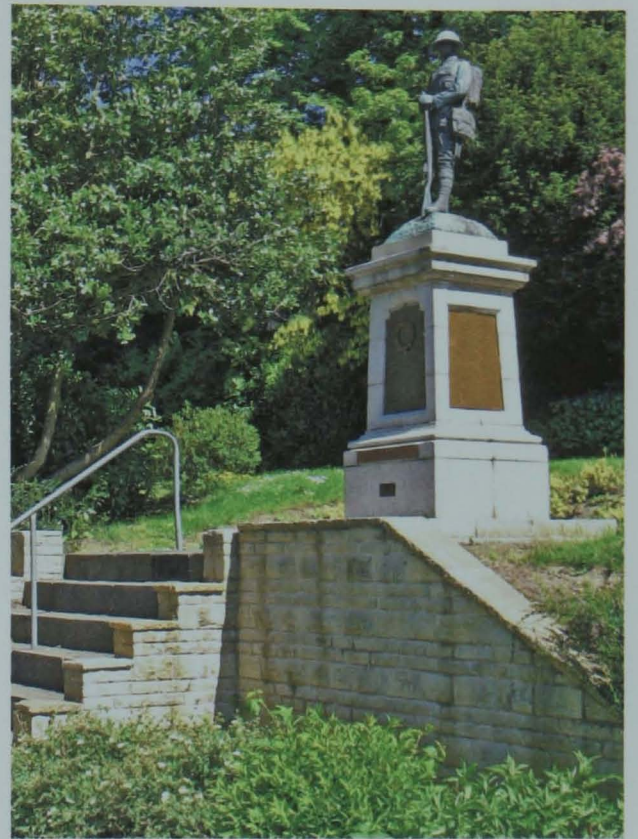


Figure 4: Fartown and Birkby Memorial, Norman Park

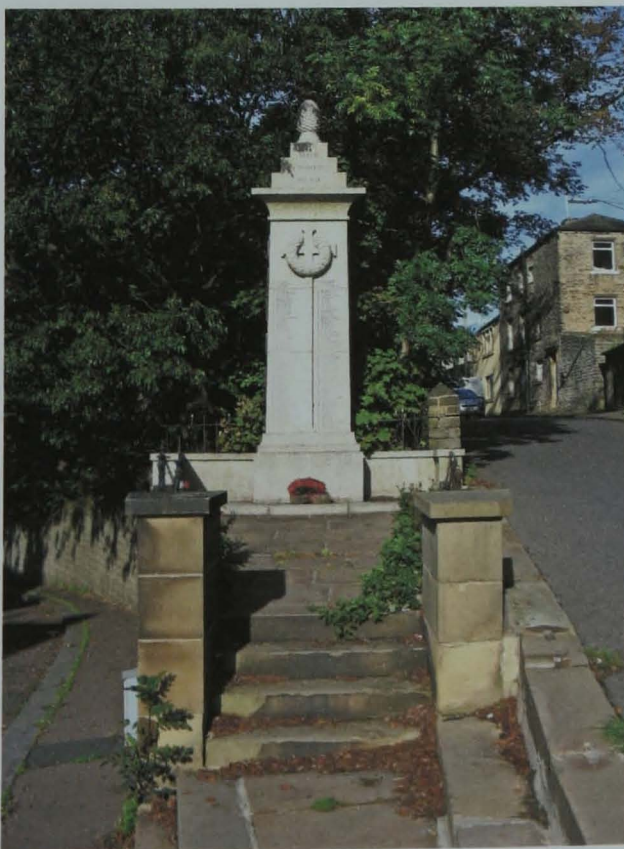


Figure 5: Longwood Memorial

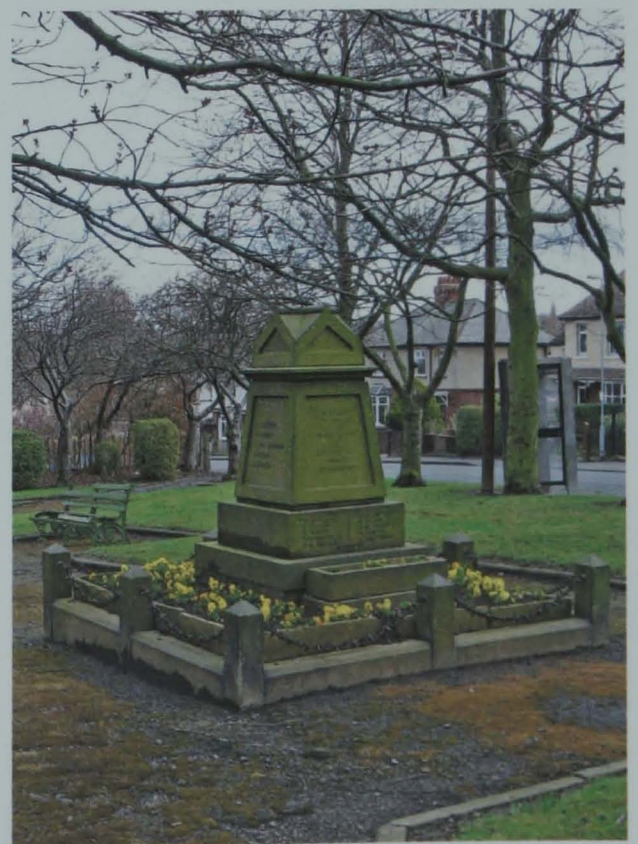


Figure 6: Langley and Lowerhouses Memorial



Figure 7: Deighton Working Men's Club Memorial

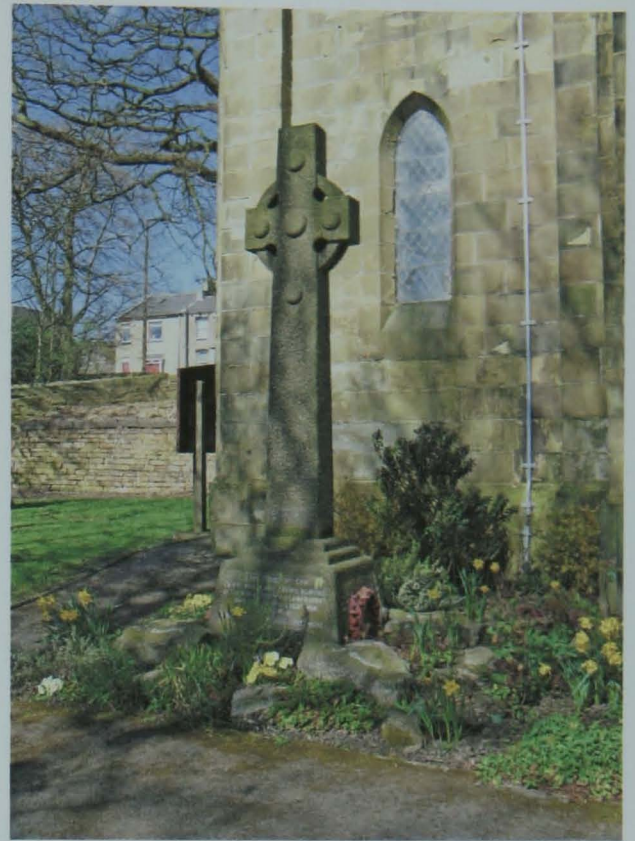


Figure 8: Christ Church Woodhouse (Sheepridge Memorial)

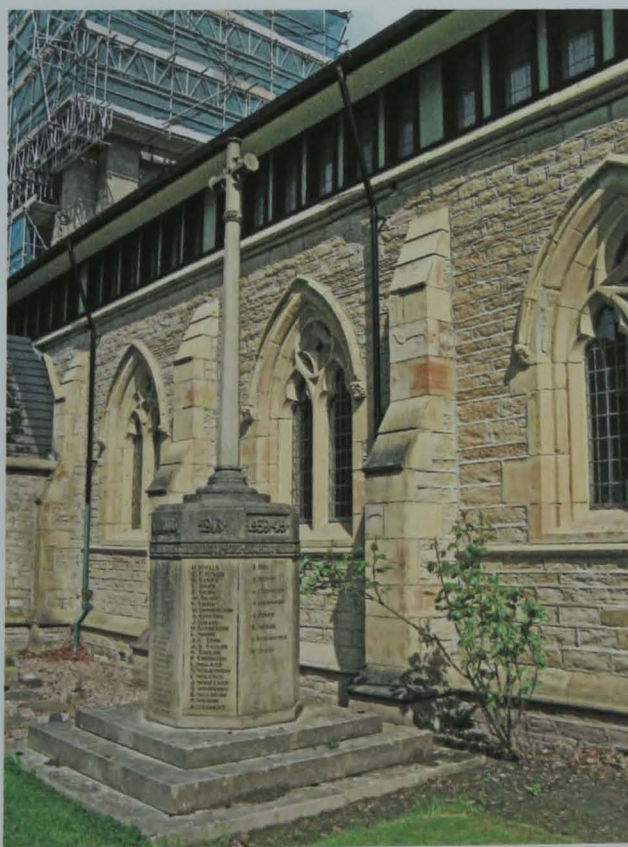


Figure 9: Armitage Bridge Memorial

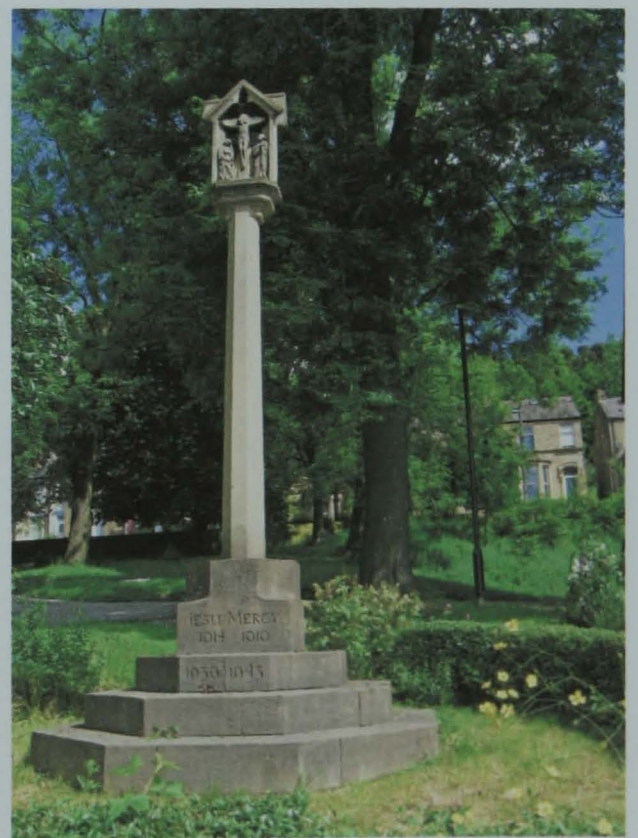
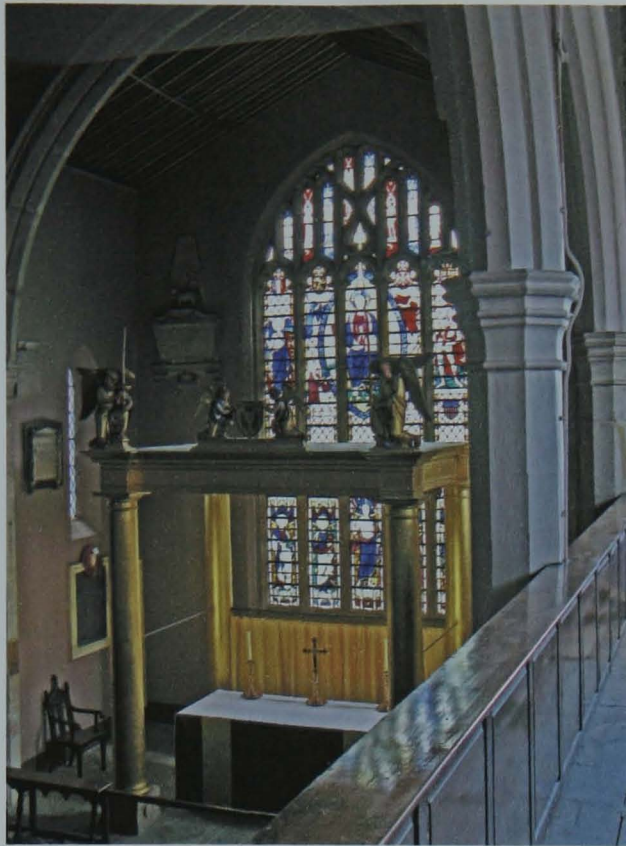


Figure 10: St Thomas Huddersfield Memorial



**Figure 11: St Peter Huddersfield
(Window, Baldachino and Wall
Tablet)**



**Figure 12: Cross of Sacrifice,
Edgerton Cemetery**



Figure 13: Almondbury and District Memorial

Appendix B - List of Memorials

**Great War Memorials in the old County Borough of Huddersfield,
West Riding of Yorkshire**
(now part of Kirklees Council, West Yorkshire)

Name (UKNIWM No.)	Brief Description (Unveiling/Dedication Date)	Original Location	Main Source Refs
Almondbury and District (29110)	(1) Cross (14 May 1921) (2) Wall engraved with names (14 May 1921) (3) Roll of Honour in Library (after May 1919)	Corner of Northgate and Westgate	WYAS(W) WDP 12 HDE 17 May 1921
Almondbury All Hallows (CofE) (aka All Saints)	“War shrine” comprising: (1) Roll of Honour (prior to Easter 1919) (2) Crucifix from Rheims cathedral, and framed letter from Archbishop of Rheims (prior to Easter 1919)	Corner of Northgate and Westgate	WYAS(W) WDP 12 Dyson (1951) Ye Olde Church (c. 1953)
Almondbury King James’ Grammar School (29192)	(1) Bronze Tablet (24 Mar. 1923) (2) Roll of Honour (24 Mar. 1923)	St Helen’s Gate	Dyson (1926) Hincliffe (1963)
Almondbury Zion (UM) [Unconfirmed]	Was wartime Roll of Honour made permanent? (c. Nov. 1919)	Westgate	HWE 29 Nov. 1919
Armitage Bridge (26126)	Cross in churchyard (22 Oct. 1921)	St Paul’s churchyard off Stockwell Hill	HDE 24 Oct. 1921
Armitage Bridge National School (29194)	Roll of Honour	?	UKNIWM only evidence
Berry Brow (WM) (aka Deadmanstone)	Roll of Honour (after 17 Aug. 1921)	Birch Road	WYAS(K) NM/HSC/XVI
Berry Brow Salem (UM)	(1) Memorial (in form of a tablet?) (11 July 1920) (2) Oak Roll of Honour in Sunday School (16 Jan. 1921)	Chapel Street	HWE 17 July 1920, 22 Jan. 1921
Birchencliffe	Roll of Honour (16 Nov. 1918)	“empty ground near church” ?Halifax Road	HDE 18 Nov. 1918
Birchencliffe St Philip (CofE) (52613)	<i>Sundial</i> (25 Sept. 1937)	<i>Halifax Road</i>	<i>HDE 27 Sept. 1937</i> <i>Crowther (2002)</i>
Birchencliffe St Philip (CofE) (P T Crowther)	Oak chancel screen (4 July 1919)	Halifax Road	HWE 5 July 1919 Crowther (2002)
Birkby (B)	(1) Roll of Honour (12 Oct. 1919) (2) Boys Room probably a memorial [Unconfirmed] (prior to Oct. 1919)	Wheathouse Road	WYAS(K) NB/B HDE 17 Oct., HWE 18 Oct. 1919

Name (UKNIWM No.)	Brief Description (Unveiling/Dedication Date)	Original Location	Main Source Refs
Birkby (B) (P D Jefferson) [Unconfirmed]	Was an individual tablet erected, as suggested in May 1915?	Wheathouse Road	WYAS(K) NB/B HDE 19 May 1915
Birkby St Cuthbert (CofE) (aka Grimscar)	(1) Oak carved altar with riddell posts and hangings (1 May 1921) (2) Tablet (c. Dec. 1926) (3) organ, pulpit, lectern, font, and litany desk may also be part of memorial [Unconfirmed] (c. Dec. 1926)	Grimscar Avenue	HWE 7 May 1921
Bradley St Thomas (CofE)	(1) Roll of Honour (c. 1919) (2) Oak triptych with calvary and names of fallen, at West end of North aisle. (15 Apr. 1923)	Bradley Road	Whitworth (1998)
Cowcliffe and Netheroyd Hill Liberal Club	(1) Framed portraits (17 Sept. 1921) (2) Roll of Honour (17 Sept. 1921)	Netheroyd Hill Road	HWE 24 Sept. 1921
Cowcliffe Netheroyd Hill (C)	Tablet (10 Apr. 1921)	Netheroyd Hill	HWE 9 April 1921
Cowcliffe (WM)	(1) New organ (1 Oct. 1921) with (2) Memorial tablets (1 Oct. 1921)	South Cross Road	HWE 8 Oct. 1921
Cowcliffe St Hilda (CofE) (29212)	(1) New Porch possibly a memorial (Jan. 1919) [Unconfirmed] (2) Oak tablets on East wall (24 Jan. 1920)	Netheroyd Hill Road	WYAS(W) WDP 127
Crosland Hill (WM)	Oak tablet (14 Nov. 1920)	Crosland Hill Road	HWE 20 Nov. 1920
Crosland Hill The Rising Sun Public House (52621)	Roll of Honour	Crosland Hill Road	Kirklees War Memorial Survey
Crosland Moor Blackmoorfoot Road (UM)	Memorial tablet on wall near bottom pulpit steps (after 13 Aug. 1920)	Blackmoorfoot Road	WYAS(K) NM/HSC/III
Crosland Moor Park Road (WM) (52625 Tablet) (52626 Roll of Honour)	(1) Tablet in Vestibule (after June 1919) (2) Roll of Honour (?in Vestibule) (after June 1919) (3) Portraits of Soldiers in Band Room/Young Men's Room (22 May 1921)	Park Road West.	WYAS(K) NM/HSC/IV HWE 28 May 1921
Crosland Moor St Barnabas (CofE) (52623)	(1) Window South Aisle (23 Jan. 1921) (2) Tablets (23 Jan. 1921)	Park Road/Church Avenue	WYAS(W) WDP 86 HDE 28 Jan. 1921

Name (UKNIWM No.)	Brief Description (Unveiling/Dedication Date)	Original Location	Main Source Refs
Dalton Liberal Club	Three oak panels (24 Sept. 1921)	Briggate	HWE 1 Oct. 1921
Dalton New Church (Swedenborgian)	Roll of Honour in Vestibule (17 Apr. 1920)	Grove Place, Long Lane	HWE 24 Apr. 1920
Deighton Working Men's Club (29213)	(1) Obelisk (14 June 1919) (2) carved plaques (14 June 1919)	Deighton Road	WYAS(W) WDP 42 (Christ Church Woodhouse)
Duke of Wellington's (West Riding) Regiment (5th Battalion)	Memorial tablets (30 Aug. 1924)	Drill Hall, Page Street	HWE 6 Sept. 1924
Duke of Wellington's (West Riding) Regiment (1st/5th Battalion) Memorial Battle Picture	Painting "Holding of Line at Ypres June to December 1915" (Feb. 1921)	Town Hall, Ramsden Street	Borough Council Mins HWE 12 Feb. 1921 WYAS(K) KC 943
Fartown and Birkby (29202)	(1) Statue of Soldier on inscribed plinth (2 Apr. 1921) with (2) tablets (2 Apr. 1921) (3) Roll of Honour	Norman Park	WYAS(K) KC 419 HDE 4 Apr. 1921
Fartown Conservative Club	Three Portraits of Fallen Members in Billiards Room (4 Sept. 1919)	Halifax Old Road	HWE 6 Sept. 1919
Fartown Hillhouse (C)	(1) Peace Memorial Institute (31 May 1919) (2) Roll of Honour in church (after June 1921)	Eleanor Street	WYAS(K) KC 406 HDE 2 June 1919
Fartown Trinity (WM)	(1) Mahogany and Oak Roll of Honour in school assembly room (19 Dec. 1920) (2) Bronze tablet in Church (19 Dec. 1920)	Waspnest Road	WYAS(K) WYK 87 HWE 24 Dec. 1920
Gledholt (WM) (52648)	(1) Roll of Honour (2) Memorial	Westbourne Road/Edgerton Road	WYAS(K) 243 Kirklees War Memorial Survey
Huddersfield Abattoir (aka Butchers' Memorial)	Roll of Honour (week ending 28 Aug. 1920)	Off Great Northern Street "near the gates on the wall of Mr Harris's house"	HWE 28 Aug. 1920
Huddersfield and County Conservative Club	Oak tablet (13 May 1923)	Kirkgate Buildings, Church Street	HWE 12, 19 May 1923
Huddersfield Borough	Roll of Honour	Town Hall, Ramsden Street	
Huddersfield Borough Council (Employees) (46991 Fallen), (46993 Served)	(1) Roll of Honour (2) <i>Plaque</i> (<i>post-WWII</i>)	Town Hall, Ramsden Street	Haigh and Gillooley (2007)
Huddersfield Brunswick Street (UM)	Brass tablet (2 Mar. 1920 - Oct. 1921)	Brunswick Street	WYAS(K) NM/HWC

Name (UKNIWM No.)	Brief Description (Unveiling/Dedication Date)	Original Location	Main Source Refs
Huddersfield Buxton Road (WM) (aka Chapel Hill) [Unconfirmed]	Organ renovation probably a memorial (1921-23)	Chapel Hill	WYAS(K) NM/HSC/KVIII HWE 12 Feb. 1921
Huddersfield College (46981)	Tablet (4 July 1921)	New North Road	HDE 11 July 1921
Huddersfield District Postal Staff (29263)	Roll of Honour	General Post Office, Northumberland Street	UKNIWM only evidence
Huddersfield Dock Street (52663)	“Shrine” Glass-cased tablet. (26 Oct. 1918)	Dock Street	HDE 29 Oct. 1918
Huddersfield Edgerton Cemetery	(1) Cross of Sacrifice (14 Oct. 1929) and (2) tablets (14 Oct. 1929)	Blacker Road	HDE 15 Oct. 1929
Huddersfield Engineering Society	Roll of Honour (c. 1919)		Hurst (2005)
Huddersfield Great Northern (C)	Tablet (13 Nov. 1921)	Great Northern Street	WYAS(K) NI/GN HWE 19 Nov. 1921
Huddersfield Greenhead Park (29276)	Classical half colonnade surrounding cross on column (26 Apr. 1924)	Greenhead Park, Trinity Street	War Memorial Committee Minutes HDE 28 Apr. 1924
Huddersfield Highfield (C)	Roll of Honour tablets (1921?)	New North Road	WYAS(K) NI/HI
Huddersfield Hillhouse (UM) (aka Kingcliffe Birkby)	(1) New organ with tablet (22 Jan. 1921) (2) brass plaque (22 Jan. 1921)	King Cliff Road/Halifax Old Road	WYAS(K) 347 HDE 24 Jan. 1921
Huddersfield Holy Trinity (CofE)	(1) South Aisle gallery window (24 July 1921) (2) Portland Stone tablet South aisle. (24 July 1921)	Trinity Street	WYAS(W) WDP 56 HDE 25 July 1921
Huddersfield Irish Club	Roll of Honour (8 Mar. 1920)	Zetland Street	Shanahan (2004)
Huddersfield Liberal Club	Roll of Honour (28 Oct. 1921)	Westgate	HWE 29 Oct. 1921
Huddersfield Milton (C) (France, N) (29264)	Brass plaque	Queen Street South/Page Street	UKNIWM only evidence
Huddersfield Milton (Congregational) (Wood, A) (29265)	Brass plaque	Queen Street South/Page Street	UKNIWM only evidence
Huddersfield New North Road (B)	Brass tablet mounted on wood (17 Apr. 1921)	New North Road	HWE 23 Apr. 1921
Huddersfield Police (29274)	Bronze tablet mounted on oak (30 Sept. 1921)	Princess Street	HWE 1 Oct. 1921
Huddersfield Queen Street (WM)	Two Alabaster Tablets (14 Nov. 1920)	Queen Street	WYAS(K) N/QS HDE 18 Nov. 1920

Name (UKNIWM No.)	Brief Description (Unveiling/Dedication Date)	Original Location	Main Source Refs
Huddersfield Ramsden Street (C)	Tablet (10 Oct. 1920)	Ramsden Street	WYAS(K) NI/RS Sykes (1925)
Huddersfield Roebuck Memorial Homes (Roebuck, J; Roebuck, L)	Almshouses (Jan. 1933)	Wakefield Road	Minter (1994-2002)
Huddersfield Royal Infirmary	Endowment of £40,000 (Trust Deed 9 May 1922)	New North Road	WYAS(W) C500
Huddersfield Rugby Union Football Club (29270)	Framed mural memorial	Tandem Way, Waterloo	UKNIWM only evidence
Huddersfield St Andrew (CofE) (46994)	(1) Altar, reredos, panelling and credence table; memorial chapel screen (30 Nov. 1921) and (2) inscribed panels of fallen (30 Nov. 1921)	Leeds Road	WYAS(W) WDP 32 HDE 1 Dec. 1921 Krasinka (2001)
Huddersfield St James (Presbyterian)	Tablet next to Organ (14 May 1922?)	New North Road	WYAS(K) KC 108
Huddersfield St John The Evangelist (CofE) (aka Bay Hall or Birkby)	(1) Tablet South Aisle (23 Oct. 1921) (2) East Window, (27 May 1923) and (3) Rail, Prayer Desk and Table in front of tablet (27 May 1923)	St John's Road	WYAS(W) WDP 127 HDE 24 Oct. 1921 HWE 2 June 1923 Lister (1953)
Huddersfield St Paul (CofE)	(1) Tablet on East Wall of North Aisle (27 June 1920) (2) holy table and reredos. (27 June 1920)	Ramsden Street	WYAS(W) WDP 32 HWE 3 July 1920
Huddersfield St Peter (CofE) (46978)	(1) Window, (17 Nov. 1923) (2) altar with baldachino (17 Nov. 1923) (3) Tablet (after 17 Nov. 1923)	Kirkgate	WYAS(W) WDP 32 HDE 19 Nov. 1923 Ahier (1948-1950) Short Guide (1960s)
Huddersfield St Peter (CofE) (Brook, C D and G W)	Cross and candlesticks (17 Nov. 1923)	Kirkgate	Ahier (1948-1950)
Huddersfield St Peter (CofE) (Sutcliffe, W)	Brass tablet in choir stalls	Kirkgate	Ahier (1948-1950)
Huddersfield St Peter (CofE) (Walker, L)	Tablet in choir stalls (c. June 1915-Apr. 1916)	Kirkgate	Ahier (1948-1950)
Huddersfield St Thomas (CofE)	(1) Churchyard cross (17 Apr. 1921) (2) Book of Remembrance (after 17 Apr. 1921)	Manchester Road	WYAS(W) WDP 115 HWE 23 Apr. 1921
Huddersfield St Thomas (CofE) (Owen, R H)	(1) Rood screen (17 Apr. 1921) (2) and tablet (after 17 Apr. 1921)	Manchester Road	WYAS(W) WDP 115 HWE 23 Apr. 1921
Huddersfield Spring Grove School [Unconfirmed]	Was wartime Roll of Honour made permanent?	Bow Street	HDE 19 May 1915

Name (UKNIWM No.)	Brief Description (Unveiling/Dedication Date)	Original Location	Main Source Refs
Huddersfield Swallow Street (52662)	(1) Glass-cased tablet (21 Dec. 1918) (2) with French figure of Christ (21 Dec. 1918)	Swallow Street	HDE 23 Dec. 1918
Huddersfield Tolson Memorial Museum (Tolson, J M; Tolson, R H) (52654)	(1) Museum and grounds (26 May 1922) (2) commemorative tablet at foot of main stairs (26 May 1922?)	Ravensknowle, Wakefield Road	Borough Council Minutes HDE 10, 11 July 1919, 26 May 1922 Tolson and Woodhead (1921) Davies (1992)
Huddersfield Town Hall (Coverdale, Charles Harry VC; Sykes, Ernest VC) (52660/52661)	<i>Metal plaque (after 20 Nov. 1955?)</i>	<i>Ramsden Street</i>	<i>UKNIWM only evidence</i>
Lindley Oakes (B)	(1) Communion Set in memory of the Spared (pre-26 Feb. 1919) (2) Alabaster tablet in church on east wall (14 Nov. 1920) (3) Oak Roll of Honour in Vestibule (14 Nov. 1920)	Oakes Road	WYAS(K) KC 566 HDE 16 Nov. 1920
Lindley Salendine Nook (B)	Marble tablet in vestibule (9 Apr. 1921)	Moor Hill Road	HWE 16 Apr. 1921
Lindley St Stephen (CofE) (29267/46996)	(1) Tablet South Side of Chancel (10 Aug. 1921) (2) communion rails and reading desk (10 Aug. 1921)	Lidget Street/Acre Street	WYAS(W) WDP 129 HDE 11 Aug., HWE 13 Aug. 1921
Lindley Thornhill (UM)	(1) Brass tablet(s) in central panel of pulpit (28 Nov. 1920) (2) two pitch-pine platform chairs, plated vase(s) (28 Nov. 1920) (3) Roll of Honour in Vestibule (c. Nov. 1920)	Thornhill (later Thorncliffe) Street	WYAS(K) NM/HNEC/Lindley HWE 4 Dec. 1920
Lindley Wesley (WM) (aka East Street)	(1) Window (10 June 1920) (2) Oak tablet for Fallen (10 June 1920?) (3) Roll of Honour (c. Oct. 1920)	East Street	WYAS(K) WYK 83
Lindley Zion (UM)	(1) Brass tablet (31 Oct. 1921) (2) Roll of Honour tablet (31 Oct. 1921) (3) Printed Roll of Honour leaflet (31 Oct. 1921?)	Lidget Street	WYAS(K) WYK 84 HWE 1 Nov. 1921 Firth (1947)

Name (UKNIWM No.)	Brief Description (Unveiling/Dedication Date)	Original Location	Main Source Refs
Lockwood and Salford Conservative Club	(1) Roll of Honour (Dec. 1919) (2) Photographs (18 Mar. 1921)	Lockwood Road	HDE 29 Dec. 1919 HWE 19 Mar. 1921
Lockwood (B) (29268)	(1) Marble Tablet by Pulpit. (30 Nov. 1919) (2) Was the Belgian refugees' tablet of thanks, offered Jan. 1919, erected? [Unconfirmed]	Hanson Lane	WYAS(K) NB/L
Lockwood (B) (Wilson, T)	Communion Table (after 19 Nov. 1919)	Hanson Lane	WYAS(K) NB/L
Lockwood (B) (Brook, C W) (29269)	(1) Hymn boards and (2) metal plaque	Hanson Lane	UKNIWM only evidence
Lockwood Beaumont Park	Four trees from Verdun seedlings (7 Nov. 1921)	Beaumont Park Road	Borough Council Minutes HDE 8 Dec. 1921
Lockwood Emmanuel (CofE)	(1) Oak tablet West wall (14 Oct. 1923) (2) Memorial Vestries (12 Oct. 1929)	Woodhead Road	WYAS(W) WDP 97 HWE 20 Oct. 1923
Lockwood Mount Pleasant (WM)	(1) Institute (4 Oct. 1919) (2) Memorial in chapel (28 Nov. 1920) (3) Portraits of fallen in school (28 Nov. 1920)	Lower Mount Street	WYAS(K) NM/HSC/X HWE 11 Oct. 1919 HWE 4 Dec. 1920
Lockwood Taylor Hill (PM)	(1) Memorial Organ (2 July 1921) with (2) commemorative tablets (2 July 1921)	Taylor Hill Road	WYAS(K) NM/HSC/V HWE 9 July 1921
Longley Lowerhouses	Small obelisk (after 1 Dec. 1920)	Longley Road/ Lowerhouses Lane	Memorial itself only evidence
Longwood (29298/52665)	(1) Carved obelisk (28 Aug. 1920) with (2) bronze plaques (28 Aug. 1920)	Corner of Thornhill Road/Longwood Gate and Church Street	WYAS(W) WDP 83 HDE 4 Sept. 1920
Longwood Grammar School	Tablet in school (28 July 1920)	Longwood Road	HWE 31 July 1920
Longwood Lamb Hall (WM)	Three panel tablet in vestibule (5 Dec. 1920)	Lamb Hall Road	WYAS(K) NM/L HWE 11 Dec. 1920
Longwood Parkwood (UM)	(1) Memorial Institute (6 Mar. 1920) (2) Brass tablet in church (after 6 Mar. 1920)	Parkwood Road	WYAS(K) NM/LP HWE 13 Mar. 1920
Longwood St Mark (CofE)	(1) West Window (25 Apr. 1920) and (2) tablets (25 Apr. 1920)	Church Street	WYAS(W) WDP 83 HWE 1 May 1920
Moldgreen [Unconfirmed]	Did plan to place a district memorial in Ravensknowle park, discussed Apr. 1921, bear fruit?		Borough Council Minutes

Name (UKNIWM No.)	Brief Description (Unveiling/Dedication Date)	Original Location	Main Source Refs
Moldgreen (C)	Oak triple-panelled Roll of Honour (7 Nov. 1920)	Church Street/ Wakefield Road	HWE 13 Nov. 1920
Moldgreen Christ Church (CofE)	(1) Tablet (9 Jan. 1921) (2) Side altar, candlesticks and cross (9 Jan. 1921)	Church Street	WYAS(W) WDP 206
Moldgreen (UM)	Oak and mahogany tablet (11 Sept. 1921)	Chapel Street	HWE 17 Sept. 1921
Mount (WM) [Unconfirmed]	Was the wartime Roll of Honour made permanent? (after Feb. 1916)	Coal Pit Road (now Moorlands Road)	WYAS(K) KC 396
Netherton (WM)	Brass tablet on oak mount on chapel wall (29 May 1921)	Chapel Street	WYAS(K) NM/HSC/VII HDE 31 May 1921
Newsome Mills	Bronze tablet inside main gates on outside of mill offices (Aug. 1921)	Lockwood Scar/Ruth Street/Hart Street	HDE 1 Mar. 2008 (re vandalism) Newsome Ward Community Forum (16 Mar. 2008)
Newsome (UM) [Unconfirmed]	Was the wartime Roll of Honour made permanent? (after May 1916)	Towngate	WYAS(K) WYK 321
Newsome St John The Evangelist (CofE)	(1) Window to Sunday School fallen (9 July 1916) (2) Mosaic Tablet on North Wall (6 November 1921)	Jackroyd Lane	WYAS(W) WDP 128 HWE 15 July 1916 HDE 10 Nov. 1921
Outlane [Unconfirmed]	Did planned (1921) drinking fountain with dog and cattle troughs materialise?		HWE 12, 26 Mar., 9 Apr. 1921
<i>Paddock Shelter (29303)</i>	<i>(1) Public Stone Shelter with Lavatories and Garden (12 Nov. 1960)</i>	<i>Paddock Head, Victoria Avenue/ Luck Lane</i>	<i>HDE 14 Nov. 1960</i>
<i>Paddock Stone of Remembrance (29304)</i>	<i>(1) Stone of Remembrance (9 Oct. 1994)</i>	<i>Paddock Head, Victoria Avenue/ Luck Lane</i>	<i>UKNIWM only evidence for unveiling date</i>
Paddock Adult School Institute	Wooden tablet (12 Aug. 1920)	?Church Street	WYAS(K) S/PAS HWE 14 Aug. 1920
Paddock All Saints (CofE)	(1) Window (31 Oct. 1920) and (2) Mosaic tablet (31 Oct. 1920)	Church Street (North Side)	WYAS(W) WDP 119 HDE 1 Nov. 1920
Paddock Church Street (C) (52680)	Tablet (after Nov. 1919?)	Church Street (South side)	HWE 29 Nov. 1919
Paddock Church Street (WM) (52678)	Roll of Honour	Church Street (North side)	Kirklees War Memorial Survey

Name (UKNIWM No.)	Brief Description (Unveiling/Dedication Date)	Original Location	Main Source Refs
Paddock Trinity (UM) (52679)	(1) Brass tablet on rostrum (5 June 1921) (2) Roll of Honour tablets at side (5 June 1921) (3) Was a memorial Institute, proposed May 1921, built? [Unconfirmed]	Church Street (North Side)	WYAS(K) NM/UM/P HWE 11 June 1921
Primrose Hill (UM)	Marble tablet (24 Apr. 1921)	Stile Common Road	WYAS(K) WYK 320 HWE 30 Apr. 1921
Primrose Hill St Matthew (CofE) [Unconfirmed]	Was a memorial tablet dedicated at service? (19 Nov. 1923)	Orchard Street	HWE 19 Nov. 1921
Rashcliffe St Stephen (CofE)	(1) Window (10 Nov. 1919) and (2) Carved tablet (10 Nov. 1919)	St Stephen's Road	HWE 17 Nov. 1919
Woodhouse Christ Church (CofE) (52765 Cross) (Cross aka Sheepridge memorial)	(1) Window (17 Nov. 1918) (2) Brass plaque under window (after 22 Jan. 1920) (3) Churchyard Cross (30 Oct. 1921) (4) Chapel of Remembrance (1 Oct. 1922)	Woodhouse Hill, Sheepridge	WYAS(W) WDP 42 HDE 31 Oct. 1921
Woodhouse Christ Church (CofE) (Clayton, N)	Silver Bowl Billiards Trophy and Gold Medal (Jan./Feb. 1920)	Woodhouse Hill, Sheepridge	WYAS(W) WDP 42
Woodhouse Christ Church (CofE) (Crosland, T A)	(1) Tablet (c. Mar. 1916-Apr. 1917) (2) Sanctuary Pendant Lights (Spring 1920)	Woodhouse Hill, Sheepridge	WYAS(W) WDP 42
Woodhouse Christ Church (CofE) (Graham, M H)	Carved oak chancel screen (c. Mar. 1916-Apr. 1917)	Woodhouse Hill, Sheepridge	WYAS(W) WDP 42
Woodhouse Christ Church (CofE) (Stringer, E)	Tablet (c. Apr. 1917-May 1918)	Woodhouse Hill, Sheepridge	WYAS(W) WDP 42

Notes

1. Denominational Abbreviations:

B	Baptist
CofE	Church of England
C	Congregational
P	Presbyterian
PM	Primitive Methodist
U	Unitarian
UM	United Methodist
WM	Wesleyan Methodist

2. Where a memorial is already recorded in the United Kingdom National Inventory of War Memorials (UKNIWM), the reference number is given in brackets in the first column.

3. The first column also indicates where nomenclature for a place varied, e.g. “aka [also known as] Deadmanstone”.
4. The final column refers primarily to the dedication or unveiling ceremony, not to the whole decision-making process. An archival reference is to the main institutional code, details of the individual documents being listed in the Primary Sources section of the Bibliography. Secondary material is indicated by author and date, and full details are in the Bibliography. Reference to the UKNIWM is not repeated unless the Inventory is the only evidence.
5. Where the existence of a memorial, or of an element of a memorial scheme, has not been conclusively established, the entry has been marked accordingly.
6. Non-contemporary memorials are entered in italics.

Related Memorials outside the Borough

Name (UKNIWM No.)	Brief Description (Unveiling/Dedication Date)	Location	Main Source Refs
Duke of Wellington’s (West Riding) Regimental Chapel (30555)	(1) All Saints Chapel (12 May 1923)	York Minster, SE corner	HWE 19 May 1923 DOW War Memorials (1923)
Duke of Wellington’s (West Riding) Regimental Chapel: Chair (5th Battalion) (30577)	(1) Chair in regimental chapel	York Minster, SE corner	Evidence from chapel
Duke of Wellington’s (West Riding) Regimental Chapel: Chair (7th Battalion)	(1) Chair in regimental chapel	York Minster, SE corner	Evidence from chapel
Duke of Wellington’s (West Riding) Regimental Chapel: Chair (Lt R H Owen)	(1) Chair in regimental chapel	York Minster, SE corner	Evidence from chapel

Boer War Memorial

Name (UKNIWM No.)	Brief Description (Unveiling/Dedication Date)	Location	Main Source Refs
Huddersfield Greenhead Park (29273)	(1) Statue of soldier on inscribed plinth (20 May 1905) with (2) tablets (20 May 1905)	Greenhead Park, Trinity Street	HDE 22 May 1905 HWC 27 May 1905

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Orders of Service (National/London) in Lambeth Palace Library (LPL))

- A Form of Intercession with Almighty God on behalf of Her Majesty's Naval & Military Forces now in South Africa to be used in all Churches and Chapels in England and Wales, and in the Town of Berwick-upon-Tweed, on such occasions as each Bishop shall appoint for his own diocese (Eyre and Spottiswoode 1900) (G199 44.03)
- Form of Prayer and Thanksgiving to Almighty God for the Restoration of Peace in South Africa. Issued, under the direction of His Majesty The King, by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, for use in their respective provinces, on Sunday, June 8th, 1902, In such manner as may be authorized by the Bishop of each Diocese (OUP) (G199 41.05)
- Special Forms of Service in Commemoration of Her Late Majesty Queen Victoria of Blessed and Glorious Memory. To be used in all churches and chapels in England and Wales, and in the town of Berwick-upon-Tweed, on either the day of the funeral, or on the most convenient day within the octave (Eyre and Spottiswoode 1901) (G199 (1901))
- Special Forms of Service in Commemoration of His Late Majesty Edward VII of Blessed and Glorious Memory. To be used in all churches and chapels in England and Wales, and in the town of Berwick-upon-Tweed, on either the day of the funeral, or on the most convenient day within the octave (Eyre and Spottiswoode 1910) (G199 (1910))
- Forms of Prayer for Public Use in Time of War Supplementary to those already set forth (SPCK Aug 1914) (G199 32.7)
- A Form of Humble Prayer to Almighty God to be used on Sunday, the Third of January, 1915, Being the Day Appointed for Intercession On behalf of the Nation and Empire In this Time of War. Issued under the Authority of the Archbishops of Canterbury and York (SPCK) (G199 32.2)
- St Paul's, 4 Aug 1915 (G199 32.27)
- Services for the Days Appointed by the Archbishop [Canterbury] for Special Intercession for the Help of God in the Present War namely on Friday Dec 31st, Saturday Jan 1st and Sunday Jan 2nd 1916 (Gibbs and Sons) (G199 32.4)

- Forms of Prayer for Public Use on the Fourth and Fifth of August 1917 Issued by Authority, for use where the Ordinary permits (G199 32.5)
- Canterbury and York authorised. Forms of Service of Prayer and Thanksgiving 6 January 1918 (G199 32.36)
- Forms of Thanksgiving to Almighty God to be used on Sunday 17 November, 1918, Being the Sunday after the cessation of hostilities between the Allied Powers and the German Empire. Issued under the Authority of Canterbury and York (SPCK) (G199 32.39)
- Westminster Abbey, St Martins' Day, November 11th, 1919: The Anniversary of the Armistice (H 5133 1000 16.1)
- Service of Thanksgiving and Memorial for those who were Killed in Action or Died of Wounds or Sickness during the Great War; November 7th 1920; Being the Sunday preceding the Second Anniversary of Armistice Day (SPCK 1920) (G283.W2 1.20)
- Service of Thanksgiving and Memorial for those who were Killed in Action or Died of Wounds or Sickness during the Great War; November 6th 1921; Being the Sunday preceding the Third Anniversary of Armistice Day (SPCK 1921) (G199 55.41)

Orders of Service (Huddersfield):

- Almondbury and District War Memorial Programme (WYAS(W) WDP 12 no separate document reference)
- Order of Service for the Unveiling and Dedication of the Memorial Window and Tablet [Huddersfield, Holy Trinity] (WYAS(W) WDP 56/2/3/1)
- Memorial Service and Unveiling of Memorial Tablets [Huddersfield, Queen Street Mission, Wesleyan Methodist] (inserted in WYAS(K) N/QS/5)
- Lindley Parish Church Form of Service for the Dedication and Unveiling of the Parochial War Memorial (WYAS(W) WDP 129/26)
- Order of Service for the Dedication and Unveiling of the War Memorials, and Roll of Honour [Lindley, Zion, United Methodist] (WYAS(K) WYK 84/7/1)
- War Memorial Dedication [Woodhouse, Christ Church] (WYAS(W) 42/28)

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