

# New Perspectives on War Memorialisation: North-East England, 1854-1910

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## **Abstract**

### **New Perspectives on War Memorialisation: North-East England, 1854–1910**

This study focuses on three clusters of conflicts — the Crimean War and Indian Rebellion in the 1850s, the ‘small wars’ of the 1880s, and the Boer War (1899-1902) — to determine how far reactions to different conflicts shaped their memorialisation. The research utilises the methodology of the historiographical debate on war memorialisation, concerned primarily with the First World War, and extends it to the relatively-neglected arena of nineteenth-century conflicts. Examining aspects of the memorialisation process such as organisation, form, function and narrative, it questions the motivations that underpinned these communal endeavours. By considering wars over a protracted timeframe, it can identify threads of continuity in the memorialisation process but also reveal a transformation in intent and purpose: from ill-defined, triumphal trophies of the Crimean War to apparently sombre monuments to ordinary soldiers after the Boer War, transmitting didactic narratives of the virtues of good citizenship in a more democratic society; including, if necessary, the ultimate sacrifice.

The memorialisation process is placed within the historiographical framework of municipal political culture, assessing the influence of local socio-political tensions and the correlation between patriotism and civic pride. The thesis investigates the relations of power that determined how wars were represented and asks how far memorials can be considered a hegemonic device that transmitted the civic elite’s values and beliefs to an acquiescent community. This thesis makes important contributions to the historiographical debate on the memorialisation of war, gauging why civic war memorials were produced and what they reveal about changes in contemporaneous society.





In Loving Memory of

Libby Hinton

Rosemary Hinton

Federica Long

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## **List of Abbreviations**

DCL	Darlington Central Library
DRO	Durham Record Office
PNC	Proceedings of Newcastle Council
TWA	Tyne and Wear Archives

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## **Chapter 1. Introduction**

This thesis examines the memorialisation of war in the north-east of England between 1854 and 1910. It focuses on civic memorials of three distinct conflicts – the Crimean War (1854-1856), the Indian Rebellion (1856-1859), and the Boer War (1899-1902) – and a cluster of ‘small wars’ in the late-1870s and 1880s. There has been much historiographical debate about the memorialisation of the First World War but relatively little research into nineteenth-century conflicts. Encompassing a prolonged timeframe and embracing wider socio-political contexts, this study aims to gauge how and why war memorials changed in this period and assess what these developments indicate about broader social transformation – in the north-east and in Britain.

### **1.1 Memory, War and Historiographical Debates**

Memory explains relationships of power and the politics of power. It can define a nation’s sense of identity and explore how groupings and individuals within a society have connected with large-scale historical processes. It has also come to signify the representation of the past, a melding of a cultural awareness or collective identity, over time and through various conduits, such as museums, memorials, films, books, and anniversaries.<sup>1</sup> But in whose interest is a collective past framed? Who are the individuals or groups within civil society that assume the right and need to direct their community in its remembrance of the past? And what is this version of the past and why has it been chosen? Raising such questions, it is perhaps unsurprising that the wide-ranging subject of ‘memory’ should have risen to prominence in the study of history, overshadowing, according

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<sup>1</sup> Alon Confino. ‘Collective Memory and Cultural History: Problems of Method’, *American Historical Review*, 102 (1997) 1386.

to Jay Winter, the previously predominant notions of class, race and gender.<sup>2</sup>

Historiographical notions of memory have been much influenced by Maurice Halbwachs' pioneering theories of 'collective' or 'social' memory.<sup>3</sup> Halbwachs argued that, as an individual's memory is socially-mediated and relates to a group, a society's character and culture is a result of socialisation and custom: 'memories rely on the frameworks of social memory... we are members of society, and we do not independently create our own memories'.<sup>4</sup> Certain frameworks of social memory, such as family, class and religion, were crucial to the continued existence of societal groupings, creating a common image of the past and a normative self-image of the group, perpetuating a clear system of values and differentiations around which it coheres.<sup>5</sup> Halbwachs believed that the past was mainly known through symbol and ritual, maintained, according to Jan Assman and John Cziplicka, through cultural formation (texts, rites, monuments) and institutional communication (recitation, practice, observance).<sup>6</sup>

The relationship between individual and social or collective memory is particularly pertinent to the memorialisation of war. War memorials are the most visible, public, form of war remembrance; James Mayo states that, at its simplest, a war memorial is 'a social and physical arrangement of space and artefacts that keep alive the memories of those who were involved in a

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<sup>2</sup> Jay Winter. 'The Generation of Memory: Reflections on the "Memory Boom" in Contemporary Historical Studies', *GHI Bulletin* 27 (2000), available online: <https://www.ghi-dc.org/publications/ghi-bulletin/issue-27-fall-2000>, (accessed 14 August 2019).

<sup>3</sup> Maurice Halbwachs. *On Collective Memory* (edited by Lewis A. Coser). Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992; see also Jan Assmann and John Cziplicka. 'Collective Memory and Cultural Identity', *New German Critique* 65 (1995) 125-133; Jeffrey Olick. 'Collective Memory: The Two Cultures', *Sociological Theory*, 17:3 (1999), 333-348.

<sup>4</sup> Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, 182-183.

<sup>5</sup> Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, 22, 182; Assman and Cziplicka, 'Collective Memory and Cultural Identity', 131

<sup>6</sup> Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, 2; Assman, 'Collective Memory and Cultural Identity' 131.

war'.<sup>7</sup> People feel a psychological need and a social duty to remember those who have died during conflicts; societies have often used memorials to help them to remember past events or people but it is their embodiment of constructed, politicised collective memory that generates most historiographical attention.<sup>8</sup> As James Young notes, monuments are of little values by themselves but, invested with national soul and meaning, they are the 'state-sponsored memory of a national past'.<sup>9</sup>

Helke Rausch argues that memorials and monuments embody otherwise abstract concepts of the nation; in a sense working in tandem with socially-engineered symbols of everyday nationalism like flags, war memorials act as places of memory where, ostensibly at least, people from all strata of society can come together to create a common past or an illusion of common memory and thereby assert common identity.<sup>10</sup> Commemorative activity is both social and political, encompassing a coerced harmonisation of individual and group memories; the outcomes may seem consensual when they are in fact the product of processes of intense disagreement and contested meanings.<sup>11</sup> Daniel Sherman astutely argues that, for memorialisation to possess political and social resonance, individual memories must be subsumed by a larger unifying narrative about the commemorative event.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> James Mayo. *War Memorials as Political Landscape: The American Experience and Beyond*. New York: Praeger, 1988, 1; Catherine Moriarty. Review Article: 'The Material Culture of Great War Remembrance', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 34:4 (1999), 655.

<sup>8</sup> Nigel Hunt. *Memory, War and Trauma*. Cambridge: CUP, 2010, 172; Mayo, *War Memorials*, 11; Alan Borg. *War Memorials: From Antiquity to the Present*. London: Cooper, 1991, 1-68.

<sup>9</sup> James Young. *The Texture of Memory: Holocaust Memorials and Meaning*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993, 2.

<sup>10</sup> Helke Rausch. 'The Nation as a Community Born of War? Symbolic Strategies and Popular Reception of Public Statues', *European Review of History*, 14:1 (March 2007), 74; Paul Pickering and Alex Tyrrell. 'The Public Memorial of Reform: Commemoration and Contestation' in Paul A. Pickering and Alex Tyrell (eds.) *Contested Sites: Commemoration, Memorial and Popular Politics in Nineteenth-Century Britain*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004, 8; Young, *Texture of Memory*, 5, 7.

<sup>11</sup> T.G. Ashplant, Graham Dawson and Michael Roper (eds.) *Commemorating War: The Politics of Memory*. New Brunswick: Transaction, 2004, vii; J. Gillis. *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994, 5.

<sup>12</sup> Daniel Sherman. *The Construction of Memory in Interwar France*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999, 6, 311.

War memorials are not spontaneous. They are formal, planned and charged with meaning, situated in a special space that is both separated from the hubbub of everyday life but at a core location within the community.<sup>13</sup> A memorial provides the wider community with a means of rationalising the war. It can re-inscribe pre-war narratives and social codes perhaps interrupted by the war, foster reconciliation after acrimonious wartime divisions or prompt regenerative action in the post-war present.<sup>14</sup>

A memorial simultaneously performs many functions and serves a range of constituencies. Nominally, it offers consolation to the bereaved, a means for them to express their emotions and come to terms with their loss. However, as Catherine Moriarty points out, war memorials occupy a space between the public and the private, and historians widely view the public, political purpose as dominant, moulding and controlling the collective memory and retrospective representation of the war; mourning is therefore channelled in a direction that conforms to what is considered the national interest.<sup>15</sup>

War memorialisation is laden with ritual and symbolism, not least in the stylized behaviour of the unveiling ceremonies which inaugurate many memorials.<sup>16</sup> Sherman notes that the characteristics of unveilings adhere to social scientists' identifications of 'formulaic patterns of symbolic action', that regulate situations of disorder, indeterminacy or transition, often caused by a community facing external risk or change; such rituals

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<sup>13</sup> Antoine Prost. 'Monuments to the Dead', in Pierre Nora (ed.) *Realms of Memory: Rethinking the French Past Vol. 2*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1998, 310; Mayo, *War Memorials*, 4; Young, *Texture of Memory*, 3; Polly Low and Graham Oliver. 'Comparing Cultures of Commemoration in Ancient and Modern Societies', in P. Low, G. Oliver and P. Rhodes (eds.) *Cultures of Commemoration. War Memorials, Ancient and Modern*. Oxford: OUP, 2012.

<sup>14</sup> Pickering and Tyrell, 'Public Memorial of Reform', 7; Sherman, *Construction of Memory*, 7; Alex King. *Memorials of the Great War in Britain. The Symbolism and Politics of Remembrance*. Oxford: Berg, 1998, 12-13.

<sup>15</sup> Moriarty, 'Review Article', 655; Sherman, *Construction of Memory*, 6-7; Catherine Moriarty. 'Private Grief and Remembrance: British First World War Monuments' in M. Evans and K. Lunn (eds.) *War and Memory in the Twentieth Century*. Oxford: Berg, 1997, 125.

<sup>16</sup> Prost, 'Monuments', 311.

establish order and reassert tradition.<sup>17</sup> Similarly, unveilings can act like funerals, a process that symbolically ends formal mourning and reintegrates the bereaved to society; however, the collective aspect enshrines certain positive communal virtues, such as civic duty and sacrifice, excluding ideas and images that might disrupt the mourner's reintegration and thus promote forgetting – it also discourages the mourner from questioning the justification for the soldier's death.<sup>18</sup>

The commemoration of fallen soldiers is considered central to the formation and reinforcement of national identity.<sup>19</sup> One theory sees war memorialisation as a cult of the young male dead, portrayed as martyrs who died in willing sacrifice for the nation, binding the living in moral obligation to the dead and thereby maintaining the social order; extreme interpretations consider the 'shared memory of blood sacrifice' as an alliance between military interests and national elites to conceal the ghastly realities of war or the nation-state as a deity demanding the ritualistic sacrifice of young men on a regular basis.<sup>20</sup> As John Hutchinson argues, it is more reasonable to argue that it is the ritualised and symbolic memory of war that is more effective in strengthening social unity than aggressive blood-letting.<sup>21</sup> Timothy Ashplant, Graham Dawson, and Michael Roper crucially place memorialisation and notions of blood sacrifice in the framework of the modern nation-state, evoking 'both the sacrifice that may be required from the citizens as the cost of belonging, and the means by which the nation-state persuades its citizens to die for it'.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> Sherman, *Construction of Memory*, 262.

<sup>18</sup> Sherman, *Construction of Memory*, 263-264.

<sup>19</sup> John Hutchinson. *Nationalism and War*. Oxford: OUP, 2017, 61.

<sup>20</sup> N. Danilova. *The Politics of War Commemoration in the UK and Russia*. London. Palgrave Macmillan, 2015, 58-59; Carolyn Marvin and David W. Ingle. 'Blood Sacrifice and the Nation: Revisiting Civil Religion', *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, 64:4 (Winter, 1996) 767-780.

<sup>21</sup> Hutchinson, *Nationalism and War*, 166.

<sup>22</sup> Ashplant, Dawson and Roper, *Commemorating War*, 8.



Who controls the memory of war is a fundamental element of the historiographical debate.<sup>23</sup> Invariably, as Daniel Sherman notes, the memorial is the product of a dominant group which transmits 'a set of narrative explanations' that cohere with their socio-political purview.<sup>24</sup> Others question the hegemony of national and local elites in the memorialisation process, pointing to their habitual disunity and questioning their ability to determine a narrative that would achieve widespread community support.<sup>25</sup>

The First World War has dominated historical research into war memorialisation since the 1980s. In France, Maurice Agulhon, Antoine Prost and Pierre Nora placed war memorialisation in a broader framework of post-Revolutionary notions of national democracy and centralized authority coalescing into a powerful projection of collective, national identity and a shared set of democratic, Republican values.<sup>26</sup> Antoine Prost, and in a later magisterial study Daniel Sherman, examined the production of, and motivations behind, French provincial memorials of the First World War.<sup>27</sup>

Memory and the British experience of the First World War was pioneered by two Americans. In his innovative *The Great War and Modern Memory*, Paul Fussell explored the literary means by which the war was remembered, offering a new perspective on mediated representations of war.<sup>28</sup> From the 1980s onwards, Jay Winter produced a series of books on memorialisation of the Great War which proved enormously influential and

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<sup>23</sup> Low and Oliver, 'Comparing Cultures', 8.

<sup>24</sup> Sherman, *Construction of Memory*, 7; Gillis, *Commemorations*, 10.

<sup>25</sup> Ashplant, Dawson, Roper, *Commemorating War*, 10.

<sup>26</sup> Pierre Nora and Lawrence D. Kritzman (eds.) *Realms of Memory: The Construction of the French Past Vol. 1: Conflicts and Divisions*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1996; *Realms of Memory: The Construction of the French Past Vol. 2: Traditions*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1997; *Realms of Memory: The Construction of the French Past Vol. 3: Symbols*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1998; M. Agulhon. *Marianne into Battle: Republican Imagery and Symbolism in France, 1789-1880*. Cambridge: CUP, 1981.

<sup>27</sup> Prost, 'Monuments', 307-330; Daniel Sherman. *The Construction of Memory in Interwar France*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999.

<sup>28</sup> Paul Fussell. *The Great War and Modern Memory*. Oxford: OUP, 1975.

which opened up new ways of thinking about the First World War.<sup>29</sup> Prost, Sherman and Winter endorsed moving research away from the exceptionality of national memorials, arguing war and remembrance needed to be considered from the perspective of small-scale and locally-rooted social action. This thesis follows much of the established historiographical framework from the First World War to examine war memorials between the 1850s and the 1900s.

Historiographical perspectives of First World War memorialisation fall broadly into two schools. The first considers memorialisation a consolatory process steered by the need to mourn the huge loss of life and make sense of the unprecedented emotional trauma. At the vanguard of the consolatory approach is Winter, who argued that war memorials

were built as places where people could mourn. And be seen to mourn. Their ritual significance has often been obscured by their political symbolism which, now that the moment of mourning has long passed, is all that we can see.<sup>30</sup>

Others reasonably bemoan an over-politicisation of memory, claiming the social and cultural aspect is under-played, 'transforming memory into a natural corollary of political development'.<sup>31</sup>

The second viewpoint believes memorialisation was politically-motivated, driven by propagandist justification for the war or a desire to buttress national identity. Eric Hobsbawm and Benedict Anderson typify the political perspective, viewing monuments and memorials as devices for supporting and shaping national (and other group) identities.<sup>32</sup> Through

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<sup>29</sup> Winter's pioneering publication was *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural Memory*. Cambridge: CUP, 1995.

<sup>30</sup> Winter, *Sites of Memory*, 93-98. See also: Jay Winter. *Remembering War: The Great War Between Memory and History in the Twentieth Century*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006, 4; Jay Winter and Emmanuel Sivan. *War and Remembrance in the Twentieth Century*. Cambridge: CUP, 1999, 42, 59.

<sup>31</sup> Confino, 'Collective Memory', 1394; See also Moriarty, 'Review Article', 653-6; Moriarty, 'Private Grief', 125.

<sup>32</sup> Benedict Anderson. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationality*. London: Verso, 2006, 187-206; Eric Hobsbawm. 'Mass-Producing Traditions:

memorials, the nation projected patriotic narratives onto its citizens to engender, for example, a willingness in its present and future population to die in its defence.<sup>33</sup> George Mosse asserted that the unparalleled number of deaths in the First World War necessitated a greater effort to distract from the unacceptable impact of loss; while memorials could console the bereaved, they above all served to justify the war and the sacrifice it had forced on virtually every family in the country.<sup>34</sup>

The difference between the two approaches seems to have generated an unintended inter-exclusivity. It is surely more plausible to adopt a more nuanced approach and reject the false dichotomy of viewing either consolatory or political factors as exclusive motivation.<sup>35</sup> Much scholarship correctly attests to the complexity of the memorial process, believing that political and psychological elements are inevitably present, including Winter who accepts that the two motifs – ‘war as both noble and uplifting and tragic and unendurably sad’ – are present in any memorial, the proportion varying from one example to another.<sup>36</sup> For Moriarty, the ultimate objective of public remembrance was to convert private grief into patriotic pride.<sup>37</sup>

The relatively-limited historiographical analysis of memorialisation before the Great War focuses primarily on the Boer War, often viewed as merely a pre-cursor to later developments. Examining the commemorative activities that followed the Crimean War, the Indian Rebellion and the ‘small wars’ of the 1870s and 1880s, as well as the Boer War, enables longer-term memorial development to be effectively charted. In acknowledging the presence of both consolatory and political characteristics in war memorials

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Europe, 1870-1914’ in Eric Hobsbawm and Terrence Ranger (eds.) *The Invention of Tradition*. Cambridge: CUP, 1983, 271-278.

<sup>33</sup> Alex King. *Memorials of the Great War in Britain: The Symbolism and Politics of Remembrance*. Oxford: Berg, 1998, 1.

<sup>34</sup> Mosse, *Fallen Soldiers*, 4, 99, 101; see also James Bennett. ‘From Patriotism to Peace: The Humanization of War Memorials’, *The Humanist*, 58:5 (Sep/Oct 1998), 6.

<sup>35</sup> See Jenny Macleod. ‘Memorials and Location: Local versus National Identity and the Scottish National War Memorial’, *Scottish Historical Review*, LXXXIX, 1:227 (April 2010), 76; Ashplant, Dawson, Roper, *Commemorating War*, 8-10.

<sup>36</sup> Winter, *Sites of Memory*, 85; Sherman, *Construction of Memory*, 9.

<sup>37</sup> Moriarty, ‘Private Grief’, 125, 135; see also Sherman, *Construction of Memory*, 4.

produced between 1854 and 1910, this study seeks to understand the motivations, political and consolatory, that drove this earlier memorialisation.

	<b>Deaths</b> (approximate)	<b>War Memorials</b> (Furlong, Knight, Slocombe) <sup>38</sup>	<b>War Memorials</b> (IWM online register) <sup>39</sup>
<b>Crimean War</b>	20,813 <sup>40</sup>	n/a	433
<b>Indian Rebellion</b>	11,000 <sup>41</sup>	n/a	206
<b>Boer War</b>	22,000 <sup>42</sup>	1,416	2,214
<b>First World War</b>	722,000 – 772,000 <sup>43</sup>	38,000	55,000

Table 1: Numbers of deaths of British soldiers in major wars 1854-1918 and numbers of war memorials.

The First World War was profoundly different to previous wars. Twice as many British soldiers died in action or of their wounds in the First World War as were killed in all major wars between 1790 and 1914, a new level of death and trauma that required extraordinary efforts to ‘mask and transcend death in war’.<sup>44</sup> In their wide-ranging survey of memorials, Jane Furlong, Lorraine Knight and Simon Slocombe identified over 38,000 First World War memorials in the United Kingdom, which includes sports pavilions, font covers, tapestries, hospitals and lychgates (table 1).<sup>45</sup> They estimated over 8,000 of these are figurative and non-figurative memorials,

<sup>38</sup> This column is based on results in Jane Furlong, Lorraine Knight and Simon Slocombe. ‘They Shall Grow Not Old’: An Analysis of Trends in Memorialisation Based on Information Held by the UK National Inventory of War Memorials’, *Cultural Trends*, 12:45 (2002), 7.

<sup>39</sup> This column is based on results in the Imperial War Museum Online War Memorials Register: [www.iwm.org.uk/memorials](http://www.iwm.org.uk/memorials) (accessed 17 June 2019).

<sup>40</sup> Orlando Figes, *Crimea: The Last Crusade*. London: Penguin, 2011, 467.

<sup>41</sup> Graham Dawson, *Soldier Heroes: British Adventure, Empire and the Imagining of Masculinity*. London: Routledge, 1994, 95.

<sup>42</sup> Peter Donaldson. *Remembering the South African War: Britain and the Memory of the Anglo-Boer War, from 1899 to the Present*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2013, 3.

<sup>43</sup> Dan Todman. *The Great War: Myth and Memory*. London: Hambledon, 2005, 44.

<sup>44</sup> Mosse, *Fallen Soldiers*, 3-4; Winter, *Sites of Memory*, 5-6; As early as February 1919, Earl Rosebery was complaining of ‘the hurricane season of memorials’ affecting the nation, see *Scotsman*, 20 February 1919, letter from Earl Rosebery. It is worth noting that, due to the smaller population at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the losses per capita during the Napoleonic Wars were similar to those of the First World War, see David Gates. *The Napoleonic Wars 1803-1815*. London: Arnold, 1997, 272.

<sup>45</sup> Furlong, Knight, Slocombe, ‘They shall grow not old’, 7.

such as cross, cenotaph and statue – the types of memorial associated with civic, public monuments.<sup>46</sup> There are significantly fewer nineteenth-century memorials. The survey estimates 1,416 Boer War memorials, of which nearly 200 were figurative or non-figurative monuments.<sup>47</sup> It gives no equivalent figures for previous wars but the more up-to-date Imperial War Museum online database redresses this, as well as giving higher estimates for the number of Boer War and First World War memorials (table 1).<sup>48</sup>

Reflecting the unprecedented nature of the First World War, a canonical view suggests that, qualitatively as well as quantitatively, its memorials were fundamentally different from previous types of war memorials – in form, function, process and the narratives they conveyed – although some who have also looked back at nineteenth-century memorialisation correctly recognise significant continuity.<sup>49</sup> This research will provide deeper analysis of the similarities and differences between nineteenth- and twentieth-century memorials – as well as between memorials of the different wars of the nineteenth century. It questions why fewer memorials were constructed after the earlier wars. Although the Crimean War and the Indian Rebellion were the most significant conflicts between the Napoleonic and Boer Wars, the number of fatalities in both wars was relatively low (table 1). There were memorials to individuals, usually officers or non-commissioned officers, in churches and graveyards, as there had been in wars of the eighteenth century onwards.<sup>50</sup> However, neither conflict's aftermath featured the type of public, civic memorials that

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<sup>46</sup> Furlong, Knight, Slocombe, 'They shall grow not old', 7.

<sup>47</sup> Furlong, Knight, Slocombe, 'They shall grow not old', 6-8.

<sup>48</sup> The up-to-date Imperial War Museum Online War Memorials Register (accessed 17 June 2019): [www.iwm.org.uk/memorials](http://www.iwm.org.uk/memorials). The increase in Boer War and First World War memorials can be attributed to improvements in collating data and the massive upsurge of popular interest in memorialisation which fuels the public's reporting of obscure memorials. It should also be noted that the Register encompasses a broad definition of memorial, including personal memorials, far beyond the parameters of this study.

<sup>49</sup> Gillis, *Commemorations*, 12; Prost, 'Monuments', 308; Sherman, *Construction of Memory*, 308; Colin McIntyre. *Monuments of War: How to Read a War Memorial*. London: Hale, 1990, 135; Alex King argues for continuity from the Boer War in the First World War memorial process: King, *Memorials of the Great War*, 40-41.

<sup>50</sup> Figes, *Crimea*, 467; Janet and David Bromley. *Wellington's Men Remembered: A Register of Memorials to Soldiers who fought in the Peninsular War and at Waterloo*. Barnsley: Praetorian Press, 2012.

would be such a prominent feature in cities, towns and villages in the aftermath of the First World War (and, to a lesser extent, the Boer War). Was the lack of memorials attributable to the straightforward reason of fewer participants involved and, more importantly, the lower death rates? Or did the relative lack of memorials reflect a profoundly undemocratic or uncaring society? As Nigel Hunt argued,

there was little regard for the ordinary person, so if several hundred or several thousand men die, then it is of little concern for the ruling classes or those who could afford memorials.<sup>51</sup>

This study begins by looking at a comparatively-neglected phenomenon of the Crimean War – the post-war mounting of around 300 captured Russian cannons in towns throughout the country and specifically those installed in nine towns in the north-east. Sharing some elements of later civic war memorials, such as the social and political backgrounds of their organisers, they were nonetheless profoundly different: they tended to be privately-funded and were not ostensibly dedicated to the fallen; instead the narratives they conveyed were mixed and often uncertain and their recent past as Russian ordnance, captured by the victorious allies, undermined any consolatory aspect and instead projected a somewhat triumphal and bellicose nature.

The production and unveiling of a memorial to General Havelock in Sunderland occurred around the same time as the Crimean War cannons. Havelock was the national hero of the Indian Rebellion, whose death during a dramatic, daring campaign inspired a massive outpouring of grief, interest and commemorative activity. Interestingly, though contemporaneous to the Crimean cannons, it was markedly different – in its organisational procedure and fundraising and also its narratives, which rarely mentioned the Rebellion and instead focused mainly on middle-class notions of respectable conduct, which Havelock was shown to exemplify.

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<sup>51</sup> Hunt, *Memory, War and Trauma*, 175; Gillis, *Commemorations*, 11.

Numerous colonial conflicts occurred in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, with the period between 1879 and 1885 an especially intense period of 'small wars'. Emblematic of that period's heightened imperialism, they took place in exotic and remote locations, most notably in north and south Africa, and Afghanistan. They tended to be short with fairly small numbers of British soldiers fighting alongside indigenous auxiliaries. (British) losses were low and consequently memorial activities again revolved around individual soldiers and occasional regimental commemorations. A long weekend of events to celebrate General Graham (surviving hero of the recent Sudan campaign) was held on Tyneside in 1884 and provides a snapshot of the commemorative impulse in a period that sits between the larger wars of the mid-nineteenth and early twentieth century, and whose dynamics and narratives have a foot in both earlier and later eras.

The climax of the period of New Imperialism was the second Boer War. This was an altogether different conflict to the small wars of the 1880s. Up to 450,000 British and imperial troops were sent to South Africa and over 22,000 died. Over half of all Boer War memorials were dedicated to individuals, over 20 per cent were regimental memorials but nearly 20 per cent (circa 190) commemorated the dead based on their civil community and geographical location, an unprecedented manifestation of civic pride and grief that symbolised fundamental social changes.<sup>52</sup> The thesis examines nine public Boer War memorials in the north-east.

That a civic emphasis generally negated a militaristic or triumphally-patriotic narrative is often seen by historians as characteristic of a powerful democratic element to First World War memorials.<sup>53</sup> Anne Brook perceives this in the shift from a professional army commemorated by regiment to a

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<sup>52</sup> Meurig Jones. 'A Survey of Memorials to the Second Anglo-Boer War in the United Kingdom and Eire', *Journal of the Africana Society* (1999) 15; Furlong, Knight, Slocombe, 'They shall grow not old', 6-7.

<sup>53</sup> Bennett, 'From Patriotism to Peace', 5.

citizen army remembered by a local community, and from a hierarchy of grief ordered by military rank to commemoration of the dead in which all were equal.<sup>54</sup> The naming of all ranks who died, not just officers, is frequently cited as both evidence of the democratisation of memorialisation after the First World War and the primacy of emotional imperatives.<sup>55</sup> Arguments over the use of names exemplifies the complex interplay of factors and motivations underpinning war memorialisation, not least the commingling of political and consolatory elements.<sup>56</sup>

This research brings forward and expands notions of democratisation to the earlier war memorials under review. A key historiographical thread in memorial development from 1854 to 1910 is a shift in focus, from the heroic commander to the ordinary soldier.<sup>57</sup> In the first half of the century, memorials idealised individual commanders from the Napoleonic Wars and ignored the vast majority of men who served and died.<sup>58</sup> Such memorials represented a highly-patriotic and heroic account of modern British history, termed the ‘Nelson Cult’ by John Hutchinson.<sup>59</sup> The Crimean War is sometimes seen as a turning point in the history of war memorialisation, mainly due to the primacy attributed to the Guards Memorial in London.<sup>60</sup> With its brass representations of three Guardsmen and the acknowledgment by its inscription of the death of all ranks, not just officers, this was a bold departure from previous memorials and seemed to embody the intense

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<sup>54</sup> Anne Brook. *God, Grief and Community: Commemoration of the Great War in Huddersfield, c.1914–1929*. Unpublished PhD Thesis: University of Leeds, 2009, 5.

<sup>55</sup> Sonia Batten. *Memorial Text Narratives in Britain, c.1890–1930*. Unpublished PhD Thesis: University of Birmingham, 2011, 86. Winter, *Sites of Memory*, 97; Prost, *Monuments to the Dead*, 311; Sherman, *Construction of Memory*, 66-71, 94; Ken Inglis. *Sacred Places: War Memorials in the Australian Landscape*. Melbourne: Melbourne University Publishing, 2006, 47; Sarah Tarlow. *Bereavement and Commemoration: An Archaeology of Mortality*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1999, 163; Sherman, *Construction of Memory*, 68.

<sup>56</sup> In a more prosaic vein, Jenny Macleod notes the potential financial benefits of placing names on a local memorial, boosting fundraising through (larger) contributions from the dead’s family and friends: Macleod, ‘Memorials and Location’, 76.

<sup>57</sup> Donaldson, *Remembering the South African War*, 6; Borg, *War Memorials*, 104-122; Gillis, *Commemorations*, 11.

<sup>58</sup> Alison Yarrington. *The Commemoration of the Hero, 1800–1864: Monuments to the British Victors of the Napoleonic Wars*. New York: Garland, 1988.

<sup>59</sup> Hutchinson, *Nationalism and War*, 74.

<sup>60</sup> Inglis, *Sacred Places*, 14; Figes, *Crimea*, 468; Yarrington, *Commemoration*, 336. The Guards Memorial will be analysed in more detail in Chapter 2.



wartime concern and admiration for the ordinary soldiers at the siege of Sebastopol – as well as lingering anti-aristocratic resentment.<sup>61</sup>

However, the sense of the Crimean War as a ‘democratic’ turning point would seem to be undermined by the installation of Russian cannon; these were after all, captured ordnance that seemed to glorify war rather than acknowledge the ordinary men who fought it. Similarly, the memorial to Sir Henry Havelock erected in Sunderland after the Indian Rebellion might be presumed to be retrogressive, harking back to the hero-commanders of the Nelson Cult. Conversely, after the Boer War, more equitable memorials were erected, sometimes featuring statues of individual private soldiers. By the aftermath of the Boer War, it was also increasingly common for public memorials to list the names of all those that had died – and sometimes that had served and returned.<sup>62</sup> This would clearly seem to suggest a shift away from the lionisation of commanders in favour of a more democratic focus, an acknowledgment of the ordinary soldiers that had fought and died. Can this be seen as a straightforward democratising arc in the development of war memorialisation which reflected simultaneous social change? How genuine was a ‘levelling’ democratisation? Were new democratic elements, the listing of the names of all ranks or the increasing focus on ordinary soldiers for example, a veneer used by a dominant group as a placatory sop to a more volatile, less acquiescent community?

An advantage of looking at longer-term development in war memorialisation is the ability to gauge any increase in consolatory features over the period: even the triumphal ‘war trophies’ of the Crimean War – or more precisely, their unveilings – sometimes referred to the war dead; after the Boer War, the design, inscriptions and emphases of memorials acknowledged the community’s loss of men, as did addresses at unveilings (even if grief was often re-channelled

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<sup>61</sup> Yarrington, *Commemoration*, 336; Figes, *Crimea*, 468-469.

<sup>62</sup> Regimental memorials in the 1850s were the first to feature the names of all ranks, see: King, *Memorials of the Great War*, 185.

through political narratives that reinforced a range of civic or patriotic sentiments). All the same, the rise of consolatory motivations could be considered as further evidence of growing democratisation and a changed emphasis, a notion underplayed in the historiography.

As 'political' acts and objects, memorials are widely thought to foster and crystallise notions of national identity.<sup>63</sup> If this was the case with pre-First World War memorials, what were the narratives being used to channel patriotic intent? In reality, there was a complex interplay between the disparate narratives, motivations and functions of the memorials. Notions of civic duty and citizenly-sacrifice can be seen as a patriotic element, at odds with, say, jingoistic or expansionist ideals but what is such a 'patriotic' narrative actually articulating? Historians have emphasised the importance of European, particularly French, 'statumania' and memorials to the Franco-Prussian War (1870-1871) and their political narratives in the late-nineteenth-century formulation and nurturing of national identity, and the parallels with British war memorials of the late-nineteenth century are notable.<sup>64</sup> How far can the memorials be seen as buttressing national identity and, indeed, other forms of identity?

Debate has also centred on the forms of First World War memorials, whether these embraced a traditionalist (and therefore comforting) or modernist (and therefore a challenging) aesthetic, reflecting wider arguments on the role and nature of the memorials. Alan Borg refers to their general conformity in following four basic forms – cross, cenotaph, obelisk or column; these had been post-war commemorative symbols for thousands of years, except the cross, employed as it seemed to better convey widespread

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<sup>63</sup> Hutchinson, *Nationalism and War*, 61; Hobsbawm, 'Mass-Producing Traditions' 272-273.

<sup>64</sup> Antoine Prost. *Republican Identities in War and Peace: Representations of France in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*. Oxford: Berg, 2002, 12; Rausch, 'The Nation as a Community', 73; Winter, *Remembering War*, 75; Sergiusz Michalski. *Public Monuments: Art in Political Bondage 1870-1997*. London: Reaktion, 1998, 28; William Kidd, 'Memory, Memorials and Commemoration of War Memorials in Lorraine, 1908-1988' in Martin Evans and Kenneth Lunn (eds.) *War and Memory in the Twentieth Century*. Oxford: Berg, 1997, 145.

notions of sacrifice after the unprecedented trauma.<sup>65</sup> Others note the number of utilitarian memorials, such as hall, sports field, clock tower or hospital, and identify a strand of popular rejection of traditional symbols in favour of more democratic, practical forms of memorial.<sup>66</sup> While disagreements during the planning stages about traditional versus utilitarian forms reveal significant differences in prioritisation based on class and political identities, the number of utilitarian memorials was low, largely as most people, not least civic leaders, rejected them in favour of allegorical memorials.<sup>67</sup>

There were radical differences in the forms of the war memorials. The captured cannon trophies of the Crimean War and the memorial to General Havelock after the Indian Rebellion seem profoundly different to First World War memorials; the Boer War memorials were, to an extent, remarkably similar. The celebrative receptions for General Graham in 1884 featured elements that looked back to previous wars and forward to the Boer War. What explains these differences and can their development towards the relative uniformity of First World War memorials indicate trends of development?

Jon Davies notes how popular, spontaneous and prolonged was the demand for appropriate war remembrance after 1918.<sup>68</sup> This appropriateness was enhanced by their installation in key civic spaces, not only nurturing a memorial's tangible connection to the community but projecting a sombre, existential purpose that generally rejected

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<sup>65</sup> Borg, *War Memorials*, 86-103; King, *Memorials of the Great War*, 20.

<sup>66</sup> Donaldson, *Remembering the South African War*, 31; Moriarty, 'Private Grief', 128.

<sup>67</sup> Moriarty, 'Private Grief', 128; Borg, *War Memorials*, 69-142. There were around 1,723 utilitarian memorials, 5.3 per cent of the total; less-known are the circa 44 utilitarian memorials of the Boer war, 3.1 per cent of the total of Boer War memorials, see: Furlong, Furlong, Knight, Slocombe, 'They shall grow not old', 6-7. As well as often being considered to be less 'appropriate', allegorical memorials were usually costlier to maintain, see: Nick Mansfield. 'Class Conflict and Village War Memorials, 1914-24', *Rural History*, 6:1 (April 1995), 75-78; Nicholas Mansfield. *English Farmworkers and Local Patriotism, 1900-1930*. London: Routledge, 2017, 178.

<sup>68</sup> Jon Davies. 'War Memorials', in David Clark (ed.) *The Sociology of Death: Theory, Culture, Practice*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1993, 114; King, *Memorials of the Great War*, 20.

manifestations of anger or disillusion.<sup>69</sup> Was there popular demand for the memorials between the 1850s and 1900s and, if so, how genuine and widespread was it? How 'appropriate' were they and to what extent were they following precedent rather than instead pioneering new ways of commemorating?

Following the admonishments of Prost and Winter, subsequent historians of First World War memorialisation continued to emphasise the primacy of the locality. The spontaneous and universal local demand for memorials after the First World War was wholly unanticipated; there may have been nationwide uniformity – a desire to conform to national stereotypes – but the memorial process was above all an initiative by individual localities, emphasising the part played by local communities and the local men killed.<sup>70</sup> This study similarly places earlier memorials within their local communities, investigating local wartime and post-war political landscapes, including debates in support of and against the wars, and questioning their influence on post-war commemoration; were wartime narratives replicated, or jettisoned in favour of more neutral, acceptable messages that sought to restore order and unify communities after potentially traumatic, disruptive or acrimonious periods?<sup>71</sup>

Civic pride is seen as an integral feature of First World War memorials.<sup>72</sup> This research argues that civic pride was also a prominent, consistent feature in all nineteenth-century memorials; indeed, it assumed more importance, given the relative absence of consolatory elements. The emphasis on the locality was a key thread that linked all phases of memorialisation but the application changed: with the monuments of the

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<sup>69</sup> Winter, *Sites of Memory*, 94, 217; Macleod, 'Memorials and Location', 76.

<sup>70</sup> Prost, 'Monuments', 309; Winter, *Sites of Memory*, 79; Macleod, 'Memorials and Location', 74. Ken Inglis. 'The Homecoming: The War Memorial Movement in Cambridge, England', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 27:4 (Oct. 1992), 602; Tarlow, *Bereavement and Commemoration*, 160-162; King, *Memorials*, 20; Moriarty, 'Private Grief', 126.

<sup>71</sup> See Tarlow, *Bereavement and Commemoration*, 160-162, and Sherman, *Construction of Memory*, 262.

<sup>72</sup> Prost, *Monuments*, 316, 325, 329.

'Nelson Cult' this was tied into municipal embellishment and endorsement of the local elites that organised them and this was duplicated in the memorials of the 1850s and 1860s, as well as the events for General Graham and in Boer War memorials. After the Boer War, however, acknowledgments of the wartime participation of the wider community, most explicitly the local men who had fought and died, had joined more traditional notions of civic self-esteem and infrastructural improvement. Alex King argues that, after the First World War, appeals to civic duty and pride were more than merely a means to incite public interest; they

formed part of a collection of linked ideas which involved social unity, loyalty to one's locality, and disinterested service to the community and were part of a distinctively urban political strategy to cope with the problems of urban society outside the party-political system.<sup>73</sup>

This study aims to expand on this fundamentally perceptive point for its examination of earlier memorials.

The memorialisation process, and who participated in it, are a crucial strand of analysis. According to King, the meanings ascribed to memorials 'depended to a very large extent on the procedures available to facilitate and control the conduct of it, and on the ulterior aims of those who participated in it'.<sup>74</sup> Moriarty argued that the act of communal creation was valued above any specific ideas the memorial conveyed: without the perception of public participation and communal ownership, they would have been impotent.<sup>75</sup> The production of a memorial was itself a symbolic act with moral significance, demonstrating communal consensus and the sacrifice of time and resources by individuals; it signified that the appropriate actions had been undertaken and that a wide cross-section of the local population had been involved.<sup>76</sup> Analysing who was involved in the memorialisation processes can also help in identifying democratic characteristics which may

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<sup>73</sup> King, *Memorials of the Great War*, 102.

<sup>74</sup> King, *Memorials of the Great War*, 5-6.

<sup>75</sup> Moriarty, 'Review Article', 658; Moriarty, 'Private Grief', 129.

<sup>76</sup> King, *Memorials of the Great War*, 27.

not be apparent in a memorial's visible form; for example, does the voluntary, public fundraising that underpinned the Havelock memorial testify to popular pan-society support for the memorial that might not be apparent in considering only its seemingly traditional, figurative celebration of the hero-commander?

Historians who have examined the production of public Boer War memorials remark on the uniformity of the gestations and the socio-economic backgrounds of the protagonists.<sup>77</sup> Funds were generally raised by voluntary, public subscription, a process that portrayed communal ownership, approval and cooperation.<sup>78</sup> There was no expectation that the government or local authority would fund the cost of memorials.<sup>79</sup> McFarland correctly sees the memorial process building on the voluntary activity of wartime philanthropic infrastructure, though as King states, it also followed precedents and practice from national commemorative events that had mushroomed over the previous decades, such as coronations and jubilees.<sup>80</sup> This study places the memorials between the 1850s and the 1900s within a framework of public voluntary fundraising that stemmed back to the first half of the century; the systems of organisation and fundraising are analysed in order to ascertain what similarities and differences indicate about each war's memorials and the repercussions these had on their effectiveness and reception.

Like the system of organisation and funding, memorial committees were intended to be representative of the entire community; however, after the First World War, committees invariably reflected the hierarchical characteristics of the communities and comprised the pillars of the local middle-class – local council representatives, prosperous tradesmen,

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<sup>77</sup> Donaldson, *Remembering the South African War*, 12-13; See also Rausch, 'The Nation as a Community', 74-75; King, *Memorials of the Great War*, 40-41.

<sup>78</sup> Moriarty, 'Private Grief', 129; King, *Memorials of the Great War*, 31-32.

<sup>79</sup> Inglis, *Sacred Places*, 47; Furlong, Furlong, Knight, Slocombe, 'They shall grow not old', 9.

<sup>80</sup> McFarland, 'Commemoration of the South African War', 215; King, *Memorials of the Great War*, 12; Brook, *God, Grief and Community*, 76.

churchmen, MPs, gentry, professionals and eminent retirees – who assumed they were best-qualified to administer and steer the memorial process.<sup>81</sup> Although Boer War memorial committees were keen to at least project broad social composition and the apolitical nature of their activities, they were, as Peter Donaldson notes, effectively ‘self-forming and self-perpetuating cliques which made little or no attempt to seek genuine public affirmation’.<sup>82</sup>

Studies of First World War memorials indicate people outside this sphere were mostly not consulted. In contrast with France, the involvement of ex-servicemen in a memorial’s gestation was rare, although they were ostentatiously present at unveiling ceremonies.<sup>83</sup> The bereaved, unless from the above middle-class milieu, had little say.<sup>84</sup> Although women served on some committees, usually as an adjunct to a husband, brother or son, their role generally centred on raising money door to door.<sup>85</sup> The organisers’ backgrounds reaffirmed the values of the community and thereby endorsed the socio-economic, masculinist status quo.<sup>86</sup> The production of earlier memorials will be examined in detail, not least the composition of the memorial committees and their supporters; were the memorials the product of a dominant group who imposed their own dominant narratives and representations of the war onto the wider community? Did people from beyond the stratum of civic leadership participate, ensuring the memorials were meaningfully representative of the wider community?

The production of a Great War memorial culminated in an unveiling ceremony, a significant public event in the community. Unveilings, especially in larger towns, were usually highly-choreographed and hierarchical, attempting to represent the community as a whole. They

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<sup>81</sup> 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; Moriarty, ‘Private Grief’, 127.

<sup>82</sup> Donaldson, *Remembering the South African War*, 13, 16.

<sup>83</sup> Sherman, *Construction of Memory*, 110, 112.

<sup>84</sup> Bartlett and Ellis, ‘Remembering the Dead’, 231, 234.

<sup>85</sup> Brook, *God, Grief and Community*, 247; Sherman, *Construction of Memory*, 115.

<sup>86</sup> Sherman, *Construction of Memory*, 8; Brook, *God, Grief and Community*, 294.

possessed an aura of respect verging on reverence and, with the memorial acting as grave and the ceremony as funeral service, unveilings possessed strong funerary elements, acting as a rite of passage that carried those present from the sadness of mourning over to a reintegration into post-war, everyday life.<sup>87</sup> The ceremonies were, to an extent, more prescriptive than the memorial itself, whose qualities and symbolism could be contemplated alone over time. They were invariably dominated by those who had directed the memorial's creation, their speeches ensuring that it was they who had the last word on the ceremony's meaning and purpose. As such, unveiling ceremonies are a crucial component of the memorialisation process.

Reflecting their troubled gestations, only a handful of the Crimean cannon were unveiled in public ceremonies. The inauguration of the Havelock memorial, conversely, was a huge event that attracted crowds to Sunderland from across the region. Large numbers of people thronged the various venues of General Graham's tour of Tyneside, the tone and narratives of which replicate aspects of both earlier and later ceremonies, reflecting its chronological position between the 1850s and 1900s. All of the Boer War memorials were ceremoniously inaugurated though not to the same scale as earlier civic ceremonies for municipal monuments – or indeed the unveiling of the Havelock memorial. The inaugurations will be examined in order to understand what they reveal about the motivations and narratives, who led the process and what the popular and press reaction was.

This thesis will contribute new elements to the historiographical debate by focusing on broader contexts that give a more rounded explanation for the memorials and the narratives they transmitted. In so doing, analysis will move beyond the memorials' representation of the wars and incorporate wider socio-political contexts. For example, notions of class will run through every chapter, questioning if and how class tensions and

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<sup>87</sup> Sherman, *Construction of Memory*, 262-263; Prost, 'Monuments', 318.



pressures, whether from above or below, influenced the memorialisation process and how this differed as the century progressed. This is particularly relevant for understanding who led the memorialisation process and what the narratives they sought to convey; were the narratives concerned with buttressing the socio-economic status quo as much as commemorating the contribution of local heroes, for example? As Jon Davies asks, ‘were they built by the hegemonic class in order to manipulate the lower classes?’<sup>88</sup>

Increased emphasis on the ordinary soldier needs to be considered in the light of changing attitudes to soldiers and the army which saw the military and its values endorsed and assimilated by civil society, in contrast to more negative attitudes in the first half of the century.<sup>89</sup> An interesting and wholly characteristic link between the civilian and military populations was the Volunteer Force; the involvement of Volunteers throughout the commemorative process is a thread that links all phases of memorialisation.

Apart from the Crimean War, these were all imperial wars. The span of the Crimean War to the Boer War, with numerous colonial campaigns in between, allows for new insights into attitudes to war and imperialism at a time of heightened militarism and imperialism. Historians have argued that Britain was increasingly in thrall to a patriotic-militaristic-imperial nexus.<sup>90</sup> Engaging with the vast historiography of the British Empire, and specifically its popularity and impact on British society, questions are asked about the memorials’ imperialistic character and whether they were an additional tool in the dissemination of imperial ideology.

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<sup>88</sup> Davies, ‘War Memorials’, 113.

<sup>89</sup> Edward Spiers. *The Army and Society, 1815–1914*. London: Longman, 1980, 177–199, 206; J.W.M. Hichberger. *Images of the Military: The Military in British Art, 1815–1914*. Manchester: MUP, 1988, 78; John M. MacKenzie. ‘Introduction’, in John M. MacKenzie (ed.) *Popular Imperialism and the Military 1850–1950*. Manchester: MUP, 1992, 3.

<sup>90</sup> Anne Summers. ‘Militarism in Britain before the Great War’, *History Workshop*, 2 (Autumn, 1976), 104–23; David Russell. “‘We Carved Our Way to Glory’: The British Soldier in Music Hall Song and Sketch, c. 1880–1914”, in MacKenzie, *Popular Imperialism and the Military*, 50.

A key feature in the development of civil society in the period is the shift to a mass-consumption society, facilitated by profound technological advances, improvements in production and the increased purchasing power of the middle classes, and linked to population growth.<sup>91</sup> Typical were rapid developments in retailing, marketing, advertising, and the increase in leisure opportunities, such as entertainment, tourism and sport.<sup>92</sup> While wars and combat had long been a theme of cultural entertainments, the modernisation of the leisure sector enabled more cultural representations of contemporaneous war to be seen more often by greater numbers of people.<sup>93</sup> The study encompasses various cultural entertainments in the north-east and assesses their influence in shaping opinions and, by extension, memorial narratives.

The memorials and, in the case of General Graham, commemorative activities, were produced by civilians and show a civil response to the war, revealing the lessons that society – or a specific stratum within it – desired to draw from the war and convey to others. They were intended to be representative of whole communities. The activities undertaken were complex and socially significant, indicative of patterns and relations of power in civil society. As such, civic memorials allow a particular insight into social change.

## **1.2 The North-East, Methodology and Sources**

This study is the first to analyse war memorialisation before the First World War in the north-east of England. In this context, the north-east is

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<sup>91</sup> Peter Gurney. *The Making of Consumer Culture in Modern Britain*. London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2017, 63-107; John Benson. *The Rise of Consumer Society in Britain 1880–1980*. New York: Longman, 1994, 23-24, 27; Peter Bailey. *Leisure and Class in Victorian Britain: Rational Recreation and the Contest for Control, 1830–1885*. London: Methuen, 1987, 4-5, 91-92; Norman McCord and Bill Purdue. *British History 1815–1914*. Oxford: OUP, 2007, 337-338.

<sup>92</sup> Benson, *Rise of Consumer Society*, 40.

<sup>93</sup> J.M. Golby and A.W. Purdue. *The Civilisation of the Crowd: Popular Culture in England 1750–1900*. London: Batsford, 1984, 188-189.

considered to run east of the Pennines from the River Tweed in the north to the Tees in the south; this includes the historic counties of Northumberland and Durham (including the urban centres along the Tyne) and the northern fringe of North Yorkshire along the south bank of the Tees, where the rapid growth of Middlesbrough had a significant impact on the region.<sup>94</sup> A region that has claimed to be 'England's most distinctive' with the strongest local identity, its regional consciousness and coherence was arguably at its highest in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, underpinned by shared economic activities and infrastructure.<sup>95</sup>

Chiefly, this was what Bill Lancaster termed 'carboniferous capitalism', the extraction of coal which comprised nearly twenty per cent of all employment in Northumberland and thirty per cent in County Durham by 1911, sustaining a raft of related services, such as banking, law, building, recreation and retail.<sup>96</sup> The local abundance of cheap coal encouraged the development of other significant industries within the region, including chemical manufacture, glass-making and paper-making.<sup>97</sup> The heavy industries of iron production and ship-building were increasingly important as the century progressed.<sup>98</sup> The economic inter-penetration (and sense of regional identity) was enabled by the extensive transport links of

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<sup>94</sup> See: Norman McCord. 'The Regional Identity of North-East England in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries', in Edward Royle (ed.) *Issues of Regional Identity*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998, 103-104; Bill Purdue. 'The History of the North-east in the Modern Period: Themes, Concerns, and Debates Since the 1960s', *Northern History*, March 2005, 42:1, 107-117.

<sup>95</sup> Bill Lancaster. 'The North East, England's Most Distinctive Region?', in Bill Lancaster, Diana Newton and Natasha Vall (eds.) *An Agenda for Regional History*. Newcastle upon Tyne: Northumbria University, 2008, 24. Helen Berry and Jeremy Gregory (eds.) *Creating and Consuming Culture in North-East England, 1660-1830*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004, 5. McCord, 'Regional Identity', 103; M.W. Kirby. *Men of Business and Politics: The Rise and Fall of the Quaker Pease Dynasty of North-East England, 1700-1943*. London: Allen & Unwin, 1984, xiii, 8.

<sup>96</sup> Lancaster, 'The North East', 30; Norman McCord. *North East England: An Economic and Social History. The Region's Development 1760-1960*. London: Batsford Academic, 1979, 41, 112, 117, 128, 147-148; McCord, 'Regional Identity', 109-112;

<sup>97</sup> McCord, 'Regional Identity', 111; McCord, *North East England*, 143-144.

<sup>98</sup> D.J. Rowe. *The Economy of the North East in the Nineteenth Century: A Survey*. Beamish: North of England Open Air Museum: 1973, 17; McCord, 'Regional Identity', 103; McCord, *North East England*, 128-131

the locally-managed North East Railway.<sup>99</sup> The region's commercial affairs were overseen by a relatively-narrow coterie of (often related and inter-married) businessmen and entrepreneurs.<sup>100</sup> Regional communality was also enhanced by the strength of the Liberal Party (if waning by the end of the century) and the linked, well-established seam of nonconformity that ran through the area.<sup>101</sup>

The region's intensive commercial expansion transformed its socio-economic and topographical make-up, from scattered, mostly small agricultural communities to an industrialised and urbanised society. It also caused rapid, large demographic increases. For example, the population of Northumberland nearly doubled between 1851 and 1901, from 304,000 to 603,119, while Durham's population rose from 391,000 to 1,194,590; McCord argues that the consequential social problems were particularly acute in an area (and period) which had insufficient administrative infrastructure.<sup>102</sup>

A number of contextual factors make the north-east a fertile area for research. Its rapid, profound industrial development and social change are representative of wider nineteenth-century trends. Moreover, the disorientating novelty of change intensified the incentive for the type of municipal embellishment and nurturing of civic identity that memorials could provide. This was especially the case in the new and rapidly expanding industrial towns; but an advantage of the north-east is its variety of urban and rural environments that enable a pan-society representation:

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<sup>99</sup> Kathleen Barker. 'The Performing Arts in Newcastle upon Tyne, 1840–70', in John K. Walton and James Walvin (eds.) *Leisure in Britain 1780–1939*. Manchester: MUP, 1983, 55; Purdue, 'History of the North-East', 113; McCord, 'Regional Identity', 111.

<sup>100</sup> McCord, 'Regional Identity', 111, 114; McCord, *North East England*, 147.

<sup>101</sup> T.J. Nossiter. *Influence, Opinion and Political Idioms in Reformed England: Case Studies from the North-East 1832–74*. Brighton: Harvester Press, 1975, 2, 16; Anne Orde. *Religion, Business and Society in North-East England: The Pease Family of Darlington in the Nineteenth Century*. Stamford: Shaun Tyas, 2000. 73.

<sup>102</sup> Norman McCord, *North East England*, 25; *Census of England and Wales 1911*. London: HMSO, 1915; Rowe, *The Economy of the North East*, 3.

memorials were located in pit villages, cities, traditional county hubs, ports, one-industry-dominated towns.

Questions of war and peace loomed large in the region. The heavy industries of iron and steel and shipbuilding, as well as coal extraction, might reasonably be considered enablers of imperial expansion and the ability to wage modern war. Their owners might be assumed to look favourably on the period's wars, as might their employees who could see an aggressive foreign policy as a guarantor of employment.<sup>103</sup> However, support for war because of its beneficial economic consequences was not especially marked even during wartime, though the 1900 'khaki election' was an exception. Perhaps more surprisingly, the opposite viewpoint was strongly represented in the region by a significant and often vociferous anti-war lobby, made up of disparate groupings and individuals, such as the Peace Society, radicals and ex-Chartists, and nonconformists, most notably the Society of Friends or Quakers. This study questions the impact of peace advocates on war memorialisation, assessing if their arguments undermined triumphalism and encouraged a more temperate standpoint.

Ambivalence if not opposition to war might be explained by Liberal dominance of the region; that the north-east was a Liberal stronghold is another reason for it as a suitable arena for research – both as it means the north-east is representative of the powerful nineteenth-century strand of urban Liberalism (the infiltration of the Liberal Party by the middle-class, industrial bourgeoisie occurred quickly in the north-east) and it further suggests a region that would have dichotomous attitudes to war.<sup>104</sup> Liberals of all stripes in the region were against wars although most dissembled in their reactions to war and imperialism – with notable exceptions.

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<sup>103</sup> Richard Price. 'Society, Status and Jingoism: The Social Roots of Lower Middle-Class Patriotism, 1870–1900', in G. Cossick (ed.) *The Lower Middle Class in Britain, 1870–1914*. London: Croom Helm, 1977, 85.

<sup>104</sup> Nossiter, *Influence, Opinion*, 39.

Indeed, much political opposition to wars hailed from a more radical, democratic political fringe which to an extent undermined Liberal hegemony: in the early part of the period, from radicals and former physical force Chartists who comprised a significant presence in the region, strengthened and encouraged by Joseph Cowen's *Newcastle Daily Chronicle* (and its weekly version, edited by ex-Chartist W. E. Adams) and Joseph Storey's *Sunderland Echo* and it was radical ex-Chartists (and nonconformists) who strenuously opposed the installation of the Crimean cannon in Sunderland in 1857.<sup>105</sup> Despite some in-roads at the council level and among trade unions from the final decade of the century onwards, especially outside the traditional Lib-Lab mining heartlands, working-class activists, particularly from the Independent Labour Party, remained relatively weak in the region, though its impact on influencing attitudes amongst the working class is borne in mind when considering the narratives of the Boer War memorials – and attempts by memorial organisers to gain popular support.<sup>106</sup> Indeed, local and national political contexts in the aftermath of all the wars are explored to assess their effect, including Tory as well as more radical influences, on the gestation of the memorials and the narratives transmitted.

Though the memorials themselves offer compelling evidence of developments in notions of memorialisation, the thesis uses a variety of archival materials as contemporary evidence to support its findings. Newspapers are the prime source of information, almost by necessity but certainly by choice. As the principal conduit for the dissemination of the civic message, press reports offer detailed and comprehensive accounts of much of the memorialisation process: from the numerous memorial committee and council meetings to the grand public spectacle of the unveiling ceremonies, what happened and, most importantly, what was said,

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<sup>105</sup> Joan Allen. *Joseph Cowen and Popular Radicalism on Tyneside, 1829–1900*. Monmouth: Merlin Press, 2007, 113–114; Owen R. Ashton. *W.E. Adams: Chartist, Radical and Journalist (1832–1906)*. Whitley Bay: Bewick Press, 1991, 127–158.

<sup>106</sup> A.W. Purdue. 'The ILP in the North East of England', in David James, Toby Jowitt and Keith Laybourn (eds.) *The Centennial History of the Independent Labour Party*. Halifax: Ryburn Publishing, 1992, 17–32.

was reported in exhaustive detail. Newspapers are also, of themselves, intrinsically interesting and informative due to their cultural centrality within nineteenth-century society – as Mark Hampton asserts, ‘part of the normal furniture of life for all classes in the second half of the century’.<sup>107</sup> Benefiting from the removal of taxes and widescale technological improvements in production and transportation, newspapers grew in influence and quantity, in tandem with a larger population and – after the Reform Acts of 1867 and 1884-5 – electorate.<sup>108</sup> The press came to mobilise and represent public opinion in a new and distinctive way, particularly potent in expanding industrial towns, and contributed to a perception of shared national and regional identity.<sup>109</sup> It had a mutually-sustaining interaction with urban, liberal bourgeois society, whose civic monumentalism, associational life and social events (and their inevitable barrage of speeches) offered newspapers endless opportunities to fill their pages.<sup>110</sup>

Wars were also reported in detail. This was especially so in the era of New Imperialism when the inter-relationship between war and the press seemed mutually-beneficial.<sup>111</sup> The style of reporting changed, the ‘New

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<sup>107</sup> Mark Hampton. *Visions of the Press in Britain, 1850–1950*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2004, 1, 19; Stephen Koss. *The Rise and Fall of the Political Press in Britain: Vol. 1 The Nineteenth Century*. London: Hamish Hamilton, 1981, 26; Jonathan Parry. *The Politics of Patriotism: English Liberalism, National Identity and Europe, 1830–1866*. Cambridge: CUP, 2006, 72.

<sup>108</sup> Aled Jones. *Powers of the Press: Newspapers, Power and the Press in Nineteenth-Century England*. Brookfield, VT: Scholar, 1996, 41, 370, 374-375; Lucy Brown. *Victorian News and Newspapers*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985, 228; Hampton, *Visions of the Press*, 5, 9, 33, 63; John M. MacKenzie. ‘The Press and the Dominant Ideology of Empire’, in Simon J. Potter (ed.) *Newspapers and Empire in Ireland and Britain: Reporting the British Empire, c.1857–1921*. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2004, 26; Koss, *Rise and Fall*, 121-122; Alan Lee. *The Origins of the Popular Press in England 1855–1914*. London: Croom Helm, 1976, 46, 48, 59, 61, 68.

<sup>109</sup> David Eastwood. *Government and Community in the English Provinces, 1700-1870*. Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1997, 75, 78; Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 35-36; J.A. Hobson. *The Psychology of Jingoism*. London: Grant Richards, 1901, 109.

<sup>110</sup> Kate Hill. ‘Thoroughly imbued with the spirit of ancient Greece’: Symbolism and Space in Victorian Culture’, in Alan Kidd and David Nicholls (eds.), *Gender, Civic Culture and Consumerism: Middle-Class Identity in Britain 1800–1940*. Manchester: MUP, 1999, 99-111; R. J. Morris, *Class, Sect and Party. The Making of the British Middle Class, Leeds 1820–1850*. Manchester: MUP, 1990, 4; Martin Hewitt. ‘Why the Notion of Victorian Britain Does Make Sense’, *Victorian Studies*, 48:3 (Spring, 2006), 400, 403.

<sup>111</sup> Laurel Brake and Marysa Demoor (eds.) *Dictionary of Nineteenth-Century Journalism in Great Britain and Ireland*. Ghent: Academia Press and the British Library, 306; Roger T.

Journalism' of the last decades of the century espousing sensationalism and melodrama, more sport (and war), less politics – more appealing in an era of increased mass consumption and leisure opportunities.<sup>112</sup> Changes in the nature of press discourse from wartime to its aftermath are also explored to gain a better understanding of post-war memorialisation, questioning whether wartime narratives were replicated in the memorials or jettisoned.

The north-east possessed a particularly vibrant press in the period with some of its newspapers and journalists of national prominence, especially the *Newcastle Daily Chronicle* and the *Northern Echo*. The *Chronicle* (with its offshoot the *Weekly Chronicle*) was taken-over by Newcastle radical Joseph Cowen in 1859, whose programme of political campaigning leavened by sport and local gossip, combined with innovative production and distribution technology, was hugely-influential throughout the region, its readership growing from 28,359 in 1871 to 120,000 in 1893.<sup>113</sup> The *Northern Echo* was established in Darlington in 1870 at the behest of Quaker industrialists who sought a counter to local Tory publications.<sup>114</sup> A strong supporter of Gladstone and radical Liberalism, it achieved national notoriety under its young editor W. T. Stead (1871-1881) with its coverage of the brutal Ottoman suppression of the 1876 Bulgarian uprising.<sup>115</sup>

These newspapers reflected Liberal dominance of the north-east and a strong radical presence, which was replicated in numerous smaller

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Stearn. 'War Correspondents and Colonial War, c. 1870–1900', in MacKenzie, *Popular Imperialism and the Military*, 141, 151.

<sup>112</sup> Martin Conboy. *The Press and Popular Culture*. London: Sage, 2002, 89, 94-95; Brake and Demoor, *Dictionary of Nineteenth-Century Journalism*, 443; Hampton, *Visions of the Press*, 37, 75, 84, 92; Jones, *Powers of the Press*, 2009, 370, 376; Lee, *Origins of the Popular Press*, 118, 125; Brad Beaven. *Visions of Empire: Patriotism, Popular Culture and the City, 1870–1939*. Manchester: MUP, 2012, 32, 36.

<sup>113</sup> Maurice Milne. *The Newspapers of Northumberland and Durham: A Study of their Progress During the Golden Age of the Provincial Press*. Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Graham, 1971, 64; Allen, *Joseph Cowen*, 113-114; Ashton, *W.E. Adams*, 127-158; Brake and Demoor, *Dictionary of Nineteenth-Century Journalism*, 446; Brown, *Victorian News*, 45, 53, 71-72; Lee, *Origins of the Popular Press*, 136.

<sup>114</sup> Brake and Demoor, *Dictionary of Nineteenth-Century Journalism*, 457-458; Brown, *Victorian News*, 46; Milne, *Newspapers of Northumberland and Durham*, 87.

<sup>115</sup> Lee, *Origins of the Popular Press*, 136.



publications.<sup>116</sup> North and South Shields had two strong Liberal titles, the *Shields Daily Gazette* and the *Shields Daily News*.<sup>117</sup> Samuel Storey, mayor (1876, 1877 and 1880) and later Liberal MP for Sunderland (1881-1895) disseminated a radical programme from the mid-1880s in his two influential titles the *Sunderland Daily Echo* and *Hartlepool Northern Daily Mail*.<sup>118</sup>

There were also a number of well-established Tory newspapers throughout the north-east whose numbers increased from the 1880s onwards; by the beginning of the twentieth century there was more or less parity between Liberal and Tory newspapers, symptomatic of Liberal decline and Tory revival.<sup>119</sup> Some were in the old county and agricultural towns, like the *Morpeth Herald* and *Hexham Courant*; others fought against their Liberal counterparts in the industrialising areas, including the *Newcastle Journal*, the *Sunderland Post* and *Durham County Advertiser*.<sup>120</sup>

‘Journalism was the art of structuring reality, rather than reporting it’.<sup>121</sup> Mark Hampton notes that, until at least the 1880s, newspapers provided a highly partisan interpretation of political questions in the presumption that readers would access newspapers of different political affiliations each day.<sup>122</sup> An obvious danger for the researcher is the lack of neutral objectivity in these disseminators of (local and national) political perspectives. Aware of the potential politicised pitfalls that wait the ingenuous, newspapers have been consulted with a critical filter and their political backgrounds taken into account; moreover, in the spirit of the age,

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<sup>116</sup> Brown, *Victorian News*, 69.

<sup>117</sup> Milne, *Newspapers of Northumberland and Durham*, 45, 53-54; Lee, *Origins of the Popular Press*, 136.

<sup>118</sup> Milne, *Newspapers of Northumberland and Durham*, 125; Lee, *Origins of the Popular Press*, 136.

<sup>119</sup> Frank Manders. ‘History of the Newspaper Press in Northeast England’, in Peter Isaac (ed.) *Newspapers in the North East: The ‘Fourth Estate’ at Work in Northumberland and Durham*. Wylam: Allendale Press, 1999, 7; Lee, *Origins of the Popular Press*, 175-176; Milne, *Newspapers of Northumberland and Durham*, 116, 211.

<sup>120</sup> Milne, *Newspapers of Northumberland and Durham*, 46.

<sup>121</sup> Stephen Vella. ‘Newspapers’ in Miriam Dobson, Benjamin Ziemann (eds.) *Reading Primary Sources and the Interpretation of Texts from Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century History*. Abingdon: Routledge, 2009, 192.

<sup>122</sup> Hampton, *Visions of the Press*, 9.

newspapers of all political persuasion were consulted, meaning, for example, for every account of the problematic gestation of Sunderland's Crimean cannon by the *Shields Daily Gazette*, an alternative viewpoint was provided by the *Sunderland Herald* (and indeed many others). The various viewpoints demonstrate attitudes across the political spectrum, 'contested ground in wars of cultural meaning'.<sup>123</sup>

Correspondence pages in newspapers also provided a forum for individuals to express their opinions on a range of themes, including their reaction to local memorials and aspects of their production. These offer relatively-rare insights into the views of people outside official channels, with the qualification that they usually reflect the newspaper's political inclinations and are more engaged and less apathetic than most people. Newspapers reviewed local cultural activities and entertainments, such as visiting art exhibitions or theatre performances. As the century wore on, cultural activities increasingly featured representations of war or military themes, and reviews often indicated the tenor of such activities as well as their popular reception. The advertisements for these activities (and also for products that latched onto wartime themes) showed how cultural entrepreneurs wanted them to be perceived by the public – and what they thought the public would find appealing, useful for gauging popular reactions to specific wars.

The nineteenth century is often considered the golden age of the private diary.<sup>124</sup> The research makes use of manuscript diaries written by three local inhabitants: Richard Lowry, Nathaniel Edwards Robson and Frances Kelly. Lowry was an employee at the North Eastern Railway who wrote a personal diary from 1834 to his death in 1899, encompassing a spectrum of international, national and local events. Born in modest circumstances in 1811, Lowry remained a bachelor and by 1881 was a

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<sup>123</sup> Vella, 'Newspapers', 198.

<sup>124</sup> Christa Hämmerle. 'Diaries', in Miriam Dobson, Benjamin Ziemann (eds.) *Reading Primary Sources and the Interpretation of Texts from Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century History*. Abingdon: Routledge, 2009, 144.

multiple-property owner and N.E.R. manager.<sup>125</sup> Little is known about Robson except that he was a miller from West Herrington in County Durham who at some point became a weighman at Herrington pit. His diaries cover the years 1859 to 1898.<sup>126</sup> Kelly's background is similarly obscure; it is known that she worked as a ship's stewardess in the 1890s, was the daughter of a ship's engineer and by 1900 was living in west Newcastle.<sup>127</sup> All three provide a quotidian perspective on war and imperialism and its impact on society.

Lowry discusses the Crimean War and both he and Robson refer at length to the wars of the 1870s and 1880s. Revealing the views and opinions of ordinary people about the wars, the diaries show that both men followed the progress of the wars avidly, had great strategic awareness and were proud of British martial values. The impact of newspapers is evident in their diary entries which repeat and contemplate the news from the theatres of war. Both men supported the various acts of British aggression and were critical of the Gladstone government's management of the wars. Kelly's diary, which intermittently covers the years 1893 to 1915, is more concerned with the home front, detailing popular reaction to the Boer War such as how it affected people's dress and the streetscape. She also participated in some of the spontaneous gatherings that bade farewell to the departing troops at the train station and celebrated the eventual victories.

Diaries, as sources of historical evidence, are found in the tense interaction between society and the individual and should be interpreted with due care.<sup>128</sup> While appreciating their prejudices, presumptions and possible proclivity to position themselves in accord with more 'authoritarian' opinions or sources, and taking into account the exceptionality of the wartime environments in which they were writing, their personalities and

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<sup>125</sup> *Diary of Richard Lowry*, Tyne and Wear Archives (hereafter TWA), DF.Low/1; for more on Lowry and his remarkable diary, see: Norman McCord, 'Victorian Newcastle Observed: The Diary of Richard Lowry', *Northern History*, 37:1 (December 2000), 239-259.

<sup>126</sup> *Diary of Nathaniel Edwards Robson*, TWA, DF.RNH/4.

<sup>127</sup> *Diary of Frances Kelly*, TWA, DX441/1/1.

<sup>128</sup> Hämmerle, 'Diaries', 146.

backgrounds are part of their usefulness, representing ‘normal’ views and attitudes. The male-female differences in focus – Robson and Lowry as self-assumed ‘fireside warriors’ writing their opinions on strategy and heroism, and Kelly’s observation of the emotional and everyday exuberance of popular reactions to the war – is indicative of contemporaneous gender attitudes and expectations, even if Kelly tends to avoid the introspective and ‘non-public sphere’ generally associated with women’s diaries of the period.<sup>129</sup> The lack of self-exploration serves this research well: Lowry and Robson respond to what they have read in newspapers and discussed with family and acquaintances; Kelly, in her similarly unspectacular entries, is more immersed in events, personally observing reactions to war in her surroundings (the wearing of khaki and ‘war buttons’, proliferation of flags and bunting) and giving eye-witness accounts of events that are directly significant to this research.

A range of commentators are cited, of national as well as local importance, including politicians, journalists, businessmen, political activists, a solicitor and members of the aristocracy. These convey different viewpoints which add balance and authority to the main archival sources. Minutes of many different organisations’ meetings were consulted, including meetings of memorial committees, town councils and sub-committees, and local branches of the Society of Friends, although these tend to provide only basic information; it is in the local press that a full record of what was discussed at the meetings can be found.

This range of sources provide a balance of official and popular viewpoints. Generally, this thesis is interested in intent rather than reception: it seeks to know what were the narratives being imposed onto communities and by whom. But these sources provide much scope for understanding contestation of, and opposition to, these narratives and their originators.

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<sup>129</sup> Hämmerle, ‘Diaries’, 144.

This thesis aims to rebalance the historiographical debate on war memorialisation by analysing the development of civic, public war memorials from the 1850s to the 1900s. Too much emphasis has been placed on memorialisation of the First World War, leading to a debate that fails to take into account the importance and significance of earlier memorialisation – both in its own right and as a precedent for what followed. Where analysis of nineteenth-century memorials has occurred, it has tended to operate in silos, focusing on one war or one theme, such as national identity. This study's longer-term perspective enables change and development in memorialisation to be more effectively-charted and placed in wider socio-economic, political and cultural contexts which, it argues, were as important in shaping memorialisation as the wars that were commemorated.

## **Chapter 2:**

### **Uncertain Memorials: the Crimean War Cannon, 1856-1861**

After four decades of relative peace, two major conflicts took place in the 1850s which had a profound impact on British society: the Crimean War (1854–1856) and the Indian Rebellion (1857–1859). Though almost concurrent, the two were, in numerous ways, very different. Whereas the Rebellion can be characterised as a counter-insurgency by imperial authorities against colonial subjects, the Crimean War was a more conventional conflict, between Russia and an alliance comprising Britain, France, Piedmont and the Ottoman Empire. The war was global, from the Baltic to the Pacific, but the primary theatre of operations was the Near East and the Crimean Peninsula, where the siege of the Russian naval base at Sebastopol, from September 1854 to September 1855, was the key action of the entire war.<sup>1</sup>

The causes of the war are notoriously murky.<sup>2</sup> Its long-term roots (and consequences) lay in the Eastern Question, which arose out of the slow decline of the Ottoman Empire.<sup>3</sup> British involvement was largely motivated by the perceived need to check Russian expansion towards Asia, especially India, which threatened Britain's international trading power.<sup>4</sup> The war was triggered when the allies sent maritime and land forces to support the beleaguered Ottomans engaged in a localised conflict with Russia. It was considered a just war and expected to be an event of profound political and moral gravity – which made the numerous setbacks all the more difficult to accept.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Clive Ponting. *The Crimean War: The Truth behind the Myth*. London: Pimlico, 2005, 5.

<sup>2</sup> Orlando Figes. *Crimea: The Last Crusade*. London: Penguin, 2011, 1-129.

<sup>3</sup> Stefanie Markovits. *The Crimean War in the British Imagination*. Cambridge: CUP, 2009, 7.

<sup>4</sup> Bernard Porter. *Britain, Europe and the World 1850–1986: Delusions of Grandeur*. London: George Allen & Unwin, 1987, 26.

<sup>5</sup> Figes, *Crimea*, 479.

While Britain, the world's wealthiest nation, was able to raise its military spending substantially, the cost in lives was unanticipated. Most of the soldiers killed at the front died an inglorious death: of the 98,000 British soldiers and sailors sent to the Crimea, 20,813 men died in the campaign, 80 per cent of them from sickness or disease, mainly cholera, diarrhoea and dysentery, a normal ratio for wars before the twentieth century.<sup>6</sup> The impact on the national psyche was profound, in great part because the losses mostly occurred during the winter of 1854 and 1855 when the appalling conditions were laid before a shocked general public by unprecedentedly critical and in-depth press coverage; that soldiers of the world's most advanced nation died from exposure, improper food, insufficient clothing and shelter was a national humiliation.<sup>7</sup> The war ended after a phase of anti-climactic diplomacy, which further curdled British shame at its military ineptitude and France's superior role during the siege.<sup>8</sup> So tainted was the victory that Palmerston refused to allow the traditional nationwide celebratory ringing of church bells.<sup>9</sup>

This, briefly, was the context in which memorialisation of the conflict took place. There was an absence of the type of civic memorials to the fallen that would be placed in cities, towns and villages after twentieth-century conflicts – including the Boer War.<sup>10</sup> The impulse for civic commemoration was expressed, instead, in the installation of cannons captured at Sebastopol in towns throughout Britain. The cannons shared some attributes of later civic war memorials: they were organised by municipal leaders and placed in significant civic locations but in other important aspects – particularly their purpose and organisation – they were distinct.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Figes, *Crimea*, 467. See also Ulrich Keller. *The Ultimate Spectacle: A Visual History of the Crimean War*. Amsterdam: Gordon and Breach, 2001, 19-20. For details of expenditure and the economic impact, see Ponting, *Crimean War*, 204.

<sup>7</sup> Edward Spiers. *The Army and Society, 1815–1914*. London: Longman, 1980, 104; Ponting, *Crimean War*, 191, 194, 335.

<sup>8</sup> Rachel Bates. *Curating the Crimea: The Cultural Afterlife of a Conflict*. Unpublished PhD Thesis: University of Leicester, 2015, 38.

<sup>9</sup> Markovits, *British Imagination*, 10.

<sup>10</sup> Figes, *Crimea*, 467.

<sup>11</sup> Alex King. *Memorials of the Great War in Britain. The Symbolism and Politics of Remembrance*. Oxford: Berg, 1998, 20.

Cannons were mounted in public spaces in nine towns in the north-east.<sup>12</sup> Many had a contested and convoluted gestation, arousing considerable acrimony within the local political arena. Most were not officially inaugurated, merely placed unceremoniously in a suitable location. In other towns, local dignitaries led grand unveiling ceremonies in front of crowds of local inhabitants. This chapter focuses on these case studies to gain a better understanding of the distinctive but largely-neglected phenomenon of the Crimean War cannon, exploring who or what was commemorated and what narratives were transmitted. In so doing, it will consider their purpose and motivations, their similarities and differences, and question why some of the cannons ‘succeeded’ and others ‘failed’. It will survey reactions to and representations of the war and how these influenced the narratives the cannons conveyed, taking into account their municipal contexts to understand how political divisions affected their reception. The Crimean War cannons should be viewed as an important stage in the evolution of war memorialisation; as memorials of questionable provenance and motive, whose gestational process often lacked popular consensus, the Sebastopol cannons to an extent provided precedents of how not to memorialise a war.

## **2.1 The Domestic Impact of the Crimean War**

As the war progressed, the initial pragmatic justification of a limited defence of Turkey was increasingly depicted by press and popular fervour in a more idealised, nationalistic way: as a struggle to uphold and propagate British principles – the defence of constitutional liberty, civilisation and free trade – and wider European liberal values; to protect British honour and greatness; to aid the weak against a despotic tyrant and expansionist bully, an assumed national stereotype that would be replicated in numerous

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<sup>12</sup> See appendix 1, page 306.



subsequent wars. Olive Anderson sees this as a reversion to the propagandising of the Napoleonic wars, with the autocratic Tsar Nicholas I enacting the role of Bonaparte.<sup>13</sup> Such beliefs were genuinely and extensively held, nurtured by Viscount Palmerston, and fitted a narrative of British exceptionalism that had been present for years, even if whipped up by popular wartime bellicosity.<sup>14</sup>

Reaction to the war was influenced by long-standing Russophobia, prevalent among both intellectual circles and the broader public. Orlando Figes argued that, by the 1850s, hostility to Russia had become a central reference point in a political discourse which fused notions of liberty, civilisation and progress to mould national identity.<sup>15</sup> While questioning its nationwide impact, Jonathan Parry viewed Russophobia as an element of a British identity in the early 1850s that crystallised around its civilising, liberal and commercial values, and in a political self-belief which included opposition to continental autocracy.<sup>16</sup> The widespread belief in the righteous struggle against despotic, expansionist Russia is seen in a diary entry of Darlington solicitor Francis Mewburn:

... a conviction amongst all classes, the lower as well as the higher, that the Czar must be restrained and punished; that if he be not checked in his designs, he will acquire an overwhelming influence in Europe and ultimately capture both France and England and become Master of the world.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> Olive Anderson. *A Liberal State at War. English Politics and Economics during the Crimean War*. London: Macmillan, 1967, 4. See also: Michael Paris. *Warrior Nation: Images of War in British Popular Culture 1850–2000*. London: Reaktion, 2000, 36; Figes, *Crimea*, 479; Bates, *Curating the Crimea*, 9.

<sup>14</sup> Jonathan Parry. *The Politics of Patriotism: English Liberalism, National Identity and Europe, 1830–1866*. Cambridge: CUP, 2006, 14–15.

<sup>15</sup> Figes, *Crimea*, 78; Spiers, *Army and Society*, 97–98.

<sup>16</sup> Parry, *Politics of Patriotism*, 212.

<sup>17</sup> Francis Mewburn. *The Larchfield Diary: Extracts from the Diary of the Late Mr Mewburn, First Railway Solicitor*. Darlington: Bailey, 1876, 128–9, (contemporaneous but exact date unknown). A distinguished inhabitant of Darlington, Mewburn was a legal representative of the North East Railway and held positions of importance in Darlington's municipal administration for many decades: Gillian Cookson. 'Quaker Families and Business Networks in Nineteenth-Century Darlington', *Quaker Studies*, 2003, 8:2, 132.

In the north-east, Newcastle had been a pocket of Russophobia since at least 1838, when charismatic ex-diplomat David Urquhart had started visiting the town, garnering support for his virulent pro-Turkish and anti-Russian stance.<sup>18</sup> Following the creation of similar committees by Urquhart and his supporters after the war began, the Newcastle Foreign Affairs Committee was formed in October 1854, propelled to national notoriety by three dynamic committee members, Charles Attwood, Joseph Cowen and George Crawshay.<sup>19</sup> Committee emissaries circulated throughout the north to win converts and numerous, well-attended meetings, often featuring Urquhart himself, were held in Newcastle.<sup>20</sup> Initially, the emphasis was on justifying the conflict with criticism of backward, repressive Russia but as the stalemate at Sebastopol developed over the winter of 1854/5, the meetings' focus changed to attacking the 'insincere, hypocritic, unpatriotic and corrupt character of the British Government and Parliament'.<sup>21</sup> This, however, proved the high water mark for Urquhart and the Committees, whose popularity declined as interest in the war also waned.<sup>22</sup>

But for the decisive winter of 1854-1855, the Committees were in synch with the popular anger at the conduct and management of the war, exacerbated by continual press criticism of the situation at Sebastopol:

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<sup>18</sup> John Howes Gleason. *The Genesis of Russophobia in Great Britain. A Study of the Interaction of Policy and Opinion*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1950, 261-265; David Saunders. 'Challenge, Decline and Revival: The Fortunes of Pacifism in Nineteenth- and Early Twentieth-Century Newcastle', *Northern History*, XX (April 2017) 3; *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (ODNB), OUP, online edition (accessed 15 March 2019), Miles Taylor: Urquhart, David (1805-1877).

<sup>19</sup> Miles Taylor. 'The Old Radicalism and the New: David Urquhart and the Politics of Opposition, 1832-1867', in Eugenio F. Biagini and Alastair J. Reid (eds.) *Currents of Radicalism: Popular Radicalism, Organised Labour, and Party Politics in Britain, 1850-1914*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991, 26, 35-36. Margaret Jenks. 'The Activities and Influence of David Urquhart 1833-56, with Special Reference to the Affairs of the Near East'. Unpublished PhD Thesis: University of York, 1964, 327-328; For Attwood, see ODNB, online edition (accessed 15 March 2019), J.K. Almond: Attwood, Charles (1791-1875); for Cowen, see Joan Allen. *Joseph Cowen and Popular Radicalism on Tyneside, 1829-1900*. Monmouth: Merlin Press, 2007; For Crawshay, see ODNB, online edition (accessed 15 March 2019), Joan Allen: Crawshay, George (1821-1896).

<sup>20</sup> Saunders, 'Challenge, Decline, Revival', 4; Jenks, 'David Urquhart', 328; see also W. Armytage. 'Sheffield and the Crimean War: Politics and Industry 1852-1857', *History Today*, 5 (July 1 1955) 473-482.

<sup>21</sup> *Newcastle Journal*, 2 December 1854, editorial; *Durham Chronicle*, 19 January 1855, editorial; *Durham County Advertiser*, 8 June 1855, editorial.

<sup>22</sup> Anderson, *A Liberal State*, 84.

Incompetency, lethargy, aristocratic hauteur, official indifference, favour, routine, perverseness, and stupidity reign, revel and riot in the camp before Sebastopol, in the harbour of Balaklava, in the hospitals at Scutari, and how much nearer to home we do not venture to say.<sup>23</sup>

This ire morphed into contempt for the aristocratically-dominated military and political administration and a vociferous assertiveness in the middle classes, which lauded instead the principles of professional competence, efficiency, self-reliance and other perceived virtues of its class, and demanded philosophical and practical change: 'We have now to do for war what we have accomplished in the arts of peace, by machinery as applied to manufactures, by steamships and railroads... We must win by skill, wealth and organization'.<sup>24</sup>

There was a shift in the popular notion of the nature of war: heroism no longer was sufficient; victory was to be achieved by industrial efficiency and organisation, as exemplified by the building of the first military railway at Balaklava by Sheffield industrialist Sir Thomas Peto and his navvies.<sup>25</sup> Whereas the two earlier outpourings of middle-class agitation, over the 1832 Reform Act and the Corn Laws, had lacked an almost universal social emotion, middle-class rancour during the war potently addressed existential concerns about national identity and the body-politic, incited by military pride and patriotism.<sup>26</sup>

Olive Anderson argued that the war represented,

'at almost every articulate social level and to men of totally different outlooks, an inescapable challenge which stripped away the shams and compromises and time-honoured habits which gave English society its stability and cohesion'.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> *The Times*, 23 December 1854, editorial.

<sup>24</sup> *Edinburgh Review*, January 1855, editorial; see also Theodore K. Hoppen. *The Mid-Victorian Generation*. New York: Clarendon Press, 1998, 180-1; Spiers, *Army and Society*, 110-111.

<sup>25</sup> Figes, *Crimea*, 469; Keller, *Ultimate Spectacle*, 17.

<sup>26</sup> Anderson, *A Liberal State*, 105.

<sup>27</sup> Anderson, *A Liberal State*, 27.

This was not opposition to the war; instead, according to Karl Marx, it was criticism of ‘the system on which the British war establishment is administered’ which replicated the existing hostility of working- and middle-class radicals, whose passion was enough to provoke fears and hopes of England’s long expected revolution.<sup>28</sup> It caused anxiety among those alarmed at the extent of criticism or who favoured the preservation of traditional values: ‘the worst characteristic of the present day is an eagerness to censure everybody and everything and a recklessness in scattering the censure broad-cast’.<sup>29</sup>

Although enthusiasm for the war waned, support was consistent.<sup>30</sup> There was a small but vociferous opposition to the war which coalesced nationally around the leadership of Richard Cobden, John Bright and the Peace Society.<sup>31</sup> Individual commentators published their arguments against war, such as Frank Upnor, who bemoaned the ‘unnatural change in our national character’, which saw the distortion of the sciences of peace and industry for the sake of destruction and ‘unseemly prejudices... enrolled in support of this deplorable war’.<sup>32</sup> But the tide flowed against peace activists; Cobden and Bright were unable to ally the widespread calls for parliamentary reform to their own agenda and their heightened wartime unpopularity was demonstrated in their defeat in the 1857 general election.<sup>33</sup>

In the north-east, a particularly militant branch of the Peace Society had existed in Newcastle since 1817, dominated by local nonconformists — mainly Quakers, but also Baptists, Primitive Methodists, Congregationalists

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<sup>28</sup> Karl Marx. Leader in *The New York Times*, 12 January 1855; see also P. Cain and A. Hopkins. *British Imperialism 1688–2000*. Harlow: Longman, 2002, 118–119, 135.

<sup>29</sup> Sir Peter Maxwell. *Whom Shall We Hang? The Sebastopol Inquiry*. London: John Ridgway, 1855, 310–311.

<sup>30</sup> Spiers, *Army and Society*, 111; Markovits, *British Imagination*, 3.

<sup>31</sup> John Hutchinson. *Nationalism and War*. Oxford: OUP, 2017, 40. Spiers, *Army and Society*, 98.

<sup>32</sup> Frank Upnor. *Letters on the War*. London: 1855, 17–18.

<sup>33</sup> Paris, *Warrior Nation*, 36. For Cobden, see *ODNB*, online edition (accessed 17 March 2019), Miles Taylor: Cobden, Richard (1804–1865).

and Scotch Presbyterians.<sup>34</sup> It attempted to disseminate its message during the war but without much success. It brought the national secretary of the Peace Society, Henry Richard, to Newcastle but the meeting was poorly-attended, with no pro-war lobbyists even attending in order to disrupt – probably, as David Saunders argues, because the Society was toothless at a time when ‘Urquhartism so coloured local attitudes’.<sup>35</sup>

A controversial peace initiative that attracted much opprobrium, not least in the north-east, was undertaken by four prominent Quakers, including Henry Pease from Darlington.<sup>36</sup> The group travelled across Europe to Moscow in a much-reported, unsuccessful mission to dissuade Tsar Nicholas from war. The Pease family dominated Darlington and South Durham and the ‘humbug or folly’ of the flawed peace mission redounded against them in the local political arena.<sup>37</sup>

Individuals gamely stood out against the war. George Thompson, late MP for Tower Hamlets and editor of the *Empire*, (‘organ of the peace at any price party’ according to the Tory *Newcastle Courant*) gave a lecture entitled ‘The right and wrong of the war’.<sup>38</sup> Renowned for his anti-war stance, the lecture was ‘densely overcrowded’, with local Quakers and Peace Society members as well as a large number of people holding opposite opinions to Thompson; this was partly explained by the prior circulation of a handbill appealing for working men to attend to let Thompson and ‘the peace mongers’ know they would not abandon their support for the conflict.<sup>39</sup> In 1853, the pacifist Robert Haggie, a rope-maker, had tried to argue against the impending conflict at an anti-Russian meeting but ‘after attempting for some time to proceed ... [he] was obliged to resume his seat’.<sup>40</sup> And, exemplifying the remarkable wartime conformity of opinion that permitted

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<sup>34</sup> Saunders, ‘Challenge, Decline, Revival’, 2.

<sup>35</sup> Saunders, ‘Challenge, Decline, Revival’, 4.

<sup>36</sup> Spiers, *Army and Society*, 98; Mewburn, *Larchfield Diary*, 127 (exact date unknown).

<sup>37</sup> Mewburn, *Larchfield Diary*, 128, (exact date unknown).

<sup>38</sup> *Newcastle Courant*, 20 April 1855, editorial.

<sup>39</sup> *Newcastle Guardian*, 14 April 1855, editorial.

<sup>40</sup> *Newcastle Journal*, 17 Dec. 1853, editorial.

little opposition, Mr W. Thompson was unanimously expelled as a member of the Sandhill News Room in 1854 due to his pro-Russian feelings,

strongly manifested by marking in the *Globe* Newspaper some intelligence from the Crimea unfavourable to the British and French armies, and in which he appeared to rejoice... others will have learnt that no expressions of sympathy with the despot will be tolerated in this liberal and enlightened town.<sup>41</sup>

Instead, overwhelming support for what *The Times* called ‘the People’s War’ played out within a nationwide war fever whose ‘modern’ characteristics were largely explained by recent, overlapping developments in media, communications and technology.<sup>42</sup> A trans-imperial communication network had been developed in the previous three decades and by the late 1840s, news from the colonies was reaching London in times that had previously seemed inconceivable.<sup>43</sup> The telegraph was used for the first time in military operations in the Crimea and the public experienced an unprecedented immediacy in reporting from the front.<sup>44</sup> However, although telegraphic communication provided brief details in a matter of days after the events, in-depth reports took longer, ten days from the Crimea, a delay that heightened the anxieties of a domestic audience eager for news.<sup>45</sup>

The status and fortunes of the press rose markedly in the 1850s – with Mark Hampton and Aled Jones arguing that 1855 was one of the most important years in the history of the British press, in large part due to the war.<sup>46</sup> The repeal of the tax on advertisements in 1853 and stamp duty in 1855, along with recent technological developments such as new composing

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<sup>41</sup> *Newcastle Guardian*, 25 November 1854, editorial.

<sup>42</sup> *The Times*, 5 May 1854, editorial; *North and South Shields Gazette* {*Shields Gazette*}, 1 November 1855, editorial; Keller, *Ultimate Spectacle*, xiii. Figes, *Crimea*, 305.

<sup>43</sup> Graham Dawson. *Soldier Heroes: British Adventure, Empire and the Imagining of Masculinity*. London: Routledge, 1994, 85.

<sup>44</sup> Markovits, *British Imagination*, 1-3, 14-15. For more on the press and the war, see: Keller, *Ultimate Spectacle*, 27-31; Figes, *Crimea*, 304-306.

<sup>45</sup> Christopher Herbert. *War of No Pity: The Indian Mutiny and Victorian Trauma*. Woodstock: Princeton University Press, 2008, 22.

<sup>46</sup> Mark Hampton. *Visions of the Press in Britain, 1850–1950*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2004, 63; Aled Jones. *Powers of the Press: Newspapers, Power and the Press in Nineteenth-Century England*. Brookfield, VT: Scolar, 1996, 41.

and steam printing technologies, led to a rapid increase in the number of publications and newspapers sold, not least in the provinces where sixteen major newspapers were launched between 1853 and 1861.<sup>47</sup> Population growth, urbanisation and growing prosperity, boosted by the expansion of national and colonial markets for British manufactured goods, further fuelled demand for newspapers and print media generally.<sup>48</sup>

Newspapers had previously relied on junior officers for reports from the front in what tended to be staid and uninformative despatches but, led by pioneering *Times* correspondent W. H. Russell, war reporting was revolutionised by the Crimean War.<sup>49</sup> Systematic, critical, first-hand coverage, by whole teams of correspondents in strategic locations, ensured the war was reported with immediacy and insight – enhanced by a relative absence of censorship; but the reporting was also rousing and empathetic, a combination of exciting, melodramatic reports of heroic action and the sympathetic revelation of the plight of the ordinary soldier.<sup>50</sup> The thirst for news generated by the war boosted sales and readership: the weekly circulation of the *Illustrated London News*, with its vivid woodcut reproductions from the Front, increased by 30,000 during the war.<sup>51</sup>

As Olive Anderson and Trudi Tate noted, the press made ‘constant participation’ easy for any literate citizen and there was an unprecedented ‘fantasy investment in war’ by the public.<sup>52</sup> This was demonstrated in the interminable letters that offered the military and political authorities, via

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<sup>47</sup> Aled Jones. ‘The Press and the Printed Word’ in Chris Williams (ed.) *A Companion to Nineteenth-Century Britain*. Oxford: Blackwell, 2007, 369, 374; Hampton, *Visions of the Press*, 63; Stephen Koss. *The Rise and Fall of the Political Press in Britain*. London: Hamish Hamilton, 1981, 1.

<sup>48</sup> Jones, ‘Press and the Printed Word’, 369.

<sup>49</sup> Phillip Knightley. *The First Casualty. The War Correspondent as Hero, Propagandist and Myth Maker, from the Crimea to Iraq*. London: Quartet Books, 2003, 1-17; Keller, *Ultimate Spectacle*, 27-28; Bates, *Curating the Crimea*, 30; Figes, *Crimea*, 306; Paris, *Warrior Nation*, 33.

<sup>50</sup> Keller, *Ultimate Spectacle*, 27-31; Bates, *Curating the Crimea*, 43, 104.

<sup>51</sup> Matthew Paul Lallumia. *Realism and Politics in Victorian Art of the Crimean War*. Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1984, 11.

<sup>52</sup> Anderson, *A Liberal State*, 71; Trudi Tate. ‘On Not Knowing Why: Memorializing the Light Brigade’, in Helen Small and Trudi Tate (eds.) *Literature, Science, Psychoanalysis, 1830–1970*. Oxford: OUP, 2003, 165.

newspaper editors, opinions and advice on a more successful prosecution of the campaigns.<sup>53</sup> Representative of what the *Newcastle Journal* called ‘fireside warriors’ was Richard Lowry, forty-four years of age in 1855, who often reacted to press reports by commenting on the progress of the war in his diary: ‘It is doubtful whether Sebastopol will ever be taken. My opinion is that the Russians must be first beaten in the field and then it may be taken’.<sup>54</sup> Information was constantly required and then circulated by this new nation of self-proclaimed experts, *The Times* noting that ‘The eyes of all England were turned upon the expedition, and suggestions poured in from all quarters as to the best and most efficient course to be adopted’.<sup>55</sup>

There was little acknowledgment of the particular contribution in terms of manpower or resources made by the region towards the war effort – in marked contrast to the Boer War. Praise for the speedy construction of a ship bound for the Crimea was heaped upon the shipbuilders (Palmer Brothers of Jarrow), as well as its local compass-maker and captain.<sup>56</sup> Early in the war, a small increase in army recruitment figures around Newcastle was welcomed but despite detachments of the Durham Light Infantry fighting in the Crimea, there was no overt display of pride in the region’s fighting men;<sup>57</sup> it would not be until after the Cardwell reforms of the 1870s that affiliations between regiments and counties would be fostered, nurturing mutual identification and pride in the local regiment.<sup>58</sup>

The popular urge to participate in the ‘war effort’ can be perceived in the Patriotic Fund. A royal commission for the relief of widows and orphans

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<sup>53</sup> Bates, *Curating the Crimea*, 49; Markovits, *British Imagination*, 14, 47-49; Koss, *Political Press in Britain*, 106.

<sup>54</sup> *Diary of Richard Lowry*, 22 March 1855. Tyne and Wear Archives (TWA), DF.Low/1/22; *Newcastle Journal*, 4 November 1854, editorial; For more on the notion of Crimean ‘paterfamilias’ fireside warriors, see: Markovits, *British Imagination*, 49, 60.

<sup>55</sup> *The Times*, 8 February 1855, editorial.

<sup>56</sup> *Durham Chronicle*, 12 January 1855, editorial.

<sup>57</sup> *Durham Chronicle*, 1 December 1855, editorial.

<sup>58</sup> Nick Mansfield. *Soldiers as Workers – Class, Employment, Conflict and the Nineteenth-Century Military* (Studies in Labour History). Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2016, 10, 141; Ian Beckett. *Citizen Soldiers and the British Empire, 1837–1902*. London: Routledge, 2016, 27; Spiers, *Army and Society*, 177-199.



of servicemen who lost their lives in the war, popularly termed the Patriotic Fund, was established in London in October 1854.<sup>59</sup> Local committees raised funds throughout the country in a popular response that anticipated the herculean fundraising efforts during the Boer War. Subscription lists in newspapers were dominated by middle-class ‘magistrates, clergymen, merchants, professional gentlemen and a fair proportion of tradesmen’, but working men and occasionally women could also be found, as in the list of County Durham subscribers to the Fund which included the workmen of Langley Paper Mills and three female servants.<sup>60</sup>

This type of public fundraising sought to demonstrate social consensus, whether it was raising funds for a new church steeple, mechanics’ institute, or in response to a natural disaster.<sup>61</sup> Such breadth of support demonstrated popular support for the war, or at least sympathy for the plight of the families. For those lower on the social stratum, emulation of the behaviour of their social superiors garnered public prestige and respectability.<sup>62</sup> Newspapers and local committees encouraged working-class participation, the Sunderland committee organising a special evening meeting for working-class men and recommending that they each contribute a day’s pay.<sup>63</sup>

Stephanie Markovits argued that women felt empowered to act by the appalling conditions at the Front, citing the widespread charitable work undertaken by women at home.<sup>64</sup> Frank Prochaska and Michael Thompson have demonstrated that nineteenth-century charity was an accepted civic

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<sup>59</sup> Keller, *Ultimate Spectacle*, 17; Figes, *Crimea*, 304; Lalumia, *Realism and Politics*, 51; *Durham Chronicle*, 20 October 1854, editorial.

<sup>60</sup> *Durham Chronicle*, 17 November 1854, subscription list.

<sup>61</sup> Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall. *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780–1850*. London: Routledge, 1992, 419. Frank Prochaska. *The Voluntary Impulse: Philanthropy in Modern Britain*. London: Faber, 1988, 28–29; Norman McCord. *North East England: An Economic and Social History. The Region’s Development 1760–1960*. London: Batsford Academic, 1979, 179.

<sup>62</sup> John Garrard. ‘Urban Elites, 1850–1914: The Rule and Decline of a New Squirearchy?’, *Albion*, 27:3 (1995), 595–596.

<sup>63</sup> *Newcastle Courant*, 1 December 1854, editorial.

<sup>64</sup> Markovits, *British Imagination*, 53–55.

arena for women to participate in and indeed they far exceeded men in their willingness to participate in local voluntary bodies.<sup>65</sup> During the war women organised the dispatch of items of clothing and comfort for the troops such as in Newcastle where a 'patriotic movement of the ladies of Newcastle' met as the 'Ladies Balaklava Fund' under the presidency of the mayor's wife.<sup>66</sup>

Underpinning fundraising efforts was civic pride which intermingled with notions of patriotism, respectability, benevolence and Christianity, to propel towns, villages and organisations to participate. Approbation was publicly given, such as for the 'spirited little village of Seaton Carew' and Darlington, which the *Durham County Advertiser* was 'glad to observe, although late in the field, is at last about to join the movement in support of the patriotic fund'; on the other hand, criticism was levelled at 'wealthy' Sunderland which remained 'soberly quiet'.<sup>67</sup> Darlington and Sunderland were where the most strident opposition to the post-war installation of Crimean cannon as trophy memorials would take place.

There was a corresponding change in attitudes towards the ordinary soldier, previously a figure of disdain if not of contempt: *The Times* claimed that 'any hostility which may have existed in bygone days towards the army has long since passed away. The red coat of the soldier is honoured throughout the country'.<sup>68</sup> Many historians have rightly perceived the Crimean War as the beginning of a process that would see, as the century wore on and the number of colonial conflicts increased, ordinary soldiers and veterans integrated into society and lauded within the popular imagination.<sup>69</sup>

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<sup>65</sup> Prochaska, *Voluntary Impulse*, 41-42; F.M.L. Thompson. *The Rise of Respectable Society. A Social History of Victorian Britain, 1830-1900*. London: Fontana, 1990, 253; see also Simon Gunn. 'The Public Sphere, Modernity and Consumption: New Perspectives on the History of the English Middle Class', in Alan Kidd and David Nicholls (eds.), *Gender, Civic Culture and Consumerism: Middle-Class Identity in Britain 1800-1940*. Manchester: MUP, 1999, 19.

<sup>66</sup> *Newcastle Journal*, 13 January 1855, editorial.

<sup>67</sup> *Durham County Advertiser*, 17 November 1854, editorial.

<sup>68</sup> *The Times*, 22 October 1856, editorial.

<sup>69</sup> Bates. *Curating the Crimea*, 77; Olive Anderson. 'The Growth of Christian Militarism in Mid-Victorian Britain', *English Historical Review* 86 (1971), 46, Spiers, *Army and Society*,

A number of interlinked factors explain this. Attitudes were intensified by the wartime's heightened class politics in which the good service of ordinary soldiers was appropriated by the middle class – while the officer corps came under vitriolic criticism.<sup>70</sup> In his diary, Richard Lowry agreed with the reported Russian officers' verdict of British troops as 'lions led by donkeys'.<sup>71</sup> Corruption and nepotism in the army, in particular the purchase of commissions by officers, was condemned in the press, Douglas Jerrold writing that 'Everybody knows that Lord Raglan commands in the Crimea because he is the son of a duke'.<sup>72</sup> The cause was taken up by the radical MPs John Arthur Roebuck and Austen Henry Layard in Parliament, leading *Lloyd's Weekly* to assert 'The privilege of birth is doomed. The common mind of the nation, the common genius of the country, the common intellect of Englishmen... will assert itself'.<sup>73</sup> In the autumn of 1854, many newspapers reported several military scandals, most prominently the case of Lieutenant Perry, in which a young officer was victimised for questioning the loose morals of his fellow officers; the press-driven furore was indicative of the wider criticism of a rotten officer class and, by extension, a rotten civil administration.<sup>74</sup>

While the officer corps was castigated for their inefficiency and profligacy, the soldiers' perseverance in appalling conditions, lacking suitable equipment and undergoing insanitary conditions, attracted widespread praise, sympathy and anguish: Marx wrote that 'The whole British public... seems to be in a state of great anxiety and excitement

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116-117. Changing attitudes were facilitated by the improving conditions for the ordinary soldier in the decades before the Crimean War, see: John H. Rumsby. *'Discipline, System and Style': The Sixteenth Lancers and British Soldiering in India 1822-1846*. Solihull: Helion, 2015, 302.

<sup>70</sup> Lalumia, *Realism and Politics*, 66.

<sup>71</sup> *Diary of Richard Lowry*, 26 September 1855. Tyne and Wear Archives, DF.Low/1/22.

<sup>72</sup> *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper*, 11 February 1855, editorial; J. Conacher. *Britain and the Crimea, 1855-56: Problems of War and Peace*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1987, 18.

<sup>73</sup> Ponting, *Crimean War*, 25; *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper*, 28 January 1855, editorial.

<sup>74</sup> Spiers, *Army and Society*, 100; *Morning Chronicle*, 19 August 1854, editorial.

respecting the condition of the forces in the Crimea'.<sup>75</sup> Soldiers' welfare became an overriding concern, as was the need to improve their lot in future; to treat the soldier as

'a useful citizen of a free and enlightened state... look to his comfort, to his education and to his dignity – and make his profession in all respects such as an honourable and well-conducted man will find it his worth to follow'.<sup>76</sup>

The battles of Alma and Inkerman were hailed as 'soldiers' victories' and the demonstrably 'democratic' Victoria Cross was instituted, available to officers and men alike; among its first recipients were sixteen privates, four gunners and one sapper, two seamen and three boatswains.<sup>77</sup>

Lucy Bates has perceptively argued that much of the high-profile royal response to the war was driven by a perceived need to fit in with prevailing middle-class political attitudes and reactions to the war, as demonstrated by the institution of the egalitarian Victoria Cross with its highly-publicised award ceremonies.<sup>78</sup> Similarly, Queen Victoria and members of her family publicly received wounded, ordinary soldiers, which chimed with popular sympathy for their plight, aroused by press reports and pictorial representations of the returned and wounded (fig. 1); in return, the periodical publication *Punch* and artists portrayed Victoria as the representative of the nation's esteem for its soldiers.<sup>79</sup> The concern for the ordinary soldier anticipated the future emphasis of war memorialisation but was not reflected in the primary civic memorialisation of the Crimean War – the captured Russian cannon.

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<sup>75</sup> Karl Marx. *The Eastern Question. A Reprint of Letters Written 1853-1856. Dealing with the Events of the Crimean War*. New York: Burt Franklin, 1968, 506; Figes, *Crimea*, 304.

<sup>76</sup> *The Times*. 6 December 1854, editorial; Anderson, 'Christian Militarism', 47.

<sup>77</sup> Figes, *Crimea*, 471-472; Spiers, *Army and Society*, 116; *The Times*, 6 December 1854, editorial; Bates, *Curating the Crimea*, 137-138;

<sup>78</sup> Bates, *Curating the Crimea*, 101-150, 126-137.

<sup>79</sup> Bates, *Curating the Crimea*, 77; *Punch* 20 January 1855, editorial; Lalumia, *Realism*, 77, 83. Queen Victoria's apparent coalescence with popular attitudes towards the soldiers can be seen in her purchase of the two paintings in Figures 1 and 2.



Figure 1: George Housman Thomas, 'Queen Victoria and Prince Albert inspecting wounded Grenadier Guardsmen at Buckingham Palace 20 February 1855'. (Royal Collection Trust).

War is a complex issue to make sense of – politically, intellectually, imaginatively or emotionally – and, stimulated by the press, people turned to the simplifying lens of popular art and cultural representations for guidance. Trudi Tate asserts that the Crimea marks a turning point in modern representations of war, with the myriad cultural depictions of the conflict having a tangible effect upon the conduct of the war and the politics which surrounded it.<sup>80</sup>

Analysis of the region's cultural interpretations of the war reveals little emphasis on patriotism or notions of national identity, few symptoms of triumphalism and no noticeable rancour towards Russia. The tableaux of *Allen's Great Pictorial, Mechanical and Pyrotechnical Diorama of the Siege of Sebastopol* at South Shields were more typical: 'The Harbour of Balaclava, Trenches before Sebastopol, Sailors' battery, Winter in the Crimea, the camp during the snowstorm, the Balaclava railway'.<sup>81</sup> These prosaic depictions mirrored the correspondents' narratives that dominated the national

<sup>80</sup> Tate, 'On Not Knowing Why', 162.

<sup>81</sup> *Shields Gazette*, 13 July 1855, advertisement.

conversation during the siege, concentrating on the harsh conditions of the siege and the sprawling logistical effort that supported the besiegers.

To an extent, traditional notions of hierarchical heroism can be identified in paintings and photographs displayed and sold as engravings. Thomas Jones Barker's *The Allied Commanders before the Siege of Sebastopol*, exhibited at Turner's Fine Arts Repository in Newcastle in May 1859, profiled ninety commanders and general officers, including Lord Raglan, who appeared 'every inch the gentleman'.<sup>82</sup> Similarly, many of Roger Fenton's 350 photographs displayed at Phillipson and Hare's Gallery in Newcastle featured individual portraits of senior officers, and were promoted as profiles of officers as much as first-hand views from the front.<sup>83</sup>

Noting the pictorial worship of aristocratic generals, Ulrich Keller has stated that "realistic' let alone 'anti-aristocratic' modes of narration were nowhere in sight'.<sup>84</sup> This rather depends on which pictures are looked at. Reinforcing Matthew Lalumia's argument that artists mirrored the public's anti-aristocratic bias in their war-related paintings, the pictures and photographs exhibited in Newcastle suggest a more nuanced scenario and, if not an 'unprecedented democratic tone', a more even-handed representation of the war beyond the merely traditional.<sup>85</sup>

The promotion and reception of Joseph Noel Paton's *'Home! The Return from the Crimea'* (fig. 2), exhibited at Turner's Gallery in Newcastle, play heavily on its depiction of the small-scale and immediate human cost of the war, rather than its glory.<sup>86</sup> 'Commemorative of the services and sufferings of our brave soldiers in the late war', it depicted a weary and wounded Guardsman returning to his 'humble dwelling' and his 'wife too full of tears' and aged mother; numerous elements within the painting alluded to

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<sup>82</sup> *Newcastle Guardian*, 14 May 1859, editorial.

<sup>83</sup> *Newcastle Courant* 7 March 1857, editorial.

<sup>84</sup> Keller, *Ultimate Spectacle*, 50.

<sup>85</sup> Lalumia, *Realism and Politics*, 76-77, 80.

<sup>86</sup> For a longer critical assessment of art and the war, including the wartime domestic genre paintings, see Lalumia, 75-112.

the impact both on this low-ranking soldier and those left at home, ‘which will rivet the attention and excite the sympathy of every beholder’.<sup>87</sup>



Figure 2: Joseph Noel Paton, ‘Home! The Return from the Crimea’ (1859). (Royal Collection Trust).

Even Barker’s *The Allied Commanders before the Siege of Sebastopol* revealed on closer analysis a (literally) more diverse picture, the *Newcastle Guardian* noting the range of lesser characters placed around the war’s chief protagonists: Dragoon Guardsmen, a mounted English lady, a wounded highlander, a female *Cantiniere* giving brandy to a wounded French soldier, and English and French soldiers fraternizing.<sup>88</sup>

In light of wartime reactions and representations of the war, its memorialisation via cannons appears paradoxical. A key motivation of memorials of all wars, conscious or otherwise, is to re-unify a community

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<sup>87</sup> *Newcastle Guardian*, 7 March 1857, advertisement and editorial.

<sup>88</sup> *Newcastle Guardian*, 7 March 1857, editorial.

that has been traumatised or divided by conflict. Cannons, captured from the enemy, were emphatically triumphal and warlike – as critics noted. Their bellicose and divisive elements were exacerbated by atypical and opaque organisational processes which undermined the prospect of community-wide support.

## **2.2 The Sebastopol Cannon Memorials and their Historiographical Context**

The wars against Napoleonic France (1803-1815) generated memorials to national heroes in the first half of the nineteenth century. Between 1805 and 1815, around six memorials to Admiral Nelson were erected in London; atypically, these were funded by government and, inspired by effective French propagandist activities, aimed to mobilise mass patriotic sentiment.<sup>89</sup> After the war, Parliament resolved to commemorate Nelson and all personnel who had fought at Trafalgar but, with enthusiasm waning and indecision about funding, plans for memorials were shelved.<sup>90</sup>

Reflecting the increase in notions of patriotism and hero-worship, the memorialisation of Napoleonic-era commander-heroes returned in subsequent decades, culminating in the late-1830s and 1840s, most conspicuously with Nelson's Column and numerous statues of the Duke of Wellington in London.<sup>91</sup> More significantly, if less prominently, was the erection of memorials commemorating Napoleonic-era heroes in provincial towns, often local men who had won national fame, as with the twenty-three

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<sup>89</sup> Paul A. Pickering and Alex Tyrrell. 'The Public Memorial of Reform: Commemoration and Contestation' in Paul A. Pickering and Alex Tyrrell (eds.) *Contested Sites: Commemoration, Memorial and Popular Politics in Nineteenth-Century Britain*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004, xiii, 12; Rodney Mace. *Trafalgar Square: Emblem of Empire*. London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1976, 49.

<sup>90</sup> Mace, *Trafalgar Square*, 56.

<sup>91</sup> Rausch, 'The Nation', 85; Alison Yarrington. *The Commemoration of the Hero, 1800–1864: Monuments to the British Victors of the Napoleonic Wars*. New York: Garland, 1988, ix; Benedict Read. *Victorian Sculpture*. New Haven: Yale University, 1982, 87; Pickering and Tyrrell, 'Public Memorial of Reform', 12.



foot memorial to Admiral Collingwood erected in Tynemouth in 1845 (fig. 3).<sup>92</sup>



Figure 3: John Graham Lough (sculptor), John Dobson, (architect), Monument to Admiral Lord Collingwood, Tynemouth (1845). Photo by author.<sup>93</sup>

Alison Yarrington dissects the phenomenon of these provincial memorials, identifying certain factors that underpinned them: uppermost was the growth of new, often industrial towns, with distinct civic identities expressed through public amenities and buildings; the new memorials were placed in key sites where they embellished civic space and could regularly be seen by as many of the inhabitants as possible.<sup>94</sup> This burgeoning municipal monumentalism transmitted both intense civic pride and national patriotism, associating the town and its civic leaders with the national body-politic; crucially, the memorials were usually funded by voluntary subscriptions organised by groups of local men, promoting a sense of

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<sup>92</sup> Paul Usherwood, Jeremy Beach and Catherine Morris. *Public Sculpture of North-East England*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2000, 207-209; Benedict Read. *Victorian Sculpture*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982, 91.

<sup>93</sup> For more on the Collingwood Monument, see Paul Usherwood, Jeremy Beach and Catherine Morris. *Public Sculpture of North-East England*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2000, 207-209.

<sup>94</sup> Yarrington vi-vii, 326; Derek Fraser. *Power and Authority in the Victorian City*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1979, 168-169.

communal endeavour.<sup>95</sup> For John Hutchinson, it was not the monarchical state, dominated by an aristocratic oligarchy and suspicious of popular mobilisation, that imposed the commemoration of national heroes; instead, it came from below, an expression of burgeoning British nationalism from the increasingly-powerful, provincial middle classes.<sup>96</sup> The sites for these provincial monuments were crucial: they were generally placed in central locations within the municipality, performing the dual narrative of fusing local and national pride with respectable moral virtue.<sup>97</sup>

In the aftermath of the Crimean War, many hundreds of plaques and memorials were erected by family members to commemorate individual soldiers in a variety of locations, primarily churchyards but also in communal areas such as town halls, squares and village greens.<sup>98</sup> Furlong et al write of numerous military and regimental memorials, located in churches, barracks and county-town cathedrals, devised and funded by officers and soldiers to commemorate their dead colleagues.<sup>99</sup>

In the limited historiography of nineteenth-century war memorialisation, Crimean memorials are often perceived as representing a change in how wars were memorialised, the start of a more egalitarian phase in the development of British war memorials.<sup>100</sup> Firstly, a democratic proliferation can be seen in the physical, literally-streel level normalisation of commemoration in the naming of roads and public houses after the key battles of the war: Inkerman Street, Balaklava Road or the Alma Inn.<sup>101</sup>

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<sup>95</sup> Yarrington, *Commemoration*, vi, xi, x.

<sup>96</sup> Hutchinson, *Nationalism and War*, 74; see also John M. MacKenzie, 'Nelson goes Global: The Nelson Myth in Britain and Beyond', in D. Cannadine (ed.) *Admiral Lord Nelson: Context and Legacy*. Houndsmill: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005, 144-165.

<sup>97</sup> Yarrington, *Commemoration of the Hero*, 332.

<sup>98</sup> Figes, *Crimea*, 467.

<sup>99</sup> Jane Furlong, Lorraine Knight and Simon Slocombe. "'They shall grow not old': An analysis of trends in memorialisation based on information held by the UK national inventory of war memorials', *Cultural Trends* (2002) 12:45, 26.

<sup>100</sup> Peter Donaldson. *Remembering the South African War: Britain and the Memory of the Anglo-Boer War, from 1899 to the Present*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2013, 11; King, *Memorials of the Great War*, 185-186; Figes, *Crimea*, 468; Yarrington, *Commemoration of the Hero*, 335-336.

<sup>101</sup> Sonia Batten. *Memorial Text Narratives in Britain, c. 1890-1930*. Unpublished PhD thesis: University of Birmingham, 2011, 30.

There was a similarly quotidian post-war trend for calling girls Florence (after Florence Nightingale) or Alma and boys Inkerman.<sup>102</sup>

Unlike the Napoleonic Wars and the almost simultaneous Indian Rebellion, there were no memorials to the commanders of the Crimean War; this is largely because none of them emerged from the conflict with sufficient prestige and such a move to celebrate the unpopular high command would have been contrary to public sentiment and would have likely met with strong opposition. An egalitarian shift can instead be seen in constructed memorials. The little-known Royal Naval Brigade's monument in Kensal Green cemetery was dedicated to all ranks of the brigade who died in the Crimea and individually named the 168 officers and men. It came shortly after the Chillianwalah column, erected in the Royal Hospital gardens in 1853, believed to be the first memorial to list the names of all ranks.<sup>103</sup> The naval memorial was organised and funded by surviving officers to memorialise all ranks, rather than a commander, its list of names giving a visible acknowledgment to the collective effort of all ranks. Reflecting the unconventionality of this, it was, according to the *Illustrated London News*, consequently prevented from being placed in 'either of our cathedrals or national establishments' and was erected instead in the suburban cemetery.<sup>104</sup>

Yarrington argues that Crimean memorials sought to commemorate the bravery and patriotism of the entire army and that the embodiment of the achievements of the ordinary soldier were a new departure in monumental statuary; their physical form differed from earlier memorials and prefigured later developments, most obviously in an absence of statues representing commanding officers – in large part reflecting the absence of heroic, successful and popular commanders in the field.<sup>105</sup> Historians have

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<sup>102</sup> Batten, *Memorial Text*, 30; Figes, *Crimea*, 479.

<sup>103</sup> King, *Memorials of the Great War*, 185.

<sup>104</sup> *ILN*, 3 January 1857, editorial. Replicating its wartime standpoint, the *ILN* approved of the memorial.

<sup>105</sup> Yarrington, *Commemoration of the Hero*, 336.

customarily cited John Bell's memorial to the regiments of Guards in London as embodying the modernising shift in form and focus and, while the influence of the Guards memorial justifies its place in the historiographical canon, the narrow focus on this quasi-national memorial makes for a somewhat distorted reputation for Crimean memorialisation.<sup>106</sup>



Figure 4: John Bell, The Guards Memorial (detail), London (1861). Photo by author.

Its bronze representations of three Guardsmen was the first portrayal of ordinary soldiers on a memorial (fig. 4).<sup>107</sup> The larger than life-size soldiers wear authentic contemporary uniforms and stand, as if guarding the granite cenotaph behind them, in resolute if informal solemnity. While not listing the names of the fallen, the memorial's inscription gives equal

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<sup>106</sup> Figes, *Crimea*, 468; Mark Connelly and Peter Donaldson. 'South African War Memorials in Britain: A Case Study of Memorialization in London and Kent', *War and Society*, 29:1 (May 2010), 22; Yarrington, *Commemoration of the Hero*, 335-336.

<sup>107</sup> Ken Inglis. *Sacred Places. War Memorials in the Australian Landscape*. Melbourne: Melbourne University Publishing, 2005, 14; Figes, *Crimea*, 468.

emphasis to all ranks: 'To the memory of 2,162 officers, non-com.d officers and privates of the Brigade of Guards who fell during the war with Russia 1854-6. Erected by their comrades'. With its austere monolith and literal representation of weapons of war, including actual mortars used at Sebastopol, Bell's memorial further anticipates subsequent 'democratising' developments in memorials.

Feeding into the memorial's mythologization, Figes sees the positioning of the monument opposite the column to the Duke of York, the ineffective aristocratic commander *par excellence*, as symbolic of the challenge to aristocratic leadership, so discredited by the setbacks of the war, although the high-status backgrounds of its organisers – senior Guards officers including the Duke of Cambridge – surely undermines Figes' assertion.<sup>108</sup> However, the memorial was different and new and, like the Chillianwalah column and the Royal Naval Brigade memorial, it was a military memorial which pioneered democratic changes that civic memorials later followed. This perhaps unexpected element to regimental memorials was arguably driven by a changing ethos within the officer class, typified by greater concern for the men's welfare.<sup>109</sup> It is possible that the shared experience of combat and guilt at their role in the deaths of their comrades were also motivating factors – as well as guilt at surviving, which would be replicated by civilians in civic memorials of later wars.

In what became the most prominent of all the war's memorials, the government sought to placate lingering hostile public opinion by intervening in the memorial's gestation. This proved counter-productive: as well as being disparaged for the monument's poor aesthetic quality (a reception common to many public monuments), the government attracted press censure

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<sup>108</sup> Figes, *Crimea*, 468. Moreover, the Duke of York was seen as the 'soldier's friend', see: *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edition (accessed 2 February 2020), H. M. Stephens, revised by John Van der Kiste: Frederick, Prince, Duke of York and Albany (1763-1827).

<sup>109</sup> Spiers, *Army and Society*, 29; Kenneth E. Hendrickson. *Making Saints: Religion and the Public Image of the British Army, 1809-1885*. London: Associated University Presses, 1998, 74.

replicating criticism of its mismanagement of the war.<sup>110</sup> *Punch* was at the vanguard, reviving attacks on the aristocratic officer class in its review of the finished memorial.<sup>111</sup> In a subsequent article 'The Guards Monument. As it is, And as it should be', *Punch* disparaged all aspects of public life, before branding the memorial 'a lie' whose inscription implied noble death in battle, thus concealing the real nature of the majority of deaths; it stated that 449 Guardsmen died in battle or of wounds, while 1,713 died from disease and malnutrition and demanded that the names of the battles of Alma, Inkerman and Sebastopol on the inscription be replaced by 'Fever, Dysentery and Cholera'.<sup>112</sup>

The historiography of the cannon memorials is limited. Ruth Rhynas Brown's anecdotal overview highlights the diversity of experience that typified each town's installation of the cannon.<sup>113</sup> Roger Bartlett and Roy Payne survey the logistical and political machinations that led to the cannons' distribution before concentrating on the case study of one cannon.<sup>114</sup> They rightly characterise the cannons as war trophies and emphasise the importance of contextual factors such as local politics. Hazel Conway mentions the Crimean cannons within the context of the burgeoning municipal parks, in which many were placed.<sup>115</sup> This chapter expands on the historiographical debate by placing the cannons in their post-war context, undertaking detailed analysis of their gestations and motivations to enable a deeper understanding of these trophy cum memorials.

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<sup>110</sup> An editorial in *Lloyd's Weekly* criticised the 'stone abortions in our public streets', 23 March 1862.

<sup>111</sup> *Punch*, 2 March 1861, editorial.

<sup>112</sup> *Punch*, 27 July 1861, editorial.

<sup>113</sup> Ruth Rhynas Brown. 'Cannon to the right of them, Cannon to the left of them, Cannon in front of them: the Crimean Trophy Guns in Britain and its Empire', *ICOMAM Magazine*, Issue 11 (Feb. 2014), 26-32.

<sup>114</sup> Roger Bartlett and Roy Payne. 'Britain's Crimean War Trophy Guns: The Case of Ludlow and the Marches', *History*, 99:337 (October 2014), 652-669.

<sup>115</sup> Hazel Conway. *People's Parks: The Design and Development of Victorian Parks in Britain*. Cambridge: CUP, 1991, 158-160.

The distribution of cannon throughout Britain was an unanticipated consequence of the enormous quantities of ordnance captured at Sebastopol in September 1855, which included three thousand pieces of (unmounted) artillery.<sup>116</sup> An Anglo-French commission was established to administer the division of captured materiel, the French eager to return cannons to France for public display.<sup>117</sup> Displays of captured trophies was not unusual, with the Russians having displayed captured allied guns in Odessa and Sebastopol; Bartlett and Payne suggest the French were partly motivated by a desire to avenge the display of captured Napoleonic cannon from 1812 in the Kremlin.<sup>118</sup> Although the British were less enthusiastic – Lord Panmure, Secretary of State for War, initially recommended the majority be thrown into Sebastopol harbour – cannons and other war trophies, were sent as ‘spoils’ and ‘curiosities’ to London from spring 1856 onwards.<sup>119</sup> *The Times* later stated that ninety four bronze and 1,079 iron guns arrived in Britain, along with ten bells removed from churches.<sup>120</sup>

Queen Victoria took a keen interest in the trophies and, after inspecting the captured guns stored at Woolwich Arsenal, ordered the public be allowed entry to view them, arousing great enthusiasm among visitors and press.<sup>121</sup> The government remained unsure what to do with the captured cannons; while conscious of their value as ‘spoils of war’ and ‘national mementoes’, Lord Panmure was wary of triumphalism: ‘I am averse to follow the French fashion and to parade the fruits of our conquest, and so keep open the sores of war after the healing hand of peace has been applied’.<sup>122</sup> It was presumed that some would be given to senior

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<sup>116</sup> Bartlett and Payne, ‘Crimean War Trophy Guns’, 653.

<sup>117</sup> Bartlett and Payne, ‘Crimean War Trophy Guns’, 656.

<sup>118</sup> Rhynas Brown, ‘Cannon to the right’, 26; Bartlett and Payne, ‘Crimean War Trophy Guns’, 656.

<sup>119</sup> George Douglas and George Ramsay. *The Panmure Papers, Being a Selection from the Correspondence of Fox Maule, Second Baron Panmure*. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1908, Vol. II, 90.

<sup>120</sup> *The Times*, 13 May 1858, editorial; see also Bartlett and Payne, ‘Crimean War Trophy Guns’, 657. Britain also sent approximately 300 guns to its wartime ally the Kingdom of Sardinia as a token of goodwill.

<sup>121</sup> *Newcastle Journal* 1 March 1856, editorial; *Teesdale Mercury* 27 February 1856, editorial. See also Bartlett and Payne, ‘Crimean War Trophy Guns’, 657.

<sup>122</sup> Bartlett and Payne, ‘Crimean War Trophy Guns’, 655-657.

commanders and members of the nobility but most would be ‘smelted for casting purposes’.<sup>123</sup> However, following an outcry at the apparent abandonment of the guns (‘lying neglected and covered in rust... contrast this with our gallant allies at Paris’), proposals were made within Cabinet for distribution of some of the guns to designated towns and cities, spearheaded by a reluctant Panmure.<sup>124</sup> It was agreed that towns with a population greater than 4,500 could receive two cannons, while smaller towns would be eligible for only one.<sup>125</sup>

Between 1857 and the early-1860s, towns took the initiative and requested cannons from the War Office. Approximately 240 cannons were distributed throughout Britain.<sup>126</sup> Allocation was not dependent on the town’s size or status: cities such as Glasgow and Liverpool, as well as smaller towns like Ludlow and Richmond, received cannons.<sup>127</sup> More important was the impetus within the community itself. Requests were sometimes made by the town council or, more often, independently by prominent members of the regional or municipal elite.<sup>128</sup> The cannons were commonly located in significant sites within the town, such as Cathedral Green at Ely and the market place in Wrexham. Coinciding with the peak in the creation of municipal parks, circa 1845-1859, many of the cannon trophies were located in new or recently-created parks, such as Peel Park in Salford and Bradford: the unveiling of the guns formed a central component in the inaugurations of both the People’s Park in Halifax in August 1857 and Vernon Park in Stockport on the fourth anniversary of the Battle of Alma, September 1858.<sup>129</sup>

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<sup>123</sup> *ILN*, 24 May 1856, editorial.

<sup>124</sup> *The Times*, 9 September 1856, editorial; Bartlett and Payne, ‘Crimean War Trophy Guns’, 660.

<sup>125</sup> Durham Record Office (DRO), D/LO/C177, Letter from General Jonathan Peel, Secretary for War in 1858, to Marquess of Londonderry, 5 May 1858.

<sup>126</sup> Bartlett and Payne, ‘Crimean War Trophy Guns’, 660; Rhynas Brown, ‘Cannon to the right’, 29.

<sup>127</sup> Bartlett and Payne, ‘Crimean War Trophy Guns’, 652-663; Rhynas Brown, ‘Cannon to the right’, 26-32.

<sup>128</sup> Rhynas Brown, ‘Cannon to the right’, 27.

<sup>129</sup> Conway, *People’s Parks*, 158.



Around twenty-two cannons were shipped to Ireland, twenty to Canada, and others to Australia, New Zealand, Gibraltar and Guyana.<sup>130</sup> Captured Russian cannons were melted down and used in the Guards Memorial on Waterloo Place and provided the metal for Victoria Cross medals.<sup>131</sup> In Puy-de-Dome, France, a colossal statue of the Virgin was cast from captured cannons from Sebastopol.<sup>132</sup> The guns' literal absorption into highly-significant commemorative devices testifies to their powerful symbolism as trophies, their ownership wrested from the enemy and their potency suppressed by the conquerors.

### **2.3 The Memorialisation Process**

Nine towns in the north-east received captured guns from Sebastopol: Berwick-upon-Tweed, Darlington, Durham, Hartlepool, Middlesbrough, Seaham, South Shields, Stockton-on-Tees and Sunderland.<sup>133</sup> Berwick, Durham and Stockton-on-Tees were traditional market- or county-towns but most were the types of expanding industrial and commercial centres where, as Simon Gunn argues, the construction of a bourgeois public sphere was most in evidence.<sup>134</sup> If not as large and therefore as advanced as Leeds or Manchester, for example, many were nonetheless dynamic and aspirational.<sup>135</sup> The region's largest town, Newcastle, did not request a cannon; there is no evidence why not although it is reasonable to surmise that the influence of the Foreign Affairs Committee, and the prominence of its members (particularly Attwood, Cowen and Crawshay) in civic affairs, stymied enthusiasm for any memorial to a conflict they had so strongly criticised.

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<sup>130</sup> Rhynas Brown, 'Cannon to the right', 29.

<sup>131</sup> Bartlett and Payne, 'Crimean War Trophy Guns', 661.

<sup>132</sup> Bartlett and Payne, 'Crimean War Trophy Guns', 656.

<sup>133</sup> See Appendix 1, page 306, for details of the nine case studies.

<sup>134</sup> Gunn, 'The Public Sphere', 16.

<sup>135</sup> John Garrard. *Leadership and Power in Victorian Industrial Towns, 1830-80*. Manchester: MUP, 1983, 23-26; D. Eastwood. *Government and Community in the English Provinces, 1700-1870*. Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1997, 72.

In a philanthropic society underpinned by liberal ideals which largely adhered to precepts of minimal state intervention, it was not expected that national or local government would underwrite civic development – or activities like the transportation or mounting of the cannons.<sup>136</sup> Instead, well-established patterns of fundraising existed to underwrite local amenities and associational institutions. Described as ‘subscriber democracy’ by Robert Morris, it raised funds for contemporaneous bastions of urban middle-class culture like literary and philosophical societies and mechanics’ institutes, and for communal philanthropic projects like hospitals and churches; the wartime Patriotic Fund was a recent precedent.<sup>137</sup>

Typically, some wealthy, prominent men, interested in a civic project like a park or library would call a public meeting, perhaps under the auspices of the mayor.<sup>138</sup> This appointed a committee which initiated a subscription list open to all and publicised by the local press. These and other high-status individuals would make a contribution which was emulated by others, filtering through the local community and garnering donations from other social strata in diminishing amounts. If successful, the process climaxed in an inauguration ceremony which followed a processional display of participants and other civic stakeholders.<sup>139</sup> Protagonists instinctively believed they represented the wider population and that through their actions they brought credit to their municipality.

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<sup>136</sup> Andrew 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, 106.

<sup>137</sup> R.J. Morris. *Class, Sect and Party. The Making of the British Middle Class, Leeds 1820-1850*. Manchester: MUP, 1990, 148-149, 184-190, 323-329; R.J. Morris. *Class, Power and Social Structure in British Nineteenth Century Towns*. Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1986, 286-8; R. Trainor, “Urban Elites in Victorian Britain”, *Urban History* 12 (1985), 3-4; Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes*, 419-421.

<sup>138</sup> Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes*, 421

<sup>139</sup> Garrard, *Leadership and Power*, 151.

There were important justificatory characteristics to the process. Above all it was based on consensus and consent. Though the protagonists hailed from pre-existing hierarchical structures of authority and therefore consisted mostly of those already in positions of local influence, there was still the perception of accountability, transparency and that it authentically represented the community as a whole.<sup>140</sup> John Garrard rightly argues that ‘most urban needs and problems, even when addressed by charitable effort, had to be met collectively – and thus required much wider levels of consent’, which, as it entailed expense, might not be given.<sup>141</sup>

In his pioneering research, Morris claimed that urban elites utilised this ‘voluntary society’ as a means, not of suppressing an uppity working class, but of overcoming the divisions within the middle classes in order to maintain a degree of hegemonic authority: by putting aside the often-acrimonious and profound political or religious rifts, it enabled a diversity of opinions and interests amongst this class to be accommodated, the security of property to be upheld, and unifying social action to be undertaken.<sup>142</sup> There was also a range of more tangible benefits that nurtured the symbiotic relationship between social and political power that pervaded municipal politics at all levels. Participation bestowed a highly-visible legitimisation from one’s associates and community in the extraordinarily public arena that embodied the nineteenth-century industrial town: as Garrard noted, what was important was not merely that an individual should be a successful businessman or an active philanthropist, but that he should personally be seen to be so by a large, attentive and admiring audience – not least through his role in processions and unveilings.<sup>143</sup> It was an act of social elevation and social control: respectability, status and an opportunity

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<sup>140</sup> Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes*, 419; Donaldson, *Remembering the South African War*, 11; Catherine Moriarty, ‘Private Grief and Remembrance: British First World War Monuments’ in M. Evans and K. Lunn (eds.), *War and Memory in the Twentieth Century*. Oxford: Berg, 1997, 127.

<sup>141</sup> Garrard, ‘Urban Elites’, 596.

<sup>142</sup> Morris, *Class, Sect, Party*, 4-5, 12, 166-167, 323; Pickering and Tyrell, ‘Public Memorial of Reform’, 9; Gunn, *Public Culture*, 15.

<sup>143</sup> Garrard, *Leadership and Power*, 23-26.

for widespread influence in an environment where many employers reinforced their paternalistic image by involvement in such activities.<sup>144</sup>

While this type of voluntary, public fundraising underpinned subsequent memorials, including those of the twentieth century, the process behind the installation of the cannons in the north-east departed in a number of significant ways from such precedents; these divergences had a fundamental impact on the cannons' popularity and success, and illustrate the fundamental lack of clarity over their purpose.

The cannon process appears altogether less accountable and less representative, taking on the clandestine, nebulous air of a private rather than public initiative. Generally, it was individuals that requested cannons from the War Office, as at Berwick, Seaham, Sunderland and South Shields (there is no evidence of who requested the cannons in Durham, Hartlepool or Middlesbrough). Stockton and Darlington councils requested cannon for their towns, though the latter seems more motivated by attempts to scupper and discredit the Quaker majority on council. In effect, cannon advocates were the same 'type' of people who dominated other 'subscriber democracy' activities – the urban squirearchy of the industrial, commercial and professional bourgeoisie – but who used independent, private activities to impose the cannons on their locality.<sup>145</sup> Some of this lack of accountability was caused by the possibility of opponents – religious and political – seeking to obstruct any such move, as in Sunderland and Berwick. Elsewhere, it reflected or sought to bypass local indifference.

Crucially, funding was not raised via the accepted template of public subscription. Instead, the installation of the cannon – their transport from London, their mounting and inauguration (where this occurred) – was paid for by individual supporters, with some occasional topping-up from council funds. At Seaham, the Marchioness of Londonderry financed and organised

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<sup>144</sup> Garrard, *Leadership and Power*, 47.

<sup>145</sup> Garrard, *Leadership and Power*, 586; Morris, *Class, Sect, Party*, 166-167.

the inauguration of the cannon.<sup>146</sup> This reflected the unusual dominance the Londonderrys held over this community: local aristocratic landowners who exploited the area's rich coal resources and managed the interlinked aspects of its economic development in a quasi-feudal manner.<sup>147</sup>

In complaining about the mayor of Durham's lethargy, a correspondent to the *Durham Chronicle* suggested – with a dash of wartime assertiveness – the process revert to a more reliable fundraising format but administered by men from outside the traditional civic arena: 'Let some of the class from which our soldiers are obtained form themselves into a committee and open a subscription list, and they will soon find that there is some spirit left us yet'.<sup>148</sup> In Darlington, 'Some gentlemen and private individuals' had initially raised the money to have a cannon brought to the town.<sup>149</sup> There were later calls for a subscription fund and claims (and counter-claims) that such a fund existed to cover the costs of mounting the gun in the park, followed by demands that the council step in.<sup>150</sup> Two years after the cannon arrived, a subscription fund was launched but the cannon was never officially unveiled, effectively quashed by the locally-dominant Quakers, whose deeply-felt pacifism led them to oppose the installation of weapons of war in their town.<sup>151</sup>

At Sunderland, Mayor Ranson and Councillor Allison asked local MP Henry Fenwick to intercede with his parliamentary colleague Lord Panmure

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<sup>146</sup> See correspondence on the presentation of a Russian gun to Seaham between Lady Londonderry and Lord Panmure: D/Lo/C 177, DRO.

<sup>147</sup> M. Kirby. *Men of Business and Politics: The Rise and Fall of the Quaker Pease Dynasty of North-East England, 1700–1943*. London: Allen and Unwin, 1984, 8. For information on the Londonderrys' economic power, see: McCord, *North East England*, 114–115; T. McNee and D. Angus, *Seaham Harbour: the first 100 years 1828–1928*. Consett: Tom McNee, 1989, 18; *ODNB*, online edition (accessed 20 March 2019), K.D. Reynolds: Frances Anne Vane, marchioness of Londonderry (1800–1865).

<sup>148</sup> *Durham Chronicle*, 20 March 1857, letter from 'Gratitude'.

<sup>149</sup> *Darlington and Stockton Times*, 30 June 1860, letter from 'a Tradesman'.

<sup>150</sup> *Durham County Advertiser*, 9 April 1857, editorial; *Darlington Telegraph and Guisborough Mercury* [*Darlington Telegraph*], 30 June 1858, letter from 'A Tradesman'; *Darlington Telegraph*, 7 July 1858, letter from H. Dunn; *Darlington Telegraph*, 20 April 1861, editorial.

<sup>151</sup> Mary H. Pease. *Henry Pease: A Short History of his Life*. London: Headley Brothers, 1897, 51; George H. Gorman. *Introducing Quakers*. London: Quaker Home Service, 1969, 51, 57–58.

to obtain two cannons for the town.<sup>152</sup> They oversaw the process, informing the Corporation of their action as a *fait accompli* and thereafter steering the process under the auspices of the council, which sought and assumed approval from members and elsewhere.<sup>153</sup> Ranson paid for the new gun carriages and donated them to the Corporation; others from the same municipal milieu (a brewer, solicitor, ship owner, general carrier and a member of the local gentry) contributed in kind, such as lending the twelve horses that pulled the gun carriages at the inauguration.<sup>154</sup> This council assumption of responsibility, effectively a fusion of private donation and public administration, occurred to some degree in all the towns except Berwick and Seaham.

This breach with subscriber democracy and its perceived pan-society inclusivity had, except for the exceptional case of Seaham, damaging repercussions for the reception and effectiveness of the cannons. Only Seaham escaped the obfuscation, delays, lack of enthusiasm and controversy that affected, to varying degrees, the gestations of most of the other municipal locations. Furthermore, only Seaham, Stockton, and Sunderland held unveiling ceremonies, the tangible, climactic validation of comparable philanthropic initiatives (and most later war memorials); elsewhere, the guns were unceremoniously placed within the towns, sometimes to be moved in the subsequent months and years (as at Durham, Hartlepool, and Middlesbrough).<sup>155</sup>

The repercussions were magnified by negative or, more generally, ambivalent attitudes to the Crimean War that caused division and acrimony, and lessened the probability of the local middle classes coalescing in the

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<sup>152</sup> *Sunderland Herald*, 10 April 1857, editorial.

<sup>153</sup> *Sunderland Herald*, 24 April 1857, editorial.

<sup>154</sup> *Shields Gazette*, 14 May 1857, editorial; *Sunderland Herald*, 8 May 1857, editorial; *Hagar and Co.'s Directory of the County of Durham*, Nottingham: Stevenson & Co., 1851; *Ward's Directory of Northern England*. Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Robert Ward, 1859.

<sup>155</sup> *Newcastle Journal*, 9 October 1858, editorial; Rhynas Brown, 'Cannon to the right', 29; See Appendix 1.

war's aftermath. Here again, the Crimean cannons are different from subsequent memorials, which sought and more or less achieved a degree of post-war consensus. This highlights the mixed motivations and politicised elements of the cannons (heightened, to an extent, by the lack of consolatory characteristics) and especially the contexts – the existing social, political and religious divisions – within the towns where the cannons were installed.

## **2.4 Purpose and Motivations**

War memorials are motivated by a multiplicity of factors, whether consolatory or the myriad elements that can be classified as political. While this thesis argues that war memorials between 1854 and 1910 were generally driven more by political than consolatory motivations, the Sebastopol cannons are exceptional in their relative lack of consolatory characteristics. This is not to say that consolatory aspects were entirely absent: speakers at the unveiling of the cannon at Seaham referred to the suffering experienced by those at the front and the bereaved, indicating that, to an extent, the cannon was to act as a memorial to those that died or served in the Crimea. Earl Vane said they too easily forgot those 'who fought and bled for their country's cause. But still they must, when they contemplated the trophy, remember those who had bled and died in their country's cause'.<sup>156</sup> His brother and Crimean veteran Lord Adolphus said the cannon was '—as he was sure it would be in every town in England where guns of that description had been placed—a remembrance of that army with whom they sympathised in their distresses', a reference to the wartime controversy over the plight of the soldiers at Sebastopol.<sup>157</sup> At the cannon's unveiling in Stockton, the mayor told the assembled crowd they should 'look upon it not only as a trophy of that eventful war, but as a

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<sup>156</sup> *Durham County Advertiser*, 6 August 1858, editorial

<sup>157</sup> *Durham County Advertiser*, 6 August 1858, editorial.

monument also to the brave spirits who sacrificed their lives during its progress'.<sup>158</sup>

Acknowledgment of death and sacrifice seem, to an extent, to have been implicit in the cannon memorials. But analysis of the organisational processes of the cannons has not revealed other references to consolatory motivation. Indeed, speakers' references to consolatory aspects at Seaham and Stockton were subsumed within other narratives – and overshadowed by the inherently festive atmosphere of these communal events.<sup>159</sup>

There was some popular demand for memorials that expressly commemorated the fallen. *The Darlington Telegraph* mentioned proposals for a 'memorial to the brave men of Darlington and its vicinity who fell in the Crimea, India and China, whilst fighting for their country' but no other reference to this can be found.<sup>160</sup> A correspondent to the *Durham Chronicle* wrote that 'the heroes of the Crimean campaign were... worthy of having their memories perpetuated and their principles and actions revered'.<sup>161</sup> The cannons did not transmit this consolatory impulse; they were trophies, more war souvenir than memorial to the dead. The two proposals also demonstrate an urge to acknowledge the wartime contribution made by the locality which is otherwise mostly absent.

The relative lack of consolatory emphasis could be considered unusual for the aftermath of a conflict that had seen unprecedented popular participation and a sense of stakeholdership, and which provoked real concern for ordinary soldiers. The absence of consolatory characteristics can be attributed to various factors. The low number of wartime fatalities meant less impact on local communities and therefore reduced the need for communal bereavement. As shown by Seaham and Stockton, speeches at

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<sup>158</sup> *Newcastle Daily Chronicle* {*Daily Chronicle*}, 11 November 1858, editorial.

<sup>159</sup> *Sunderland Herald*, 6 August 1858, editorial; *Daily Chronicle*, 11 November 1858, editorial account of Stockton unveiling describes 'a day of festivity'.

<sup>160</sup> *Darlington Telegraph*, 6 April 1861, editorial.

<sup>161</sup> *Durham Chronicle*, 20 March 1857, letter from 'Gratitude'.



inauguration ceremonies tended to feature some acknowledgment of loss and suffering but only three of the cannons in the north-east were ceremoniously unveiled, preventing the opportunity for such discourse to be aired. There was no real precedent for widespread municipally-sanctioned symbols of communal grief for the cannons to adhere to. Their warlike nature and function also negated the appropriateness and possibility of incorporating consolatory elements – cannons were not funereal objects, quite the reverse. Later war memorials, commemorating different types of wars and fought within the context of a changed society, would incorporate elements of consolation – tokenistic or otherwise – and a democratisation of sacrifice that enabled reception and interactions to crystallise around this unifying, politically-neutral component.

The lack of consolatory emphasis furthermore contributed to a lack of clarity about their function: what purpose did the cannon memorials serve? An editorial in the *Illustrated Berwick Journal* summed up the situation in Berwick: 'It has certainly from start to last been a most unfortunate piece of ordnance... Nobody seems to know what is to be done with it and everybody seems to say "I wish I had never seen it"'.<sup>162</sup>

Encapsulating the ambiguity of purpose was the confused terminology that described the cannons. A common epithet was simply 'the Russian gun'.<sup>163</sup> Another was 'trophy', itself suggestive of the unavoidably triumphal nature of a cannon as a memento and how it differed from later war commemoration: booty rather than memorial. Trophy could be used positively or negatively, depending on the observer's viewpoint: at the Seaham unveiling, speakers referred to the 'splendid', 'beautiful', and 'magnificent' trophy and at the Sunderland unveiling as 'trophies of the great victory' and trophies of triumph';<sup>164</sup> opponents in Darlington referred

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<sup>162</sup> *Illustrated Berwick Journal*, 15 February 1862, editorial.

<sup>163</sup> *Stockton and Hartlepool Mercury*, 6 November 1858, editorial.

<sup>164</sup> *Sunderland Herald*, 6 August 1858, editorial; *Durham County Advertiser*, 6 August 1858, editorial; *Gateshead Observer*, 16 May 1857, editorial; *Sunderland Herald*, 15 May 1857, editorial.

to the town's cannon as the 'despised Crimean Trophy' and in Berwick as 'those absurd and contemptible trophies'.<sup>165</sup> Elsewhere, the cannons were also referred to as 'mementoes of the glorious victories achieved by us' and 'memorials of triumph' and 'memento of our estimation of British valour in that memorable campaign'.<sup>166</sup>

Appropriating functioning cannon, captured from the enemy, as a means of commemorating a conflict was in itself inherently belligerent and there was clearly an element of triumphalism (fig. 5) in wanting to display cannons in a town. Replicating the fears of Lord Panmure, local opponents often criticised their unavoidably provocative and warlike narrative. At a council meeting in Darlington, its Quaker Chairman John Pease attacked the entire concept of the war trophies, saying he was 'sorry that every Russian who came to this country should be insulted by the sight of these things wherever he went'.<sup>167</sup> A correspondent to the *Illustrated Berwick Journal* damned the town's cannon as 'an emblem of death', while the editor bemoaned that 'a great people' had to 'foist up their reputation by devices which only have an exasperating effect on the minds of enemies and inspire something akin to contempt in the breasts of friends'.<sup>168</sup> In choosing what was for many a provocative and inappropriate symbol, advocates of the guns were, in some towns, unlikely to unify its middle class – indeed, as will be argued, it is possible that the cannons were purposefully provocative to opponents in deeply divided Sunderland and Darlington.

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<sup>165</sup> *Darlington Telegraph*, 23 March 1860, letter from 'Brown Bess'; *Illustrated Berwick Journal*, 15 May 1859, editorial.

<sup>166</sup> *Gateshead Observer*, 16 May 1857, editorial; *Newcastle Journal*, 16 May 1857, editorial; *Darlington Telegraph*, 23 March 1860, editorial.

<sup>167</sup> *Darlington and Stockton Times*, 11 May 1861, editorial.

<sup>168</sup> *Illustrated Berwick Journal*, 15 May 1858, editorial.



Figure 5: Russian imperial eagle on Crimean cannon, Middlesbrough. Photo by author.

In rare glorification of the combat the guns had experienced, it was claimed that the Sunderland cannons were ‘excellent trophies’ because they bore the marks of British ordnance on their muzzles – anathema to the vocal opponents there.<sup>169</sup> Patriotic or nationalistic elements were not especially pervasive during the organisational process, in part because, as Peter Mandler has argued, serious notions of English identity lagged behind those of other European countries, where new revolutionary elites sought to mobilise a popular following.<sup>170</sup> There was generally an absence of the hubristic superiority and national self-confidence that stemmed from being the world’s foremost nation and certainly the braggadocio of late-century militaristic patriotism was absent.<sup>171</sup> The humiliations of the war and the tentativeness of the cannon process occurring within a potentially hostile environment likely contributed to this.

<sup>169</sup> *Sunderland Herald*, 24 April 1857, editorial.

<sup>170</sup> Peter Mandler. “Race” and “Nation” in Mid-Victorian Thought’, in Stefan Collini, Richard Whatmore and Brian Young (eds.) *History, Religion and Culture: British Intellectual History 1750–1950*. Cambridge: CUP, 2000, 225.

<sup>171</sup> Peter Mandler. *The English National Character: The History of an Idea from Edmund Burke to Tony Blair*. London: Yale University Press, 2006, 65.

Seaham was again an uncontested exception, explained by its aristocratic rather than municipal inception. At the unveiling, Earl Vane acknowledged a victorious, nationalistic narrative of the cannon, which:

cannot fail to keep alive amongst us a spirit of patriotism; for it is the memorial of a triumph made glorious to England, not only by the magnanimity which led her to engage in the war, but also by her heroism, which that war called forth.<sup>172</sup>

Two years after its end, he and other speakers at Seaham still sought to justify the war and Britain's honourable role in it, through the wartime justificatory criticism of the late Tsar Nicholas I, his lack of legitimacy and his aim of imperial aggrandisement.<sup>173</sup> Lord Adolphus Vane sought to defend the cannons' installation against accusations that they were triumphalist and 'hurtful to Russian feelings', suggesting Russia had benefited from the war and the enlightened rule of the new Tsar Alexander II – a benevolent effect on Russia as the Londonderrys were on Seaham.<sup>174</sup>

Numerous minor details at the Seaham inauguration reinforced links to patriotic pride and national identity, projecting Seaham's place in the national body-politic: the use of a naval ensign to cover the unveiled cannon and the traditional men-of-war costumes of the seamen guarding it, the playing of the national anthem and the gratitude given to the Queen for her presentation of the gun to Seaham – the latter reflective of the aristocratic nature of the Seaham unveiling.<sup>175</sup> At Sunderland, similar trappings of national ardour appeared at the unveiling, such as union flags, as well as those of the wartime allies, and renditions of the national anthem, all taking place in front of a large figurative statue of Britannia – arguably reflective of a more civic-minded patriotism.<sup>176</sup>

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<sup>172</sup> *Durham County Advertiser*, 6 August 1858, editorial.

<sup>173</sup> *Durham County Advertiser*, 6 August 1858, editorial.

<sup>174</sup> *Durham County Advertiser*, 6 August 1858, editorial.

<sup>175</sup> *Durham County Advertiser*, 6 August 1858, editorial.

<sup>176</sup> *Newcastle Courant*, 15 May 1857, editorial.

Earl Vane hoped that ‘should any enemy dare to molest their shores’, the cannon, facing out to sea on the Seaham seafront, would serve a didactic and even practical purpose: that ‘the young would feel a proud emulation to follow in the steps of those gallant warriors and heroes who had gone before them’ so that ‘many stalwart hands and gallant hearts’ would ‘serve and man the gun before him’.<sup>177</sup> The question of the defence of the north-east’s coastline by volunteers would re-surface in the early 1880s.<sup>178</sup>

The memorial as didactic device was a characteristic that would be replicated in later memorials though generally not in other Crimean War cannon, despite fears of the expansionist Napoleon III.<sup>179</sup> Vane’s notion of the cannon as working armament, ready for community defence, was unusual, though Rhynas Brown showed that many cannons had an afterlife of festive firing to celebrate national or local events, including Mafeking Night in 1900.<sup>180</sup> However, there are examples – and accusations from opponents – of the cannons being used by local Volunteer Corps and the rise of the Volunteer Force in the late-1850s had an influence on the cannon movement.

Initiated as a cheap and efficient answer to the problem of national defence and motivated by frequent concern over possible invasion, the Volunteer movement was also a middle-class led attempt to halt perceived national degeneration in an industrialised society; as Hugh Cunningham noted, the Force was ‘the military expression of the spirit of self-help, Victorian capitalism in arms’.<sup>181</sup> Volunteers were both citizens and soldiers, a notion that would become increasingly important as the electorate

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<sup>177</sup> *Durham County Advertiser*, 6 August 1858, editorial.

<sup>178</sup> See Chapter 4.

<sup>179</sup> Parry, *Politics of Patriotism*, 212; Hugh Cunningham. *The Volunteer Force: A Social and Political History, 1859–1908*. London: Croom Helm, 1975, 5,7.

<sup>180</sup> Rhynas Brown, ‘Cannon to the right’, 29-30.

<sup>181</sup> Cunningham, *Volunteer Force*, 5; Beckett, *Citizen Soldiers*, 39. See also T. Hughes. ‘The Volunteer’s Catechism’, *Macmillan’s Magazine*, July 1860, 191-199; John Martineau. ‘Volunteering, Past and Present’, *Macmillan’s Magazine*, September 1860, 394-403.

expanded. Advocates praised the movement for encouraging obedience, self-respect and diverting men from less respectable pursuits.<sup>182</sup> A radical vein, with forebears in Thomas Paine, Major Cartwright and the Chartists, supported the Volunteers, cherishing its status as a citizens' army and ensuring the service of some Volunteers with Garibaldi in Italy in 1860.<sup>183</sup> Critics argued it was a tool of the local elites, whose dominance especially before the 1860s determined its social composition.<sup>184</sup> They accused the movement of diverting popular attention away from social reform and of 'martializing' society, the narrowing of the gulf between soldier and citizen to be resisted.<sup>185</sup> Moreover, opponents saw the Volunteers as propagating a Conservative and Anglican outlook in the hitherto diverse industrial employer elite.<sup>186</sup> It was, in other words, another battleground for the political wings of society, or more pertinently in the north-east, for the wings of the Liberal party, to contest.

The participation of Volunteers in the cannon process ensured controversy over the cannons spread there. In Berwick, Captain Gordon, who led the cannon process, was a Volunteer (as well as a future Tory MP).<sup>187</sup> This synergy between the two 'movements' in Berwick led to the cannon being used as part of gun drill by the Volunteers and donations for the mounting of the gun being given at the Corps' annual general meeting.<sup>188</sup> Volunteers were also prominent cannon advocates in Darlington, where the struggle between supporters and opponents of the cannon was exacerbated by the strong Quaker element to the opposition, broadening the controversy further to encompass notions of patriotism and the oppressive

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<sup>182</sup> Beckett, *Citizen Soldiers*, 33; Cunningham, *Volunteer Force*, 1, 28-29.

<sup>183</sup> Cunningham, *Volunteer Force*, 108; John Keane. *Tom Paine: A Political Life*. London: Bloomsbury, 1995, 167, 198; Ian Beckett. *Riflemen Form: A Study of the Rifle Volunteer Movement, 1859-1908*. Aldershot: Ogilby Trusts, 1982, 196; Malcolm Chase. *Chartism: A New History*. Manchester: MUP, 2007, 339; Marcella Pellegrino Sutcliffe. 'British Red Shirts: A History of the Garibaldi Volunteers (1860)', in Nir Arielli and Bruce Collins (eds.) *Transnational Soldiers: Foreign Military Enlistment in the Modern Era*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013, 213-215.

<sup>184</sup> Cunningham, *Volunteer Force*, 18, 69.

<sup>185</sup> Cunningham, *Volunteer Force*, 21.

<sup>186</sup> Beckett, *Citizen Soldiers*, 39.

<sup>187</sup> *Illustrated Berwick Journal*, 15 May 1858, editorial.

<sup>188</sup> *Illustrated Berwick Journal*, 25 May, 8 June 1861, editorial.

Quaker dominance of local society.<sup>189</sup> The Volunteers' advocacy of the cannon and the actual or (sarcastically-) suggested use of the cannon as part of their gunnery practice became an opportunity for satirical scorn from opponents of both cannon and Volunteers.<sup>190</sup>

Though distinct in many ways, the Crimean cannons also had numerous similarities to later memorials. Civic pride, and its multifarious elements, was one such universal theme. There is, perhaps, a certain inevitability about this; the Crimean War and its aftermath occurred in a period that epitomised mid-Victorian Liberalism and urban bourgeois politics.<sup>191</sup> However, in contrast to subsequent memorials, the cannons and their unveilings did not acknowledge the wartime contribution of the locality; nor were attempts made to match the guns to local heroes or regiments – thus the seven County Durham towns do not refer to the Durham Light Infantry. A number of factors explain this absence: the Crimean War did not feature large numbers of local men volunteering for military service, as happened in the Boer War, and regional links to regiments were still under-developed ahead of the 1870s Cardwell Reforms. Moreover, although the 'war fever' and sense of wartime participation had been unprecedented, the conflict's impact was still limited compared to later conflicts. And perhaps most importantly, the number of deaths resulting from the conflict was relatively small, further lessening the impact felt within local communities and the urge to acknowledge deceased members of the community.

Historians have rightly adjudged notions of inter-town one-upmanship, civic shame and jealousy as frequent motivations of

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<sup>189</sup> *Darlington Telegraph*, 4 August 1860, subscription list for mounting of cannon. The clash in Darlington between Volunteer advocates of the cannon and opponents is discussed further below.

<sup>190</sup> *Darlington and Stockton Times*, 7 July 1860, letter from 'One who wishes his country to be protected': the letter generated a passionate rebuttal in defence of the Darlington Volunteers; *Illustrated Berwick Journal*, 24 August 1861, editorial.

<sup>191</sup> G. Cossick. 'Urban Society and the Petty Bourgeoisie in the Nineteenth Century Britain' in Derek Fraser and Anthony Sutcliffe (eds.) *The Pursuit of Urban History*. London: Edward Arnold, 1983, 312.

monuments and memorials.<sup>192</sup> These traits can be identified with the Crimean cannons in the north-east. In Darlington, where the unresolved stalemate over the cannon lasted five years, a councillor described the situation as ‘a disgrace to Darlington’ and ‘A Tradesman’ wrote to a newspaper to say he was ‘ashamed that the gun is unmounted and seemingly uncared for... the only unmounted gun in England’.<sup>193</sup> A correspondent elsewhere noted that a Russian gun had been mounted in South Shields and wondered why North Shields had not done the same; in a rare reference to cannon acting as an acknowledgment of local wartime contribution, the correspondent added: ‘North Shields, I believe, entered as heartily into the spirit of the Russian War, and paid as dearly too, as any town, and would duly appreciate such a present from Lord Panmure’.<sup>194</sup>

While this raises the inference that the cannon could implicitly commemorate local soldiers or a local contribution, the absence of other references – in the press, at meetings about the cannon, in speeches at unveilings and in the inscriptions that attached the guns – reinforces the sense that this was not the case. However, this, along with the calls for memorials to local soldiers, reflects a desire to recognise the locality’s wartime role that would be better fulfilled in the memorials of the Boer War.

Yarrington commented that, in the case of provincial monuments, national pride was clearly connected to ‘a desire to improve the physical appearance of new cities and towns, providing central symbols of their citizens’ civic pride and patriotism’.<sup>195</sup> This applies, to an extent, to the Crimean cannon; however, their patchy success and the indifference and controversy they generated meant that they failed to make the more permanent civic impact that later memorials would, not least as some cannons were moved ignominiously on from their original sites.

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<sup>192</sup> Yarrington, *Commemoration of the Hero*, 327; Ponting, *Crimean War*, 335.

<sup>193</sup> *Darlington and Stockton Times*, 11 May 1861, editorial; *Darlington and Stockton Times*, 30 June 1860, letter from ‘A Tradesman’.

<sup>194</sup> *Shields Gazette*, 17 November 1857, letter from ‘F’.

<sup>195</sup> Yarrington, *Commemoration of the Hero*, 326; see also Hutchinson, *Nationalism and War*, 74.



While debates about the best site were common to all eras of war memorialisation, the indecision over location for the cannons – and the subsequent peripatetic fate of some – mirrored broader uncertainty over the memorials and a lack of planning.<sup>196</sup> On arrival in Berwick in January 1859, the cannon was stored in a warehouse.<sup>197</sup> Space was allocated in front of the Episcopalian church but the gun was eventually removed from the warehouse and placed on the harbour walls in August 1861.<sup>198</sup> Middlesbrough's cannon (fig. 6) had a similarly-troubled gestation: put into storage on arrival in September 1859, it was initially expected to be mounted in the Market Place but in January 1860 the *Durham County Advertiser* stated it was to be placed on 'vacant ground between the Royal Hotel and the ferry-landing'.<sup>199</sup> In August, it was reported that

This curiosity has arrived at its final resting place – the churchyard of St Hilda. It has had a sad fate since it came among the people of Middlesbrough and they made a fitting end of all its troubles by placing it where the weary and worn can find an unmolested rest.<sup>200</sup>

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<sup>196</sup> For more on the longer-term movements of the cannon, see Rhynas Brown, 'Cannon to the right'.

<sup>197</sup> *Illustrated Berwick Journal*, 22 January 1859, editorial.

<sup>198</sup> *Illustrated Berwick Journal*, 12 June 1858 and 25 May 1861, editorial.

<sup>199</sup> *Durham County Advertiser*, 3 September 1859 and 13 January 1860, editorial;

<sup>200</sup> *Durham Chronicle*, 17 August 1860, editorial.



Figure 6: Crimean cannon, Albert Park, Middlesbrough. Photo by author.<sup>201</sup>

The same report also claimed that ‘there has been a rumour that the Sunderland cannons might be removed from the Park, if they only knew where to put them’. Durham’s cannon was temporarily placed in the Market Place in front of the town hall, ahead of it being placed alongside a planned memorial to the late marquess of Londonderry, one of the most prominent of the Grand Allies, the coterie of immensely-powerful aristocratic coal magnates of the Great Northern Coalfield (whose widow and family led the installation of the Seaham cannon), and who had died in 1854; however, it was deemed aesthetically unsuitable to accompany the Londonderry statue and was moved to a private park.<sup>202</sup> The repositioning of these cannons is in contrast to the perception of sacral immutability that characterised later memorials.<sup>203</sup>

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<sup>201</sup> The cannon was moved to its current location, Albert Park, in 1868 when the park was opened: see Conway, *People’s Parks*, 159.

<sup>202</sup> *Durham Chronicle*, 8 January 1858, editorial; *Newcastle Journal*, 9 October 1858, editorial; Kirby, *Men of Business*, 8; For a contemporary profile of Londonderry, see: *Daily Chronicle*, 2 December 1861, editorial. For the Londonderry Monument, See Usherwood, Morris, Beach, *Public Sculpture*, 246-247.

<sup>203</sup> George Mosse. *Fallen Soldiers: Reshaping the Memory of the World Wars*. New York: OUP, 1990, 101.

However, other cannons were permanently sited in locations of key civic prominence – where, ideally, as many citizens would encounter the memorial as regularly as possible, thereby becoming ‘an individual daily and public ritual’.<sup>204</sup> In these cases, there was a reciprocally-bolstering connection between municipal site and gun, in which the war trophy endorsed a central space that possessed communal characteristics. In Stockton, the ‘most appropriate’ site was a ‘pleasure ground belonging to the inhabitants’ situated on a new arterial road connecting ‘these two rising ports’ Stockton and Middlesbrough.<sup>205</sup> In Seaham, the cannon was placed on the recently landscaped Green, where the new Londonderry office was located and where the inhabitants could spend leisure time.<sup>206</sup> Opponents recognised the importance of location, arguing that the guns’ warlike nature was unsuitable for public display. Alderman Williams in Sunderland argued it ‘was not in good taste to exhibit trophies... no elevated or noble associations render them suitable ornaments for the park’ and Councillor Wilson stated the park should not be ‘desecrated’ by them.<sup>207</sup> It was considered inappropriate for a gun to be displayed outside the church in Berwick, not least as lambs, ‘that emblem of peace and purity’, had recently been penned there.<sup>208</sup>

The Crimean cannon coincided with the second great nationwide phase of municipal park development of 1845-1859 and many were placed in these newly-inaugurated civic spaces.<sup>209</sup> In Sunderland and Darlington, the cannons were situated in new, municipal parks, ‘where they would be most exposed to public observation’.<sup>210</sup> Sunderland’s municipal park opened in the same year as the cannon’s unveiling, Darlington’s in 1849 and both

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<sup>204</sup> Tadhg O’ Keeffe. ‘Landscape and Memory: Historiography, Theory, Methodology’, in Niamh Moore and Yvonne Whelan (eds.) *Heritage, Memory and the Politics of Identity: New Perspectives on the Cultural Landscape*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007, 6. See also: Daniel Sherman. *The Construction of Memory*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999, 218-223.

<sup>205</sup> *Daily Chronicle*, 6 November 1858, editorial.

<sup>206</sup> McNee and Angus, *Seaham Harbour*, 18.

<sup>207</sup> *Sunderland Herald*, 10 April 1857, editorial.

<sup>208</sup> *Illustrated Berwick Journal*, 15 February 1862, editorial.

<sup>209</sup> Conway, *People’s Parks*, 57.

<sup>210</sup> *Gateshead Observer*, 16 May 1857, editorial.

were called the People's Park – itself representative of intentions of civic munificence and inclusion.<sup>211</sup> They were intended to embellish these municipal areas, as well as boosting local and patriotic pride through associating the town with a stirring national narrative.<sup>212</sup>

Historians have debated the possible stages in municipal development, a traditional view arguing that in general towns underwent an initial phase of sanitary improvements, followed by the provision of town halls, libraries, parks, and museums: 'sanitation first, civilization second'.<sup>213</sup> Sunderland and Darlington councils legislated to improve the sanitary infrastructure in the years prior to the guns' arrival.<sup>214</sup> With the cannons' patriotic integrity adding prestige to the new parks, Sunderland's guns especially can be seen as part (if not the start) of a municipal impulse beyond the sanitary and towards a pride in civic space and architecture, enhanced by the Havelock memorial in 1861.<sup>215</sup>

A philanthropic or public activity, like the Crimean cannon, gave legitimacy to the role and status of the organisers and a concomitant boost to their prestige and reputation.<sup>216</sup> In South Shields, Alderman Stainton was commended for his 'liberality' in paying for the gun to be mounted.<sup>217</sup> The main protagonists in Sunderland, Mayor Ranson and Alderman Allison, were frequently praised in politically sympathetic newspapers, as were those who had personally funded parts of the ceremony. For one of Sunderland's

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<sup>211</sup> Gillian Cookson. *A History of the County of Durham (Vol. V) Sunderland*. Woodbridge: Institute of Historical Research, 2005, 266; Conway, *People's Parks*, 229.

<sup>212</sup> Conway, *People's Parks*, 57, 157-158. Sunderland's People Park was also known as Mowbray Park, which became its official name shortly after the cannons' unveiling.

<sup>213</sup> H. Meller. *Leisure and the Changing City 1870-1914*. London: Routledge, 1976, 237; see also D. Fraser, *Power and Authority in the Victorian City*. Oxford: OUP, 1979, 168.

<sup>214</sup> Geoffrey Milburn and Stuart Miller (eds.) *Sunderland: River, Town and People. A History from the 1780s*. Sunderland: Sunderland Borough Council, 1988, 123; Brian Barber. *Darlington Local Board of Health: Public Health and Local Government, 1850-1867, 1850-1867*. Darlington: Darlington Local History Society, 1968, 18.

<sup>215</sup> Sunderland and Darlington's town halls, museums and libraries were built later; see Gillian Cookson. *A History of the County of Durham (Vol. IV) Darlington*. Woodbridge: Institute of Historical Research, 2005 and *A History of the County of Durham (Vol. V) Sunderland*. Woodbridge: Institute of Historical Research, 2005.

<sup>216</sup> Garrard, *Leadership and Power*, 30.

<sup>217</sup> *Shields Gazette*, 9 September 1857, editorial.

MPs, Henry Fenwick, widespread publicity of his request to Lord Panmure and subsequent involvement in the organisation coincided with the final weeks of a bitterly-fought General Election contest in late March. These were public men with votes to be gained from an electorate that was able to read in detail their achievements in obtaining the cannon for their town. In Seaham, the cannon was part of a raft of Londonderry municipal developments that garnered popular support, justified their suzerainty of the area and its industrial development, and reinforced a sense of social deference amongst the inhabitants; as the *Sunderland Herald* commented in its report of the unveiling:

We are bound to say that no stranger visiting Seaham on such occasions can fail to receive the impression that Lady Londonderry and the members of her family most worthily fill the position they hold there.<sup>218</sup>

As with subsequent memorials, the cannons were invariably placed under the stewardship of the town council. The council's role, often vital, was emphasised, not least on the plaques that accompanied cannons in three towns (appendix 1), reinforcing its beneficial and benevolent authority. Derek Fraser argues that, following the 1835 Municipal Corporations Act and subsequent local corporation acts, new councils had to create a strong link with their communities and establish themselves as founts of social authority.<sup>219</sup>

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<sup>218</sup> *Sunderland Herald*, 6 August 1858, editorial.

<sup>219</sup> Fraser, *Power and Authority*, 159-160.



Figure 7: Replica of Crimean cannon, Mowbray Park, Sunderland. Photo by author.<sup>220</sup>

The cannons contributed to this process, most perceptibly in Sunderland (fig. 7), whose Corporation was still entrenching itself within the popular consciousness after its establishment in the early 1850s.<sup>221</sup> As the cannons were officially handed over to the Chairman of the Council's Parks Committee, Mayor Ranson stated, 'I trust that you and your colleagues, as well as those who may be your successors in office, will preserve them in all coming time for the advantage of Sunderland'.<sup>222</sup> The installation of the cannons in the civic space of the People's Park attempted to foster affiliation between council and citizens; but the lacklustre unveiling and its ineffective sacralisation of space undermined these efforts – the creation of a quasi-reverential, patriotic-municipal zone was achieved more successfully with the Havelock memorial four years later.

Seaham, Stockton and Sunderland were the only towns to hold large-scale civic unveiling ceremonies for the cannons – again indicative of the opaque and sometimes troubled gestations. As Gunn and Garrard have

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<sup>220</sup> The original cannons were melted down during the Second World War: *Sunderland Echo*, 30 August 1966, editorial.

<sup>221</sup> Milburn, *Sunderland*, 75.

<sup>222</sup> *Gateshead Observer*, 16 May 1857, editorial.



discussed, public ceremonies and processions were opportunities for local elites to parade themselves in front of large, appreciative audiences, to bask in a legitimizing glow and to give physical form to their authority to a larger audience.<sup>223</sup> Grand civic events, such as funerals of civic dignitaries and ceremonies to open public buildings, were recorded in great detail by the press – not least who attended and what they said – enabling the intricately choreographed details to be disseminated to a regional and national audience, such as at Seaham where ‘the scene, with all its brilliant and graceful accessories, presented a very beautiful and imposing tableau and its effect was acknowledged by repeated cheering from the crowd’.<sup>224</sup>

They were rigorously stage-managed, imbued with symbolic elements that would be appreciated by participants and observers. At Seaham, the dignitaries were conveyed to a ‘commodious platform, carpeted with crimson cloth’ in a procession of carriages, the Vane-Tempests arriving in an omnibus carriage drawn by four greys; ‘Lady Londonderry stepped to the front, and gave the signal for displaying the gun (covered by a large naval ensign), by the hoisting of the flag’.<sup>225</sup> In Sunderland, a procession carrying the cannons on two specially-constructed carriages left Holmes Wharf at one o’clock, arriving at the park an hour later, having processed through the town’s principal streets.<sup>226</sup> A twenty-one round salute was fired and the cannons were formally handed over to the council.<sup>227</sup>

By assembling the town’s most powerful institutions and individuals in a single public space, unveilings embodied authority and the principle of hierarchy – described as an ‘index of civility’ by Simon Gunn – in highly-visible ways that were comprehensible for observers.<sup>228</sup> At Stockton, the *Newcastle Daily Chronicle* listed the members of the procession that led from town hall to cannon

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<sup>223</sup> Gunn, ‘Public Culture’, 168-171; Garrard, *Leadership and Power*, 26-30.

<sup>224</sup> *Sunderland Herald*, 6 August 1858, editorial; See also: Garrard, ‘Urban Elites’, 589.

<sup>225</sup> *Durham County Advertiser*, 6 August 1858.

<sup>226</sup> *Newcastle Journal*, 16 May 1857, editorial;

<sup>227</sup> *Durham County Advertiser*, 15 May 1857, editorial.

<sup>228</sup> Gunn, ‘Public Culture’, 172,175.

in the following order:  
The Corporation Band  
Seven of the Royal Artillery Band from Woolwich  
Banner carriers with banners, bearing the arms of Stockton  
and Richmond  
Police Superintendents and two privates  
The Mayor of Stockton, supported by the Mayor of Richmond  
The Deputy Town Clerk  
Alderman and councillors  
Etc etc. <sup>229</sup>

The Marchioness of Londonderry was the matriarchal tip of a social pyramid in the locality of Seaham of between 12,000-15,000 people.<sup>230</sup> The unveiling (fig. 8) was a means of physically presenting the Londonderry family to local inhabitants and, via the press, to a wider regional and national audience. The fulcrum was the Marchioness, accompanied by her eldest son George and his wife, the Earl and Countess Vane, her daughter Alexandrina, Countess of Portarlington, and her youngest son Lord Adolphus Vane. Close by on the platform were members of the region's aristocratic and religious elite: Lord and Lady Ravensworth, the Bishop of Durham and his two sisters. Beyond them but still on the platform were town dignitaries, including Robert Wight, owner of a local foundry, and the vicar of Seaham.<sup>231</sup>

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<sup>229</sup> *Daily Chronicle*, 11 November, editorial. For more on military bands, including their prominence and popularity within civic society, see: Trevor Herbert and Helen Barlow. *Music and the British Military in the Long Nineteenth Century*. Oxford University Press, 2016, online version (Introduction, chapters 2 and 8-10).

<sup>230</sup> T. Whitehead. *The Londonderrys, Masters of Seaham*. Seaham Project, 1994, 27.

<sup>231</sup> *Newcastle Journal*, 7 August 1858.



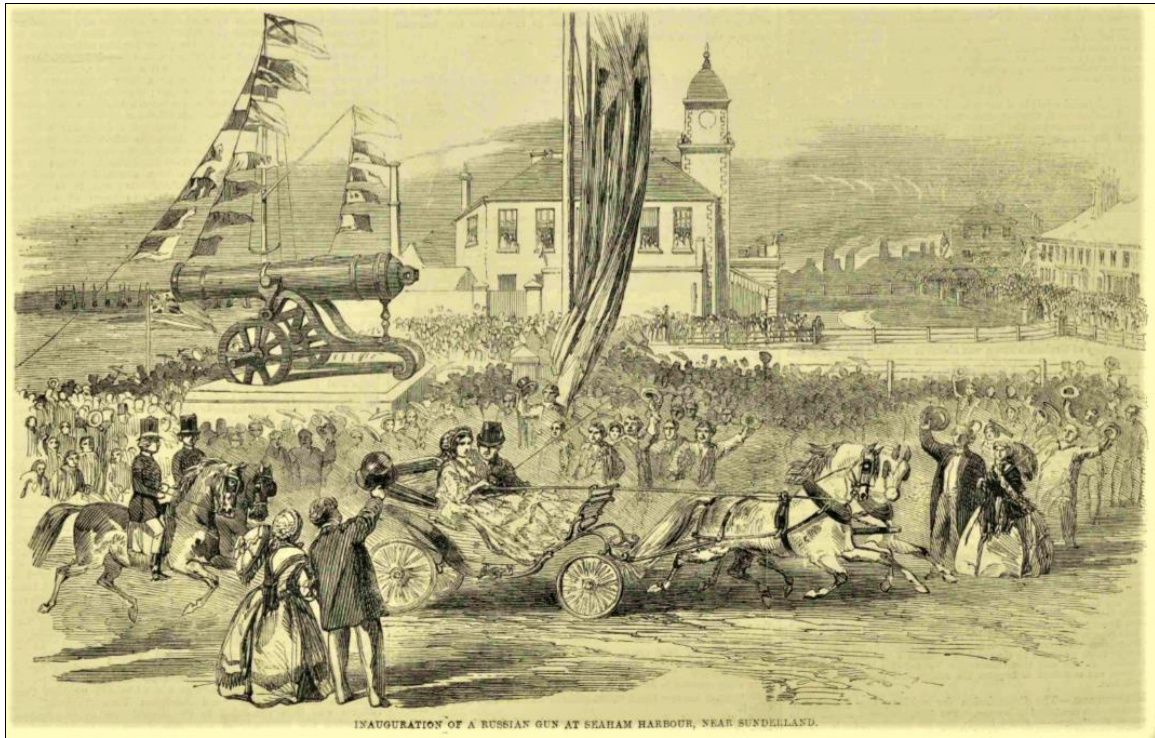


Figure 8: 'Inauguration of a Russian Gun at Seaham Harbour, near Sunderland'. *Illustrated London News*, 28 August 1858. <sup>232</sup>

While 'the principal inhabitants' and 'respectable citizens' were included within a civic hierarchy, others were excluded. As Brad Beaven noted of later ceremonies, these civic events sent out 'clear signals to onlookers that certain groups or institutions not included were deemed to have no significant role'.<sup>233</sup> Lady Londonderry at Seaham was a stark exception to the overwhelming domination of men in these ceremonies, an ironic contrast between this archaically aristocratic event and the other 'more representative', bourgeois municipal ceremonies, where women's role on the platforms was as accompaniment to a husband or relative or as a widow of a member of the civic elite or gentry.<sup>234</sup>

Similarly, while the respectable working class were able to participate in processions as members of acceptable corporate bodies such as the

<sup>232</sup> The building in the background is the Londonderry Office, completed in March 1857.

<sup>233</sup> Brad Beaven, *Visions of Empire: Patriotism, Popular Culture and the City, 1870-1939*. Manchester: MUP, 2012, 23.

<sup>234</sup> For details of wives, daughters and widows, see the detailed account of the Sunderland unveiling: *Gateshead Observer*, 16 May 1857.

police, coast guard or bands, there is no evidence of working-class people on the platforms. Working-class participation was otherwise restricted to mere observation and approval amongst the crowds that fanned outwards from the focal core of civic leaders and their families. At least two to three thousand people – ‘tradesmen and workpeople, their wives and families’ – assembled to witness the unveiling at Seaham; with a population of 8,964 in 1861 this was a significant crowd, boosted by visitors on the special excursion trains that travelled from nearby Sunderland every hour on the day of the unveiling.<sup>235</sup> The press estimated there were ‘several thousand present’ at the Sunderland unveiling, which seems a small turnout for a population of 81,752, particularly compared to the estimated crowd of up to 100,000 that attended the unveiling of the Havelock memorial.<sup>236</sup> This contrast in the size of crowds for the two unveilings in Sunderland, only four years apart, demonstrates the relative popularity and endorsement by local inhabitants of the two very different memorials – and their gestations.

Apart from eye-witness accounts in newspapers which, depending on political affiliation, may have wanted to represent the unveilings as popular or unpopular, there is no evidence of the attitudes of those observing. The Tory *Sunderland Herald* portrayed the spectators at Sunderland as ‘a gay crowd’, who cheered and applauded heartily and ‘crowded the door steps and filled the windows... Low Street came out as Low Street never came out before’.<sup>237</sup> Attendance was encouraged by the proclamation of a holiday: in Stockton, the day of the unveiling was observed as a general holiday and the shops were closed, Seaham’s shops and businesses closed at midday and Sunderland held a half-day holiday (which makes the small crowd there all the more notable).<sup>238</sup> The day was ‘one of festivity’ at Stockton and the

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<sup>235</sup> *Durham County Advertiser* 6 August 1858, editorial; *Sunderland Herald*, 6 August 1858, editorial; *Census of England and Wales 1911*. London: HMSO, 1915.

<sup>236</sup> *Sunderland Herald*, 15 May 1857, editorial; *Durham County Advertiser*, 15 May 1857, editorial; *Census of England and Wales 1911*. London: HMSO, 1915, 65, population figure is of 1861. The unveiling of the Havelock memorial will be discussed in the next chapter.

<sup>237</sup> *Sunderland Herald*, 15 May 1857, editorial.

<sup>238</sup> *Daily Chronicle*, 11 November 1858, editorial; *Shields Gazette* 14 May 1857, editorial; *Sunderland Herald*, 6 August 1858, editorial.

streets through which the Sunderland dignitaries processed were bedecked with flags and bunting, and the horses that pulled the gun carriages were decorated with red, white and blue ribbons.<sup>239</sup> The promise of a festive occasion further undermined any consolatory characteristics but enticed spectators.

## **2.5 Socio-Political Contexts**

Serious contestation of the cannon process occurred in three towns – Berwick, Darlington, and Sunderland. There were protracted delays in the former two towns, as well as in Durham, Hartlepool and Middlesbrough, where the evidence suggests the obfuscation and lack of unanimity prolonging the process was caused by a combination of uncertainty over procedure, ambivalence and less-confrontational opposition.<sup>240</sup> Only in Seaham, South Shields, and Stockton, were the cannons installed without problems; in Seaham, the Londonderrys steered the process unopposed. Unfortunately, there is little record of the latter two towns, especially South Shields. Stockton, an old-established market town with semi-rural inclinations, seems not to have had the types of municipal political factions that plagued the installation of cannons in some of the newer industrialised towns.

For a supposed ‘People’s War’, its commemoration by cannon was driven not by pan-society consensus but by sections of the most powerful social groupings within it. The previous decades of municipal reform had enabled economically successful men to break into local power structures and gain positions of equivalent political authority, which legitimised their new status.<sup>241</sup> Thomas Nossiter argued that the 1850s were a transitional

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<sup>239</sup> *Daily Chronicle*, 11 November 1858, editorial; *Sunderland Herald*, 15 May 1857.

<sup>240</sup> *Stockton and Hartlepool Mercury*, 9 October 1858, editorial; *Durham Chronicle*, 7 June 1858, editorial.

<sup>241</sup> Fraser, ‘Urban Politics’, 116.

period for politics in the north-east, in which a system dominated by the Whig landed and professional classes morphed into one dominated by the Liberal capitalist and nonconformist middle classes.<sup>242</sup> It was accompanied by the decline of a distinctive petty-bourgeois politics, following the radicalism of previous decades although, as can be seen in Sunderland in particular, the residual influence of the ex-Chartists remained strong.<sup>243</sup>

Morris and Gunn identified two main status groupings within the middle class of this period: a higher-status group of bankers, professional men, prosperous, well-established industrial and commercial capitalists, resident gentry and retired families of independent means, and a second stratum consisting of craftsmen, shopkeepers and tradesmen, and small-scale entrepreneurs, manufacturers and industrialists.<sup>244</sup> Kate Hill and John Garrard agree that such divisions undermined any over-arching middle-class hegemony, with lower-status members asserting themselves and the higher-status consequently having to negotiate and compromise with them – through the apparently consensual activities of subscriber democracy.<sup>245</sup> Divisions in status within the municipal middle class aggravated opposition to Crimean cannons in, for example, Darlington and Sunderland. But there were other, more important factors, which mirror the wider socio-political struggles within the municipal ambit.

By the 1850s, in the Liberal-dominated north-east, political divisions were less a struggle between Tories and Liberals, or squirearchy vs urban bourgeoisie, and certainly not middle against working class; political

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<sup>242</sup> T.J. Nossiter. *Influence, Opinion and Political Idioms in Reformed England: Case Studies from the North-East 1832–74*. Brighton: Harvester Press, 1975, 36.

<sup>243</sup> Cossick, *Urban Society*, 312; *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edition (accessed 2 March 2019), Michael S. Moss: The Binns Family (c. 1810–1897); William Brockie. *Sunderland Notables: Natives, Residents and Visitors*. Sunderland: Hills, 1894, 268–275.

<sup>244</sup> R.J. Morris. 'The Middle Class and British Towns and Cities of the Industrial Revolution, 1780–1870', in D. Fraser and A. Sutcliffe (eds.) *The Pursuit of Urban History*. London: E. Arnold, 1983, 286–288; Gunn, *Public Culture*, 23; Morris, *Class, Sect, Party*, 12–15, 166–167.

<sup>245</sup> Kate Hill. 'Thoroughly Imbued with the Spirit of Ancient Greece': Symbolism and Space in Victorian Culture', in Kidd and Nicholls, *Gender, Civic Culture and Consumerism*, 100; Garrard, *Urban Elites*, 590–592.

divisions within the disparate middle class were based on economic status, religion (Anglicanism versus nonconformity) and political rivalry (Whigs versus radicals) and these were the groupings around which attitudes to the cannons coalesced.<sup>246</sup> The Crimean cannon process – its organisation and fundraising, arguments and controversies – therefore provided a new arena for conflict between overlapping but antagonistic groupings within the urban liberal environment, a place, according to Derek Fraser, where politics ran in many channels and began not at Westminster but at the front gate.<sup>247</sup> Moreover, these were tensions played out in the aftermath of the Crimean War which had exacerbated the gap between traditional state elites and a public increasingly seeking to impose utilitarian and liberal standards on foreign policy.

The history of the 'Reform Party' in the north-east from 1832 to the late-1850s was one of wrangling between its Whig and radical elements, perhaps most vividly represented in Sunderland.<sup>248</sup> Exacerbated by the social divide between higher-status Whigs and radical dissenting tradesmen, the quarrel had also developed its own momentum – all interests and opinions of its middle-classes were expressed in political terms.<sup>249</sup> The cannon became a manifestation of this longer-term struggle, with Sunderland's most prominent (past and future) radicals James Williams, John Candlish and Caleb Wilson seeking to obstruct the cannons' installation throughout the two month gestation.<sup>250</sup> This provided mainstream Whigs with ammunition to attack the radicals on a number of fronts, whether a lack of patriotism, highlighting their 'slandorous attacks on the brave men to whom their common country owes so much', or the refusal of Quaker shopkeepers to close for the half-day holiday.<sup>251</sup>

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<sup>246</sup> Pickering and Tyrell, 'Public Memorial of Reform', 9; Gunn, *Public Culture*, 15; Fraser, *Urban Politics*, 115.

<sup>247</sup> Fraser, *Urban Politics*, 9, 12.

<sup>248</sup> Nossiter, *Influence, Opinion*, 127.

<sup>249</sup> Nossiter, *Influence, Opinion*, 127.

<sup>250</sup> For more on these men and the history of the Sunderland Liberal party, from Whig to radical dominance, see: Milburn, *Sunderland, River, Town and People*, 123-124; William Brockie. *Sunderland Notables: Natives, Residents and Visitors*. Sunderland: Hills, 1894.

<sup>251</sup> *Sunderland Herald*, 24 April and 15 May 1857, editorial.



It was an opportunity for continuing long-running skirmishes or score settling, the Whig *Sunderland Herald* informing readers that the man (Williams) who ‘is horrified at the bare idea of guns in the park was a fiery leader in the ranks of the physical force Chartists’.<sup>252</sup> The *Gateshead Observer* adjudged that opposition by the town’s radicals had roused the ‘war party’ to more provocative, disproportionate acts: ‘The guns must not only be placed in the Park but must be escorted thither “with all the pride, pomp, and circumstance of victorious war”’.<sup>253</sup>



Figure 9: Crimean cannon, Berwick-upon-Tweed. Photo by author.

Disagreements regarding the Berwick cannon (fig. 9) were a similar reflection of long-standing political divisions but between Tories and Liberals. Here, the fallibilities of the Tories and their prospective parliamentary candidate Captain Gordon could be further ridiculed by his steering of the ineffective campaign to install a cannon: ‘What news of the

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<sup>252</sup> *Sunderland Herald*, 24 April 1857, editorial; Chase, *Chartism*, 31, 98.

<sup>253</sup> *Gateshead Observer*, 16 May 1857, editorial.

Russian gun? Where is it? Has Captain Gordon been unable to fulfil his promise of getting one — or are the custodiers of it waiting until the sheep pens are removed from the front of his church, to place it on his site'.<sup>254</sup> 'The gun is said to be of a great bore — but the Captain is a greater bore'.<sup>255</sup>

The Liberal *Illustrated Berwick Journal* considered Gordon's request for the gun from the War Office a form of blatant electioneering ahead of his election to Parliament in 1859 (as can be construed by Fenwick's efforts in Sunderland in 1857): 'The Russian gun presented to the town, through Captain Gordon is an 18-pounder, but the Tory votes after last election were only 4 and 2 *pounders*!'<sup>256</sup> The cannon was the latest in a string of endowments by Gordon within the constituency, such as the new Episcopalian church and the purchase of coal for the poor and the *Journal* perceived the cannon as one plank in a corrupt raft:

We trust... the Liberals of the borough will be upon their guard and so frustrate the machinations of a party who are not only notoriously corrupt themselves, but who systematically corrupt others and thereby disgrace the entire constituency in the eyes of the country.<sup>257</sup>

Opponents to the cannon were also motivated by religious factors – indeed nonconformity was generally their common attribute. Historians have mostly agreed on nonconformity's influential impact on nineteenth-century society and the role it played in steering political beliefs and actions. For David Bebbington, loyalty to a particular chapel fostered a denominational allegiance that provided the primary sense of identity for many; Morris thought it a powerful if not decisive influence on political behaviour but stronger than occupational interest.<sup>258</sup> Brian Lewis argued that their common identity as religious dissenters, a 'narcissism of minor difference',

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<sup>254</sup> *Illustrated Berwick Journal*, 23 October 1858, editorial.

<sup>255</sup> *Illustrated Berwick Journal*, 23 April 1859, editorial.

<sup>256</sup> *Illustrated Berwick Journal*, 23 April 1859, editorial.

<sup>257</sup> *Illustrated Berwick Journal*, 15 May 1858, 1 January and 23 July 1859, editorial.

<sup>258</sup> D. Bebbington. *The Nonconformist Conscience: Chapel and Politics 1870–1914*. London: Allen and Unwin, 1982, 21; Morris, *Class, Sect and Party*, 157.

engendered a belief that they were ‘different’ on key issues, often fuelled by a radical, class-conscious, pacifistic idealism, that had a major effect on British history.<sup>259</sup> It is, however, difficult to delineate politics and religion: nonconformity achieved a synthesis of religion, politics and social attitudes which had an unprecedented influence on a national culture, especially at the local level where the core of popular Liberalism was invariably nonconformist.<sup>260</sup>

The most strident opposition to the Crimean cannon in the north-east occurred in Sunderland and Darlington, where nonconformists were particularly powerful. In Sunderland, the leading opponents to the guns were assertive nonconformists – Unitarians (Williams), Quakers, and Baptists (Candlish) – who had invariably been Chartists and were, or were becoming, radical Liberals, comfortable asserting their values and beliefs in this politico-religious framework.<sup>261</sup> Thus they criticised the guns for showing ‘a want of Christian feeling’ as well as being inappropriate.<sup>262</sup> The cannons’ supporters attacked the hypocrisy of the ‘peace party’, criticising one nonconformist/radical councillor who having denounced

... the “bloody deeds of the war”, on the following evening...  
pummelled one of his townsmen at the meeting of the public  
board. Verily the harmlessness of the dove and the wisdom of  
the serpent are not united in the persons of the precious peace  
apostles of Sunderland! <sup>263</sup>

By mid-century the council was the natural outlet of social authority and the political expression of the urban elite and it was here, when the

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<sup>259</sup> Brian Lewis. ‘A Republic of Quakers’: The Radical Bourgeoisie, the State and Stability in Lancashire, 1789–1851’ in Alan Kidd and David Nicholls (eds.) *The Making of the British Middle Class? Studies of Regional and Cultural Diversity Since the Eighteenth Century*. Stroud: Sutton, 1998, 76; Morris, *Class, Sect, Party*, 322.

<sup>260</sup> Martin Hewitt. ‘Why the Notion of Victorian Britain Does Make Sense’, *Victorian Studies*, 48:3 (Spring, 2006) 421; Parry, *Politics of Patriotism*, 91.

<sup>261</sup> Brockie, *Sunderland Notables*, 268-275, 326-331; Milburn, *Sunderland: River, Town and People*, 123-124. *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edition (accessed 19 March 2019), Catherine Ross: John Candlish (1816–1874); Chase, *Chartism*, 31, 98.

<sup>262</sup> *Sunderland Herald*, 24 April 1857, editorial.

<sup>263</sup> *Sunderland Herald*, 24 April 1857, editorial.



council had taken charge of the process, that opponents sought to obstruct the cannon.<sup>264</sup> Council members who were ambivalent to the cannons, even if not openly-hostile, used procedural obfuscation to delay the process. In Durham, continued arguments about the canon's location followed criticism of the mayor's indifference and the rejection of the first-proposed location because of the gun's aesthetic unsuitability.<sup>265</sup> Prolonged indecision about the installation of the cannon in Hartlepool led to rifts within the council, some members questioning the importance and urgency of the issue and in turn being accused of ulterior motives in obstructing the process.<sup>266</sup> Arguments about the cannons featured in most fortnightly council meetings in Sunderland over the two month gestation, along the already entrenched battle lines of Whigs versus radicals.<sup>267</sup>

Reflecting their radical nonconformity, critics of the cannon were often lower-status members of the middle class. In Sunderland, John Candlish was a bottle manufacturer, William Wight an iron merchant and James Williams a bookseller; they were examples of successful 'self-made' and aspirational men of industry and commerce, emerging into importance if not pre-eminence (Candlish, for example, became MP for Sunderland in 1866).<sup>268</sup> However, the cannons' advocates were not a monolith of the older-established middle class and local gentry; instead, they were a mix of the high-and lower-status middle class: a brewer and wine merchant, ironmaster, solicitor, general carrier, shipowner as well as landowners and current and former MPs – a mainstream Liberal outlook in common.<sup>269</sup>

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<sup>264</sup> Fraser, *Power and Authority*, 158.

<sup>265</sup> *Durham Chronicle*, 20 March 1857 and 7 June 1858, *Durham County Advertiser*, 29 January 1858, editorial.

<sup>266</sup> *Stockton and Hartlepool Mercury*, 9 October 1858, editorial.

<sup>267</sup> *Sunderland Herald*, 10, 24 April, 8 May 1857, editorial.

<sup>268</sup> ODNB, Ross: Candlish; Brockie, *Sunderland Notables*, 268-275; Morris, Harrison, and Co.'s *Commercial Directory and Gazetteer of the County of Durham*. Nottingham: Stafford and Co., 1861; Ward's *North of England Directory 1859-60*. Newcastle-on-Tyne: Robert Ward, 1859.

<sup>269</sup> *Sunderland Herald*, 8 May 1857, editorial; Hagar and Co.'s *Directory of the County of Durham*, Nottingham: Stevenson & Co., 1851; Ward's *Directory of Northern England*. Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Robert Ward, 1859.

A characteristic of nationwide municipal politics of the period was the struggle between improvers and economists, such as the notorious Rivington Pike affair in Liverpool.<sup>270</sup> A politically-existential divide between councillors who sought to improve the sanitary and civic infrastructure and the ratepayers who resented the increased costs, the affair reflected shifting patterns in middle-class status groups: a high proportion of improvers were new men who had achieved authority in the council and wider socio-economic clout in the community; economists were lower status, and often from the emerging local 'shopocracy' sub-stratum – shopkeepers, curriers, publicans and hoteliers – on who the increased rates disproportionately fell.<sup>271</sup> It can be regarded as a conflict between two attitudes of mind that encapsulated the fundamental divergences of socio-political purview that shaped attitudes to the Crimean cannon.

This was so in Darlington and Sunderland where, in both cases it was prominent, established Radicals and nonconformists who, via the council, initiated municipal improvements but opposed the cannon;<sup>272</sup> conversely, it was often local economists who supported the trophies, despite the costs these might entail. This raises important questions about the political values of this demographic segment: parochial patriotism ahead of municipal improvement, for example. Certainly, it was a stratum later targeted by Disraeli and Salisbury as fertile ground for Tory support and one that was diverted from socio-economic issues by patriotic imperialism later in the century, even as it became increasingly influential within society.<sup>273</sup>

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<sup>270</sup> The Rivington Pike affair (1845-1857) saw Liverpool's wealthy merchants and professionals with 'an enlarged view of public affairs' fight the town's shopkeepers and tradesmen over a scheme for transporting water to the city from new reservoirs: see Fraser, *Power and Authority*, 30-36.

<sup>271</sup> Martin Hewitt. 'Class and the Classes', in Chris Williams (ed.) *A Companion to Nineteenth-Century Britain*. Oxford: Blackwell, 2007, 309; Hoppen, *Mid-Victorian Generation*, 353; Alastair Reid. *Social Classes and Social Relations in Britain, 1850-1914*. London: MacMillan, 1992, 144-148; Tristram Hunt. *Building Jerusalem: The Rise and Fall of the Victorian City*. London: Phoenix, 2005, 294.

<sup>272</sup> Milburn, *Sunderland*, 71; Barber, *Darlington*, 18.

<sup>273</sup> Hugh Cunningham. 'The Conservative Party and Patriotism', in Robert Colls and Philip Dodd (eds.) *Englishness: Politics and Culture 1880-1920*. London: Bloomsbury, 2014, 306-308; Cain and Hopkins, *British Imperialism*, 187-188.

To an extent Darlington typified the struggles and concerns that affected the cannon process in the north-east. Standpoints were motivated by politics, religion, and status, with the town's executive body the main arena for contestation, alongside other areas of municipal life. However, in one crucial aspect, Darlington is atypical: the overwhelming dominance of the area by the local Quaker minority meant that the lines of contestation were partly reversed, the ascendant nonconformist elite successfully resisting mainstream Liberal and lower-status agitation in favour of installing a cannon.

Quaker influence over nineteenth-century Darlington was pervasive and exceptional.<sup>274</sup> Predominant was the Pease family, whose extensive entrepreneurial activities included a dominant holding in the Darlington and Stockton Railway.<sup>275</sup> Allied (and often related) to them was an inter-dependent network of commercially-successful Quaker capitalists who played a decisive role in the political, economic and cultural life of Darlington and the north-east.<sup>276</sup> Quaker influence extended, to a lesser degree, throughout the Tees Valley, including Middlesbrough; this was effectively a Pease town, bought and managed as a rival coal port to Stockton which held out against Pease dominance – doubtlessly explaining Middlesbrough council's ambivalence to the town's Crimean cannon (and possibly Stockton's enthusiasm).<sup>277</sup>

Darlington's Quakers to an extent epitomised the rise of the new men but such was the impact of their success and domination of civic life that, while having succeeded in overthrowing the traditional local power of the landowning aristocracy and the Bishop of Durham, they had themselves become an apparently remote and unassailable elite, thereby incurring the discontent of a disempowered mix of traditional Whig gentry and lower-

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<sup>274</sup> Cookson. 'Quaker Families and Business Networks', 119.

<sup>275</sup> Kirby, *Men of Business*, xiii; Anne Orde. *Religion, Business and Society in North-East England: The Pease Family of Darlington in the Nineteenth Century*. Stamford: Shaun Tyas, 2000, 6.

<sup>276</sup> Cookson, *Darlington*, 33; Barber, *Darlington Local Board*, 26.

<sup>277</sup> Orde, *Religion, Business*, 3; Nossiter, *Influence, Opinion*, 131,

status shopocracy. This quasi-replication of an aristocratic-led middle class was not unique but it was heightened by Quaker modes of behaviour and nepotism that exacerbated their alienation from mainstream society; North East Railway solicitor Francis Mewburn claimed that 'The Quakers are more clannish than any other sect and carry it to such an extent as to cause much dislike'.<sup>278</sup>

A fundamental aspect of Quaker exceptionalism – which included the conspicuous habits of plain dress, speech and lifestyle, and rejection of social hierarchy and deference – was a refusal to take up arms and in any way support war.<sup>279</sup> Henry Pease, Liberal MP for South Durham from 1857, achieved national notoriety in 1854 when he participated in the unsuccessful Quaker peace mission to Moscow.<sup>280</sup> His elder brother Joseph had become the first Quaker MP in 1832 and became President of the Peace Society in 1860.<sup>281</sup> Quakers, not least the Pease family, instinctively resisted moves to have the cannon mounted in the park.

The family played a disproportionately influential role in the municipal arena. They were active in founding and running the mechanics' institute, the cottage hospital, the horticultural society, the school of art and the teachers training college.<sup>282</sup> Their influence over the town council was especially apparent – and resented. Quakers had been instrumental in the establishment of the Local Board of Health in 1850 and had carried out a programme of sanitary improvement, despite some resistance from a 'dirty party', economist ratepayers who considered the Board's activities unreasonably expensive.<sup>283</sup> From the Board's inception, the majority of its

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<sup>278</sup> Mewburn, *Larchfield Diary*, 173-174 (exact date unknown). Nossiter; *Influence, Opinion*, 129; Morris, *Class, Sect and Party*, 323.

<sup>279</sup> Orde, *Religion, Business*, 6-7; Hugh Barbour and J. William Frost. *The Quakers*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1988, 4-6; Gorman, *Introducing Quakers*, 41-42, 57-58.

<sup>280</sup> Mewburn, *Larchfield Diary*, 127-128 (exact date unknown).

<sup>281</sup> Orde, *Religion, Business*, 3

<sup>282</sup> Orde, *Religion, Business*, 64.

<sup>283</sup> Joseph Pease described it as a battle between 'the washed and the unwashed'. The unwashed believed the interest in sanitary reform was motivated by an interest in making money by selling water. See Barber, Darlington Local Board, 26; John Smith. *Public Health*

members were Quakers; in contrast to a corporation, plural voting was allowed and the Friends were able to maintain oligarchical dominance.<sup>284</sup> Moreover, the occupational composition was narrow, mainly capitalist manufacturers, bankers and engineers, ensuring an exclusive homogeneity that hampered opportunities for smaller-scale tradesmen.<sup>285</sup> Darlington Board of Health seemed to many a monolithic instrument of Quaker paternalism and ironically similar to the unreformed corporations that elsewhere resisted the rising industrial and commercial elites.<sup>286</sup>



Figure 10: Crimean cannon, Darlington. Photo by author.

It was on the Board that the advocates of the cannon launched and intermittently fought unsuccessfully against Quaker intransigence for four years. In adopting a cause that symbolised the dichotomy between patriotism and pacifism, opponents of the Quakers hoped to aggravate dissension between the Quaker and non-Quaker members of the Board and thereby weaken Quaker dominance. The proposal to ask the War Office for a

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*Act Report to the General Board of Health on Darlington 1850*. Durham: Durham Local History Society, 1967, 2-3.

<sup>284</sup> Smith, *Public Health*, 4; Orde, *Religion, Business*, 65; Barber, *Darlington*, 26-27.

<sup>285</sup> Smith, *Public Health*, 5.

<sup>286</sup> Fraser, *Power and Authority*, 4.

cannon was carried at a meeting when only one Quaker was present and the professional occupations of the other councillors present (currier, provision merchant, woollen draper, wine merchant) indicate they were members of the discontented shopocracy.<sup>287</sup>

Others outside the council who supported the trophy were of similar social status: the three 'energetic townsmen' behind the concert at the Theatre Royal in March 1861, raising funds 'for mounting the gun in the park', were a shopkeeper, licensee of the *Sun Inn* and cab proprietor, and licensee of the *Three Tuns*.<sup>288</sup> It suggests the cannon was a way for emerging if lower-status middle-class men to assault Quaker hegemony. But it was also a productive area of conflict for local higher-status Whigs – similarly side-lined in Darlington's municipal culture – to exploit: a committee to have the gun mounted, which included an ironmonger, tea dealer and grocer, also comprised upper-status professionals and local landowning Whig gentry, such as Colonel Colling from Red Hall and Captain Scurfield J.P. from Hurworth.<sup>289</sup>

Other contemporaneous activities that sought to undermine Quaker influence included the launch of the Licensed Victuallers Association in 1859, fighting for the revocation of Quaker restrictions that 'interfered with all the harmless and intellectual enjoyments of the people' and a local Ratepayers Association.<sup>290</sup> The latter monitored the expenditure of public money and prevented the 'jobbing and trading' by councillors, and agitated

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<sup>287</sup> *Morris, Harrison and Co.'s Commercial Directory and Gazetteer of the County of Durham*. Nottingham, Stafford and Co., 1861, 80-93; *Ward's North of England Directory 1859-60*. Newcastle-on-Tyne: Robert Ward, 1859, 38-61; Minute book of Darlington Local Board of Health, 13 August 1857, Durham County Records Office Ref: Da/A 1/1/1.

<sup>288</sup> *Darlington Telegraph*, 23 March 1861, editorial; *Morris, Harrison and Co.'s Commercial Directory*, 80-93; *Ward's North of England Directory*, 38-61

<sup>289</sup> See *Morris, Harrison and Co.'s Commercial Directory and Gazetteer of the County of Durham*. Nottingham, Stafford and Co., 1861, 80-93; *Ward's North of England Directory 1859-60*. Newcastle-on-Tyne: Robert Ward, 1859, 38-61; *Darlington Telegraph*, 28 July 1860, subscription list.

<sup>290</sup> *Darlington Telegraph*, 27 April 1861, editorial; Smith, *Public Health*, 12; Cookson, *Darlington*, 99.

in the 1860s for the division of the town into wards which would reduce the effect of plural voting.<sup>291</sup>

In 1859 and 1860, a campaign was mounted to create a Volunteer Rifle Corps in Darlington, opposed by the Quaker ‘peace at any price school... the incubus which crushes Darlington’s vital energy’.<sup>292</sup> At a meeting to discuss the Volunteers, Joseph Pease – embodying a strand of opposition to the Corps that, according to Cunningham, was prevalent in the north – positioned himself against the ‘gentry, aristocracy and nobility’, claiming the Volunteers was a class movement, arming the middle class against the working class and warned against young men ‘indulging a martial spirit’.<sup>293</sup> Countering this, Colonel Scurfield thanked attendees at the meeting which was ‘not initiated by those of influence, wealth... of a religion opposing war who are of unbounded wealth and proud position’.<sup>294</sup> The Corps’ supporters appealed to patriotic citizens to ‘stand to arms and despise the whines of mawkish fools’, moreover ridiculing the Quaker peace mission to Moscow in 1854.<sup>295</sup>

The overlap of personnel involved in these activities reinforces the notion that the lobbying for a Crimean cannon was part of a wider campaign to weaken local Quaker supremacy: supporters of the gun were prominent in the Volunteer movement (as in Berwick, Durham and Sunderland) and the Licensed Victuallers Association.<sup>296</sup> Towns around England were undergoing similar controversies over ratepayers’ associations, Rifle Volunteer movements, the creation of victuallers associations, and moves towards fairer, and more equitable systems of municipal political culture.

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<sup>291</sup> Barber, *Darlington*, 25-26. There had been considerable controversy in the early 1850s about the Corporation’s purchase of local gas and water suppliers when many of the councillors were shareholders in these companies: Smith, *Public Health*, 3-5.

<sup>292</sup> *Darlington and Stockton Times*, 30 June 1860, letter from ‘Vox Popoli’.

<sup>293</sup> *Darlington Telegraph*, 21 July 1860, editorial; Cunningham, *Volunteer Force*, 21.

<sup>294</sup> *Durham Chronicle*, 20 July 1860, editorial.

<sup>295</sup> *Darlington and Stockton Times*, 14 July 1860, letter from ‘K.S’.

<sup>296</sup> For references to the Volunteers and the cannons in Berwick and Durham, see: *Illustrated Berwick Journal*, 25 May 1862, editorial; *Newcastle Journal*, 9 October 1858, editorial.

The war trophy controversies in the north-east inter-reacted with these but were also determined by a particular blend of local circumstances.

## **2.6 Conclusion**

The Crimean War cannon constituted an incongruous stage in the development of war memorials. The process was hampered by the absence of relevant precedents. Their confused terminology reflects myriad motivations and a lack of clarity over purpose. They were not representative of a pan-society effort, their opaque organisation and fundraising indicate little attempt at inclusivity, contrary not only to subsequent memorials but also contemporaneous philanthropic activities. They were not just an imposition on the community by a dominant elite; they were often an imposition of a mainstream middle-class mindset on another opposing, emerging middle-class mindset that was gaining influence in society and indicative of forthcoming socio-political change, as at Sunderland. But it was a process occurring in the middle-class milieu and there is little evidence of popular rejection; the one record of physical action against the guns was vandalism on the Berwick cannon inscription aimed at discrediting the mayor – reinforcing the sense of contestation occurring in the urban middle-class environment.<sup>297</sup>

The choice of cannons as symbols of commemoration was inherently problematic – and unanticipated. The capture of Sebastopol meant a vast quantity of plunder and the proximity of the Crimea, relative to other contemporaneous conflicts in India and Persia, made it easier to convey such objects from there to Britain; to a large extent, the cannons were ‘memorials of convenience’, whose installation stemmed from the glut of captured ordnance available for municipal display rather than a deeply-felt

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<sup>297</sup> *Illustrated Berwick Journal*, 14 September 1861, editorial (the *Liberal Journal* not altogether disapproving of the graffiti against the Tory mayor).



need to memorialise. It is arguable that there was a wider fetishization of the cannon in the nineteenth century, due to its practical importance in battle, which can be perceived in cultural representations such as Tennyson's *The Charge of the Light Brigade* (cannon from this incident could have been among the ordnance sent to England), the melting down of the Crimean cannons for quasi-reverential uses such as the Victoria Cross and later mythologised incidents like the lost cannons at the Battle of Colenso (1899) and the Nery Gun, in action August and September 1914.<sup>298</sup>

All the same, the unsuitability of the cannon as objects of memorialisation – acknowledged by many – is stark. This is especially apparent when considering the class-conscious wartime narratives transmitted by newspapers, cultural representations, regimental memorials and the empathetic posturing of the monarchy, primarily concerned with the suffering of ordinary soldiers and a rejection of conventional heroism and martial ideals.

An additional explanation for why the cannon were, for their advocates, acceptable commemorative objects was that the new dominant bourgeois culture had not devised its own mores and standards, and, according to Martin Wiener, still bore the imprint of the old aristocracy.<sup>299</sup> As John Hutchinson argued, a long heritage of relating military strength to prestige had moulded the national values of the governing classes and this was diffused down the social scale.<sup>300</sup> This was seen in the memorialisation of the Napoleonic Wars and in those cultural representations of the Crimean War that continued to lionise aristocratic commanders. The Crimean cannon represent a martial tone that was adopted by status-conscious industrial middle classes, anxious to make themselves acceptable in a society that they felt, despite the class-conscious unrest of the war, still

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<sup>298</sup> Denis Judd and Keith Surridge. *The Boer War. A History*. London: Taurus, 2013, 125-126; Imperial War Museum: [www.iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/30025225](http://www.iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/30025225).

<sup>299</sup> Martin Wiener. *English Culture and the Decline of the Industrial Spirit*. Cambridge: CUP, 1981, 5-6, 8-10.

<sup>300</sup> Hutchinson, *Nationalism and War*, 173.

admired the aristocratic ethos of military glory. There was significant interest in commemorating the events of the Crimean War and it was assumed that this would be shared within communities. It felt natural to the cannon's organisers that a traditional, martial framework would be compatible with this, often a miscalculation as it happened.

In Sunderland, only four years after the two Crimean War cannon were ignominiously installed, a memorial to the Indian Rebellion would be erected in the People's Park. The memorial to General Havelock appears wholly different to the virtually-concurrent installation of the Crimean cannon. It could be seen as a return to Napoleonic notions of the hero-commander; however, Havelock's contemporaneous national reputation as representative of a new breed of middle-class leader belies this, as do the civic narratives the statue transmitted. Significantly, its gestation and, most importantly, its fundraising, were undertaken according to voluntary, public precepts. Despite its commemoration of one man, and a major-general at that, the Havelock memorial is a better indication of how memorials will thereafter develop than the troubled Crimean cannon.

## Chapter 3. Reinforcing the Moral Code:

### The Memorial to General Havelock in Sunderland



Figure 11: Memorial to General Havelock and replica Crimean War cannon, Mowbray Park, Sunderland. Photo by author.

The memorial to Sunderland-born Major-General Sir Henry Havelock was unveiled in Mowbray Park (formerly the People's Park) in May 1861, in front of a crowd of between 50,000 and 100,000.<sup>1</sup> Cast in bronze, the statue was ten feet high standing atop a twelve-foot high stone pedestal, overshadowing the two Crimean cannon that were situated nearby (fig. 11).<sup>2</sup> It was sculpted by William Behnes, who produced a similar statue of Havelock for Trafalgar Square in London, erected the previous month.<sup>3</sup> Both memorials commemorated the most prominent hero of the Indian Rebellion, lionised after his martyrdom death in November 1857.

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<sup>1</sup> *North and South Shields Gazette* {*Shields Gazette*}, 23 May 1861, editorial; Paul Usherwood, Jeremy Beach and Catherine Morris. *Public Sculpture of North-East England*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2000, 183; Gillian Cookson. *A History of the County of Durham (Vol. V) Sunderland*. Woodbridge: Institute of Historical Research (The Victoria History of the Counties of England), 2005, 266.

<sup>2</sup> *Newcastle Journal*, 9 April 1861, editorial; Usherwood, Beach, Morris, *Public Sculpture*, 183.

<sup>3</sup> *The Times*, 11 April 1861, editorial; Usherwood, Beach, Morris, *Public Sculpture*, 183.

The Rebellion was not a traditional war between standing armies of great foreign powers, as the Crimean War had been. Instead, it was an unprecedented imperial conflict – according to Saul David ‘the bloodiest insurrection in the history of the British Empire’ – in which Indian soldiers, joined by discontented civilians, rose against their colonial masters.<sup>4</sup> It began in May 1857 with soldiers of the Bengal army shooting their British officers and marching on Delhi. Similar incidents followed across north-central India. Garrisons of British and loyal Indian troops found themselves trapped with British officials and civilians in a string of besieged towns, most famously Lucknow, Delhi, and Cawnpore.

For several months the British command scrambled to react to the precarious situation in north-central India. Without the loyalty of many Indian troops, the situation could have been catastrophic for British rule; should the region have fallen, there was a strong possibility that the rest of India could have risen in rebellion.<sup>5</sup> The British mustered their available forces and marched the long distances to relieve the besieged towns and defeat the rebels in a series of battles and assaults on Indian-held towns.<sup>6</sup> The rebels dispersed but continued to fight, with diminishing success, until Governor-General Canning officially proclaimed a State of Peace in July 1859.<sup>7</sup>

In contrast to the siege of Sebastopol, the Rebellion was a war of movement occurring over an area of several thousand square miles, in which isolated garrisons and a dispersed enemy offered scope for a multitude of independent initiatives by the various generals commanding

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<sup>4</sup> Saul David, *The Indian Mutiny*, London: Viking, 2002, i. For a summary of the Rebellion, see Edward Spiers. *The Army and Society, 1815–1914*. London: Longman, 1980, 121–144 and Jill. C. Bender. ‘Introduction’, in *The 1857 Indian Uprising and the British Empire*. Cambridge: CUP, 2016, online edition (accessed 2 September 2019);

<sup>5</sup> David, *Indian Mutiny*, 282.

<sup>6</sup> Andrea Major and Crispin Bates (eds.) ‘Introduction’ in Crispin Bates and Andrea Major (eds.) *Mutiny at the Margins: New Perspectives on the Indian Uprising of 1857. Volume II: Britain and the Indian Uprising*. Sage Online Publishing, 2013, xvi.

<sup>7</sup> David, *Indian Mutiny*, 375.

relatively small bodies of men: as Lord Palmerston noted, a fertile opportunity for the display of heroic conduct.<sup>8</sup> There were far fewer British military dead than in the Crimea, 11,000 compared to 20,813 though, like that previous conflict, most fatalities (9,000) stemmed from disease (and sunstroke) rather than death in combat.<sup>9</sup> Andrea Major and Crispin Bates consider the Rebellion Britain's first experience of 'total war' and the first since the English civil war in which British civilians were seriously caught up in the front line of conflict; in most other colonial conflicts there were minimal (British) civilian casualties.<sup>10</sup> While civilians in India were killed, the impact was mainly vicariously experienced in Britain through sensational newspaper reports; the war did not generate a widespread sense of loss amongst British society.

The initial political reaction was split along party lines, with the opposition Tories exploiting the early setbacks for partisan gain.<sup>11</sup> There was debate over whether the rebellion constituted a military mutiny or a national revolt, with implications for who held responsibility and why.<sup>12</sup> There were echoes of the Crimea with widespread attacks on the corrupt and ineffective East India Company, the *Shields Gazette*, for example, demanding 'the men who have imperilled our empire in the East' be called to account.<sup>13</sup> But as the seriousness of the situation became apparent and news of atrocities

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<sup>8</sup> Gautam Chakravarty. *The Indian Mutiny and the British Imagination*. Cambridge: CUP, 2005, 20; Graham Dawson. *Soldier Heroes: British Adventure, Empire and the Imagining of Masculinity*. London: Routledge, 1994, 95; Palmerston quoted in J. P. Grant, *The Christian Soldier: Memories of Major-General Havelock*, KCB. J. A. Berger, 1858, 87.

<sup>9</sup> Dawson, *Soldier Heroes*, 95; Figes, *Crimea*, 467.

<sup>10</sup> Major and Bates, 'Introduction', xvi.

<sup>11</sup> Chakravarty, *Indian Mutiny*, 41.

<sup>12</sup> Hansard, 'House of Commons, 27 July 1857, Vol. 147, cc. 440-546', accessed online 20 May 2019 (<https://api.parliament.uk/historic-hansard/commons/1857/jul/27/motion-for-papers>); Bender, 'Introduction', *1857 Indian Uprising* (online edition); Christopher Herbert. *War of No Pity: The Indian Mutiny and Victorian Trauma*. Woodstock: Princeton University Press, 2008, 8; Major and Bates, 'Introduction', xxi-xxii.

<sup>13</sup> Salahuddin Malik. 'Popular British Interpretations of 'the Mutiny': Politics and Polemics', in Bates and Major, *Mutiny at the Margins*, 28-30; Heather Streets. *Martial Races: The Military, Race and Masculinity in British Imperial Culture, 1857-1914*. Manchester: MUP, 2004, 38; *Shields Gazette*, 30 July 1857, editorial.

triggered universal horror, a hegemonic narrative crystallised around polarisations of good and evil and an urge for retributive justice.<sup>14</sup>

Historiographical interpretation has traditionally viewed popular reaction as unified in the face of national crisis.<sup>15</sup> This has recently been challenged by Projit Bihari Mukharji who identifies a more nuanced response, in which the working classes, especially Irish and Scottish, were generally unenthusiastic about ‘winning the empire back’, though his citing of some popular ballads as evidence of a fractured intra-national response seems tenuous.<sup>16</sup> But the relative conformity of reaction meant that there was less dissent over the conduct of the war and questioning of political and military leadership than during the Crimean War.<sup>17</sup> There was thus less threat to the societal status quo, which would suggest less need for a subsequent rapprochement between wartime political factions.

There is general agreement that the Rebellion – in particular its sudden, violent, outbreak, its litany of atrocities, the precariousness of the British hold on India and the perceived damage to national honour and reputation – had a profound effect on the popular imagination.<sup>18</sup> Though Bates and Major’s recent assertion that the Rebellion had ‘an unparalleled and indelible impact on the national psyche’ seems somewhat overblown, it highlights the Rebellion’s psychological effect compared to the more politically-contested but less existentially-challenging Crimean War.<sup>19</sup> Most shocking for the domestic audience was the news of atrocities committed against British civilians, especially women and children, in the first months of the Rebellion, most notably at Cawnpore in June and July and Lucknow

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<sup>14</sup> Catherine Hall. *Civilising Subjects: Metropole and Colony in the English Imagination, 1830-1867*. Oxford: Polity, 2002, 284; Catherine Hall, *White, Male and Middle-Class: Explorations in Feminism and History*. Cambridge: Polity, 1992, 208-9; See also: Mandler, ‘Race and Nation’, 231.

<sup>15</sup> Stanley, ‘Christian Responses’, 278-79.

<sup>16</sup> Projit Bihari Mukharji. ‘Ambiguous Imperialisms: British Subaltern Attitudes towards the India War’, in Bates and Major, *Mutiny at the Margins*, 120-28.

<sup>17</sup> Chakravarty, *Indian Mutiny*, 35.

<sup>18</sup> Major and Bates, ‘Introduction’, xv-xvi.

<sup>19</sup> Major, ‘Introduction’, xv. See also Herbert, *War of No Pity*, 66.

in September.<sup>20</sup> The violation of British bodies, in particular defenceless women, was a fundamental threat to mid-Victorian decorum, masculinity and racial superiority, causing widespread revulsion and impassioned calls for retribution.<sup>21</sup>

The vindictive demands for retribution of the massacres – the *Durham Chronicle* demanded ‘No mercy can be shown... The horrible sufferings of our poor countrymen forbid the idea being entertained for a single moment’ – caused some disquiet and shame at the hypocritical schism in British moral and spiritual identity, particularly once ambivalence replaced the initial interacting burst of patriotism, imperialist ideology, religion, racial phobias, and national bereavement.<sup>22</sup> For Christopher Herbert, the Rebellion was the moment when educated Britons suddenly were afforded a deeply disillusioning view into the national soul and found that they could never return to their prelapsarian state of unawareness, which coincided with the beginning of the rapid unravelling of the mid-Victorian fabric of socio-moral values.<sup>23</sup>

The Rebellion generated uncertainty over British imperial power. Herbert argues India had represented a key arena for the realisation of the belief in the civilising conquest of modern, enlightened principles over all that was brutish, violent and primitive – at odds with the reality of much of the conduct of the soldiery in India and the officially-sanctioned viciousness of the retributions.<sup>24</sup> Gautam Chakravarty has pointed out that in a conflict that simultaneously justified conquest and dominion, and proved the impossibility of assimilating and acculturating subject peoples, the

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<sup>20</sup> Brian Stanley. ‘Christian Responses to the Indian Mutiny of 1857’, in W.J. Shiels (ed.) *The Church and War: Studies in Church History Vol. 20*. Oxford: Ecclesiastical History Society, 1983, 278-280; *Shields Gazette*, 3 September 1857, extract from a private letter from Calcutta; Dawson, *Soldier Heroes*, 88-93.

<sup>21</sup> Catherine Hall. “From Greenland’s Icy Mountains... to Afric’s Golden Sand”: Ethnicity, Race and Nation in Mid-Nineteenth Century England’, *Gender and History*, 5 (1993), 212-30; Stanley, ‘Christian Responses’, 279.

<sup>22</sup> Herbert, *War of No Pity*, 50, 58; *Durham Chronicle*, 4 September 1857, editorial.

<sup>23</sup> Herbert, *War of No Pity*, 16-17.

<sup>24</sup> Streets, *Martial Races*, 39-40; Herbert, *War of No Pity*, 29.

dichotomy at the core of imperial rule was revealed.<sup>25</sup> For Herbert, the shock for middle-class Britons of finding that they were despised by their supposedly grateful imperial subjects in India was partly the blow of finding that their national idealism and national self-esteem were self-deluding and morally corrupting.<sup>26</sup> For patriotic supporters of empire, the rebellion represented a threat to British status and prestige – especially occurring so soon after the debacle in the Crimea – with potentially catastrophic consequences for the wider Empire; it therefore had to be suppressed, ideally in visible ways to negate the humiliation.<sup>27</sup>

There was no widespread urge to memorialise the war after it had ended. In the north-east, there were a handful of private memorials in churches, and a memorial was unveiled in 1865 in Newcastle Cathedral dedicated to Northumberland Fusiliers who died in India.<sup>28</sup> The memorial to General Havelock is somewhat of an aberration, in the region and country. There were only two other memorials to British commanders: to Brigadier General James Neill in Ayr (1859) and the Havelock memorial in Trafalgar Square.<sup>29</sup> Raising a memorial to a commander-hero suggests a reversion to the ethos of the ‘Nelson Cult’ of the 1830s and 1840s, diverging from what might be thought the democratic shift of the 1850s embodied in the Guards Memorial and other military memorials. The statues moreover seem to celebrate martial valour and the imperial project. Does the Havelock memorial represent a ‘regressive stage’ in the development of public war memorials? What were the main emphases that the Havelock memorial was attempting to convey, and how and why were they different to previous memorials?

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<sup>25</sup> Chakravarty, *Indian Mutiny*, 4, 45. See also: Linda Colley, *Captives: Britain, Empire and the World 1600–1850*. London: Anchor, 2004, 374.

<sup>26</sup> Herbert, *War of No Pity*, 17.

<sup>27</sup> Rebecca Merritt. ‘Public Perceptions of 1857: An Overview of British Press Responses to the Indian Uprising’, in Bates and Major, *Mutiny at the Margins*, 19; Streets, *Martial Races*, 38.

<sup>28</sup> The Fusiliers memorial listed the names of the dead of all ranks. St Nicholas’ church became the cathedral in 1888.

<sup>29</sup> Memorials were later erected to Sir Colin Campbell (Glasgow, 1868) and Sir James Outram (London, 1871).



Neither was there an equivalent to the nationwide civic commemoration that the Crimean cannon represent. Comparing the gestation of the Havelock memorial and the narratives it sought to transmit to the recently-installed cannon indicates how different it was in terms of its communal support – but also how changes in its production affected the outcome. What does its gestation reveal about the organisers’ motivations and what they wanted to say? How unified was the community behind the memorial? Was the memorial a by-product of the particular circumstances of the Indian Rebellion or does it share characteristics with previous (as well as subsequent) wars?

A popular twenty-first century assumption sees Victorian war memorials – denuded of the contemporaneous civic characteristics embedded in their production – as mere glorifications of military leaders and martial valour.<sup>30</sup> Claiming ‘I haven’t a clue who they are’ and that the ‘celebration of imperial might, monarchy and military glory was outdated’, Mayor of London Ken Livingstone in October 2000 called for the removal of the Havelock and General Napier memorials from Trafalgar Square.<sup>31</sup> This chapter seeks to gain a better understanding of a memorial to one of nineteenth-century Britain’s greatest military heroes by placing it within its contemporaneous socio-political contexts. Sunderland’s Havelock memorial has never been the subject of serious research. Analysis of its gestation, unveiling and narratives is important for understanding the development of war memorials but also in recognising them as products of socio-political campaigns as much as military ones.

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<sup>30</sup> The *Guardian*, 6 June 2019, editorial.

<sup>31</sup> See the *Guardian* and *Daily Telegraph*, 20 October 2000, editorials. The memorial to Sir Charles James Napier (1782-1853) was erected in 1856; ironically, Napier was known for his radical sympathies, see: Edward Beasley. *The Chartist General: Charles James Napier, The Conquest of Sind, and Imperial Liberalism*. London: Routledge, 2016.

### 3.1 Reactions to the Rebellion and the ‘Havelock Cult’

The outbreak of the Rebellion came as a shock to an unprepared British public. As during the Crimean War, newspapers were again instrumental in whipping up and shaping popular attitudes, creating a dominant narrative in the aftermath of the massacres of British citizens.<sup>32</sup> According to Bates and Major, the modern, trans-imperial communications network – especially improved railway links and the telegraph – gave the conflict an unprecedented immediacy for the British public.<sup>33</sup> Graham Dawson argues that a new focus on global subjects in cultural entertainments, exemplified by the immensely-popular *Route of the Overland Mail to India* panorama (1850), coupled with the expansion of the media especially in the 1850s, aroused popular interest in the Empire – and a growing imperial identity.<sup>34</sup>

With news arriving faster and distributed more widely, India felt closer to home and it was more difficult for people to remain detached and uninfluenced – it also made the Rebellion and its violence seem more immediate and traumatic.<sup>35</sup> Though as Herbert and Dawson point out, the still-dissatisfactory time lag of information from India and the fragmentary and uncertain quality of the news service affected the very form of narration of the Rebellion, constituting an almost unbearably anguished, if compelling, episodic aspect for the domestic audience.<sup>36</sup>

The distance of India from Britain and the suddenness of the Rebellion’s outbreak meant there were few reporters in India for the crucial

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<sup>32</sup> For an analysis of press reaction and portrayal of the Indian Rebellion, see: Merritt, ‘Public Perceptions of 1857’, 1-24. For a survey of the nineteenth-century press, see: Aled Jones. ‘The Press and the Printed Word’, in Chris Williams (ed.) *A Companion to Nineteenth-Century Britain*. Oxford: Blackwell, 2007, 369-380; Lucy Brown. *Victorian News and Newspapers*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985; Stephen Koss. *The Rise and Fall of the Political Press in Britain: Vol. 1 The Nineteenth Century*. London: Hamish Hamilton, 1981.

<sup>33</sup> Major and Bates, ‘Introduction’, xvi; see also Bender, ‘A “great body corporate 1857”’, *Indian Uprising* (online edition).

<sup>34</sup> Dawson, *Soldier Heroes*, 84; Erkki Huhtamo. *Illusions in Motion. Media Archaeology of the Moving Panorama and Related Spectacles*. Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T., 2013, 5, 194.

<sup>35</sup> Colley, *Captives*, 369; Streets, *Martial Races*, 19.

<sup>36</sup> Herbert, *War of No Pity*, 22; Dawson, *Soldier Heroes*, 95.

first months; in the absence of eye-witness correspondents, a critical narrative that undermined heroic effort with an ironic discourse of human errors and suffering failed to materialise as it had done in the Crimea. Instead, newspapers replicated the accounts of officials and military personnel in India and most reporting of the war was couched in an abstracting discourse of troop movements and positions seized and given up, in which 'positive' instances of heroism, duty and sacrifice were foregrounded, helping to dissimulate the realities of battlefield ferocity.<sup>37</sup>

Unlike the Crimean War, the Rebellion was portrayed in the popular imagination as an arena of British valour and heroic adventures which was incorporated into more conventional narratives of British history and martial glory.<sup>38</sup> In contrast to the 'unsoldierly' British attack on the Redan in Sebastopol in September 1855, the storming of Delhi was described by *The Times* as 'one of those bold, dashing adventures which show of what mettle the soldiers of England are made', far surpassing Sebastopol 'in dramatic interest'.<sup>39</sup> The Rebellion was a war of movement, of independent initiatives and epic marches, overseen by clear heroes; indeed, as Mukharji argues, it was a powerful set of iconic, discursive symbols – Generals Havelock and Campbell, Jessie Brown, the massacre at Cawnpore, General Wheeler's daughters, the siege of Lucknow – that established a cross-class cohesion to the popular response.<sup>40</sup>

British forces matched and exceeded rebel brutalities, though such acts of violence were either glossed over or ignored completely in British narratives of the Rebellion. There were acknowledgments of imperial fallibility, sometimes in unexpected quarters, though after the initial shock had dissipated or mostly after the Rebellion had finished – more an admission of culpability for inadvertently causing the Rebellion than defence

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<sup>37</sup> Herbert, *War of No Pity*, 65; Dawson, *Soldier Heroes*, 95

<sup>38</sup> Merritt, 'Public Perceptions of 1857', 87.

<sup>39</sup> *The Times*, 19 December 1857, editorial. For the humiliating impact of the British performance at the Redan, see: Bates, *Curating the Crimea*, 38.

<sup>40</sup> Mukharji, 'Ambiguous Imperialisms', 124.

of retaliatory actions once started.<sup>41</sup> The *Illustrated London News* commented on 'our own neglect and misrule in India' and William Brock, in his biography of Havelock, stated that the British in India 'had often perpetrated oppressions of which a civilized government should have been ashamed'.<sup>42</sup> The lack of substantiation to stories of atrocities by Indian rebels concerned more thoughtful commentators, including some British officers and the correspondent W. H. Russell whose subsequent failure to find evidence of massacres of Britons led to his sympathetic portrayal of the rebels and a representation of Empire – and some of its military personnel – as institutionally violent and morally bankrupt. Russell judged retributive punishment of whole districts 'as unjust as it was unwise', and warned that 'our reign in India will be maintained at the cost of suffering which it is fearful to contemplate'; he claimed it was, however, fortunate that 'our generals' were 'Christian men' who had 'not forgotten the sentiments of civilisation and religion' and resisted calls for vengeance.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> For more on dissenting opinions, see Herbert, *War of No Pity*, 9-15.

<sup>42</sup> *Illustrated London News*, 25 July 1857, editorial; William Brock. *A Biographical Sketch of Sir Henry Havelock, K.C.B.* London: J. Nesbit, 1858, 36

<sup>43</sup> W.H. Russell. *My Diary in India, in the year 1858-9*. London: Warne and Routledge, 1860, Vol. 2, 258-259; See also: George Trevelyan. *Cawnpore*. London: MacMillan, 1865, 194, 233; Herbert, *War of No Pity*, 64-82.



Figure 12: T. Barker Jones, *The Relief of Lucknow*, 1857 (National Portrait Gallery).



Figure 13: T. Barker Jones, *The Relief of Lucknow*, 1857 (detail). General Havelock (left) shakes hands with Sir Colin Campbell who relieved the besieged British forces in the town.

In the aftermath of Cawnpore and Lucknow, the Rebellion metamorphosed from a military conflict on the imperial periphery to a popular national struggle in which ordinary Britons felt invested: 'The

calamity is national. We feel the sufferers to be ourselves. They are our brethren, our sisters, our children, who have been involved in these indescribable horrors'.<sup>44</sup> In a review of T. Jones Barker's painting *The Relief of Lucknow, 1857* (figs. 12 & 13), exhibited at Turner's Gallery in Newcastle in May 1861 (when 'so much interest is being excited respecting the inauguration of statues to the late Sir Henry Havelock, in London and Sunderland'), the *Newcastle Journal* recalled the Rebellion, stating

It would be difficult to find any epoch of a stormy time more fraught with deep interest to the civilian... than this deathless incident in the political and, from the personal interest felt by all, social history of this country.<sup>45</sup>

Another review stated that 'the subject is as a "household word" in English homesteads' and recalled the 'joy in every home throughout the British dominions' following the British retaking of Lucknow.<sup>46</sup> This reinforces Mukharji's assertion that the wars of the 1850s, especially the Indian Rebellion, fostered, for the first time, a cohesive sense of national identity.<sup>47</sup>

As during the Crimean War, a unified national response, propagated by the press, was typified by fundraising efforts for the British victims of the Rebellion. The Indian Relief Fund Committee was established in London in August 1857, followed by local Fund committees throughout the country.<sup>48</sup> The Fund was supported by a cross-section of the press, which was keen to demonstrate the nationwide and pan-society elements of the fundraising.<sup>49</sup> The north-east press reported in great detail the efforts of local Fund committees, as in Sunderland, which raised £954 by January 1858.<sup>50</sup> In Darlington, Quaker opponents of the Crimean cannon joined with the cannon's advocates to play a lead role in the local Indian Relief Fund

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<sup>44</sup> *Aberdeen Free Press and Buchan News*, 9 October 1857, editorial; Streets, *Martial Races*, 41.

<sup>45</sup> *Newcastle Journal*, 7 May 1861, *Newcastle Guardian*, 11 May 1861, both editorial.

<sup>46</sup> *Newcastle Chronicle*, 10 May 1861, review; *Newcastle Guardian*, 11 May 1861, review.

<sup>47</sup> Mukharji, 'Ambiguous Imperialisms', 120.

<sup>48</sup> Bender, 'A "great body corporate"', *1857 Indian Uprising* (online edition).

<sup>49</sup> Streets, *Martial Races*, 41-42; Dawson, *Soldier Heroes*, 106.

<sup>50</sup> *Durham Chronicle*, 15 January 1858; *Newcastle Journal*, 3 October 1857; *Newcastle Guardian*, 17 October 1857: all editorial.

committee, presaging the participation of opponents of the Crimean cannon in Sunderland with the town's Havelock memorial.<sup>51</sup> The press also reported foreign subscriptions that suggested international and cross-denominational sympathy for the British in India, such as donations made by Pope Pius IX, the Sultan of Turkey and 'His Highness Meer Ali Morad of Kheerstord Upper Scinde'.<sup>52</sup>

The unified response makes the lack of concerted memorialisation surprising. An important factor in the absence of memorials must have been the fewer casualties suffered in the Rebellion which caused fewer bereaved families and generated little traumatic impact throughout the country. Such a phenomenon as the Crimean cannon trophies – memorials of convenience – could not have been replicated after the Rebellion: besides the logistics of transporting such quantities of ordnance over a far greater distance, captured trophies would mostly have been of British origin which would have raised difficult questions about the intricacies and justifications of the Rebellion when notions of imperialism were themselves being questioned.

However, the Rebellion's impact and popular support for its successful resolution help to explain what has been described as the 'Havelock cult'.<sup>53</sup> It was the emergence of General Havelock that provided the crucial unifying narrative around which popular reaction crystallised. He was born in 1795 in Sunderland where he remained until he was six when the family moved to Kent.<sup>54</sup> After Charterhouse School and a short stint as a student at the Middle Bar, Havelock was commissioned into the army in 1815. He was posted to India in 1823 where he would spend the bulk of his career, rising slowly and unspectacularly to the rank of Lieutenant Colonel by 1857.

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<sup>51</sup> *Durham Chronicle*, 30 October 1857, editorial.

<sup>52</sup> *Newcastle Journal*, 7 November 1857; *Illustrated Berwick Journal*, 3 October 1857; *Shields Gazette*, 22 October 1857: all editorial.

<sup>53</sup> Mukharji, 'Ambiguous Imperialisms', 124.

<sup>54</sup> *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edition (accessed 20 May 2019), James Lunt: 'Havelock, Sir Henry (1795–1857)'; David, *Indian Mutiny*, 240–50, 329–31; William Brockie. *Sunderland Notables: Natives, Residents and Visitors*. Sunderland: Hills, 1894, 161–162.

During the Rebellion, Havelock led a column of less than two thousand men from Calcutta in a celebrated march over many hundreds of miles with continuous fighting along the way, re-took Cawnpore and lifted the siege of Lucknow.<sup>55</sup> Here Havelock's force and the surviving besieged soldiers and civilians were trapped by rebels, who they managed to resist until relieved by Sir Colin Campbell three weeks later (figs. 12 & 13).<sup>56</sup> Havelock found out he had been made a Knight Commander of the Order of the Bath but succumbed to dysentery, aggravated by the arduous conditions of the previous months, and died in Lucknow on 24 November 1857.<sup>57</sup>

Following so abruptly the months of press reports of Havelock's extraordinary exploits – and the hagiographic narratives which trumpeted his middle-class background and religious beliefs – Havelock's death caused widespread public lamentation:

The sudden and sad news... has spread over the country like an electric shock and has created a universal sensation of sorrow, such as has not been known since the days when the immortal Nelson died... No soldier in living memory has gone to an honoured grave more invested with the glory of his dashing deeds, or more lamented by all classes of his admiring countrymen, from the throne to the cottage, than the heroic Henry Havelock.<sup>58</sup>

The press reported a grief-stricken Anglophone world. Quebec's cathedral bells 'toll'd a muffled peal' on receipt of the news while in New York the flags on ships in harbour and public buildings flew at half-mast: 'Certainly no English soldier ever before excited so marked a feeling of sympathy among the American people as has been done by General Havelock'.<sup>59</sup>

Expanding on Benedict Anderson's thesis of newspapers as the key cultural form in the historical emergence of 'the kind of imagined

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<sup>55</sup> Brock, *Henry Havelock*, 169-196; David, *Indian Mutiny*, 244-50.

<sup>56</sup> Brock, *Henry Havelock*, 229-70; David, *Indian Mutiny*, 309-10.

<sup>57</sup> ODNB, Lunt: 'Havelock'; Brock, *Henry Havelock*, 282-89.

<sup>58</sup> *Newcastle Journal*, 23 January 1858, editorial.

<sup>59</sup> *Durham Chronicle*, 19 February 1858, editorial; *Shields Gazette*, 25 February 1858, editorial.



community that is the nation', Graham Dawson noted that the press transformed the grief into a national ritual: the quotidian face-to-face mourning at an ordinary funeral service was enhanced and extended into a mass ceremony, with the knowledge that unseen thousands of others were also simultaneously mourning the same man.<sup>60</sup> In this, as in its articulation of its response to the Rebellion, the press provided the imaginative links that forged a national public.

Local newspapers portrayed Sunderland as being especially affected, 'all classes of the inhabitants' receiving the news with 'expressions of the most mournful regret. A sad gloom appeared on every countenance, young and old ... the only subject of conversation during the day'.<sup>61</sup> In the following weeks, the press sought to emphasise his local connections, recounting the formative experiences of his Sunderland childhood and basking in the reflected glory: 'Never has a son of the County of Durham passed to his rest more deserving of all honour than the good and gallant Havelock'.<sup>62</sup>

In the months and years following Havelock's death, his cult became a national phenomenon, his fame overshadowing all other commanders and remaining undamaged by significant dissent.<sup>63</sup> It was manifested in the north-east in many ways. Newspaper advertisements promoted Havelock capes, scarves and boots, early examples of the commercialisation of (imperial) heroism that would be increasingly common as the century progressed.<sup>64</sup> The Loyal Havelock masonic lodge was established in Hartlepool, and a competing greyhound, race horse and prize bull were each

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<sup>60</sup> Dawson, *Soldier Heroes*, 115-119; Benedict Anderson. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationality*. London: Verso, 2006, 35-36.

<sup>64</sup> *Newcastle Journal*, 9 January 1858, editorial.

<sup>62</sup> *Durham Chronicle*, 15 January 1858, editorial.

<sup>63</sup> Mukharji, 'Ambiguous Imperialisms', 127. For more on the nationwide Havelock 'mania' see: Mukharji, 'Ambiguous Imperialisms', 126; Dawson, *Soldier Heroes*, 105.

<sup>64</sup> John M. MacKenzie. *Propaganda and Empire: The Manipulation of British Public Opinion, 1880-1960*. Manchester: MUP, 1984, 16; David Nash. 'Turning the God of Battles. Secular and Moral Critiques of the South African War', in Greg Cuthbertson, Albert Grundlingh and Mary-Lynn Suttie (eds.) *Writing a Wider War: Rethinking Gender, Race, and Identity in the South African War, 1899-1902*. Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 2002, 274.

named *General Havelock*.<sup>65</sup> Pubs named the *Havelock Arms* were opened in Haydon Bridge, Darlington and South Shields; a Sunderland fishing boat was named *General Havelock* and the newly-built brig *Lady Havelock* was launched in July 1858.<sup>66</sup> While naming a horse after a local aristocrat, for example, was not uncommon, the sheer scale of Havelock's 'commodification' and commemorative nomenclature was.

Havelock's popularity was underpinned by three elements of his life and experience during the Rebellion. Most conventionally, he was considered a military hero who had performed feats of selfless courage and led his soldiers through incredibly difficult conditions, culminating in the rescue of suffering women and children at Lucknow.<sup>67</sup> But, as the son of a ship builder on the River Wear and maternal grandson of a solicitor from Stockton-on-Tees, he was also a 'people's man' who represented the social progress made since the 1832 Reform Act and the subsequent emergence of a confident, assertive middle class.<sup>68</sup> As such, he amply demonstrated the virtues of self-reliance, moderation, and perseverance over inherited privilege and fecklessness.<sup>69</sup> Moreover, as a relatively impecunious officer – he left little private property or money at his death – he had earned his promotions through ability, particularly apposite amidst the continuing post-Crimea controversy over the purchase of promotion in the army.<sup>70</sup> For radical newspapers – such as *Lloyd's Weekly* which welcomed Havelock's promotion and knighthood as concessions 'extorted from our aristocratic governors by the vigorous voice of the people' – and Whiggish newspapers

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<sup>65</sup> *Newcastle Daily Chronicle*, 1 May 1859, advertisement for fashionwear; *Durham County Advertiser*, 10 September 1858, editorial (Hartlepool Lodge); *Shields Gazette*, 9 March 1859, editorial (greyhound); *Durham Chronicle*, 7 May 1858, editorial (racehorse); *Durham Chronicle*, 5 August 1859, editorial (bull).

<sup>66</sup> *Newcastle Daily Chronicle*, 30 June 1858, editorial (fishing boat); *Shields Gazette*, 29 July 1858, editorial (brig).

<sup>67</sup> Brock described many episodes of personal courage, for example remaining unharmed after exposing himself to cannon fire in Persia: Brock. *Henry Havelock*, 142.

<sup>68</sup> Martin Hewitt. 'Why the Notion of Victorian Britain Does Make Sense', *Victorian Studies*, 48:3 (Spring, 2006) 399-400; Harold Perkin. *The Origins of Modern English Society*. London: Routledge, 2002 (2<sup>nd</sup> edition), 184, 186, 271-273, 365, 373.

<sup>69</sup> *Teesdale Mercury*, 15 January 1858, obituary.

<sup>70</sup> Kenneth Hendrickson. *Making Saints: Religion and the Public Image of the British Army, 1809-1885*. London: Associated University Presses, 1998, 99-105; Anderson. 'Christian Militarism', 50.

generally, the Havelock narrative was an opportunity to further challenge aristocratic hegemony within society.<sup>71</sup>

Also integral to Havelock's reputation were his religious beliefs. Brought up a devout Anglican, Havelock became a Baptist following his marriage in 1829 to the daughter of Joshua Marshman, the leading Baptist missionary in India.<sup>72</sup> He was renowned for his philanthropic and evangelical activities among his troops, who became known as 'Havelock's Saints' and whose sobriety ensured them a reputation for reliability.<sup>73</sup> It was also widely-believed that his slow promotion had been hampered by this uncompromising evangelicalism, which fellow officers thought prevented him from being a gentleman.<sup>74</sup>

This merger of middle-class and religious virtues had broad appeal and was emphasised and exploited by a press that wanted personalities around which its readers and the wider public could coalesce and be inspired by.<sup>75</sup> Other commanders in India, such as Henry Lawrence, John Nicholson, and James Neill, achieved military success, were devout Christians and came from middle-class backgrounds but it was the uncomplicated, virtuous Havelock who became the unrivalled national hero.<sup>76</sup> Moreover, unlike many of the other commanders, Havelock was English which, as Mukharji astutely argues, meant Havelock could be portrayed as a more inclusive 'British' hero (with a larger potential audience) while Sir Colin Campbell, for example, was considered primarily a Scottish hero.<sup>77</sup> Furthermore, Havelock had proved reluctant to undertake reprisals

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<sup>71</sup> *Lloyd's Weekly*, 13 December 1857, editorial. See also: Spiers. *Army and Society*, 118; Dawson, *Soldier Heroes*, 107.

<sup>72</sup> ODNB, Lunt: 'Havelock'; Brock, *Henry Havelock*, 43.

<sup>73</sup> ODNB, Lunt: 'Havelock'; Brock, *Henry Havelock*, 49; John M. MacKenzie. 'Heroic Myths of Empire', in John MacKenzie (ed.) *Popular Imperialism and the Military 1850-1950*. Manchester: MUP, 1992, 114.

<sup>74</sup> Brock, *Henry Havelock*, 48-49.

<sup>75</sup> Mukharji, 'Ambiguous Imperialisms', 124.

<sup>76</sup> Olive Anderson. 'The Growth of Christian Militarism in Mid-Victorian Britain', *English Historical Review* 86 (1971), 49-50.

<sup>77</sup> Mukharji, 'Ambiguous Imperialisms', 124. The 'cult of the highlander' was also resented by English sections of the army throughout the century, see: Streets, *Warrior Races*, 145.

against mutineers which further enhanced his religious and moral standing.<sup>78</sup> So popular was Havelock that his costly tactical errors before Lucknow were ignored in favour of his 'timely' death, portrayed as the final act in a long career of selfless service and which transformed him from hero of the Rebellion to something greater, if more abstract, in the popular imagination.<sup>79</sup>

Havelock possessed a formidable set of qualities but, as Mukharji and Dawson argue, the Havelock narrative was a complex amalgam of many different motifs and meanings which enabled different sections of society to impute different meanings to it.<sup>80</sup> While alive, newspapers had generally treated his military exploits with due scrutiny without reference to character or background but, with the tone of the national conversation so highly charged with issues of religion, morality and providence, this changed: 'with his death, responsibility to laud him passed from his superiors and the government to a public who needed and wanted him more'.<sup>81</sup>

Changes in media and communications, especially in publishing and the massive proliferation in printed discourse, facilitated the dissemination of the 'Havelock myth' and biographical works published in the months and years that followed were crucial to its long-term perpetuation.<sup>82</sup> The contemporary enthusiasm for necrology and hagiography combined in two extremely popular and influential biographies: *A Biographical Sketch of Sir Henry Havelock*, by Reverend William Brock, and *The Memoirs of Sir Henry Havelock, K.C.B.* by J. C. Marshman, Havelock's brother in law.<sup>83</sup> Brock was a celebrated Baptist pastor at Bloomsbury Chapel and friend of Havelock's, whose hastily-produced but hugely-popular biography was in its fifth edition

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<sup>78</sup> Dawson, *Soldier Heroes*, 113.

<sup>79</sup> John Tosh. *Manliness and Masculinities in Nineteenth-Century Britain: Essays on Gender, Family and Empire*. Harlow: Pearson, 2005, 66; Hendrickson, *Making Saints*, 104; Dawson, *Soldier Heroes*, 120.

<sup>80</sup> Mukharji, 'Ambiguous Imperialisms', 124; Dawson, *Soldier Heroes*, 83, 119.

<sup>81</sup> Hendrickson, *Making Saints*, 105-106.

<sup>82</sup> Dawson, *Soldier Heroes*, 81-82.

<sup>83</sup> J. Marshman. *The Memoirs of Sir Henry Havelock, K.C.B.* London: Longmans, 1860.

by the end of 1858.<sup>84</sup> An advocate of an expansionist Christian Empire, his polemic portrayed Havelock as an imperial hero, whose Christianity enhanced rather than weakened his masculine and martial vigour and indeed explained his success.<sup>85</sup> Marshman's book, published in 1860 and based on Havelock's diaries and correspondence, was more measured but similarly popular. Both built on the success of the *Memorials of Captain Hedley Vicars, 97th Regiment*, the short biography of an evangelical officer in the Crimea which exposed a godly minority within the army and promulgated the novel idea that the rest of the world should be Christianized by these fundamentally moral Christian soldiers.<sup>86</sup>

Havelock's fame was boosted by changing attitudes to the army. Whereas the army in the Crimea had been criticised for its inefficiency and bungling officer class, British forces in India were perceived as being commanded by a series of inspirational leaders who led their soldiers through remarkable feats of endurance.<sup>87</sup> They seemed wholly dissimilar to the elderly, dissolute aristocratic generals of the Crimea and the press lionized this new breed of commander whose attributes appealed to their readers.<sup>88</sup>

The strength of the British army had risen from 116,434 in 1846 to 217,922 by 1861 and for the first time the army faced a permanent need to make military service more palatable to a wider range of recruits.<sup>89</sup> Significant reforms, such as improvements in pay and conditions of service were implemented after the Crimean War, which began to overturn popular assumptions that soldiers were mainly useful for suppressing domestic disorder and parading, or swearing, drinking and fighting; instead, the army

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<sup>84</sup> Hendrickson, *Making Saints*, 107.

<sup>85</sup> Brock, *Henry Havelock*, 142-143.

<sup>86</sup> Catherine Marsh. *Memorials of Captain Hedley Vicars, 97th Regiment*. London: James Nisbet, 1855; see also Anderson, 'Christian Militarism', 48-49.

<sup>87</sup> Anderson, 'Christian Militarism', 17, 34, 267.

<sup>88</sup> Jonathan Parry. *The Politics of Patriotism: English liberalism, National Identity and Europe, 1830-1866*. Cambridge: CUP, 2006, 18; Spiers, *Army and Society*, 132.

<sup>89</sup> Streets, *Martial Races*, 34-35.

was rebranded as a socially responsible, representative and patriotic institution, the instrument of the nation's will.<sup>90</sup>

The notion of 'the people's army' comprised of 'a band of Christian soldiers' was growing. Evangelical initiatives had occurred within the army in previous decades and the Rebellion has correctly been identified as a crucial step in the rise of a Christian militarism that infiltrated the army from the 1860s to the 1890s and further rehabilitated its positive image and reputation within society, the religious public especially.<sup>91</sup> Olive Anderson argues that by the mid-1860s the British army was less exclusively Anglican, but more obtrusively Christian, than it had ever been since the Restoration, representing a microcosm of British society.<sup>92</sup> Moreover, the figure of a Christian military hero, like the Baptist Havelock, fighting for Christianity (not Anglican Protestantism) against the foreign and heathen 'other' – in addition to the improved moral credentials of the soldiery and a growing acceptance of the armed forces as legitimate fields of Christian service – helped to reconcile traditional nonconformist suspicion of empire and the military with Victorian imperialism.<sup>93</sup>

Havelock's career proved the compatibility of Christianity and soldiering over a lifetime of active service. Dawson perceptively argues that this composite figure of exemplary moral manhood produced a new form of British masculinity, characterized by a potent combination of Anglo-Saxon authority, superiority and martial prowess, with Protestant religious zeal

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<sup>90</sup> Michael Paris, *Warrior Nation: Images of War in British Popular Culture 1850–2000*. London: Reaktion, 2000, 32; Anderson, 'Christian Militarism', 47; Parry, *Politics of Patriotism*, 18. Innovations and reforms had begun to improve conditions for ordinary soldier from the 1820s and 1830s onwards, see: Hendrickson, *Making Saints*, 9–10; John H. Rumsby, *'Discipline, System and Style': The Sixteenth Lancers and British Soldiering in India 1822–1846*. Solihull: Helion, 2015, 302;

<sup>91</sup> Hendrickson, *Making Saints*, 74–93; Anderson, 'Christian Militarism', 46–72; Spiers, *Army and Society*, 28.

<sup>92</sup> Anderson, 'Christian Militarism', 60; Hugh McLeod. *Religion and Society in England, 1850–1914*. Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1996, 27; Hewitt, 'Notion of Victorian Britain', 421–423; Perkin, *Modern English Society*, 202–203.

<sup>93</sup> McLeod, *Religion and Society*, 152–153; D.W. Bebbington. *The Nonconformist Conscience: Chapel and Politics 1870–1914*. London: Allen & Unwin, 1982, 68; Hendrickson, *Making Saints*, 15, 109.

and moral righteousness.<sup>94</sup> Havelock was the prototype of the popular soldier heroes of the later Victorian Empire, such as Wolseley, Gordon, and Roberts – portrayed and perceived as paradigmatic men of duty.

Havelock's appeal was also boosted by the late-1850s enthusiasm among the better-educated middle class for seventeenth century Puritanism, the Civil War and Oliver Cromwell in particular, initiated in the 1840s by Thomas Carlyle's lecture series 'Heroes and Hero Worship' and his book *Oliver Cromwell's Letters and Speeches*.<sup>95</sup> Cromwell's self-discipline and fortitude were idealised and it became common in the 1850s – not least in northern industrialised towns – to acclaim 'true old Puritan conduct'.<sup>96</sup> The *Newcastle Guardian* called Havelock 'the great Baptist general, that soldier of the old Puritan stamp' and he was widely portrayed as a new Cromwell, fearless, self-disciplined and energetic, embodying the fervent military-religious ethic.<sup>97</sup>

The exceptional, nationwide atmosphere of popular enthusiasm and interest in the General evolved into the primary expression of emotional engagement with the Indian Rebellion. This was the context in which the Sunderland memorial evolved, its gestation lasting from early 1858 to its unveiling in May 1861. Havelock seemed to personify both profound change in society and immutable exemplary qualities which gave him immense popular appeal. It was this that Sunderland's civic leaders wanted to harness by seeking to celebrate the town's connection to the feted General in the shape of a public memorial.

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<sup>94</sup> Dawson, *Soldier Heroes*, 83.

<sup>95</sup> Anderson, 'Christian Militarism', 51. Hendrickson, *Making Saints*, 117.

<sup>96</sup> Tristram Hunt. *Building Jerusalem: The Rise and Fall of the Victorian City*. London: Phoenix, 2005, 133-134.

<sup>97</sup> Parry, *Politics of Patriotism*, 18; *Newcastle Guardian*, 8 December 1860, editorial; MacKenzie. 'Heroic Myths of Empire', 117.

### 3.2 The Evolution of the Memorial



Figure 14: Havelock memorial, Sunderland. Photo by author.

By the 1860s, commemorative sculpture was increasingly common throughout Britain, honouring a wide range of personalities from political, military, literary, industrial backgrounds.<sup>98</sup> This unprecedented flowering of public sculpture was propelled by the transformation of the political landscape and the rise of a self-confident industrial and commercial bourgeoisie.<sup>99</sup> Expanding industrialised towns sought monuments and statuary to enhance new public spaces and buildings, such as parks and

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<sup>98</sup> Read, *Victorian Sculpture*, 85-87.

<sup>99</sup> Martina Droth, Jason Edwards and Michael Hatt (eds.) *Sculpture Victorious: Art in an Age of Invention, 1837-1901*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014, 15.



town halls.<sup>100</sup> Rapid technological innovation fed the increased demand for public sculpture and facilitated increased production.<sup>101</sup>

Havelock's death prompted immediate calls in Sunderland for a memorial: 'a very general feeling has been expressed within the last day or two that a monument should be erected by public subscription ... to the memory of this distinguished warrior at the place of his birth'.<sup>102</sup> Amidst widespread grief and lionisation, Sunderland was eager to appropriate the nation's hero: as Henry Fenwick MP stated at the initial meeting to discuss the memorial, 'he is our Havelock and belongs to us'.<sup>103</sup>

The statue's gestation was an example of effective 'subscriber democracy', following well-established procedures for raising funds for civic, often philanthropic, purposes.<sup>104</sup> At the fortnightly meeting of Sunderland Council, a resolution was carried:

... that it is desirable that the inhabitants of Sunderland should testify in some public and permanent manner their deep sense of the illustrious services rendered in India to this country by the gallant general Sir Henry Havelock... That it is felt to be a great honour to Sunderland to be the birthplace of the General and that this town is therefore the proper place in which a fitting monument should be erected in his memory.<sup>105</sup>

It appointed a committee of councillors and other members of the civic and regional elite to steer the process. Its first meeting, open to the public, was held at the Athenaeum on 22 January 1858. It elected officers, appealed for subscribers, called for memorial designs and sought permission from the

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<sup>100</sup> Usherwood, Beach, Morris, *Public Sculpture*, xvii; Droth, Edwards, Hatt, *Sculpture Victorious*, 15-16.

<sup>101</sup> Droth, Edwards, Hatt, *Sculpture Victorious*, 15, 43.

<sup>102</sup> *Newcastle Journal*, 9 January 1858, editorial.

<sup>103</sup> *Durham Chronicle*, 29 January 1858, editorial.

<sup>104</sup> For summaries of typical practice, see: Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall. *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class 1780-1850*. London: Routledge, 1992, 420-421; <sup>104</sup> R.J. Morris. *Class, Sect and Party. The Making of the British Middle Class, Leeds 1820-1850*. Manchester: MUP, 1990, 148-149.

<sup>105</sup> Sunderland Council Minutes, 13 January 1858, Tyne and Wear Archive (TWA), CB.SU/1/4.

Council to allow it to be sited in the park.<sup>106</sup> This initial meeting was announced and previewed in the press and afterwards reported in detail, as were subsequent meetings of the Sunderland Havelock Fund.<sup>107</sup> There was much initial enthusiasm: only three weeks after the Athenaeum meeting, £800 was subscribed to the fund and this had risen to £1,100 by December 1858.<sup>108</sup> While the committee resolved at its first meeting that subscribers would be ‘invited to choose a design’, it was the committee that made the decision to erect a statue and chose the design of Behnes, who was subsequently accused of immorally ingratiating himself with the committee.<sup>109</sup>

The organisational process behind the cannon portrayed a united civic leadership. The memorial’s advocates represented a range of economic interests, reinforcing the notion of a blurring of industrial and commercial distinctions amongst the civic middle class which fostered their common interest, a form of domination motivated by the desire to assert and secure group identity and authority.<sup>110</sup> They were mostly high-status, larger-scale employers, merchants and senior professionals like solicitors.<sup>111</sup> Morris asserts that though the neutrality of ‘subscriber democracy’ facilitated a diversity of opinions, backgrounds and interests, it was members of the upper-status elite that dominated the institutions and processes that ‘subscriber democracy’ typified, as with the memorial fund in Sunderland.<sup>112</sup>

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<sup>106</sup> *Newcastle Journal*, 23 January 1858; *Durham Chronicle*, 29 January 1858; *Durham County Advertiser*, 29 January 1858: all editorial.

<sup>107</sup> *Shields Gazette*, 28 June 1860, editorial.

<sup>108</sup> *Newcastle Journal*, 13 February 1858, editorial; *Newcastle Journal*, 4 December 1858, editorial.

<sup>109</sup> *Shields Gazette*, 4 January 1859, editorial; *Newcastle Journal*, 4 December 1858, editorial; *Newcastle Daily Chronicle*, 1 April 1859, letter from ‘An Old Soldier’.

<sup>110</sup> Morris, *Class, Sect and Party*, 4-5; Simon Gunn. ‘The “Failure” of the Victorian Middle Class: A Critique’, in J. Wolff and J. Seed (eds.) *The Culture of Capital: Art, Power and the Nineteenth-Century Middle Class*. Manchester: MUP, 1988, 23; Perkin, *Modern English Society*, 428-429; Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes*, 420-421.

<sup>111</sup> See Morris, *Class, Sect and Party*, 23; Perkin, *Modern English Society*, 428-429; Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes*, 420-421; Simon Gunn. *The Public Culture of the Victorian Middle Class: Ritual and Authority and the English Industrial City, 1840-1914*. Manchester: MUP, 2000, 17.

<sup>112</sup> Morris, *Class, Sect and Party*, 4-5. See also Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes*, 422.

Members of the memorial committee included two serving MPs, Fenwick (solicitor) and George Hudson (railway magnate), former MP Baronet Hedley Williamson (ship owner, landowner) and future MP Edward Gourley (ship owner and River Wear Commissioner); four aldermen: James Hartley (prominent glass manufacturer), Anthony Moore (solicitor), former mayor Samuel Alcock (ship owner, solicitor) and James Allison (brewer); other members were John Candlish (glass manufacturer), James Laing (leading ship builder) and Earl Vane, scion of County Durham's leading aristocratic family, the Londonderrys.<sup>113</sup> It was customary for committees to include local aristocrats who added prestige to these quintessentially-bourgeois entities, even if the real power lay with the 'big battalions' of the middle class (though the Londonderrys, through their extensive industrial and commercial power, transcended aristocratic and industrial bourgeois divisions).<sup>114</sup>

The statue's committee and advocates emerged, therefore, from the pre-existing structure of civic leadership – the new urban squirearchy, identified by John Garrard, which manifested itself in a highly-personal and all-enveloping form of social control that closely paralleled its rural counterpart.<sup>115</sup> Such men had an unquestioned sense of being right and of having superior moral and cultural values and felt justified in imposing them on others in their town, a phenomenon termed the 'philanthropy of confidence'.<sup>116</sup> Morris notes how the same names recurred across the spectrum of a town's socio-political activities and the types of voluntary

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<sup>113</sup> Occupational backgrounds extrapolated from *Wards's Directory 1859-60* and newspaper research. See also: Geoffrey Milburn and Stuart Miller. *Sunderland: River, Town and People. A History from the 1780s*. Sunderland: Sunderland Borough Council, 1988, 53, 124; Brockie, *Sunderland Notables*, 326-31.

<sup>114</sup> Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes*, 422. For information on the Londonderrys' economic power, see: Norman McCord. *North-East England: An Economic and Social History. The Region's Development 1760-1960*. London: Batsford Academic, 1979, 114-115; For a description of the maternalistic activities of the Londonderrys towards their workers, see: Francis Mewburn. *The Larchfield Diary: Extracts from the Diary of the Late Mr Mewburn, First Railway Solicitor*. Darlington: Bailey, 1876, 147 and *Sunderland Herald*, 23 July 1858, editorial.

<sup>115</sup> John Garrard. 'Urban Elites, 1850-1914: the Rule and Decline of a New Squirearchy?', *Albion*, 27, 3 (1995): 583, 586-587, 595.

<sup>116</sup> Morris, *Class, Sect and Party*, 178.

associations and societies that embodied 'subscriber democracy'.<sup>117</sup> There was significant overlap between the Crimean cannons and the Havelock statue in the socio-economic calibre of the personnel involved; indeed, many participated in both projects, such as Fenwick, Williamson, Ranson, Alcock and Moore.

Graham Dawson argues that the Havelock narrative was vital for promoting national unity during the Rebellion, in effect the 'hegemonic unification of a range of competing investments and interests in the idea of 'the nation' and its empire'.<sup>118</sup> Public monuments, if organised sensitively and following acceptable precedent, yield resolution and consensus and the unassailability of Havelock's status as pan-society hero meant that the memorial – and the process that delivered it – possessed remarkable attributes around which a disparate, local middle class could (and would want to) coalesce. Helke Rausch noted that the cult of the 'civilising' military hero transcended party boundaries and Liberal MP Fenwick and Conservative Hudson conveyed a united front at the inaugural committee meeting and thereafter.<sup>119</sup>

It also attracted the support of opponents of the Crimean cannon, like Baptist and Radical John Candlish.<sup>120</sup> The downplaying of Havelock's nonconformity, not least by Brock and Marshman who astutely portrayed Havelock's evangelicalism as inclusively non-denominational, meant that Sunderland's predominantly Anglican elite was comfortable endorsing Havelock's Christian virtues – together with increasingly influential nonconformist middle-class leaders like Candlish, who felt able to sanction this Christian imperial warrior.<sup>121</sup> This corresponds with Peter Mandler's

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<sup>117</sup> Morris, *Class, Sect and Party*, 4-5; Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes*, 420-421.

<sup>118</sup> Dawson, *Soldier Heroes*, 120.

<sup>119</sup> Helke Rausch. 'The Nation as a Community Born of War? Symbolic Strategies and Popular Reception of Public Statues', *European Review of History: Revue européenne d'histoire*, 14:1 (March 2007), 88.

<sup>120</sup> Brockie, *Sunderland Notables*, 326-327; ODNB online edition (accessed 19 March 2019), Catherine Ross; Candlish, John (1816-1874).

<sup>121</sup> Brock describes Havelock's encouragement of greater ecumenism: Brock, *Sir Henry Havelock*, 79. See also Hendrickson, *Making Saints*, 113.

tracking of the emergence of a new religious consensus, more pluralist, more tolerant of ecclesiological differences, and more homogeneous in a shared commitment to religious earnestness and individual responsibility; the absorption into the municipal leadership strata of hitherto radical nonconformists like Candlish also suggested that class differences were shrinking or converging, particularly potent for the idea of national character.<sup>122</sup>

Frank Prochaska wrote that the working class undertook a wide field of charitable work, often in conjunction with campaigns initiated by the middle or upper classes.<sup>123</sup> However, most working-class philanthropic activity took place spontaneously and independently, rarely leaving a record for the historian and there is little evidence of working-class involvement in the committee or organisational process. Nor was there significant participation by women. Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall have proposed that a 'domestic ideology' divided the male-associated public world of work and politics from the world of home and family, to which women were relegated.<sup>124</sup> It was a moral order, often articulated with evangelic religion, that reinforced the framework of relations between the sexes elsewhere, such as at church. Women played prominent roles in local voluntary bodies and charities — associated with characteristics of home and family — and were active in political campaigns such as the abolition of slavery and Chartism but were generally excluded from municipal politics and culture, and their marginality was even more pronounced in issues of war and the military, all of which elements the Havelock statue combined.<sup>125</sup> This is

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<sup>122</sup> Mandler, 'Race and Nation', 67; see also Parry, *Politics of Patriotism*, 18.

<sup>123</sup> F.K. Prochaska, *The Voluntary Impulse: Philanthropy in Modern Britain*. London: Faber, 1988, 28-29.

<sup>124</sup> Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes*, 416, 425. See also: R. Morris and R. Rodger in Morris and Rodger (eds.) *The Victorian City: A Reader in British Urban History, 1820-1914*. London: Longman, 1993, 36; D.W. Bebbington. *Victorian Nonconformity*. Bangor, Headstart History, 1992, 64.

<sup>125</sup> Prochaska, *Voluntary Impulse*, 28-29, 42; Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes*, 445.

further reflected in the subscription lists, where the presence of women was minimal (fig. 15).<sup>126</sup>

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<sup>126</sup> Miss Meadley, the sole woman on the list of 12 March 1858, appears to have come from the middle-class milieu of its organisers, based on the significant amount she donated and her residence on Fawcett Street, one of the town's most prestigious addresses: see *Ward's North of England Directory 1859-60*. Newcastle-on-Tyne: Robert Ward, 1859.

SUBSCRIPTIONS FOR THE HAVELOCK MONUMENT TO BE ERECTED IN MOWBRAY PARK, SUNDERLAND.			
	£	s.	d.
R. H. Allan, Esq., Blackwell	200	0	0
R. L. Pemberton, Esq.	50	0	0
E. T. Gourley, Esq.	50	0	0
The Right Hon. the Earl of Durham	25	0	0
Sir H. Williamson, Bart.	25	0	0
B. C. Lawton, Esq.	21	0	0
Geo. Hudson, Esq., M.P.	20	0	0
Henry Fenwick, Esq., M.P.	20	0	0
George Hudson, Esq., Monkwearmouth	20	0	0
Grange	20	0	0
C. Bramwell, Esq.	20	0	0
James Laing, Esq.	20	0	0
E. H. Maling, Esq.	20	0	0
W. Nicholson and Sons	10	10	0
A. J. Moore, Esq.	10	10	0
Hugh Taylor, Esq., Backworth	10	10	0
G. S. Ranson, Esq., Mayor	10	0	0
H. Bramwell, Esq.	10	0	0
R. E. D. Shafto, Esq., M.P.	10	0	0
Wm. Snowball, Esq.	10	0	0
H. Tanner, Esq.	10	0	0
John Mowbray, Esq., M.P.	20	0	0
The Very Rev. the Dean of Durham	25	0	0
J. Temperley, Esq.	10	0	0
Lambton and Co.	20	0	0
Sir W. Eden, Bart.	5	0	0
G. Wilkinson, Esq.	5	0	0
James Allison, Esq.	10	0	0
J. Candlish, Esq.	5	0	0
W. Briggs and Sons	3	0	0
Thos. Pratt, Esq.	10	0	0
R. H. Potts Brothers	10	0	0
R. Ord, Esq.	5	0	0
S. Alcock, Esq.	10	0	0
J. Ritson and Sons	2	2	0
F. and W. Ritson and J. G. Ritson	3	3	0
W. French	2	2	0
R. Etwin	2	2	0
M. Lonie and Co.	3	3	0
R. Vint and Carr	5	0	0
W. Oliver	2	2	0
J. Charlton	3	3	0
Thomas Nicholson	2	2	0
John Hutchinson, Esq.	20	0	0
The Right Rev. the Bishop of Durham	25	0	0
T. B. Ord	5	5	0
George Thompson	5	5	0
Robert Fenwick	10	0	0
W. L. Wharton, Esq.	10	10	0
Bryan Scurfield	5	5	0
Thomas Hunter	2	2	0
Miss Meadley	5	0	0
John Watson	2	2	0
Mrs. Johnson	5	0	0
R. Greenwell	3	0	0
L. Hogg, Norton	1	1	0
W. Hodgson	1	1	0
G. H. Gowland	1	1	0
Captain Donnison	1	1	0
H. Armstrong	1	1	0
C. A. Moon	1	1	0
A Day's Pay	1	5	0
J. Watson	1	1	0
W. Dawson	1	1	0
John Gillies	1	1	0
James Hills	1	1	0
Benjamin Parker	1	1	0
James Ayre, jun.	1	1	0
J. Dunn	1	1	0
J. Richardson, High-street	1	1	0
John Bell	1	0	0
Sundry Sums per Gourley and Ord	3	7	0
Captain Dale	1	1	0
Edward Bailey	1	1	0
Dixon, Phillips, and Co.	2	2	0
William Brydon	1	1	0
Robert Clay	1	1	0
W. Satchell	1	0	0
B. Levy	1	1	0
Robert Brown	1	1	0
M. Douglas	1	1	0
William Wade	1	1	0
Sundry Sums per Thompson and Gales	3	5	0

Figure 15: List of Subscriptions to the 'Havelock Monument'.  
(*Durham Chronicle*, 12 March 1858).

Generally, subscription lists were comprised of donors from the town, county and region's middle classes, gentry and nobility – indeed they reveal the vibrant interplay between these groupings (fig. 15). Reflecting Sunderland's maritime location and economy, numerous ship builders and owners appeared on the subscription list of 12 March 1858 (Ritson, Scurfield, Ord), as well as several River Wear Commissioners, a post of enormous influence (Alcock, Shafto, the latter from a prominent landowning family in the county). Reflecting the prominence of the professions, there were at least three solicitors (Ranson, Snowball and Alcock), who had all been (or would be) mayor or town clerk. The socio-economic backgrounds of subscribers overlapped, not least among those who pursued several occupations, such as Alcock, shipowner and solicitor, and Christopher Bramwell of Hardwicke Hall, ship owner and wine merchant (and another Wear Commissioner). Many were or had been councillors. Four M.P.s, three of the most senior County Durham clergy and a number of landowners, including one of the original proposers of a memorial, R. H. Allan of Blackwell Grange, were subscribers.<sup>127</sup>

The voluntary public element of subscriber democracy was supposed to represent a cross-class community effort. Some suggestions were made to encourage working-class donations. At the inaugural meeting of the committee, Henry Fenwick claimed 'it is the earnest desire of its inhabitants to originate and promote subscriptions... and that the support of all classes be invited'.<sup>128</sup> In a letter to the *Durham County Advertiser*, Earl Vane proposed 'a limit to the maximum subscription but none to the minimum, this affording an opportunity for all classes to contribute' but his suggestion does not appear to have been adopted.<sup>129</sup> There were working-class subscribers, as seen on the list of 12 March (fig. 15): 'A Day's Pay' suggests an individual workman, while 'Sundry Sums per Gourley and Ord', and 'Sundry Sums per Thompson and Gales' indicate amalgamations of

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<sup>127</sup> Occupational backgrounds extrapolated from *Wards's Directory 1859-60* and newspaper research. See also: Brockie, *Sunderland Notables*, 231-233.

<sup>128</sup> *Durham Chronicle*, 29 January 1858, editorial.

<sup>129</sup> *Durham County Advertiser*, 15 January 1858, letter from Earl Vane.



donations from these two workplaces. Edward Gourley was Secretary of the memorial committee and there may have been an element of pressure or expectation on his workers to cohere with their employer's wishes.

The Havelock memorial's gestation was markedly different to that of Sunderland's Crimean cannon. The Havelock memorial committee and its supporters adhered to an accepted and well-established framework of municipal social agency. The memorial was the result of a unified effort by the town's influential elite, able to unite behind an uncontested national hero whose acclaim redounded to the honour of Sunderland; in contrast, the cannon were funded by private donations and organised by a narrow coterie of civic leaders, a literal symbol of a problematic, disputed war, which exacerbated political and religious divisions. The ethos underpinning the Havelock memorial was of concerted popular support; public subscription reinforced this by depicting it as a voluntary and spontaneous enterprise, even if the paucity of working-class subscribers somewhat undermines the veneer of pan-society endeavour. It is tempting to speculate that the organisers had learnt their lessons from the problematic gestation of the cannon; rumours in 1860 of a wish to remove the cannon because of their unpopularity might support this.<sup>130</sup> It is safer to view the cannons as an anomaly, whose private funding was motivated by a realisation that they would be divisive within the community; the Havelock memorial reverted back to accepted public, voluntary precedents, evidence of the unifying characteristics of the Havelock narrative.

The gestations of the Havelock statues in Sunderland and London were comparatively similar and ran in tandem – though Sunderland was more successful in terms of its climactic inauguration ceremony. In London, an initial meeting took place at the Drury Lane Theatre in March 1858 where a committee and subscription fund was established.<sup>131</sup> Aristocrats were preponderant, including the Marquis of Anglesey and the Duke of

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<sup>130</sup> *Durham Chronicle*, 17 August 1860, editorial.

<sup>131</sup> *The Times*, 20 March 1858, editorial.

Cambridge as chairman, but a wider cross-section of the population beyond the nobility was also represented, including politicians, scientists, soldiers, prominent nonconformists and businessmen.<sup>132</sup> It would be fair to say that the national memorial committee represented the national elite as Sunderland's committee represented the local elite. Alison Yarrington has argued that fundraising for local monuments tended to be more successful than for national monuments as the local monuments had a stronger, more immediate link to potential subscribers than the more abstract, distant appeal of a national monument.<sup>133</sup> By summer 1858, newspapers were reporting that the national committee's fundraising was at a 'virtual standstill', as 'the public have not responded in the manner expected... provincial subscriptions have hitherto been withheld'.<sup>134</sup> The relative success of the fundraising in Sunderland supports Yarrington's thesis.<sup>135</sup>

The only evidence of other memorials to Havelock were busts at Charterhouse, funded by its alumni (also memorialising other Old Carthusians killed in the Rebellion), and London Guildhall, designed by Behnes and paid for by the Corporation of the City of London.<sup>136</sup> Other towns discussed the possibility of memorials in the heady atmosphere after Havelock's death, such as at Birmingham, Maidstone (near where the Havelock family had moved to from Sunderland), and Durham but these were never completed; as was often the case with publicly-funded philanthropic activities, enthusiasm waned, often due to insufficient support within the local civic arena, as at Birmingham and Maidstone, or the competing demands of other philanthropic projects.<sup>137</sup> The proposal for a

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<sup>132</sup> *Teesdale Mercury*, 7 July 1858, editorial.

<sup>133</sup> Yarrington, *Commemoration of the Hero*, x.

<sup>134</sup> *Teesdale Mercury*, 7 July 1858, editorial; *Liverpool Mercury*, 10 August 1858, editorial. For regional editorial encouragement to donate to national fund, see: *Leeds Mercury*, 23 March 1858.

<sup>135</sup> *Newcastle Journal*, 22 May 1858, editorial.

<sup>136</sup> *Shields Gazette*, 1 July 1858, editorial; *Newcastle Daily Chronicle*, 26 July 1858, editorial.

<sup>137</sup> John Garrard identifies a likelihood of failure in urban philanthropic activities: Garrard, 'Urban elites', 596; *Morpeth Herald*, 30 January 1858, editorial (Birmingham); *Canterbury Journal*, 6 February 1858, editorial (Maidstone); *Durham Chronicle* 26 March 1858, editorial (Durham).

statue in Durham was dropped once the statue fund in nearby Sunderland – with its more intimate familial connection to the General – gained traction.

### **3.3 Didactic Motivations and Narratives**

Most war memorials possess and transmit core values which their organisers seek to disseminate. These can embrace a spectrum of political and consolatory factors – regional and national identity, duty and sacrifice, patriotism, grief, imperialism, acknowledgment of the debt owed to the dead by the living, martial valour, recognition of the locality's contribution to the war – often simultaneously and in varying degrees. Likewise, speakers at unveiling ceremonies could embrace both the consolatory and political, as at the inauguration of the Crimean cannon at Seaham, reinforcing an all-encompassing narrative that could broaden the memorial's appeal and deepen its impact.

The Havelock memorial incorporated these factors, through the speeches made at its unveiling and organisational and fundraising meetings, as well as in endorsement by the press. However, the statue was different from memorials in the extent it downplayed justificatory political narratives, not least military and imperial, and generally avoided referring to the Rebellion; instead, it sought to transmit to the town's inhabitants social and civic didactic virtues that buttressed the local elite and its prescripts for an effective civic society.

The memorial should be seen in the context of the struggle, identified by Harold Perkin, of the industrial bourgeoisie to persuade the rest of society to accept its ideal of a class society based on capital and competition, its existing hierarchical system and its moral, behavioural aspirations.<sup>138</sup> It was part of the battle to win the 'heart' of society,

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<sup>138</sup> Perkin, *Modern English Society*, 2002, 272. See also Parry, *Politics of Patriotism*, 68-69, 87.

specifically the prevailing system of morality, which Perkin sees as occurring alongside the battle for the 'mind' (education, public opinion) and the 'state' (the personnel and system of government), with the struggle for the heart and mind the most important.<sup>139</sup> It similarly resonates with F.M.L. Thompson's notion of nineteenth-century socialisation (rather than social control): a pan-society reformation of manners and alteration of habits through the lead of a minority group that sought to preserve its own position in the social structure.<sup>140</sup> The Havelock memorial supports these theories, a highly-effective instrument in proselytising the dominant memory or purview of Sunderland's civic elite.

Havelock was widely seen as typifying the emergent, meritocratic middle class, a symbol of the beneficial changes in society, particularly since the 1830s; the nobility may have retained their titles and parliamentary power but they were increasingly steered by an industrious, property-owning and respectable middle class.<sup>141</sup> Long-running resentment of the aristocracy was particularly virulent in the aftermath of the Crimean War and Havelock personified the merits of the middle-class soldier in contrast to the traditional officer class: 'the saviours of India vs the blunderers of the Crimea'.<sup>142</sup> At a Northern Reform Union meeting four days after news of Havelock's death reached the north-east, Joseph Cowen compared the excessive pensions of aristocratic commanders like Lord Raglan and the Marquis of Dalhousie to that recently proposed for Havelock: '£1,000 a year for saving India, and that would die with him. This was because he was a poor man, and had no aristocratic blood in him'.<sup>143</sup> Havelock was described during the hustings for the Newcastle bye-election of 1860 as 'only one of a

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<sup>139</sup> Perkin, *Modern English Society*, 273.

<sup>140</sup> F.M.L. Thompson. 'Social Control in Victorian Britain', *Economic History Review*, 34, (1981), 199. See also Alon Confino. 'Collective Memory and Cultural History: Problems of Method', *American Historical Review* 102 (1997), 1401.

<sup>141</sup> Hewitt, 'Notion of Victorian Britain', 399-401; Morris, *Class, Sect and Party*, 331. For a survey of the historiographical debate on the extent of middle-class ascendancy, see: Martin Hewitt. 'Class and the Classes', in Chris Williams (ed.) *A Companion to Nineteenth-Century Britain*. Oxford: Blackwell, 2007, 305-320.

<sup>142</sup> *Shields Gazette*, 2 December 1858, editorial. See also: Hendrickson, *Making Saints*, 102-104.

<sup>143</sup> *Durham County Advertiser*, 15 January 1858, editorial.

worthy race of men who saw hosts of fops and fools promoted over their heads' but, 'without great or influential connections, or even great pecuniary means' he had earned his promotion through ability and perseverance, despite opposition from other officers.<sup>144</sup>

Public sculpture, in tandem with the growth in imposing civic architecture and public spaces, 'heralded the triumph of civilization over savagery, civic virtue over vice'.<sup>145</sup> This was a bourgeois civilisation that exuded middle-class civic virtues and the Havelock memorial should be placed within the setting of contemporaneous 'statumania', a key element of which celebrated middle-class achievements and indeed represented the growing cultural clout of the middle and educated working class.<sup>146</sup>

Civic monuments and architecture reflected this and assertive industrial towns throughout the country commemorated their local heroes, funded by public subscription.<sup>147</sup> Paul Pickering and Alex Tyrell argue that in the aftermath of the 1832 Reform Act, the commemoration of the great and good was democratised, reformers challenging conservatives and patricians for the right to honour their heroes and proclaim the values they represented.<sup>148</sup> In the decade or so after the Act, Whig leaders, invariably of aristocratic background, were commemorated: in the north-east, a 135 feet high column to Earl Grey of Reform Bill fame was erected in Newcastle in 1838 and a Temple of Theseus was built in 1844 atop a hill in County Durham (near Sunderland) to honour 'Radical Jack', the first Earl of

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<sup>144</sup> *Newcastle Guardian*, 8 December 1860, editorial; *Newcastle Daily Chronicle*, 22 May 1861, editorial.

<sup>145</sup> David Glassberg. "Monuments and Memories", in *American Quarterly* 43 (March 1991), 146. See also: Sergiusz Michalski. *Public Monuments: Art in Political Bondage 1870–1997*. London: Reaktion, 1998, 28.

<sup>146</sup> Droth, Edwards, Hatt, *Sculpture Victorious*, 16. See also Michalski, *Public Monuments*, 28–30.

<sup>147</sup> For a survey of civic statuary, see: Read, *Victorian Sculpture*, 85–95, 104–107.

<sup>148</sup> Paul A. Pickering and Alex Tyrell. 'The Public Memorial of Reform: Commemoration and Contestation' in Paul A. Pickering and Alex Tyrell (eds.) *Contested Sites: Commemoration, Memorial and Popular Politics in Nineteenth-Century Britain*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004, 5.

Durham.<sup>149</sup> Both had grand unveiling ceremonies which attracted large crowds, the latter reached by specially-organised railway excursions.<sup>150</sup>

By the 1850s – the crucial decade for ‘statumania’ in industrial towns, according to Pickering and Tyrell – those being represented were not of distinguished social and political rank but middle- or working-class men who had achieved greatness in science, industry, politics and commerce, projecting pedagogic and aspirational attributes, such as self-reliance and perseverance.<sup>151</sup> These promoted a narrative of masculine achievement in which women did not feature. A statue of Samuel Crompton, inventor of the spinning mule, was erected in his hometown Bolton in 1862 and a statue of Sir Robert Peel, commemorated as the first Prime Minister from a commercial family, was inaugurated in Bury in 1852.<sup>152</sup> While fundraising for the Havelock statue was taking place in Sunderland, a committee in Newcastle was raising subscriptions for a statue of George Stephenson, ‘the Tyneside man’ whose ‘labours had inestimably benefited the world’; the Stephenson memorial would be unveiled in a remarkable ceremony of ostentatious civic pride in October 1862.<sup>153</sup>

While Havelock’s martial virtues contributed to his popularity, it was his other more civic-minded and morally-uplifting qualities that were accentuated in the narratives transmitted by the statue; although, in a sense, it was a traditional memorial to an individual great commander, like Nelson or Wellington, traditional bellicose narratives were overshadowed by those of Havelock the self-made middle-class hero of impeccable respectability, whose self-sacrificing service could inspire others throughout

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<sup>149</sup> Usherwood, Beach, Morris, *Public Sculpture*, 96-96, 166-167

<sup>150</sup> Pickering and Tyrell, ‘Public Memorial of Reform’, 12.

<sup>151</sup> Pickering and Tyrell, ‘Public Memorial of Reform’, 13; See also Usherwood, Beach, Morris, *Public Sculpture*, xvii.

<sup>152</sup> Read, *Victorian Sculpture*, 107; see also Hunt, *Victorian Cities*, 162; Pickering and Tyrell, ‘Public Memorial of Reform’, 13.

<sup>153</sup> *Newcastle Daily Chronicle*, 27 August 1858, 4 October 1862, editorial; Robert Colls. ‘Remembering George Stephenson: Genius and Modern Memory’, in Robert Colls and Bill Lancaster (eds.) *Newcastle upon Tyne: A Modern History*. Chichester: Phillimore & Co., 2001, 267-292.

society.<sup>154</sup> The Havelock Statue should be viewed – as in Morris’s description of the middle class in general – as a ‘tone of temper’, expounding the values of the right-thinking, morally-upright core of society.<sup>155</sup> George Hudson MP (as the discredited ‘Railway King’ perhaps not the best moral arbiter) said at the fund’s inaugural meeting that a statue would ‘perpetuate to future generations his glorious example, his singular virtues, and blameless life, that others may be incited to follow him in duty and virtue’.<sup>156</sup> At the unveiling, Henry Fenwick spoke of Havelock’s many qualities:

He may be looked upon as the great representative, in its best phase, of our national character. He was frank, he was open, he was brave, yet he was self-reliant, serious, religious... and there was no man that ever lived who had a keener sense of honour, or who held more strictly to the path of duty.<sup>157</sup>

These were the type of didactic traits, recurrent in the ongoing Havelock fever, that the General represented and which the statue’s organisers chose to emphasise; they were also, as Davidoff and Hall noted, strong binds that unified the disparate elements of the middle classes.<sup>158</sup> The memorial was widely-accepted as an ideal medium for extolling the virtues of private and public life – for the benefit of future as well as current generations.

Underpinning Havelock’s appeal was his devout Christianity which sanctioned his role as soldier. The religious narrative disseminated by the statue’s advocates closely followed the lead of Brock’s and Marshman’s biographies, while incorporating the ecclesiastical ethos into a wider set of civic values and modes of behaviour: duty, service, and self-sacrifice through the ultimate Christian paradigmatic act of martyrdom. Fenwick, in

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<sup>154</sup> Mandler, ‘Race and Nation’, 135; MacKenzie, ‘Heroic Myths’, 114.

<sup>155</sup> Morris, *Class, Sect, Party*, 9.

<sup>156</sup> *Durham Chronicle*, 29 January 1858, editorial; *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, OUP, online edition (accessed 20 May 2019), Michael Reed: Hudson, George {the Railway King} (1800-1871).

<sup>157</sup> *Newcastle Daily Chronicle*, 22 May 1861, editorial.

<sup>158</sup> Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes*, 305; *Durham County Advertiser*, 29 January 1858, editorial.

his speech at the fund's inaugural meeting, called Havelock 'a man of unexampled virtue, morality and Christian principle ... a Christian warrior', part of that army that did 'their duty as soldiers and their duty to God'.<sup>159</sup> At the unveiling three years later, Fenwick called Havelock 'every inch a soldier and every inch a Christian', and used Brock as his source to claim that, far from emasculating him, it was Havelock's religion 'that gave him so much power over the soldiery'.<sup>160</sup>

Patriotic, martial and imperial elements were largely channelled into a discourse that articulated patriotism through desirable behaviour rather than nationalistic fervour. As well as arguing that notions of national identity were less sophisticated in England than other European countries, Peter Mandler sees British patriotism as following a civilizational perspective rather than notions of race and nation; British exceptionalism was exalted, particularly the institutions like Parliament that placed her at the head of all nations.<sup>161</sup> In the 1850s and 1860s, national self-congratulation was at its height, with Britain considered the civilised centre of the world, brimming with new ideas and inventions, its growing urbanity removing regional differences and fostering a homogenous uniformity. While the inspiring actions of exceptional military and political leaders exemplified notions of the virtuous national character, their wide-ranging mix of attributes – social, religious, and patriotic – strengthened national homogeneity by fusing the potentially irreconcilable competing interests and investments within British society.<sup>162</sup> As the century progressed and imperialism assumed a greater role in the national discourse – and became a key determinant of national identity – the lionisation of imperial heroes became a more normal occurrence; Havelock (and his cult) was the pioneer of this phenomenon but setting a standard of moral qualities that others would not match.<sup>163</sup>

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<sup>159</sup> *Durham Chronicle*, 29 January 1858, editorial.

<sup>160</sup> *Newcastle Daily Chronicle*, 22 May 1861, editorial; Brock, *Sir Henry Havelock*, 142-3.

<sup>161</sup> Mandler, 'Race and Nation', 224-225, 235.

<sup>162</sup> Mandler, 'Race and Nation', 65-66, 134; Dawson, *Soldier Heroes*, 113.

<sup>163</sup> *Newcastle Daily Chronicle*, 22 May 1861, editorial.



Many historians see the Indian Rebellion as the catalyst for the heightened imperialism of the second half of the nineteenth century. Gautam Chakravarty notes that the domestic response to the Rebellion bears similarities with public reaction to a series of colonial conflicts, the combination of patriotic fervour and xenophobia – enthusiastically propagated by a burgeoning press and other media – anticipating later working- and middle-class jingoism.<sup>164</sup> However, this could describe the reaction to most British wars, imperial or otherwise. Heather Streets contends that both military and media interests noted the popular enthusiasm (not least for soldier heroes) and sought to exploit it for their own purposes – as did Disraeli in his appropriation of the imperial cause for the Tories in the 1870s.<sup>165</sup> Catherine Hall and Peter Mandler consider the Rebellion the beginning of a shift in national identity and attitudes to the empire, in which assumptions of innate ‘biological’ or racial superiority linked to Social Darwinist precepts endorsed the increased discipline, violence, and even extermination within the empire, displacing the traditional emphasis on civilizational principles.<sup>166</sup> Rausch sees the changing nature of military statuary, not least in Trafalgar Square, as demonstrating to the public that Britain’s greatness was dependent on colonial expansion and war abroad rather than on conflicts with continental enemies.<sup>167</sup>

The memorial to Havelock undermines these ideas in that explicit references to empire and even India were rare throughout, from initiation to unveiling. Early in the process, a correspondent to the *Newcastle Guardian* welcomed the opportunity to honour Havelock,

who in the hour of peril and the day of disaster, rolled back the  
tide of Sepoy insurrection and successfully upheld the proud

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<sup>164</sup> Chakravarty, *Indian Mutiny*, 25, 33.

<sup>165</sup> Streets, *Martial Races*, 20; P.J. Cain and A.G. Hopkins. *British Imperialism 1688–2000*. Harlow: Longman, 2002, 187–189.

<sup>166</sup> Hall, *White, Male and Middle-Class*, 208–209; see also Mandler, ‘Race and Nation’, 231.

<sup>167</sup> Rausch, ‘Nation as a Community’, 86.

but well-grounded prestige of the pale faces, when opposed to the dusky warriors of Hindustan.<sup>168</sup>

However, such racial sentiment was not replicated in the organisers' official narrative. In memorialising a hero of the Indian Rebellion, there was implicit endorsement of British involvement in India – though arguably even this was a replication of the initial wartime reaction that had favoured solidarity at a time of national crisis (as can be identified in the correspondent above) rather than deep-seated enthusiasm for empire. Explicit support for the imperial project, and certainly the hardening of imperial and racial attitudes, manifested in the ongoing Maori Wars in New Zealand (1845-1872) and the Morant Bay Rebellion and Governor Eyre controversy in Jamaica later in the 1860s, was absent.<sup>169</sup>

The memorial conveyed smattering acknowledgments of martial valour but they fitted into the overall middle-class, civic narrative framework of sacrifice and duty rather than praise for military glory. Typically, at the inauguration Henry Fenwick decried those who 'say that military greatness is incompatible with civic virtue', citing Havelock as decisive reproof.<sup>170</sup> More overt celebration of the martial spirit was present at a private banquet held immediately after the unveiling ceremony, attended by around 130 key members of the municipal and regional elite and members of Havelock's family. The room at the Queen's Hotel on Fawcett Street was decorated with flags and shields and on the walls were the names of the battles in which Havelock had been engaged.<sup>171</sup>

However, again much emphasis was placed on civic moralities, including civic influence over the military, particularly the ultimate token of middle-class appropriation of the military: the Volunteer Force. Toasts were

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<sup>168</sup> *Newcastle Guardian*, 30 March 1858, letter from B. St George de Rossitebre.

<sup>169</sup> Mandler, 'Race and Nation', 72; Chakravarty, *Indian Mutiny*, 33; Bender, 'Rebels, Race and Violence', in *1857 Indian Uprising*, (online edition); James Belich. *The New Zealand Wars and the Victorian Interpretation of Racial Conflict*. Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1986, 321-327.

<sup>170</sup> *Newcastle Daily Chronicle*, 22 May 1861, editorial.

<sup>171</sup> *Shields Gazette*, 23 May 1861, editorial.

proposed to the Army, Navy and Volunteers and Havelock's son welcomed the change in public attitudes towards the army and the dissolution of barriers between soldiers and civic society, exemplified by the popularity of the Volunteers.<sup>172</sup> Members of the Volunteers played a leading role in both organising the Havelock memorial and in the unveiling ceremony. The participation of the Volunteers at the ceremony and the praise it engendered typifies the harnessing of an element of the Havelock narrative for civic purposes by middle-class leaders: in this case the martial element boosting the reputation of the Volunteer Force.

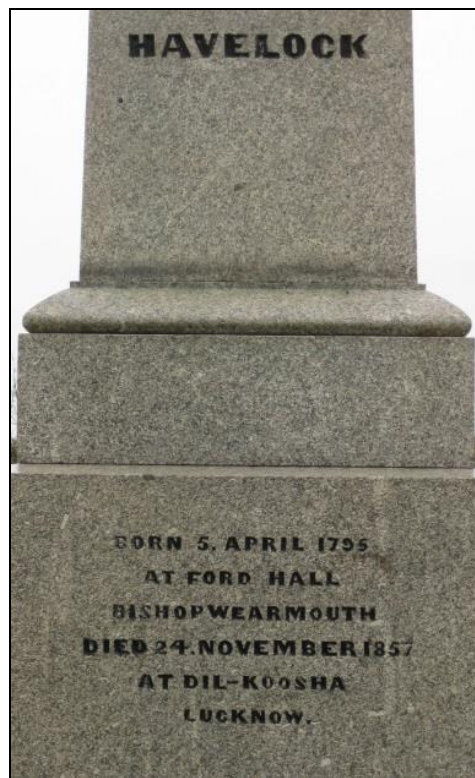
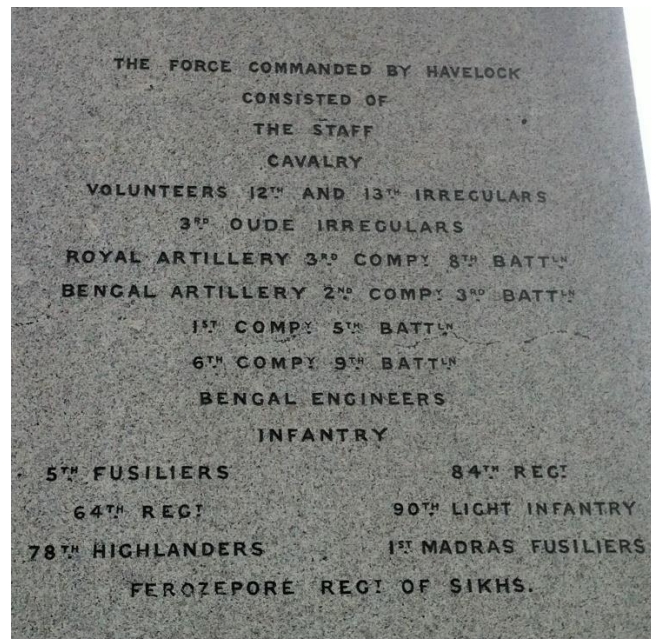
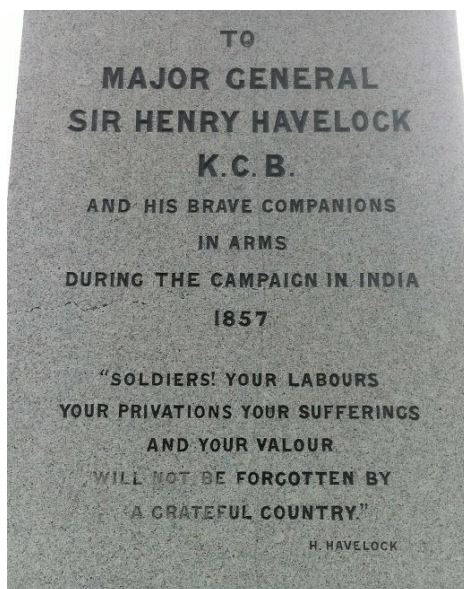


Figure 16: Inscription on plinth of Sunderland Havelock memorial (author's photo).

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<sup>172</sup> *Durham County Advertiser*, 24 May 1861, editorial.



Figures 17 & 18: Inscriptions on plinth of London Havelock memorial (author's photos).

Comparison of the inscriptions on the plinths of the Sunderland and London memorials suggests that Sunderland was less bellicose in its commemoration of Havelock than was its counterpart in Trafalgar Square. More typical of later war memorials, the London inscription (figs. 17 & 18) lists Havelock's military status and acknowledges the contribution played by his 'companions' and accompanying regiments. Situated in the symbolic heart of the nation and acknowledging Havelock's knighthood, the London memorial claims Havelock for the nation but also portrays him as part of a collective, national military endeavour. In contrast, the inscription of the Sunderland statue is sparse and lacking bellicose content (fig. 16). Havelock is shorn of his military rank; emphasised instead is his place of birth and place of death, Sunderland's 'greatest son' performing his duty and sacrificing himself at a moment of historic, national importance.<sup>173</sup> Sunderland's inscription appears content to let the basic details of Havelock's life (and the statue itself) trigger the universally-known Havelock narrative in order to convey its more civic-minded messages and municipal mythology.

<sup>173</sup> *Durham County Advertiser*, 15 January 1858, editorial.



Figure 19: Sunderland Havelock memorial (detail). Author's photo.

Behnes's statue (fig. 19) itself encapsulates the fusion of narratives, in particular of civic and military. Represented as a general in the army, Havelock wears dress uniform with a cape hanging over a shoulder. On his chest are a set of medals, including his newly-won Order of the Bath. His extended right arm rests on the hilt of a sword, his left holds a telescope. However, the memorial portrays less a man of action, more a figure of estimable qualities. The figure of Havelock exudes assurance, grace, humility and ability. While authoritative, he lacks the arrogance or pomposity of an aristocratic figure. Correspondents in the press had suggested, 'in this utilitarian age', a building that encompassed a new borough museum, library and observatory, or using some of the funds raised to create a school or a scholarship at Durham University for the sons

of ex-servicemen.<sup>174</sup> The committee, however, decided on a statue early in the process and their decision indicates their intentions: overlooking the town centre, the statue of Havelock stands as immutable example to its inhabitants.

### **3.4 Civic Pride and Municipal Motivations**

Sunderland's Havelock memorial was a prestigious project with huge potential benefits for the town. As with most war memorials, civic pride was an important influence; indeed, the distinctiveness of the Havelock memorial – there being only one other similar memorial – and its emphasis on the (local) general's respectable, civic-minded virtues rather than martial valour meant the diverse elements of civic pride should be seen as a crucial motivation.

As with the Crimean cannon, the Havelock memorial failed to acknowledge the contribution made by the locality, such as financial or logistical, or the sacrifice of local ordinary soldiers. Mirroring most colonial conflicts, the nature of the Rebellion – its distance from Britain, its minimal material impact on domestic society and the comparatively-limited casualties – meant the nationwide urge to memorialise was weaker than the previous conflict.<sup>175</sup> However, in commemorating General Havelock, Sunderland was acknowledging and trumpeting its unique contribution to the national war effort – in providing 'the greatest of the children of Sunderland' as the nation's saviour, Sunderland was validating its own worth and reputation in a period of intense civic development – to its own citizens and a wider regional and national audience.<sup>176</sup>

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<sup>174</sup> *Durham Chronicle*, 29 January 1858, letter from 'St. Bede'; *Newcastle Journal*, 23 January 1858, editorial; *Newcastle Journal*, 30 January 1858, letter from 'L'.

<sup>175</sup> Nigel Hunt. *Memory, War and Trauma*. Cambridge: CUP, 2010, 175.

<sup>176</sup> *Newcastle Daily Chronicle*, 7 December 1858, editorial.





Figure 20: Havelock Monument, Sunderland, date unknown. (Sunderland Museum and Art Gallery).

The statue was placed next to the Crimean cannon on Building Hill in the People's Park, a location that was thought suitable from the outset: 'Standing on the top of a rocky eminence, the statue will be seen from the principal parts of the town; at sea or in entering the town from the south ... it will also be readily recognised'.<sup>177</sup> Nearby was a statue of Britannia holding a shield, and a sixty foot flagpole from which the Union flag flew on days of national importance (fig. 20).<sup>178</sup> This was a choreographed, quasi-reverential space imbued with politico-historical iconography situated within a formalised municipal area, separated from the commercial hubbub of the town centre. This sense of formalised civic purpose was similar to Trafalgar Square, laid out as a central hub in the structured metropolitan improvements and development of London as national capital, replete with symbols of national pride.<sup>179</sup>

<sup>177</sup> *Shields Gazette*, 23 May 1861, editorial.

<sup>178</sup> *Newcastle Courant*, 15 May 1857, editorial; *Newcastle Journal*, 9 May 1857, editorial.

<sup>179</sup> Mace, *Trafalgar Square*, 17, 59.

Unlike the Crimean cannon and many other memorials, there was unanimity on the most suitable location for the Havelock memorial: Mowbray Park was agreed on at the initial public meeting, dependent on the council's provision of land.<sup>180</sup> Bought by Sunderland council for the town in 1857, the park articulated civic authority and reflected the municipal 'monumentalism' and 'built morality' prevalent in provincial towns between the 1840s and 1880s.<sup>181</sup> In Sunderland, the park was the pre-cursor of other forms of municipal development, such as the Museum and library (1879), which significantly would be located at the foot of the park, connecting it to the prestigious residential and commercial centre around Fawcett Street, where the town hall (completed 1890) would eventually sit.<sup>182</sup> These new buildings and developments had both a functional and decorative purpose, displaying the town's ideals and achievements and acting as symbols of urban modernity in the period after the decade of improvements in sanitation, lighting and paving that followed the 1851 Sunderland Borough Act.<sup>183</sup>

The memorial (and the park generally) fostered a sense of symbolic identity for Sunderland and a sense of commonality for its citizens. The memorial's capacity for bolstering Sunderland's reputation was acknowledged from the outset: at the Athenaeum meeting, speakers declared a 'memorial at the place of his birth... would be a lasting honour to the town of Sunderland' and 'that in honouring him she may do honour to herself'.<sup>184</sup> Sunderland had undergone considerable expansion since the beginning of the century, its population rising from 26,511 in 1801 to

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<sup>180</sup> *Newcastle Journal*, 23 January 1858, editorial.

<sup>181</sup> Gunn, *Public Culture*, 142.

<sup>182</sup> The 1879 museum replaced the first municipal museum outside of London, housed within the Athenaeum in 1846.

<sup>183</sup> Milburn and Miller, *Sunderland*, 123; Yarrington, *Commemoration of the Hero*, vi; For analyses of nineteenth-century urban development, see: H. Meller. *Leisure and the Changing City, 1870-1914*. London: Routledge, 1976, 237; D. Fraser. *Power and Authority in the Victorian City*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1979, 167-168. For a survey of the historiographical debate, see: Simon Gunn. 'Urbanization', in Chris Williams (ed.) *A Companion to Nineteenth-Century Britain*. Oxford: Blackwell, 2007, 238-252.

<sup>184</sup> *Teesdale Mercury*, 20 January 1858, editorial; *Durham County Advertiser*, 15 January 1858, editorial.



81,752 by 1861, and it was more than twice the size of Durham, Gateshead, Hartlepool or South Shields, the other important towns in County Durham.<sup>185</sup> Many of its inhabitants had roots beyond the town, immigration from elsewhere in County Durham, Britain and Ireland also contributing to a disproportionately young population: between 1851 and 1871 almost half of inhabitants were under twenty.<sup>186</sup>

Unlike London, or longer-established towns like Coventry or Norwich, Sunderland lacked a similar sense of shared, communal history or inherited social memory.<sup>187</sup> As historians have observed, large coordinated activities in the second half of the nineteenth century in which urban populations came together acted as quasi-official, momentous events which constructed a group memory and grounded it within a geographical location.<sup>188</sup> Paul Usherwood, Jeremy Beach and Catherine Morris analyse the numerous commemorative statues to the men responsible for establishing the mainstay industry of towns or districts in the north-east, including Joseph Pease (Darlington, 1875), the ironmasters Henry Bolckow and John Vaughan (Middlesbrough, 1881, 1884), businessman, solicitor and the developer of West Hartlepool Ralph Ward Jackson (West Hartlepool, 1897), and the shipbuilder Charles Palmer (Jarrow, 1904); when first erected, each of these memorials served as a type of ‘foundational myth’, acting as the pretext for a particular town or district to ‘marvel at and affirm the story of

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<sup>185</sup> *Census of England and Wales, 1911*. London: HMSO, 1915; Gillian Cookson. *Sunderland: Building a City*. Chichester: Phillimore, 2009, 56, 117. For more on Sunderland’s demographics and development, see Milburn and Miller, *Sunderland*, 33-102.

<sup>186</sup> Cookson, *Sunderland*. 117.

<sup>187</sup> Gunn, *Public Culture*, 164; see also: David Cannadine. ‘The Transformation of Civic Ritual in Modern Britain: The Colchester Oyster Feast’, *Past and Present*, 94 (1982), 107-130.

<sup>188</sup> James Fentress and Chris Wickham. *Social Memory: New Perspectives on the Past*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1992, 121; Mervyn Busted. ‘Fostered to Trouble the Next Generation’: Contesting the Ownership of the Martyrs Commemoration Ritual in Manchester 1888-1921’, in Niamh Moore and Yvonne Whelan (eds.) *Heritage, Memory and the Politics of Identity: New Perspectives on the Cultural Landscape*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007, 70-71; Tadhg O’ Keeffe. ‘Landscape and Memory: Historiography, Theory, Methodology’, in Moore and Whelan, *Heritage, Memory and the Politics of Identity*, 3-18; Simon Gunn. ‘Changing Histories of Space and Place’, in S. Gunn and R.J. Morris (eds.) *Identities in Space: Contested Terrains in the Western City since 1850*. Burlington: Ashgate, 2001, 3.

industrial success which had brought it prosperity' and growth.<sup>189</sup> A similar mythologizing narrative can be seen at the unveiling of the Havelock memorial, a day which would be 'long remembered in the annals of Sunderland and a day which the young of the present generation will speak of with admiration and delight to their grandchildren'.<sup>190</sup>

Sunderland was a regional pioneer in using the various elements of the Havelock narrative embodied in the memorial to nurture a civic mythology, creating and unifying municipal identity for this relatively new, expanding town. However, the memorial organisers considered it to be a 'national monument... at the place of his birth' and it was an opportunity for the town to position itself beyond merely the local, to incorporate implicit elements of national and imperial importance, which heightened Sunderland's self-image and profile.<sup>191</sup> In this way, it was asserting itself within the context of the highly-competitive expansion of industrialising towns, aware of developments in rival municipalities in the north-east and beyond.

Though there is no explicit reference to municipal one-upmanship driving the Havelock memorial process, it is interesting to gauge the reaction of Sunderland's local rival Newcastle – perhaps best described as indirect sniping and denigration (until the unveiling when the Newcastle press dovetailed with the overwhelmingly positive coverage). On receiving a request for donations from both the nearby Sunderland Havelock Committee and the National Havelock Statue Committee, the mayor Sir John Fife moved that Newcastle Council subscribe £25 towards the national monument, because it was a matter of 'national glory': 'It was for the place of his birth to subscribe to the local monument; but it would be more becoming for the

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<sup>189</sup> Usherwood, Beach, Morris, *Public Sculpture*, xvii. Most of these men are referred to elsewhere in this thesis.

<sup>190</sup> *Morpeth Herald*, 25 May 1861, editorial.

<sup>191</sup> Sunderland Council Minutes, 13 January 1858, TWA, CB.SU/1/4; *Newcastle Journal*, 9 January 1858, editorial.

Corporation to support the national monument'.<sup>192</sup> Tynemouth Council, however, which felt less direct rivalry with Sunderland, subscribed £27 to the Sunderland Havelock Memorial Fund.<sup>193</sup>



Figure 21: John Graham Lough, George Stephenson Memorial, Newcastle.  
Author's photo.

Attitudes of Novocastrians towards Sunderland's Havelock statue were likely exacerbated by Newcastle's own simultaneous attempts to erect a memorial to its own local hero George Stephenson, unveiled in October 1862 (figs. 21 & 22).<sup>194</sup> The Havelock and Stephenson memorials were the vanguard of civic memorials in the north-east and should be placed not only in the interlinked contexts of an assertive middle class's nationwide statumania (see Pickering and Tyrell) and a municipally-mythologizing statumania (see Usherwood, Beach and Morris) but as a battleground in the ongoing rivalry between the region's two predominant towns. It was a very

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<sup>192</sup> *Newcastle Courant*, 26 February 1858, editorial. For similar discussions in Durham Council, see *Durham Chronicle*, 26 March 1858, editorial.

<sup>193</sup> *Newcastle Journal*, 15 May 1857, editorial.

<sup>194</sup> Colls, 'Remembering George Stephenson', 267-283; for a detailed account of the unveiling, see: *Newcastle Daily Chronicle*, 4 October 1862, editorial.

public enmity, fought most visibly in the local newspapers, where the two memorials' concurrent gestations could be easily compared for the public: the *Durham Chronicle* stated 'that if the men of Newcastle manage no better than the men of Sunderland' the Stephenson memorial would suffer the lethargy that was said to be then afflicting the Havelock memorial.<sup>195</sup> In many ways, the Stephenson memorial process closely mirrored that of the Havelock statue in Sunderland (as well as attributes of the prevailing statumaniacs): the town of birth attempting to pre-empt or co-opt calls for a national memorial; the emphasis on Stephenson as self-made man of virtue ('born in the cottage of a poor man... his own industry and good moral conduct... patient, moral, frugal and industrious... his life was an example'); and the municipal mythologizing that stemmed from the town associating itself with Stephenson.<sup>196</sup>



Figures 22 & 23: Stephenson and Havelock memorials (detail).

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<sup>195</sup> *Durham Chronicle*, 29 October 1858, editorial.

<sup>196</sup> *Newcastle Courant*, 29 October 1858, editorial; *Newcastle Chronicle*, 4 October 1862, editorial;

However, lacking much of the Stephenson memorial process – and the Newcastle press's reporting of the Havelock memorial – was the theme of one-upmanship towards its local rival. This manifested itself in self-congratulatory praise for their commemoration of 'a man of science and industry' rather than a martial figure: Thomas Headlam MP claimed

this honour has usually been paid to men who had acquired pre-eminence through war... had devastated great countries, obtained honour by the slaughter of numbers of their fellow-creatures.<sup>197</sup>

It can also be seen in the barrage of criticism of many aspects of the organisation of the Havelock monument by the Newcastle press. Four months after the Sunderland Fund was initiated, the *Newcastle Journal* scorned the sum raised, blaming a lethargic and unwieldy committee and indifferent mayor.<sup>198</sup> A year later, the *Newcastle Daily Chronicle* criticised the lack of enthusiasm of the Sunderland newspapers in promoting the memorial, later implying the choice of Behnes as sculptor (ahead of local candidates) was corrupt.<sup>199</sup> Having suggested the design was an 'abortion', a subsequent leader article, entitled 'Another laugh at the Sunderland Monument to Havelock', continued to dissect the artistic conventionality of the statue.<sup>200</sup> Much of the criticism came from the *Chronicle*, which was particularly supportive of Newcastle's Stephenson memorial, and whose Radical owner (after 1859), Joseph Cowen, was a key advocate of the Stephenson monument and member of its organising committee.<sup>201</sup>

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<sup>197</sup> *Newcastle Courant*, 29 October 1858, editorial.

<sup>198</sup> *Newcastle Journal*, 22 May 1858, editorial.

<sup>199</sup> *Newcastle Daily Chronicle*, 29 March 1859, editorial.

<sup>200</sup> *Newcastle Daily Chronicle*, 11 April 1859, editorial.

<sup>201</sup> *Newcastle Daily Chronicle*, 27 August 1858, editorial; *Newcastle Daily Chronicle* 29 October, 1858, editorial; Joan Allen, *Joseph Cowen and Popular Radicalism on Tyneside, 1829–1900*. Monmouth: Merlin Press, 2007, 60.

**THE HAVELOCK STATUE.**

**T**HE Incidents of the Inauguration can be seen to Perfection by means of one of BURROW'S LANDSCAPE GLASSES; very Portable and moderate in Price.

**VOLUNTEERS.**

No Volunteer should be without this Glass. The Impression made by each Hit can be distinctly seen at an almost incredible Distance.

**FOR SPORTSMEN.**

Both on Sea and Land, the Qualities of this Glass are incomparable.

**NEWCASTLE RACES.**

BURROW'S UNRIVALLED FIELD GLASSES give a Wide Field with marvellous Defining Power, and are preferred on the Turf to all others.

In Sling Cases, Price 3½ and 6 Guineas each.

Testimonials forwarded on application, or at the *Daily Journal Office*.

Glasses carefully packed and forwarded on receipt of Post Office Orders to W. and J. BURROW, Great Malvern. 744

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**DEMONSTRATION AT SUNDERLAND.**

**I**NAUGURATION OF THE HAVELOCK MONUMENT.

**ON WHIT TUESDAY, MAY 21st, 1861.**

For the Convenience of Visitors, a COMMODIOUS MARQUEE will be Erected in the Circus Field, adjoining the PALATINE HOTEL, Borough Road (within Three Minutes' Walk of the Statue), in which FIRST-CLASS REFRESHMENTS and Liquors will be provided, at moderate Charges.

A COLD COLLATION, with HOT SALMON, SOUPS, LOBSTERS, VEGETABLES, &c., at Half-past Four, for Five, will be provided in the PALATINE HOTEL. Tickets, 3s. 6d. each. Councillor CROSBY in the Chair.

As the Number must necessarily be limited, an early application for Tickets is requested, which may be had at the Bar of the Hotel, or will be forwarded per Post.

**BENJAMIN BROOKS, PROPRIETOR.**

Palatine Hotel, Borough Road, Sunderland. 733

Figure 24: Advertisements for Burrow's Glasses and Palatine Hotel refreshments marquee.<sup>202</sup>

The Havelock memorial, especially the unveiling ceremony, also brought more prosaic, tangible benefits to Sunderland. Simon Gunn astutely described the lavish ceremonies and processions of the nineteenth century as 'festivals of capitalism', in the sense that they bolstered the strength and prestige of the capitalistic civic leaders and endorsed the hierarchical system in which they existed.<sup>203</sup> But in attracting enormous crowds, for example 100,000 for the unveiling of the Joseph Pease statue, 65,000 for that of Henry Bolckow, such events were a means of boosting

<sup>202</sup> *Newcastle Journal*, 18 May 1861.

<sup>203</sup> Gunn, *Public Culture*, 163. See also Perkin, *Modern English Society*, 272; Parry, *Politics of Patriotism*, 68-69, 87.



local economic activity.<sup>204</sup> There was certainly a strong commercial element to the Sunderland statue's unveiling. Before the event, local newspapers featured numerous advertisements for a range of related products and services (fig. 24), including refreshment marquees with extensive prices lists for alcoholic beverages – commercial imperatives trumping Havelock's reputation for moderation.<sup>205</sup>

The unveiling ceremony attracted between 50,000 and 100,000 visitors, a marked increase from the estimated several thousand who attended the unveiling of the Crimean cannon. Many came from outside Sunderland, and it can be seen in the context of the greater opportunities for (and appreciation of) recreation provided by measures like the Ten-Hour Act of 1847 and the growing Saturday Half-Holiday movement.<sup>206</sup> Indeed, it bears comparison with other great regional events, such as the mid-century rowing races on the Tyne, facilitated by the growth of the railways which transported working-class people independently or as part of the increasingly-popular organised group excursions, anticipating later developments in the leisure sector.<sup>207</sup> It was expected that the memorial would continue to attract visitors, 'An Englishman' writing in the *Chronicle* that 'No doubt Sunderland will now be a place of great attraction during the summer to come', and recommending that train tickets be reduced to encourage visitors.<sup>208</sup>

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<sup>204</sup> Gunn, *Public Culture*, 166; Usherwood, Beach, Morris, *Public Sculpture*, xvii.

<sup>205</sup> *Newcastle Journal*, 18 May 1861, advertisements.

<sup>206</sup> Hazel Conway. *People's Parks: The Design and Development of Victorian Parks in Britain*. Cambridge: CUP, 1991, 58; Hugh Fraser. *The Coming of the Mass Market*. London: Macmillan, 1981, 76.

<sup>207</sup> James Walvin. *Leisure and Society, 1830-1950*. London: Longman, 1978, 71-72; Colin Ryder. *A Visit to the Seaside: A History of County Durham Railway Excursions from the 1840s to the 1960s*. Spennymoor: Durham County Local History Society, 2017, 10-15; Lancaster, 'The North-East', 32; John Benson. *The Rise of Consumer Society in Britain 1880-1980*. New York: Longman, 1994, 85-87, 98, 101; Lancaster, 'The North-East', 32; Fraser, *Mass Market*, 79-80.

<sup>208</sup> *Newcastle Daily Chronicle*, 22 May 1861, editorial; *Newcastle Journal*, 24 May 1861, letter from 'An Englishman'.

### 3.5 The Unveiling Ceremony

The inauguration of the Havelock memorial was in many ways the embodiment of the numerous, interlinked motivations that inspired it. The ceremony demonstrates the capacity of the Havelock narrative to propagate pan-society unity: taking place on a public holiday (Whit Tuesday), the large number of people ‘from all classes’ displayed ‘a unanimity almost unprecedented’.<sup>209</sup> However, they did so under the corralling precepts of its middle-class instigators: all were welcome and indeed encouraged to participate in the respectable society, as long as they followed the rules.

The unveiling was typical of the public processional culture of self-confident industrial towns, whose apogee was between the 1850s and 1880s.<sup>210</sup> It embodied what Pickering and Tyrell call the ‘pedagogic impulse’ of nineteenth-century life, acting as the physical and symbolic representation of the social order and civic authority.<sup>211</sup> The opening of public buildings, royal coronations and visits, the unveiling of statues and monuments, and the funerals of civic worthies were all occasions for lavish ceremonial display.<sup>212</sup> Revamped town centres and new civic spaces provided the monumental stage-set for the performance of civic power, with the town’s inhabitants (and voters) comprising the audience. Simon Gunn argues that parades and processions were taken to be an ‘index of civility’ in which the bodily self-discipline of the marchers, the ordered hierarchy of the

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<sup>209</sup> *Shields Gazette*, 23 May 1861; *Newcastle Journal*, 23 May 1861; *Newcastle Daily Chronicle*, 22 May 1861: all editorial accounts of unveiling. The *Shields Gazette* and *Newcastle Journal* estimated over 50,000 attended the unveiling, Gillian Cookson claims 100,000, see: G. Cookson, *A History of the County of Durham (Vol. V) Sunderland*. Woodbridge: Institute of Historical Research (The Victoria History of the Counties of England), 2005, 266.

<sup>210</sup> Simon Gunn. ‘The Public Sphere, Modernity and Consumption: New Perspectives on the History of the English Middle Class’, in Alan Kidd and David Nicholls (eds.) *Gender, Civic Culture and Consumerism: Middle-Class Identity in Britain 1800–1940*. Manchester: MUP, 1999, 12–29; Gunn, *Public Culture*, 168; Garrard, ‘Urban Elites’, 589. John Garrard. *Leadership and Power in Victorian Industrial Towns, 1830–80*. Manchester: MUP, 1983, 23–26, 151.

<sup>211</sup> Pickering and Tyrell, ‘Public Memorial’, 17.

<sup>212</sup> For a description of the funeral of Joseph Pease and its impact on Darlington, see: Mewburn, *The Larchfield Diary: Extracts from the Diary of the Late Mr Mewburn, First Railway Solicitor*. Darlington: Bailey, 1876, 153.



procession, and the ritualistic nature of events projected an inherently respectable model of collective behaviour in public.<sup>213</sup> This was an ideal of the self-regulating urban community, encompassing most citizens if not all, where order was maintained less by ‘the overt assertion of authority than by the tacit rules that regulated the ritual itself’; it contrasted favourably with events abroad and popular unrest in the recent past – and the possibility of its renewed outbreak in less-regulated parts of towns.<sup>214</sup>

Several hours before the Havelock statue’s unveiling, the designated participants assembled at Barrack Square in the east end, Sunderland’s most historic locality. Taking half an hour to pass a single point, the mile-long procession, consisting of nearly 4,000 people and including thirteen military bands, marched along the High Street and Fawcett Street before climbing to the top of Building Hill, Sunderland’s (and Havelock’s) own ‘Via Dolorosa’ and ‘Calvary’.<sup>215</sup> It was accompanied by the pealing of church bells and salutes from the cannons of ships on the River Wear.<sup>216</sup> Awaiting their arrival in the park were delineated groupings of civic dignitaries, the principal members of which then carried out the actual unveiling: mayor, MP and council members.

Implicit in this choreographed public ritual was acknowledgment of the civic leadership whose beneficial authority was inviolable and permanent. At the head was Samuel Alcock, as mayor the ‘super-squire’ and personification of municipal government, who accepted the statue on behalf of the council from Alderman (and ex-mayor) Ranson, who represented the statue’s subscribers. Hierarchies of municipal power and influence were conveyed by the intricate positioning: the ‘mayor, Corporation, committee, County Magistrates, and other gentlemen occupied the platform near the statue’; radiating outwards were other civic leaders, politicians and leading businessmen, whose high-status occupational backgrounds reinforced the

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<sup>213</sup> Gunn, *Public Culture*, 174.

<sup>214</sup> Gunn, *Public Culture*, 175.

<sup>215</sup> *Shields Gazette*, 23 May 1861, editorial, *Morpeth Herald*, 25 May 1861, editorial.

<sup>216</sup> Cookson, *Sunderland*, 266.

alignment between municipal and economic leaders.<sup>217</sup> These were effectively the most powerful institutions and individuals in Sunderland in a single public space.

**FREE MASONS.**  
The St. John's Lodge, No. 95.  
The Phoenix Lodge, No. 111.—(in same order.)  
The Palatine Lodge, No. 114.—(Do.)  
The Mayor and Corporation of Sunderland,  
The Magistrates of the Borough of Sunderland,  
The Testimonial Committee, Subscribers, and  
Visitors.  
Mr. H. Fenwick, M.P., Mr. W. S. Lindsay  
M.P., Sir H. Havelock, Dr. Marshman, the High-  
Sheriff, &c., &c.  
**THE ORDER OF FREE GARDENERS.**  
Consisting of the members of the Adam's Lodge,  
about 100 in number, accompanied by the band  
of Messrs. Hartley and Co's works, and bearing  
the floral insignia of the order.  
**THE NOTTINGHAM ORDER OF ODDFELLOWS.**  
Headed by the Neptune Lodge, preceded by a  
band of music.  
General Havelock Lodge.  
Joseph Shaw Lodge.  
Sons of the Wear. } Lodges  
First Northumberland, } combined.  
Earl of Durham. }  
Sheet Anchor Lodge.  
Sir H. Williamson Lodge.  
**THE MANCHESTER ORDER OF ODDFELLOWS.**  
Comprising the following Lodges:—Sir Wm.  
Chaytor (No. 574). Wear Mechanics (No 678.)  
Earl of Durham (No. 1,375). Andrew White  
(Nos. 1,370). Marquis of Londonderry (No.  
1,936). Mariners' Refuge (No. 3,972). Caledonia  
(Nos. 4,506). Lord Raglan (No. 4,644). Wil-  
liam Ratcliffe (No. 2,701). Rose of Houghton-le-  
Spring (No. 1,652). Isaac Gleave (No. 1,478.)  
Countess of Durham (No. 2,459). David Bar-  
clay (No. 1,624). George McCally (No. 2,109).  
Lord Clyde (No. 4,784), accompanied by the  
Walker Rifle Volunteers and Monkwearmouth  
Colliery Bands.  
**THE ORDER OF FORESTERS.**  
Consisting of the following courts, in the order  
annexed:—Brandling Junction (No. 753). First  
in June (No. 770). Borough of Sunderland (No.  
826). Star of the North (No. 2,624). William  
Tell (No. 2,744). George Hudson (No. 2,819).  
Pride of the Wear (No. 2,846). Royal Exchange  
(Nos. 2,763). William Stobart (No. 2,907). Robin  
Hood (No. 2,923). Marquis of Lansdowne (No.  
2,969). South Peareth (No. 3,113). North  
Biddick (No. 3,220). Sir Walter Tyrrell (No.  
3,248). Minerva (No. 3,262). Albion (No.  
3,302). Prospect (No. 3,444). Industry, and  
Ravensworth Vale, accompanied by a band of  
music.  
The procession marched from the Barrack  
Square, up the High Street, along Fawcett  
Street, and the Burdon Road, to the north-en-

Figure 25: Order of Procession (detail), unveiling of Havelock Memorial, Sunderland.  
(Morpeth Herald, 25 May 1861).

Gunn notes that civic processions and events tended to become more socially-inclusive from the 1860s, typified by the increased prominence of

<sup>217</sup> *Newcastle Daily Chronicle*, 22 May 1861, editorial.

urban voluntary associations and friendly societies.<sup>218</sup> A large number of such associations took part in the mile-long procession from the east end of town to Building Hill, including the Nottingham and Manchester Orders of Odd Fellows, the Order of Free Gardeners, various lodges of the Freemasons and the Order of Foresters (fig. 25).<sup>219</sup> Their participation was mutually beneficial: for the associations, it asserted and recognised their claim to a place in the town's social fabric, reflecting their own progress in political reform; for the town's elite, assimilating such bodies into the highly-ordered procession gave physical, hierarchical form to the expression of their social authority and diverted the associations from more disruptive social action.<sup>220</sup> As Catherine Moriarty observes, without a sense of communal ownership, war memorials became impotent; while crucial to success, such involvement in the ritual was also exploited by civic leaders to emphasise and reinforce the didactic messages.<sup>221</sup> The encouragement to participate, albeit within hierarchal parameters, can be considered a type of civic republicanism that boosted communitarianism and encouraged citizens to perform their duties, especially in their locality.<sup>222</sup> This notion of citizenly duty and sacrifice would mutate over the following decades, provoking the participation and relatively-widescale death of citizen-soldier volunteers, 'on behalf' of their local communities, in the Boer War.

As with some of the Crimean cannon that were installed in the late-1850s and early-1860s, members of the Volunteer Force played a prominent role at the unveiling, where, Henry Fenwick claimed, the 'citizen soldiery' numbered 'tens of thousands'.<sup>223</sup> The Volunteer Force had rapidly expanded in the winter of 1859/60, triggered by recent signs of French aggression under Napoleon III and the panic of several invasion scares; by 1860 there

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<sup>218</sup> Gunn, *Public Culture*, 168.

<sup>219</sup> *Newcastle Daily Chronicle*, 22 May 1861, editorial.

<sup>220</sup> Gunn, *Public Culture*, 174-175.

<sup>221</sup> Catherine Moriarty. 'Private Grief and Remembrance: British First World War Monuments' in M. Evans and K. Lunn (eds.) *War and Memory in the Twentieth Century*. Oxford: Berg, 1997, 129-131, 139.

<sup>222</sup> Adrian Oldfield. *Citizenship and Community: Civic Republicanism and the Modern World*. London: Routledge, 1990, 145-149.

<sup>223</sup> *Shields Gazette*, 23 May, 1861, editorial.

were over 100,000 Volunteers.<sup>224</sup> It was also a reaction to the mismanagement of the Crimean War, driven by the professional and commercial middle class who believed they had a role to play in the country's defence and were critical of the officer caste of the regular army and Militia.<sup>225</sup>

Hugh Cunningham argues that men volunteered for social more than military reasons in this form of 'Victorian capitalism in arms', in which 'captains of industry became captains of companies'.<sup>226</sup> It was a further opportunity for social control as, from the early 1860s, the Volunteer Force proved to be increasingly popular among lower-middle-class and working-class men, not least in County Durham.<sup>227</sup> It was a practical means to class harmony through social interaction and demonstrated the progress made in class relations since the era of Chartism, both 'a common subject of interest, a bond which may in the end bind the nation together again', and 'an instrument for effecting what agitations and monster meetings seem only to have removed farther off'.<sup>228</sup> Volunteering offered rare opportunities for regulated physical exercise for a new urban population and instilled obedience, self-respect and discipline in young men: its supporters claimed it would weed out problems of drunkenness, prostitution, gambling and loitering.<sup>229</sup> Cunningham argues that it was a sense of belonging to their local community that motivated most Volunteers, rather than national identity or patriotism.<sup>230</sup> To a large degree, the Volunteers embodied the middle-class values and ethos that underpinned the Havelock memorial.

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<sup>224</sup> Hugh Cunningham. *The Volunteer Force: A Social and Political History, 1859–1908*. London: Croom Helm, 1975, 7, 15.

<sup>225</sup> Cunningham, *Volunteer Force*, 11.

<sup>226</sup> Cunningham, *Volunteer Force*, 1.

<sup>227</sup> Cunningham, *Volunteer Force*, 25; Beckett, *Citizen Soldiers*, 31-32.

<sup>228</sup> J. Martineau, 'Volunteering, Past and Present', *Macmillan's Magazine*, September 1860, 401; T. Hughes (Captain Commanding 19<sup>th</sup> Middlesex), 'The Volunteer's Catechism', *Macmillan's Magazine*, July 1860, 193. See also Perkin, *Modern English Society*, 365.

<sup>229</sup> Cunningham, *Volunteer Force*, 2.

<sup>230</sup> Cunningham, *Volunteer Force*, 69.

<b>VOLUNTEER ARTILLERY.</b>	
1st Durham Artillery (Sunderland), Capt. Com.	Young,
1st Northumberland Artillery (Tynemouth),	Major Com. Potter,
2nd Durham Artillery (Seaham Harbour), Major	Com. Earl Vané.
3rd Durham Artillery (South Shields), Capt.	Com. Stevenson.
1st Newcastle-on-Tyne Artillery, Capt. Com.	Allhusen.
<b>VOLUNTEER ENGINEERS.</b>	
1st Newcastle-on-Tyne Engineers, Capt.	Westmacott.
<b>VOLUNTEER RIFLES.</b>	
3rd Durham Rifles (Sunderland), Capt. Com.	Chapman.
6th Durham Rifles (South Shields), Capt. Com.	Williamson.
7th Durham Rifles (City of Durham) Capt. Com.	Elliott.
7th Durham Rifles (Gateshead), Capt. Com.	Hawks.
15th Durham Rifles (Darlington), Capt. Com.	Scurfield.
1st Newcastle-on-Tyne Rifles, Lieut. Col. Sir	John Fife.
<b>The Grange Cadet Corps.</b>	
<b>The Naval Reserve Force and the Crew of the</b>	
<b>Trincomalee, under the command of Capt.</b>	
<b>Heard.</b>	
<b>FREE MASONS.</b>	
The St. John's Lodge, No. 95.	
The Phoenix Lodge, No. 111.—(in same order.)	
The Palatine Lodge, No. 114.—(Do.)	
The Mayor and Corporation of Sunderland,	
The Magistrates of the Borough of Sunderland,	
The Testimonial Committee, Subscribers, and	
Visitors.	
Mr. H. Fenwick, M.P., Mr. W. S. Lindsay,	
M.P., Sir H. Havelock, Dr. Marshman, the High-	
Sheriff, &c., &c.	
<b>THE ORDER OF FREE GARDENERS.</b>	
Consisting of the members of the Adam's Lodge,	
about 100 in number, accompanied by the band	
of Messrs. Hartley and Co's works, and bearing	
the floral insignia of the order.	
<b>THE NOTTINGHAM ORDER OF ODDFELLOWS.</b>	
preceded by the Neptune Lodge, preceded by a	

Figure 26: Order of Procession (detail), unveiling of Havelock Memorial. (*Morpeth Herald*, 25 May 1861).

Civic processions had their own social logic and were intricately coordinated to demonstrate precedence.<sup>231</sup> The importance of the Volunteers can be seen in their position at the head of the procession, whose order was noted in detail by newspaper reports (fig. 26).<sup>232</sup> The prominent presence of these citizen-soldiers mirrored and emphasized the civic nature of the day but also appropriated patriotic or militaristic fervour, harnessing it to urban-liberal purpose. The Volunteer Force played a prominent role in the unveiling of the Havelock memorial, and other memorial unveilings (and indeed within north-east society) between the late 1850s and 1900s

<sup>231</sup> Gunn, *Public Culture*, 173.

<sup>232</sup> *Newcastle Journal*, 23 May 1861, editorial; *Morpeth Herald*, 25 May 1861, editorial.

because, for Liberals, it was the acceptable face of the military ethos: defence-orientated, middle-class led, non-professional, a bulwark against aristocratic and Tory influence and values. The strong presence of the Volunteers was also a factor in the relative absence of professional military personnel from unveilings and the memorial process throughout the period. They were civic events, managed by municipal leaders within a Liberal heartland where the Volunteers were an extension and embodiment of their authority. The army would play a more prominent role in Boer War memorialisation, having enjoyed a half-century of increasing popularity within the civil population, and in a period when the nature of Liberal civic governance and culture was weakening.

Like the other voluntary organisations at the unveiling, the Volunteer Force acted as a visible link between the middle and working classes, a symbol of a unified community. The commanders of the Volunteer units were prominent local high-status men, whose own prestige was boosted by their participation. Lord Adolphus Vane Tempest commanded the 3<sup>rd</sup> Corps (Sunderland) and his brother, Major Earl Vane, a member of the statue committee, commanded the 2<sup>nd</sup> Durham Artillery – both had been prominent at the unveiling of the Crimean cannon at Seaham; other commanders at the unveiling included Captain Scurfield of 15<sup>th</sup> Durham Rifles (Darlington), who had been a prominent advocate of the Crimean cannon in Darlington, and Newcastle's mayor, Lieutenant Colonel Sir John Fife, commander of the 1<sup>st</sup> Newcastle-on-Tyne Rifles.<sup>233</sup>

The Volunteers did not receive government funding but instead relied on the support of the wealthy and there had been much national discussion in 1859 and 1860 about the Force's significance and usefulness.<sup>234</sup> The Volunteers' role at the unveiling was an effective promotional device, whether aimed at potential recruits, politicians or the press. Indeed, in the

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<sup>233</sup> Ray Westlake. *Tracing the Rifle Volunteers 1859-1908*. Barnsley: Pen and Sword, 2010, 75, 77.

<sup>234</sup> Cunningham, *Volunteer Force*, 15.

build-up, the unveiling began to assume the characteristics of a vast (not unpleasant) exercise for the region's Volunteers ('the hotel keepers are very busy getting up sufficient forage for the invading army of volunteers') and a chance to celebrate and demonstrate their prowess:

We have heard of the gallant Havelock's forced marches... and I do think this is a fitting opportunity... of displaying our soldier-like capabilities by marching to Sunderland on this important occasion.<sup>235</sup>

The social hierarchy was reinforced by the lack of role allocated to women and 'political' working-class organisations (beyond those that endorsed the municipal status quo) at the inauguration. Common to the majority of civic processions, it was an all-male affair: 'Two commodious platforms were for the use of ladies', situated near to the dignitaries but wholly restricting the female role to decorous spectator. Working-class inhabitants *participated* to the extent of thronging the town's streets and watching the ceremony in the park from outside the officials' space. Newspapers reported the enthusiasm of the unprecedentedly large numbers of working people at the unveiling but it is difficult to assess their attitudes or what motivated their presence.

Usherwood, Beach and Morris suggest that, in relation to unveilings of other civic heroes, there is no reason to suppose that the notion of the town owing its success to the vision and zeal of one or two extraordinary individuals was not readily endorsed by all sections of the population.<sup>236</sup> This is equally applicable to the Havelock memorial, even if it was less a celebration of a 'founding father' than a means of boosting Sunderland's reputation by association with an unparalleled national (local) hero; the absence of opposition within the municipal political arena, unlike the Crimean cannon four years before, further suggests widespread enthusiasm for the event. However, largescale attendance cannot be interpreted

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<sup>235</sup> *Newcastle Daily Chronicle*, 16 May 1861, editorial; *Newcastle Journal*, 5 April 1861, letter from 'A Newcastle Volunteer'.

<sup>236</sup> Usherwood, Beach, Morris, *Public Sculpture*, xvii

definitively as confirmation of popular or working-class patriotism, support or enthusiasm for empire or, indeed, even their civic leaders: seeing a historic event in the life of their town, which celebrated a national hero and took place on a traditionally-festive public holiday, seems a wholly-understandable reason for attending.

### 3.6 Conclusion

The memorial to General Havelock differed significantly to the Crimean cannon installed in the park only four years previously, most tangibly with its form but also its funding and organisation, carried out under the precepts of 'subscriber democracy' which gave the appearance of a pan-community endeavour. However, as 'An Old Soldier' complained in a letter to the *Daily Chronicle*, the subscribers had little say in the outcome, power lying instead with the memorial committee.<sup>237</sup> The focus on the commemoration of Havelock, a hugely popular national hero, meant the monument's purpose seemed straightforward and its legitimacy incontrovertible, facilitating a unified civic response. These were attributes that would be replicated in later war memorials.

What might appear to modern observers an archetypally imperial and militaristic monument was actually a weapon in a more domestically-orientated, socio-economic battle – a description that this thesis considers valid for memorials between the 1850s and 1900s in general. While it memorialised a military hero and individual commander, martial characteristics were resoundingly downplayed in favour of the didactic moral and civic narratives it transmitted. These sought to endorse urban liberal precepts of society and celebrate middle-class achievements gained since the 1830s. As well as proselytising to the wider population of Sunderland, the memorial was also a means of unifying the local civic elite

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<sup>237</sup> *Newcastle Daily Chronicle*, 1 April 1859, letter from 'An Old Soldier'.



through an affirmation of their civilizational ideals in the face of a contemporaneous challenge to these social and moral values, which the Rebellion had done much to incite.

Echoing F.M.L. Thompson and others, Jon Davies questions whether war memorials generally are 'built by the hegemonic class in order to manipulate the lower classes'.<sup>238</sup> The Havelock memorial would seem to answer in the affirmative, rejecting aristocratic mores and asserting the moral and behavioural values of Sunderland's middle-class elite to the wider public. In this it was still a case of the middle class looking upwards and to the past, asserting itself against entrenched aristocratic power and privilege, rather than looking to the future and downwards, to a working class yet to challenge middle-class hegemony. The memorial organisers therefore did not feel the need to acknowledge local contributions to, or popular participation in, the conflict. Nor did the memorial possess consolatory elements that mourned the loss of life of other soldiers. It is possible that Havelock acted as a cathartic conduit for expressions of grief beyond the General but there is little explicit evidence.

There is much historiographical agreement that the Indian Rebellion was the first in a series of imperial wars; indeed, it has been perceived as initiating the subsequent period of heightened imperialism, to an extent providing a template for the subsequent representation of colonial campaigns. This can be seen particularly in the idealised lionisation of General Havelock which would be replicated in a string of imperial heroes in the following decades. However, the memorial to Havelock and even the intense Havelock cult demonstrate the unsophistication of imperial narratives in the 1860s; in the last quarter of the century, these would be unassailably embedded within the popular imagination, encouraged by cultural and press representations. The impact of imperialistic narratives on the memorialisation of that period's colonial campaigns is less known but it

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<sup>238</sup> Jon Davies. 'War Memorials', in David Clark (ed.) *The Sociology of Death: Theory, Culture, Practice*. Cambridge: Blackwell, 1993, 113.

might be assumed that they were more prominent, to the detriment of more local or civil concerns.

## Chapter 4. Small Wars, Big Box Office, Little Impact?

### Colonial Conflicts between 1878-1885.

	Start	Finish
<b>Second Anglo-Afghan War</b>	September 1878	September 1880
<b>Anglo-Zulu War</b>	January 1879	July 1879
<b>First Boer War</b>	December 1880	March 1881
<b>Anglo-Egyptian War</b>	June 1882	September 1882
<b>The Sudan War</b> <sup>1</sup>	c. March 1884	May 1885

Table 2: Britain's colonial conflicts, 1878 to 1885.

Between 1878 and 1885, Britain was involved in an often-overlapping sequence of colonial wars (table 2). They were the most significant conflicts between the Indian Rebellion and the second Boer War (1899-1902) and typify the 'small wars' of nineteenth-century imperial folklore, taking place in distant, remote locations and featuring British troops fighting in unconducive environments and outnumbered by indigenous warriors.<sup>2</sup> They followed several decades' worth of even smaller, less significant campaigns, such as the First Taranaki War in New Zealand (1860-1861), the Abyssinian Campaign (1868), the Red River Campaign in Canada (1870) and the Perak Campaign in Malaysia (1875-1876).<sup>3</sup> The wars between 1878 and 1885 were of varying duration, from short campaigns of several months to those that dragged on several years. While each was distinct, there was no 'landmark' conflict that overshadowed the others and no 'big issue' for the public to get behind, until the death of General Gordon in 1885 which caused a similar reaction to the death of Havelock. In his influential book *Small Wars: Their Principles and Practice*, Major-General Sir Charles Callwell expressed the moral framework for colonial warfare, defining small wars as 'expeditions

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<sup>1</sup> For convenience and clarity, 'The Sudan War' encompasses the Siege of Khartoum, the Nile Campaign and the Suakin Expeditions.

<sup>2</sup> For more on the wars, see: Ian Beckett. *The Victorians at War*. London: Hambledon, 2003; Byron Farwell. *Queen Victoria's Little Wars*. New York: Norton, 1985; Edward M. Spiers. *The Army and Society, 1814-1914*. London: Longman, 1980.

<sup>3</sup> John M. MacKenzie. *Imperialism and Popular Culture*. Manchester: MUP, 1986, 2-3.

against savages and semi-civilised races by disciplined soldiers', which 'add the territory of barbarous races' to civilised possessions, 'suppress insurrection and lawlessness', 'wipe out an insult or avenge a wrong', 'overthrow a dangerous power' or destroy 'fanatics'.<sup>4</sup>

Despite being confrontations between 'disciplined soldiers' and 'savages', they were not inevitable victories, partly because they were as much campaigns against nature as against humans, the geographic environment and climatic conditions, along with the logistical problems raised by such remote theatres of war, having an influential role on the campaigns – which partly explains the lionisation of Royal Engineer commanders, like Generals Gordon and Graham. Except for the Anglo-Egyptian War, British troops suffered ignominious defeats and setbacks in all the conflicts, most notably Isandlwana (1879), Maiwand (1880), Majuba Hill (1881) and the death of Gordon at Khartoum (1885); these were names that were seared into the national consciousness, blows to national honour that required restorative retribution.<sup>5</sup>

But this cluster of imperial wars did not generate profound national introspection or 'anti-establishment' rage as occurred during the Indian Rebellion and the Crimean War; this reflects their relatively shallow domestic impact, despite the unrelenting and hyperbolic press coverage. They were short wars and the numbers of personnel involved were small – 1,800 soldiers fought at Isandhlwana, 554 soldiers and sailors were defeated by 180 Boers at Majuba.<sup>6</sup> The forces ranged against them, even in greater strength as in the Sudan campaigns, offered localised setback rather than serious challenge to imperial hegemony.

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<sup>4</sup> Charles E. Callwell. *Small Wars: Their Principles and Practice*. London: HMSO, 1896 (referenced in John M. MacKenzie. 'Introduction', in John M. MacKenzie (ed.) *Popular Imperialism and the Military 1850–1950*. Manchester: MUP, 1992, 7-8).

<sup>5</sup> Spiers, *Army and Society*, 211.

<sup>6</sup> Farwell, *Victoria's Little Wars*, 247-250.

It is therefore perhaps unsurprising that, back in Britain, there was no widespread urge to memorialise the wars or the fallen. There was no equivalent to the nationwide triumphalism of the Crimean cannon or the proliferation of civic memorials to those that volunteered or were killed in the second Boer War; neither was there a local hero who died a glorious, inspiring death, like Havelock. Instead, there is a marked absence of memorials to these colonial conflicts, in the north-east and throughout the country; the first major memorial to the Anglo-Zulu War, in which 1,500 men died, was not unveiled until March 1914.<sup>7</sup> Not only were the casualties and fatalities relatively limited, the wars did not generate the sense of participation and ‘stakeholdership’ that the bigger wars had.

However, the significance of the wars can be under-estimated. They loomed large in the popular imagination, making a disproportionate impression on the timbre of quotidian life, as can be seen in the frequent and detailed references to the conflicts in the diaries of two local men that feature in this chapter, Richard Lowry and Nathaniel Robson. Lowry was seventy years old in 1881, a multiple-property owner and a manager in the North Eastern Railway with Tory sympathies.<sup>8</sup> Little is known about Robson except that he was a miller from West Herrington in County Durham; his views on the wars mirror Lowry’s and both can be considered representative of a majority reaction to the colonial campaigns.<sup>9</sup>

Interest in the wars was fuelled by exhaustive coverage in the press and frequent representation in cultural entertainments – in a sense, because of social and technological changes, the public were more involved, albeit vicariously, in these wars than ever before. Both Lowry and Robson were clearly influenced by the press (for Lowry the Tory *Newcastle Journal*),

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<sup>7</sup> 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, 113.

<sup>8</sup> *Diary of Richard Lowry*, 29 December 1879, Tyne and Wear Archives, DF.Low/1; for more on Lowry and his diary, see: Norman McCord. ‘Victorian Newcastle Observed: The Diary of Richard Lowry’, *Northern History*, 37:1 (December 2000), 239-259.

<sup>9</sup> *Diary of Nathaniel Edwards Robson*, Tyne and Wear Archives, DF.RNH/4.

their diary entries often replicating narratives espoused that same day and not least the widespread scorn for Gladstone and his Liberal administration around the time of the Gordon debacle. This chapter will also look at negative attitudes towards the colonial campaigns to determine how much support there was for alternative opinions; did anti-war viewpoints gain traction within society and affect notions of imperialistic war and what was their significance in the context of earlier and later wars?

Like the wars on which it focuses, this chapter is different from the others. It does (and can) not analyse civic memorials in the region, though it examines in some detail large civic ceremonies celebrating General Graham, a returned hero of the Sudan. Instead, the chapter acts as a bridge between the commemorative activities of the 1850s and 1860s, and the Boer War; to an extent, 1880s society had a foot in both eras, harking back to mid-century Britain as well as looking forward and anticipating the early twentieth-century: this chapter seeks to determine change and continuity in its reactions to, and representations of, war from what came before and after. It asks whether the above prosaic factors, such as the low number of fatalities, are enough to explain the absence of memorialisation of these wars, which after all were immensely popular and closely-followed by the public; or are other contributory factors, not least the distinct nature and characteristics of the wars, as pertinent?

The wars – and domestic reaction to them – can best be understood in the context of a society that was undergoing rapid and fundamental social, economic and political change, in many ways embodying the transition from mid-century confidence to fin de siècle doubt. It was the beginning of a period of heightened imperialism, expansionism and militaristic patriotism, known as New Imperialism, that would culminate in the second Boer War. The characteristics and narratives of New Imperialism and its military campaigns will be explored to shed further light on how and why the wars were represented as they were, and also how they moulded opinions and

laid the groundwork for reaction to, and memorialisation of, the Boer War, the most significant conflict covered in this thesis.

Finally, the celebratory reception on Tyneside of General Graham will be analysed: how and why did this civic event occur and what do its similarities and differences to the civic commemorative activities of the 1850s and 1860s indicate about the municipal memorialising impulse of the 1880s. Was General Graham's visit reflective of a changed civic culture in a society that was undergoing the democratising effects of a widening of the electoral franchise? Does the celebration of another hero-commander negate the presumed democratising direction in the commemoration of nineteenth century war?

#### **4.1. Social, Economic and Political Contexts**

The colonial conflicts of the late 1870s and 1880s occurred in an era of socio-economic uncertainty following the mid-century period of national growth and consolidation; this had been facilitated by economic stability and a social balance in which, it was felt, all had generally benefited.<sup>10</sup> Until the 1870s, Britain was obviously the richest nation in the world but by the 1880s commentators were wondering if Britain had already passed its peak: in the 1840s it controlled nearly one-third of the world's trade but by 1880 this had fallen to less than one quarter.<sup>11</sup> Increasing economic and industrial confidence among overseas competitors was tangible, particularly

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<sup>10</sup> Asa Briggs. *The Age of Improvement*. New York: Longman, 2000, 402. Briggs perceives the mid-Victorian heyday as lasting from the Great Exhibition of 1851 to the Second Reform Bill of 1867.

<sup>11</sup> Paul Hayes. 'British Foreign Policy, 1867-1900: Continuity and Conflict' in T.R. Gourvish and Alan O'Day (eds.) *Later Victorian Britain, 1867-1900*. Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1988, 160; Martin Pugh. *State and Society: A Social and Political History of Britain since 1870*. London: Bloomsbury, 2017, 3; Martin Pugh. *The Making of Modern British Politics 1867-1939*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1993, 78.

France, newly-unified Germany, and the U.S.A.<sup>12</sup> Doubt over Britain's changing role in the world economy exacerbated domestic uncertainty.<sup>13</sup>

Historians have widely viewed the 1870s and 1880s as a period of economic depression. For Martin Pugh, a 'Great Depression' occurred in the twenty-two years after 1874, affecting landowner and capitalist, considered by observers as symptomatic of a long-term phenomenon rather than a mere cyclical fluctuation.<sup>14</sup> Others such as Theodore Hoppen, have seen notions of a Great Depression (and the mid-century 'Great Boom') as exaggerated but acknowledge that there was shift towards a more negative perception of the economic state of the nation.<sup>15</sup>

Economic apprehension interacted with concern over changes to the socio-political fabric. There is broad historiographical consensus that the country was becoming more and more middle class in outlook as the aristocracy lost its pre-eminence.<sup>16</sup> Demographically, the middle class was growing faster than any other: 2.6 million (12.5 per cent of the overall population) in 1851, 9.3 million (25 per cent of the population) by 1901.<sup>17</sup> John Garrard considers the period around 1880 as the high-water mark for the industrial urban elites, their dominance over local political, economic and social life at its most entrenched.<sup>18</sup> However, fissures were showing within British society, hitherto so assured and united, with many of its

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<sup>12</sup> Norman McCord and Bill Purdue. *British History 1815-1914*. Oxford: OUP, 2007, 337; Kenneth E. Hendrickson. *Making Saints: Religion and the Public Image of the British Army, 1809-1885*. London: Associated University Presses, 1998, 140.

<sup>13</sup> Richard Price. 'Society, Status and Jingoism: The Social Roots of Lower Middle-Class Patriotism, 1870-1900', in G. Cossick (ed.) *The Lower Middle Class in Britain, 1870-1914*. London: Croom Helm, 1977, 93.

<sup>14</sup> Pugh, *State and Society*, 5; Hugh Fraser. *The Coming of the Mass Market*. London: Macmillan, 1981, 15; For more on the economic depression, see: Martin Hewitt. 'Why the Notion of Victorian Britain Does Make Sense', *Victorian Studies*, 48:3 (Spring, 2006), 403-404; François Bédarida. *A Social History of England*. London: Methuen, 1990, 99-100; John Benson. *The Rise of Consumer Society in Britain 1880-1980*. New York: Longman, 1994, 23-24.

<sup>15</sup> Theodore Hoppen. *The Mid-Victorian Generation, 1846-1886*. New York: Clarendon Press, 1998, 278, 283, 292; Bédarida, *Social History*, 99-101.

<sup>16</sup> Bédarida, *Social History*, 125.

<sup>17</sup> Benson, *Consumer Society*, 23-24, 27.

<sup>18</sup> John Garrard. 'Urban Elites, 1850-1914: The Rule and Decline of a New Squirearchy?', *Albion*, 27:3 (1995), 585-586.



tenets being challenged. Bourgeois confidence, previously so buoyant, was shaken by the economic problems, and their more visible (and publicised) manifestations, such as the poverty and deprivation that affected the urban working class.<sup>19</sup> The Victorian credo of Liberalism, the dominant socio-cultural model, began to be disputed and discredited.<sup>20</sup>

At the same time, the labour vanguard was asserting itself and challenging middle-class hegemony. As François Bédarida rightly adjudges, integration of the working class was only possible in a permissive climate of expansion and prosperity, and in a bourgeois atmosphere that was contented and self-confident; without this, working-class autonomy appeared more viable.<sup>21</sup> Socialism, working-class politics and a more coherent trade unionism, the ‘new unionism’, were emerging, presaging the rise of Labour and inciting a new restive political mentality, further encouraged by the Reform Acts of 1867 and 1884-5, which expanded the electorate from 1.3 million to 5.6 million men, many from the working classes.<sup>22</sup>

Contributing to this perceived national malaise was the challenge to religious and moral assumptions that had previously appeared integral to national character. It is generally agreed that there was gradual disruption of the traditional balance between religion and society in the second half of the century, with a waning of religious institutions’ influence on everyday life and interior spiritual lives.<sup>23</sup> According to Hugh McLeod, the most obvious symptom was a decline in church-going, particularly amongst Anglicans.<sup>24</sup> The diminution in the importance of religion had various

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<sup>19</sup> Pugh, *Modern British Politics*, 78.

<sup>20</sup> Bédarida, *Social History*, 103-105.

<sup>21</sup> Bédarida, *Social History*, 135.

<sup>22</sup> Bernard Porter. *The Absent-Minded Imperialists*. Oxford: OUP, 2004, 167; Pugh, *Modern British Politics*, 78; Bédarida, *Social History*, 135.

<sup>23</sup> Bédarida, *Social History*, 103-105. Hugh McLeod. *Religion and Society in England, 1850-1914*. Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1996, 176. McLeod provides a good survey of the changing state of the religious denominations in this period and a synthesis of the historiographical debate on the same. See also: D.W. Bebbington. *The Nonconformist Conscience: Chapel and Politics 1870-1914*. London: Allen & Unwin, 1982.

<sup>24</sup> McLeod, *Religion and Society*, 171-172.

causes, including the breakdown of social attachments and a more assertive secularism produced by industrialisation, the rise of collectivism in politics and the encroachment of local authorities in the welfare of communities, hitherto a key responsibility of the church; it furthermore interacted with other societal factors, such as a decline in traditional respectable mores, the decline of paternalism and the rise of individualism, and a range of ‘revolutions’ – industrial, political, technological, retail and marketing – which altered how people experienced employment, consumption, leisure and democratic participation in this period.<sup>25</sup>

Various factors contributed to the emergence of a mass-consumer culture, described as the ‘massification’ of society by Martin Conboy.<sup>26</sup> Grant McCracken identifies the creation of a permanent interaction between consumption and social change in the nineteenth century, with consumption breeding constant social change.<sup>27</sup> This process intensified in the last decades of the century, when profound changes in patterns of consumption occurred as new sources of supply were opened up, new tastes created, new means of preservation, packaging and marketing found.<sup>28</sup> Demographic change was crucial as was its urban character: the population rose from 21 million in 1851 to almost 30 million by 1881, with more than two thirds living in towns and cities.<sup>29</sup> In the north-east between 1861 and 1901, Darlington’s population rose from 18,826 to 44,511, Newcastle’s from 117,876 to 247,023 and, most dramatically, Middlesbrough’s from 19,286 to 91,302.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> Peter Gurney. *The Making of Consumer Culture in Modern Britain*. London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2017, 63-107; Alan Burton. “‘To gain the whole world and lose our soul’. Visual Spectacle and the Politics of Working-Class Consumption before 1914’, in Simon Popple and Vanessa Toulmin (eds.) *Visual Delights: Essays on the Popular and Projected Image in the 19th Century*. Trowbridge: Flicks Books, 2000, 25-37.

<sup>26</sup> M. Conboy. *The Press and Popular Culture*. London: Sage, 2002, 95.

<sup>27</sup> Grant McCracken. *Culture and Consumption*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1988, 27.

<sup>28</sup> Gurney, *Making of Consumer Culture*, 66-67, Benson, *Consumer Society*, 40; John M. MacKenzie. *Propaganda and Empire: The Manipulation of British Public Opinion, 1880–1960*. Manchester: MUP, 1984, <sup>16</sup>.

<sup>29</sup> McCord and Purdue, *British History*, 337-8.

<sup>30</sup> *Census of England and Wales 1911*. London: HMSO, 1915.

John Benson emphasises the importance of ideological as well as material developments, identifying consumers' willingness – as well as their ability – to consume goods and services made available to them.<sup>31</sup> While improvements in rail transport led to greater mobility, a more metaphorical broadening of horizons occurred among the middle and working classes.<sup>32</sup> This can be seen, above all, in the growth of leisure activities, caused by the significant increase, on Bank Holidays and free Saturday afternoons, of time reserved for leisure, as well as the small, individual increases in spending power, falls in basic costs and population growth; subsumed by capitalist forces, a mass leisure market was transformed into a major national economic sector.<sup>33</sup> Underpinning this was deepening urbanisation and industrialisation, creating mass audiences able and eager to enjoy leisure activities.<sup>34</sup> New forms of entertainment proliferated, not least music hall, propelled by capital investment which allowed economies of scale and a thorough-going commercialisation of their operation.<sup>35</sup> Fish and chip shops appeared in industrialised towns, teashops boomed, and professional sport grew, most prominently football, attracting large numbers of spectators to grounds and even more followers in local newspapers which devoted greater space to match reports and results.<sup>36</sup>

The press played a vital role in this socio-economic transformation of society. It benefited from many of the factors that had driven change,

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<sup>31</sup> Benson, *Consumer Society*, 28.

<sup>32</sup> Peter Bailey. *Leisure and Class in Victorian Britain: Rational Recreation and the Contest for Control, 1830–1885*. London: Methuen, 1987, 92; Pugh, *State and Society*, 5.

<sup>33</sup> J.M. Golby and A.W. Purdue. *The Civilisation of the Crowd: Popular Culture in England 1750–1900*. London: Batsford, 1984, 189; Bailey, *Leisure and Class*, 24, 91; Benson, *Consumer Society*, 24; Andy Croll. 'Popular Leisure and Sport', in Chris Williams (ed.) *A Companion to Nineteenth-Century Britain*. Oxford: Blackwell, 2007, 398. The latter also provides a good survey of historiographical debates on the leisure sector, 396–411.

<sup>34</sup> Croll, 'Sport and Leisure', 398; Benson, *Consumer Society*, 29.

<sup>35</sup> Bailey, *Leisure and Class*, 157; Dagmar Höher. 'The Composition of Music Hall Audiences 1850–1900', in P. Bailey (ed.) *Music Hall: The Business of Pleasure*. Oxford: OUP, 1994, 86; D. Kift. *The Victorian Music Hall: Culture, Class and Conflict*. Cambridge: CUP, 1996, 4.

<sup>36</sup> Martin Hewitt. 'Class and the Classes', in Williams, *Nineteenth-Century Britain*, 315; John K. Walton. *Fish and Chips and the British Working Class*. Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1992, 23–40; Simon Gunn. *The Public Culture of the Victorian Middle Class: Ritual and Authority and the English Industrial City, 1840–1914*. Manchester: MUP, 2000, 179, 190; Lucy Brown. *Victorian News and Newspapers*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985, 31; Croll, 'Sport and Leisure', 399.

particularly population growth, urbanisation and the growing prosperity of the industrial and commercial sectors of the economy.<sup>37</sup> The number of daily newspapers in Britain rose from 31 in 1860 to 150 by the 1890s with the most significant increases of all types of newspaper in the previously-underrepresented provinces.<sup>38</sup> Growth was facilitated by the mid-century removal of restrictions, such as the stamp and paper duties, and the consequent falls in the purchase price of newspapers: by 1880 the cost of many newspapers had dropped from a penny to a half penny.<sup>39</sup> Though the primacy of the 1870 Education Act is now underplayed, the resulting rise in literacy boosted readership levels.<sup>40</sup>

Technical innovations were also decisive, not least in enabling lower prices.<sup>41</sup> The development of the rotary press and web feed in the 1860s and 1870s transformed production, as did the adoption of wood pulp as the source of paper by the 1880s.<sup>42</sup> The increased reach of the cable network and greater use of the telegraph provided a greater amount of up-to-date coverage of events than previously possible.<sup>43</sup> Aled Jones and others have emphasised the improvements in methods of distribution.<sup>44</sup> Provincial newspapers especially benefited, use of special newspaper trains extending the reach of urban newspapers into their regional hinterlands: the

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<sup>37</sup> Aled Jones. 'The Press and the Printed Word', in Williams, *Nineteenth-Century Britain*, 369; Jones provides a good overall analysis of the Victorian press.

<sup>38</sup> Laurel Brake and Marysa Demoor (eds.) *Dictionary of Nineteenth-Century Journalism in Great Britain and Ireland*. Ghent: Academia Press and the British Library, 2009, 514-515; Heather Streets. *Martial Races: The Military, Race and Masculinity in British Imperial Culture, 1857-1914*. Manchester: MUP, 2004, 120; Stephen Koss. *The Rise and Fall of the Political Press in Britain: Vol. 1 The Nineteenth Century*. London: Hamish Hamilton, 1981, 121; John M. MacKenzie. 'The Press and the Dominant Ideology of Empire', in Simon J. Potter (ed.) *Newspapers and Empire in Ireland and Britain: Reporting the British Empire, c.1857-1921*. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2004, 25.

<sup>39</sup> Mark Hampton. *Visions of the Press in Britain, 1850-1950*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2004, 33; Brake and Demoor, *Dictionary of Nineteenth-Century Journalism*, 506; Streets, *Martial Races*, 121.

<sup>40</sup> Koss, *The Political Press*, 1; Hampton, *Visions of the Press*, 10; Brown, *Victorian News*, 30.

<sup>41</sup> Jones, 'The Press', 369.

<sup>42</sup> Brake and Demoor, *Dictionary of Nineteenth-Century Journalism*, 508, MacKenzie, 'The Press', 25.

<sup>43</sup> Simon J. Potter. 'Empire and the English Press', in Potter, *Newspapers and Empire*, 49; Brake and Demoor, *Dictionary of Nineteenth-Century Journalism*, 616-617.

<sup>44</sup> A.J. Lee. *The Origins of the Popular Press in England 1855-1914*. London: Croom Helm, 1976, 59-61; Jones, 'The Press', 369; MacKenzie, 'The Press', 25.

*Newcastle Daily Chronicle* was effectively able to exclude the London papers from the south of the North East region by delivering to Middlesbrough, Stockton and Darlington on trains that arrived earlier than those from the capital.<sup>45</sup> The formation of the Press Association in 1868 and the Post Office's takeover of the domestic telegraph in 1870 benefited provincial papers especially in ensuring cheaper and faster communication.<sup>46</sup>

The depth of newspapers' infiltration of society was hitherto unparalleled: the British, Roger Stearn argued, became a 'news-paperised' people.<sup>47</sup> It is highly significant that what Andrew Thomson called the 'imperialising of the British press' occurred in conjunction with this period of growth and influence.<sup>48</sup> With an unprecedentedly large and literate electorate, the late-Victorian press played a decisive role in the determination of public opinion.<sup>49</sup> In the final two decades of the century, the period of New Imperialism, the press was instrumental, alongside other printed media and cultural entertainments, in the propagation and normalisation of the imperial narrative, not least through its coverage of the numerous small wars.<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>45</sup> Brown, *Victorian News*, 45-46; Brake and Demoor, *Dictionary of Nineteenth-Century Journalism*, 454-455.

<sup>46</sup> Maurice Milne. *The Newspapers of Northumberland and Durham: A Study of their Progress During the Golden Age of the Provincial Press*. Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Graham, 1971, 22; Brake and Demoor, *Dictionary of Nineteenth-Century Journalism*, 503-505; Jones, 'The Press', 375; MacKenzie, 'The Press', 25.

<sup>47</sup> Roger T. Stearn. 'War Correspondents and Colonial War, c. 1870-1900', in MacKenzie, *Popular Imperialism*, 140.

<sup>48</sup> MacKenzie, 'The Press', 25; Andrew S. Thompson. *Imperial Britain: The Empire in British Politics, c. 1880-1932*. Harlow: Longman, 2000, 61.

<sup>49</sup> Paula M. Krebs. *Gender, Race and the Writing of Empire: Public Discourse and the Boer War*. Cambridge: CUP, 1999, 6; Hampton, *Visions of the Press*, 5.

<sup>50</sup> For more on the growth of other forms of print culture – and its imperial themes – see Steve Attridge. *Nationalism, Imperialism, and Identity in Late Victorian Culture: Civil and Military Worlds*. Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2003, 3-4, 45; Spiers, *Army and Society*, 216-217; Streets, *Martial Races*, 121.

## 4.2 Patriotic Imperialism

To some extent, New Imperialism was a by-product of these social changes. It similarly interacted with a range of other, overlapping phenomena to create an increasingly patriotic and militarised society between 1880 and the end of the century. John MacKenzie identifies an ideological cluster which came to infuse and be propagated by every organ of British life, made up of 'a renewed militarism, a devotion to royalty, an identification and worship of national heroes, together with a contemporary cult of personality and racial ideas associated with Social Darwinism'.<sup>51</sup> For Bédarida, the imperial idea, which reached its apogee between 1880 and 1914, comprised the

will to power, the profit motive, national pride, Christian zeal, humanitarian feeling – an extraordinary mixture of cold calculation and passion, reason and sentiment, all combined in one irresistible thrust.<sup>52</sup>

A historiographical consensus sees the aggressively expansionist imperialism of the 1880s and 1890s motivated by a combination of interlinked economic and strategic factors, rather than any new imperial *policy*.<sup>53</sup> While the imperialism of mid-century – driven by the realm of business speculation – had sought to open new markets, spread enlightenment, and save people from worse tyrannies, by the 1880s a new spirit of capitalistic imperialism operated.<sup>54</sup> In their influential *British Imperialism*, Peter Cain and Antony Hopkins argued that the post-1850 trend of British savings and investment going abroad was intensified after 1870, economic conditions encouraging the search for more profitable overseas opportunities.<sup>55</sup> The enormous increase in international trade and specialisation which took place principally under Britain's leadership led to

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<sup>51</sup> MacKenzie, *Propaganda and Empire*, 2.

<sup>52</sup> Bédarida, *Social History*, 145.

<sup>53</sup> Martin Pugh. *The Tories and the People 1880–1935*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1985, 87; Krebs. *Gender, Race and Writing of Empire*, 29–30.

<sup>54</sup> Porter, *Absent-Minded Imperialists*, 166.

<sup>55</sup> P.J. Cain and A.G. Hopkins. *British Imperialism 1688–2000*. Harlow: Longman, 2002, 167; J.F.C. Harrison. *Late Victorian Britain 1875–1901*. London: Routledge, 1991, 211.

a new 'chain of connection' between Britain and the newly-settled world, the export of labour and capital as well as the hugely-expanded trade-flow leading the absorption of the new world of north and south America, Australasia and Africa into the capitalist net.<sup>56</sup>

Perceived threats from foreign competitors to hitherto British-dominated territories within a network of British trade and capital contributed to the spirit of empire morphing into one of expansion, competition and acquisition.<sup>57</sup> European rivals catching up economically, especially France and Germany, were also asserting themselves overseas not least in Africa.<sup>58</sup> Many in Britain, impressed and anxious at the economic and territorial growth of other 'empires', felt the best method of defending the empire was to strengthen ties with existing colonies and pre-empt rivals by acquiring new colonies before others inevitably did the same – the 'survival of the fittest' empire, fuelled by prevalent notions of Social Darwinism.<sup>59</sup>

Richard Lowry saw the Afghan war as necessary in order to exclude Russian incursions into the orbit of British India: 'the English... need to be there as sentries to the gates of India and keep the Russian bear in subjection'.<sup>60</sup> Lowry's comments indicate wider fears of other European powers' assertiveness which helped shape the wars in Afghanistan and north and South Africa.<sup>61</sup> Later, Lowry wrote 'I am of the opinion that ultimately it will be found that Russia is at the bottom of this outburst. That

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<sup>56</sup> Cain and Hopkins, *British Imperialism*, 205, 214-5.

<sup>57</sup> Eric Hobsbawm. *The Age of Empire 1875–1914*. London: Wiedenfield & Nicholson, 1987, 75.

<sup>58</sup> Hendrickson, *Making Saints*, 140.

<sup>59</sup> Cain and Hopkins, *British Imperialism*, 186; Peter Mandler. *The English National Character: The History of an Idea from Edmund Burke to Tony Blair*. London: Yale University Press, 2006, 106; John Hutchinson. *Nationalism and War*. Oxford: OUP, 2017, 18; Hobsbawm, *Age of Empire*, 56; Jonathan Parry. *The Politics of Patriotism: English Liberalism, National Identity and Europe, 1830–1866*. Cambridge: CUP, 2006, 26. William Greenslade. 'Fitness and the Fin de Siècle', in J. Stokes (ed.) *Fin de Siècle/Fin du Globe: Fears and Fantasies of the Late Nineteenth century*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1992, 37-38.

<sup>60</sup> Lowry, 29 December 1879, TWA, DF.Low/1/46.

<sup>61</sup> Michelle Tusan. 'War and the Victorians: Response', *Victorian Studies*, 58:2 (Winter 2016), 325.

treacherous nation ought to be treated as an outlaw by all civilised nations'.<sup>62</sup> It is interesting to note Lowry the 'fireside warrior' from the Crimean War continuing his strategic observations of this new campaign (which would be replicated in the other small wars) and the framing of the Afghan war as ultimately a struggle against Russia which was encouraged by his residual antipathy towards the Russians. In 1885 and after a sequence of four wars in Africa, Nathaniel Edward Robson disparaged Gladstone's 'pandering to the Russians' in a poem he composed and wrote in his diary:

Gladstone and Co are coquetting with the 'Great white Bear'  
Beware, beware,  
Beware of the Bear  
With his bristling hair  
He is out of his lair.<sup>63</sup>

This deep-rooted Russophobia (and antipathy to the Gladstone government) was encouraged by the press, with alarmist stories like the reports at the start of the Afghan war of thousands of Russian ex-servicemen volunteering for service against the British in Afghanistan.<sup>64</sup> More critical commentators scorned the widespread portrayal of Russian interference:

The gradual approach of the Muscovites to our Indian frontiers has been dwelt upon as the sure presage of a coming storm, and as the beginning of the end of British rule in our Eastern Empire.<sup>65</sup>

Except for the Afghan war, the wars of the period all took place in Africa, reflecting the continent's growing importance in the late nineteenth century. In the 1880s, three-quarters of Britain's direct trade with Africa, worth £22million – more than Britain's trade with all of China – occurred in Cape Colony, Natal and Egypt.<sup>66</sup> Rejecting the traditional historiographical consensus of the Egyptian War of 1882 as reaction to a proto-nationalist

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<sup>62</sup> Lowry, 8 September 1879, TWA, DF.Low/1/46.

<sup>63</sup> Robson, 22 April and 8 May 1885, TWA, DF.RNH/4/9.

<sup>64</sup> *Shields Daily Gazette*, 8 November 1878, editorial.

<sup>65</sup> *Shields Daily Gazette*, 24 November 1878, editorial.

<sup>66</sup> Cain and Hopkins, *British Imperialism*, 310.



uprising on the imperial periphery, Cain and Hopkins considered the war and occupation of Egypt a consequence of the long-term assimilation of Egypt into Britain's free-trading regime: by 1880, Britain received 80 per cent of Egypt's exports and 44 per cent of her imports.<sup>67</sup> In light of this, by forcing Egypt to balance its budget and pay its debts, Disraeli's government (1874-1880) was provoking an Egyptian reaction in order to lay a pretext for the occupation of the country and thereby defend Britain's substantial economic interests in Egypt; that this could occur with a quick and cheap campaign that would also provide a political boost at home was an additional benefit. The Egyptian campaign was an archetypal example of what clear-eyed critics called 'Stock Exchange' imperialism.<sup>68</sup> It would have profound consequences, leading to the costly Sudan campaigns and worsening relations with European states, accelerating the 'Scramble for Africa'.<sup>69</sup>

In seeking to justify and explain the country's imperial direction, less was said of trade than of duty and religion. Colonial campaigns throughout the century were the subject of intense moralising, a justificatory process that utilised constitutional and humanitarian rhetoric, echoing Disraeli's stance that Empire was a moral duty rather than a fiscal policy.<sup>70</sup> The positive consequences of exposure to British law and order and liberty gave imperial wars a wider civilizational purpose that differentiated them from European conflicts and elevated the nation.<sup>71</sup> These values were further enhanced by their association with an evangelising Christian morality which grew more forceful as the century progressed. The Christian element to imperialism reinforced the notion of Britain as a divinely-ordained power,

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<sup>67</sup> Cain and Hopkins, *British Imperialism*, 313.

<sup>68</sup> G. R. Searle, *A New England? Peace and War 1886-1918*. Oxford: OUP, 2004, 272; Bernard Porter, *Britain, Europe and the World 1850-1986. Delusions of Grandeur*. London: George Allen & Unwin, 1987, 40.

<sup>69</sup> Hayes, 'British Foreign Policy', 158; Cain and Hopkins, *British Imperialism*, 317.

<sup>70</sup> Harrison, *Late Victorian Britain*, 211.

<sup>71</sup> Cain and Hopkins, *British Imperialism*, 309; Hutchinson, *Nationalism and War*, 54.

embodied with Christian rectitude and bringing Christianity to those denied the word of God.<sup>72</sup>

Such lofty aims were replicated in cultural representations of colonial conflicts where they gained more traction than economic or strategic arguments. Typically, imperial narratives portrayed Britain as essentially a peaceful country which waged only just wars in defence of liberty.<sup>73</sup> *Hamilton's Round the World in 120 Minutes* juxtaposed tableaux of the 'slave trade in the Soudan' with views of 'British heroes in peace and war' and 'Incidents of warfare in the Soudan', a clear contextual association.<sup>74</sup> The overthrow of slavery, a justification of the wars in Sudan in particular, possessed the simplistic melodramatic tenets that suited cultural entertainments: in *Robinson Crusoe* at the Theatre Royal in Middlesbrough, the figure of Britannia literally threw her flag around two cowering slaves, defying the pantomime's 'villain', a slave-holder, and 'appealing to the sympathies of the audience'.<sup>75</sup>

For Douglas Peers, ideals of political and legal liberty depended ultimately on force and the suspension of these principles.<sup>76</sup> The apparent hypocritical civilizational elements of late-nineteenth century imperialism were attacked by critics. The *Shields Daily Gazette* described the 'steadily growing dislike and... partially expressed but deeply felt disgust with ourselves' at the attack on the Zulus under the flimsiest of justifications – 'The responsibility lies upon us all who have encouraged this boastful, unjust and domineering conduct to other nations and especially weak nations'.<sup>77</sup> Only the previous year, the *Gazette* had predicted that 'when the spring opens, and the mud dries up, she [Britain] will probably swallow

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<sup>72</sup> Michael Paris. *Warrior Nation: Images of War in British Popular Culture 1850–2000*. London: Reaktion Books, 2000, 15. MacKenzie, 'Introduction' in *Popular Imperialism*, 4.

<sup>73</sup> David Russell. "'We Carved Our Way to Glory": The British Soldier in Music Hall Song and Sketch, c. 1880–1914', in MacKenzie, *Popular Imperialism and the Military 1850–1950*. Manchester: MUP, 1992, 68.

<sup>74</sup> *Sunderland Daily Echo*, 20 July 1885, advertisement.

<sup>75</sup> *Middlesbrough Daily Gazette*, 23 December 1879, advertisement.

<sup>76</sup> Douglas M. Peers. 'Britain and Empire' in Williams, *Nineteenth-Century Britain*, 54.

<sup>77</sup> *Shields Daily Gazette*, 24 February and 20 January 1879, editorial.

another country under the pretext of protecting the inhabitants thereof'.<sup>78</sup> They were wars 'of our own seeking' rather than in defence of the oppressed or to defeat the barbaric; reflecting on the first Boer War, a Leader in the *Sunderland Daily Echo* commented:

We never had any right there. We were deceived into believing that the Boers were willing to be annexed; we promised them local self-government and have broken our promise.<sup>79</sup>

The civilizational benefits of imperialism were also undermined, for some, by the brutal actions that an expansionist imperial policy entailed. It was reported that reinforcements for the Zulu campaign had been given orders 'to spare neither men, women nor children' while a leader in the *Shields Gazette* entitled 'British Soldiers Burning Villages and Shooting Prisoners' gave ample evidence of atrocities carried out in Afghanistan:

General Roberts ordered that the villages should be looted and then burnt... the Sepoys ... shot and bayoneted every man who persisted in struggling. The prisoners had been fastened in lines, each line being fastened by a rope which was passed round each man, and fixed in the ground by wooden pegs... The dead, the living, the dying and the wounded were all tied together and all were lying huddled in one confused mass of bodies.<sup>80</sup>

Such concerns over the conduct of British troops were especially harmful to the imperial narrative and damaged the reputation of Roberts; it was also significant in the election of 1880, rousing anti-war sentiment in support of the victorious Liberals.<sup>81</sup>

The wars were, moreover, expensive, certainly at odds with traditional Liberal notions of financial retrenchment, and criticism of the wars' flawed morality was often undertaken in conjunction with an attack on the cost. Commentators bemoaned the 'policy which seems to be perpetually

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<sup>78</sup> *Shields Daily Gazette*, 12 November 1878, editorial.

<sup>79</sup> *Sunderland Daily Echo*, 7 March 1881, editorial; *Shields Daily Gazette*, 24 September 1878, editorial.

<sup>80</sup> *Shields Daily Gazette*, 15 February 1879, editorial.

<sup>81</sup> Streets, *Martial Races*, 126-127.

demanding two things, the shedding of blood abroad and an increase of taxation at home' and 'the tremendous cost of transporting so many thousands of British soldiers to that scene of murder and mayhem?'<sup>82</sup> Such dual-pronged attacks on the war were a further means of attracting support to the anti-war standpoint, reminiscent of the mid-century arguments of Bright and Cobden but at odds with tenets of the new mass society, exemplified by the ethos of New Imperialism and the sensationalism of New Journalism, both of which helped in the revival of Tory fortunes.

The rise of the imperial state transformed British national identity, generating a 'new patriotism'. In what has become a historiographical truism, the 1870s is considered the crucial decade in the manufacture of a modern British patriotic consensus, the point at which Hugh Cunningham sees the Conservatives definitively wresting the mantle of patriotism from English radicals and mid-century Liberals.<sup>83</sup> In looking at British national identity, Theodore Koditschek mirrors Tom Nairn in seeing imperialism as central to the 'construction of Britain', placing it in the context of a particular type and phase of mercantile capitalism – in which it has since remained.<sup>84</sup>

The imperial narrative, particularly its wars, strengthened late-nineteenth-century patriotism in a number of ways. Above all it brought a socially-disparate population together, forging a collective identity that seemed to transcend class, nation and region: as Richard Lowry wrote in the aftermath of a British victory against the Zulus, 'It is a great relief to the

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<sup>82</sup> *Shields Daily Gazette*, 4 February 1879, editorial; *Sunderland Daily Echo*, 25 April 1879, editorial.

<sup>83</sup> Hugh Cunningham. 'The Conservative Party and Patriotism', in Robert Colls and Philip Dodd (eds.) *Englishness: Politics and Culture 1880-1920*. London: Bloomsbury, 2014, 307-308; see also: MacKenzie, *Propaganda and Empire*, 7; Porter, *Absent-Minded Imperialists*, 167; Hugh Cunningham. 'The Language of Patriotism, 1750-1914', *History Workshop Journal*, 12 (1981), 23-4; Paul Ward. *Britishness Since 1870*. Abingdon: Routledge, 2004, 2-3.

<sup>84</sup> Theodore Koditschek. 'The Making of British Nationality', *Victorian Studies*, 44:3 (Spring 2002), 395; Tom Nairn. *The Break-up of Britain*. London: Verso, 2003.

country who are all rejoicing at the news'.<sup>85</sup> Eric Hobsbawm noted how late nineteenth-century bourgeois society gloried in its colonies as previous generations had celebrated the triumph of science, technology and manufactures; the 'ideological cement' of imperialism brought increasing popular identification with the imperial state and common national purpose – useful in a new era of mass politics – thereby ensuring wider justification and legitimacy.<sup>86</sup> As a commentator observed, 'The man in the street, who perhaps serves behind a counter, none the less knows and feels with pride that he belongs to a conquering race'.<sup>87</sup>

Imperialism attributed to the British a set of innate civilizational attributes and desirable values, such as energy and manliness.<sup>88</sup> The wars supported notions of inherent martial valour, which had broad popular appeal. At Sunderland's Theatre Royal, Hamilton's panorama featured the tableau 'How Britons fight and die', and the grand military spectacle at Harmston's Circus, at Durham in 1884, portrayed incidents 'in which, of course, the representatives of the British maintain their ancient prestige'.<sup>89</sup> For Joan Hichberger, even heroic defeats, such as Isandlwana and Maiwand, demonstrated other traditional notions of British identity such as a lack of militarism – which, in turn, was portrayed as revealing innate national fairness.<sup>90</sup>

In reality, after the 1850s Britain was increasingly an aggressive warfare state and militarised society committed to violence to maintain commercial predominance and territorial expansion. There was an intertwining of military and civil institutions and, by the 1880s, the

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<sup>85</sup> Lowry, 23 April 1879, TWA, DF.Low/1/46; Hobsbawm, *Age of Empire*, 160; Peers, 'Britain and Empire', 61.

<sup>86</sup> Hobsbawm, *Age of Empire*, 70, 160.

<sup>87</sup> Robert Machray. 'A Group of War Artists and Battle Painters', *Windsor Magazine*, August 1900, 263.

<sup>88</sup> Parry, *Politics of Patriotism*, 6.

<sup>89</sup> *Sunderland Daily Echo*, 20 June 1884, advertisement; *Durham County Advertiser*, 22 August 1884, advertisement.

<sup>90</sup> J.W.M. Hichberger. *Images of the Military: The Military in British Art, 1815–1914*. Manchester: MUP, 1988, 116.

establishment of a military-industrial complex.<sup>91</sup> Anne Summers used the term ‘popular militarism’ to describe the pan-society endorsement and appropriation of military ideals and attitudes in the latter decades of the nineteenth century, the diffusion of military sentiment and rhetoric becoming marked features of late-Victorian society.<sup>92</sup> Paramilitary organisations proliferated from the late 1870s onwards, often as part of youth movements such as the Boy’s Brigade (1883) and Baden Powell’s Boy Scouts (1908), and as manifestations of muscular Christianity, like the Salvation Army (reorganised in 1878) and Church Army (1882).<sup>93</sup>

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<sup>91</sup> Hutchinson, *Nationalism and War*, 18, 41.

<sup>92</sup> Anne Summers. ‘Militarism in Britain before the Great War’, *History Workshop*, 2 (Autumn, 1976), 104-23; Russell, ‘We Carved Our Way to Glory’, 50.

<sup>93</sup> McLeod, *Religion and Society*, 153; John M. MacKenzie (ed.) *Imperialism and Popular Culture*. Manchester: MUP, 1986. 4.

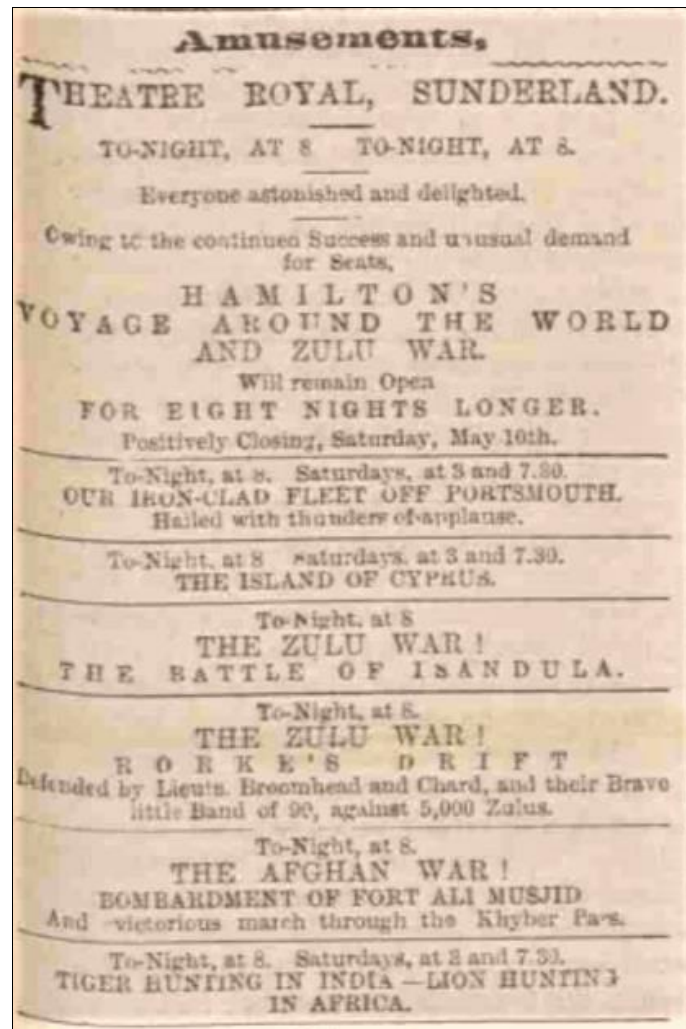


Figure 27: Hamilton's *Voyage around the World* (Sunderland Daily Echo, 2 May 1879, advertisement).

Small wars were big box office, according to MacKenzie, a point supported by numerous reports of well-attended cultural entertainments, such as Hamilton's 'Authentic Views' of the Zulu and Afghan wars whose popularity led the diorama to be twice extended beyond their original runs in Sunderland (fig. 27).<sup>94</sup> Martial virtues permeated the cultural canon. The period from the Ashanti War in 1874 to 1914 saw a dramatic increase in the number of battle and military paintings in public exhibitions.<sup>95</sup> Numerous new plays based on themes of martial valour flourished in the 1880s and 1890s theatre; particularly successful was military melodrama, such as two smash hits of 1885 based on the death of General Gordon, *Khartoum* and

<sup>94</sup> MacKenzie, 'Introduction' in *Popular Imperialism*, 8;

<sup>95</sup> Hichberger, *Images of the Military*, 75.

*The Fall of Khartoum*.<sup>96</sup> David Russell sees the peak of music hall representations of the army occurring between 1880 and 1900, directly attributable to the small wars' dominance of domestic affairs and the news agenda.<sup>97</sup> For boys of all classes, the 1880s and 1890s proliferated with toy soldiers, scale-model war games, books, newspapers and magazines promoting British martial values, linked in with an overseas adventure tradition that became the period's leading popular literary genre.<sup>98</sup>

Popular militarism was further fuelled by the popularity of the British army which, according to Olive Anderson, reached its apogee in the last two decades of the century.<sup>99</sup> This originated with the turnaround in attitudes to the army during the Crimean War but the colonial wars raised its status to instrument of empire in the popular imagination – incidentally placing it on an equal footing to that of the hitherto-paramount Navy.<sup>100</sup> Institutional reform contributed to a change in popular attitudes to the army, particularly the Cardwell Reforms of the 1870s which included the abolition of brutal punishments, the introduction of short-term service and the closer association of regiments with their towns and counties of origin, which significantly boosted pride and affiliation with the local regiment.<sup>101</sup> The religious evangelisation of the army continued apace after the 1850s, linking it to its parent civilian population and transforming the moral and pious credentials of the soldiery.<sup>102</sup>

The soldier was represented as the symbol of the nation and race, and a source of national pride. In their diaries, Robson described the men

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<sup>96</sup> Hendrickson, *Making Saints*, 140.

<sup>97</sup> Russell, 'We Carved Our Way to Glory', 54.

<sup>98</sup> Hendrickson, *Making Saints*, 140; MacKenzie, *Propaganda and Empire*, 6.

<sup>99</sup> Olive Anderson. "The Growth of Christian Militarism in Mid-Victorian Britain", in *English Historical Review*, 86 (1971), 46.

<sup>100</sup> MacKenzie, 'Introduction' in *Popular Imperialism*, 2.

<sup>101</sup> Nick Mansfield. *Soldiers as Workers – Class, Employment, Conflict and the Nineteenth-Century Military* (Studies in Labour History). Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2016, 10, 141; Spiers, *Army and Society*, 177-199: while Spiers highlights the limitations of the Cardwell reforms, they made an important positive impact on popular perceptions of the army; Hendrickson, *Making Saints*, 9.

<sup>102</sup> Hendrickson, *Making Saints*, 9, 140-142; MacKenzie, 'Introduction' in *Popular Imperialism*, 1.



fighting in Afghanistan as ‘the flower of the country’ and after the victory at Tel-el-Kebir in Egypt Lowry wrote,

Could 5000 of any other troops in the world carry entrenched works defended by five times that number? I am glad that we are still possessed of an army endowed with all the courage and bravery of their ancestors. The Egyptians like most other troops could not stand before the British bayonet.<sup>103</sup>

Reacting to reports of cowardly behaviour by a lieutenant which contributed to the death of the Prince Imperial during the Zulu War, Lowry thought it was ‘not the cut of a British officer’.<sup>104</sup> The positive representation of soldiers was ubiquitous in late nineteenth-century society: on the music hall stage, in illustrated journals, advertisements, songs and sheet music, plays, paintings, postcards and cigarette cards.<sup>105</sup> Ex-servicemen and veterans were increasingly honoured and portrayed on canvas, as in Hubert von Herkomer’s painting ‘*The Last Muster – Sunday at the Royal Hospital, Chelsea*’ (fig, 28).<sup>106</sup>

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<sup>103</sup> Robson, 18 February 1885, TWA, DF.RNH/4/9; Lowry, 14 September 1882, TWA, DF.Low/1/49;

<sup>104</sup> Lowry, 22 June 1879, TWA, DF.Low/1/46.

<sup>105</sup> Attridge, *Nationalism, Imperialism, and Identity*, 4, 6, 9; MacKenzie, ‘Introduction’ in *Popular Imperialism*, 1.

<sup>106</sup> Bates, *Curating the Crimea*, 77.

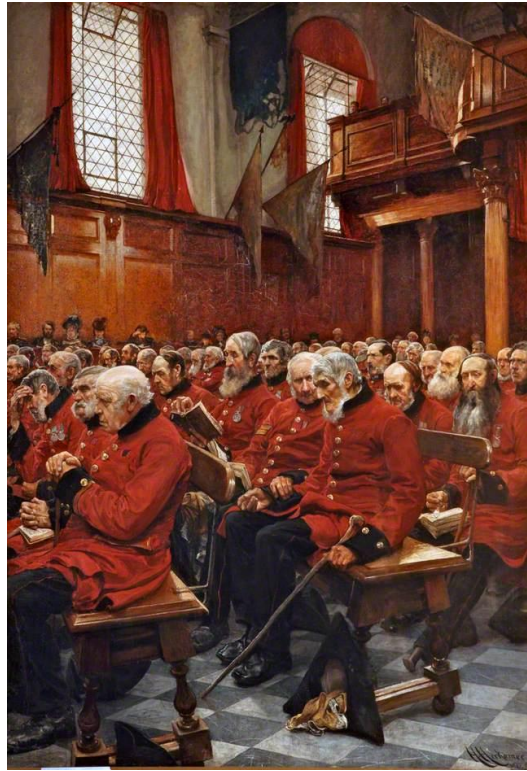


Figure 28: Hubert von Herkomer, 'The Last Muster – Sunday at the Royal Hospital, Chelsea' (1875). (Lady Lever Art Gallery, Liverpool).

However, despite the overwhelmingly positive representations, residual antipathy towards the army remained; many still considered the army as the refuge of the depraved or, for the working classes, the enemy who violently quelled political protest (there were 24 occasions between 1869 and 1910 when troops were called out at moments of civil unrest), which was reflected in poor recruitment figures.<sup>107</sup> Moreover, for those who questioned the integrity of imperial wars, the role of British soldiers in the 'slaughter of thousands of inferior fellow-creatures' in unevenly-matched combat meant there was little "glory" or the romance which attends wars with foemen worthy of our arms'; instead, there were 'the taunts of our neighbours' on the continent and shame at 'playing the part of a bully or enacting the tyrant'.<sup>108</sup> The *Hartlepool Northern Daily Mail* attacked the broader issues of innate warlike tendencies and their hypocritical celebration by society:

<sup>107</sup> Spiers, *Army and Society*, 219; Hichberger, *Images of the Military*, 80; Russell, 'We Carved Our Way to Glory', 51-52.

<sup>108</sup> *Shields Daily Gazette*, 4 February 1879, editorial; *Hartlepool Northern Daily Mail*, 25 September 1882, editorial.

There is implanted in the minds of most men an animal impulse which leads them to destroy and to exult in destruction. The boy who pulls his sister's doll to pieces is the father of the man who slays his country's enemy. The boy probably has meted out to him a rough and ready punishment; the man is decorated with the Victoria Cross or raised to the peerage.<sup>109</sup>

Indeed, the frequency of colonial wars – and their recurrent cultural and press representation – led to a normalisation and endorsement of the concept of war. John MacKenzie perceptively argues that, for the dominant people, such conflicts were an atavistic form of war, shorn of guilt by Social Darwinism and racial ideas, and rendered less dangerous by the technological gap between Europe and the rest of the world.<sup>110</sup> War was perceived as a test of national power and proof of national superiority, adding a scientific base to the cult of patriotism.<sup>111</sup> Expanding on the Tennysonian view that commended the ennobling, chivalric influence of the soldier superseding the petty interests of commerce, it was argued (admittedly by General Wolseley) that 'war with all its horrors exercises a healthy influence on all classes of society'.<sup>112</sup> Others with 'common sense', claimed the *Shields Gazette*, were 'getting wearied with this continual fighting'.<sup>113</sup>

War was often referred to as a sport, with, for example, the soldier portrayed as a member of a team, duty-bound to win and adhering to notions of rules and fair play; as Steve Attridge points out, this addressed notions of class and civil cohesion – everyone knowing their place – as much as war.<sup>114</sup> The spectatorial aspect of sport, not least in an era of growing professionalisation and paying audiences, was also relevant. For Colin Creighton and Martin Shaw, 'spectator-sport militarism' – the type of xenophobic support from the side-lines for 'our boys' the troops – was by the

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<sup>109</sup> *Hartlepool Northern Daily Mail*, 25 September 1882, editorial.

<sup>110</sup> MacKenzie, 'Introduction' in *Popular Imperialism*, 3.

<sup>111</sup> John Springhall. "'Up Guards and At Them!'" British Imperialism and Popular Art, 1880-1914', in MacKenzie, *Imperialism and Popular Culture*, 50.

<sup>112</sup> Hichberger, *Images of the Military*, 81.

<sup>113</sup> *Shields Daily Gazette*, 4 February 1879, editorial.

<sup>114</sup> Attridge, *Nationalism, Imperialism, and Identity*, 64.

1880s dangerously debilitating, not least for the commanders in the field who were aware of the clamour for action at home. This came from politicians – including Sir Henry Havelock, son of General Havelock and an MP for Sunderland, whose bellicosity was more strident than ‘probably he would dare to do were he in responsible command on the spot’ – and the public, redolent of the paterfamilias ‘fireside warriors’ of the Crimean War, and indeed a thread that links all conflicts after the 1850s expansion of the press.<sup>115</sup>

Writing about the ‘Military Industrial Media Entertainment’ (MIME) nexus of early twenty-first century America, Rikke Schubart states: ‘War is the great American distraction: mythologised as a patriotic project; articulated as an economic lynch-pin; desired for its explicit, stimulating, visceral, and authenticating capacities’.<sup>116</sup> The militarised, patriotic imperialism of the late nineteenth century possessed similarly distractive characteristics.<sup>117</sup> Michael Paris and Graham Dawson have drawn attention to the growth from the 1850s conflicts onwards of the ‘pleasure culture of war’, the reconstruction of war as a core theme in cultural entertainments, a process fanned by the profound developments in technology and communications and the rise of mass culture.<sup>118</sup>

A taste for spectacle was common to most areas of Victorian culture, from architecture to painting and also manifested itself in civic and national ceremonies. Furthermore, the fondness for spectacle permeated all of society, regardless of class.<sup>119</sup> The wars between 1878 and 1885 were inherently spectacular, fought by the army which, with its uniforms,

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<sup>115</sup> *Shields Daily Gazette*, 9 October 1878, editorial; Colin Creighton and Martin Shaw (eds.) *The Sociology of War and Peace*. Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1987, 67.

<sup>116</sup> Rikke Schubart. ‘Introduction’, in Rikke Schubart, Fabian Virchow, Debra White-Stanley and Tanja Thomas (eds.) *War isn’t Hell, It’s Entertainment*. London: McFarland & Company, 2009, 17.

<sup>117</sup> This patriotic/imperialistic impulse also occurred, to a lesser extent, in Europe; see Porter, *Britain, Europe and the World*, 60.

<sup>118</sup> Paris, *Warrior Nation*, 8, 25-26; Graham Dawson. *Soldier Heroes: British Adventure, Empire and the Imagining of Masculinity*. London: Routledge, 1994, 3, 235.

<sup>119</sup> M.R. Booth. *Victorian Spectacular Theatre, 1850-1910*. London: Routledge, 1981, 3.

manoeuvres, flags and stirring music, was itself a theatrical, spectacular institution.<sup>120</sup> Cultural entertainments that toured the north-east often reproduced the spectacle of a recent imperial campaign: advertisements for a 'Grand Diorama' at Middlesbrough promised 'thrilling incidents of the Zulu War' while Harry Day's variety show "Egypt in '82" in Sunderland showed the 'splendour' of the war, which had to 'be seen to be believed'.<sup>121</sup>

The spectacle of colonial wars – and their allure – was intensified by their exoticism, in particular the geographical distance between Britain and the theatres of war and the alien nature of the enemies and their environment.<sup>122</sup> Awareness of the rest of the world had grown with imperial expansion, improved communications and a widespread cultural focus on the exotic, encouraged, for example, by the travelling photographers that had set out to record the sights of North Africa, Egypt, India, Burma and China.<sup>123</sup> The heroic deeds of British soldiers overseas were, for many, a vicarious antidote to the drudgery of everyday life.<sup>124</sup> Throughout the period, Lowry and Robson's diary entries flitted between exotic locations as they wrote up the exploits of the army, whether sailing down the Nile or marching over mountain passes from Kandahar to Kabul.<sup>125</sup> Their lack of reflection on the multifarious aspects of the campaigns – including the exotic settings or the justifications for British troops being in them – indicates the presumption of justice of the imperial cause that underpinned much of its popular enthusiasm and endorsement.

Michael Booth describes melodrama as 'the most important theatrical form of the age'.<sup>126</sup> It was based on reductive concepts of the polarisation of

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<sup>120</sup> Scott Hughes Myerley, *British Military Spectacle: From the Napoleonic Wars through the Crimea*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1996, 8-9

<sup>121</sup> *Middlesbrough Daily Gazette*, 14 October 1879, advertisement; *Sunderland Daily Echo*, 29 December 1882, advertisement.

<sup>122</sup> Spiers, *Army and Society*, 206.

<sup>123</sup> Charlotte Mullins. 'The World on a Plate: The Impact of Photography on Travel Imagery and its Dissemination in Britain, 1839-1888'. Unpublished PhD thesis: University of Sussex, 2012. See also MacKenzie, *Propaganda and Empire*, 6, 18.

<sup>124</sup> Paris, *Warrior Nation*, 25.

<sup>125</sup> *Lowry*, 7 October and 29 December 1879, TWA, DF.Low/1/46.

<sup>126</sup> Michael Booth. *English Melodrama*. London: Jenkins, 1965, 13.

‘good’ and ‘evil’, terms that could easily be substituted by ‘Britain’ and ‘foreign’.<sup>127</sup> The Empire had become its own melodrama by the 1880s and broad elements of melodrama are easily identifiable in cultural representations of the wars. Typical is Charles Hermann’s play *The Fall of Khartoum* (fig. 29), which begun a national tour at Hermann’s own Prince of Wales Theatre in Salford and toured theatres in the north-east in early summer of 1885, shortly after the death of General Gordon. Described as a ‘sensational’ and ‘spectacular’ drama, Herman combines fictional, melodramatic elements with recent history that tapped into the Gordon ‘mania’ gripping the country.<sup>128</sup>



Figure 29: Poster for Charles Hermann’s *Fall of Khartoum*.<sup>129</sup>

<sup>127</sup> Penny Summerfield. ‘Patriotism and Empire: Music Hall Entertainment, 1870–1914’, in MacKenzie, *Imperialism and Popular Culture*, 31.

<sup>128</sup> *The Era*, 23 and 30 May 1885, editorial; MacKenzie, *Propaganda and Empire*, 51.

<sup>129</sup> Poster from Robert Wood Collection of Music Hall, Cinema and Circus posters, TWA, DF.WOD. Note the band of the Durham Artillery Volunteers, the number of participants in the battle sequence and the ‘Variety’ character of the Mahdi’s headquarters Act.

The inherently-episodic nature of the colonial campaigns, such as the hunt for Chief Cetewayo at the end of the Zulu War and Gordon's prolonged predicament in Khartoum, and the frequent swings in fortunes of British troops, enthralled domestic audiences who were often left on tenterhooks by the melodramatic, 'cliff-hanger' press coverage, as seen in Lowry and Robson's diaries.<sup>130</sup> The wars moreover provided much scope for sensationalism, whether the supposed treachery of the native garrison at Khartoum or occasional graphic details of violence: 'An assegai had gone through one of his eyes and about 16 through his body'.<sup>131</sup> Despite occasional gory details, Paris is right to view the cultural representation of war as an exciting and romantic spectacle which actually distanced the public from the tacit brutality, providing a forum through which moral uncertainties could be simplistically resolved – or ignored.<sup>132</sup> Russell noted that while music hall's portrayal of imperial wars was noble and glamorous, actual combat was very rarely shown, partly because of the expense but also because this adhered to the narratives portrayed and avoided the encouragement of difficult questions.<sup>133</sup>

These wars were small, distant, localised, 'a noise far away', that despite press hyperbole, posed no threat to Britain itself; neither, in contrast to the Indian Rebellion, were they a real threat to the Empire or a shock to national confidence. They were transient and required no permanent marker. As the *Hartlepool Northern Daily Mail* commented:

The feeling of the nation has not been aroused to such a pitch of high-strung sentiment and enthusiasm as during the Peninsular and the Crimean Wars for instance. Not a town or a village, and scarce a family, but had its gaping wound in those sad days...

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<sup>130</sup> For the search for Cetewayo, see *Lowry*, 29 July, 12 and 18 September 1879, TWA, DF.Low/1/46. For diary entries of General Gordon in Sudan see *Robson*, 18 February 1885, TWA, DF.RNH/4/9, and *Lowry*, 12, 22, 26 April, 8, 13 May, 17 June, 9, 19, 22 September, 13 December 1884, 22 January, 6, 11, 17 February 1885, TWA, DF.Low/1/51.

<sup>131</sup> *Lowry*, 10 July 1879, TWA, DF.Low/1/46. This is part of Lowry's transcription of the death of the Prince Imperial in the Zulu War, which took up many pages of his diary.

<sup>132</sup> Paris, *Warrior Nation*, 26.

<sup>133</sup> Russell, 'We Carved Our Way to Glory', 64.

The Egyptian campaign has been too brief, the foe too unworthy  
and the losses too slight to warm the national heart.<sup>134</sup>

Indeed, the campaigns were often initially met with apathy until the press piqued their readers' interest with reports of a sensational incident or the creation of a dramatic narrative.

The Indian Rebellion had shown that imperial conflicts could mobilise and unify the reading public in support of Empire, and thereafter both military and media interests harnessed this support for their own purpose, moulding a culture that idealised imperial warfare and soldier-heroes.<sup>135</sup> Popular demand for heroes reached entirely new heights in the 1880s, interacting with the popularity of things military.<sup>136</sup> The practicality of placing individual heroes into simplistic, melodramatic narratives, such as one man or a few against many, translated into effective and popular representations of Britons at war. The imperial hero travelled to foreign, mysterious, lands and fought to defeat barbarism. The melodramatic representations of soldier-heroes offered a pleasing and exciting fantasy, an escape from the daily tedium.

Officers and commanders dominated representations of the imperial hero in the 1880s. The campaigns often 'belonged' to the commander or an officer who had achieved particular fame, in part because of canny self-promotion and manipulation of the press, notably General Roberts, whose famous 320-mile march from Kandahar to Kabul in 1880 was in large part undertaken to restore his reputation after his brutality earlier in the Afghan campaign, and General Wolseley, caricatured as the 'Modern Major-General' in Gilbert and Sullivan's opera *The Pirates of Penzance* (1880).<sup>137</sup> Thus in

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<sup>134</sup> *Hartlepool Northern Daily Mail*, 25 September 1882, editorial.

<sup>135</sup> Streets, *Martial Races*, 20, 117-118.

<sup>136</sup> Stearn, 'War Correspondents', 151; Hendrickson, *Making Saints*, 139.

<sup>137</sup> Brown, *Victorian News*, 139-140; Streets, *Martial Races*, 117, 120, 122; Paul Meller. 'The Development of Modern Propaganda in Britain, 1854-1902'. Unpublished PhD thesis: Durham University, 2010, 165-168; Spiers, *Army and Society*, 213. *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, OUP, online edition (accessed 24 June 2019), Ian F.W. Beckett: Wolseley, Garnet Joseph, first Viscount Wolseley (1833-1913).





its perfection in the code of dying'.<sup>140</sup> General Charles Gordon was the soldier-hero *par excellence*, whose idealised life and mystical, self-sacrificing death in 1885 provoked an obsessive interest that can be compared to the Havelock mania of the late 1850s and 1860s.

Gordon had made his reputation in China in the early 1860s when he led the 'Ever Victorious Army' in their struggle against Taiping insurgents.<sup>141</sup> After postings throughout the empire, in February 1884 the Liberal government reluctantly sent Gordon to evacuate Egyptian garrisons in Sudan – under direct British command following the Egyptian war of 1882 – away from the Mahdi Rebellion. From March until his death in February 1885, Gordon was besieged in Khartoum, the subject of overwhelming press scrutiny – which Gordon sought to manipulate.<sup>142</sup> The siege of Khartoum met many of the criteria of the melodramatic imperial narrative and provided an all-consuming, episodic story that enthralled the public; after reading the latest report about Khartoum in the *Newcastle Journal*, Lowry wrote in his diary that Gordon 'is certainly one of the most remarkable men that ever lived', and after his death 'Thus ends the life of one of the greatest heroes that ever lived'.<sup>143</sup>

Kenneth Hendrickson sees the lionisation of Gordon as fitting into a pattern of popular adulation of British status and power based on a martial Christian identity, a phase that began with General Havelock and culminated in Gordon; by 1885, public faith in the concept of the British Christian soldier hero was complete and after his 'martyrdom' at the hands of the Mahdi insurgents, Gordon rapidly assumed Havelock's mantle.<sup>144</sup> Like Havelock, Gordon was physically brave. He was from a non-aristocratic

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<sup>140</sup> David Cannadine. 'War and Death, Grief and Mourning in Modern Britain' in J. Whaley (ed.) *Mirrors of Mortality: Studies in the Social History of Death*. London: Europa, 1981, 195 (italicised emphasis in original).

<sup>141</sup> *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, OUP, online edition (accessed 20 June 2019), Richard Davenport-Hines: Gordon, Charles George (1833-1885); Hendrickson, *Making Saints*, 122-142.

<sup>142</sup> ODNB, Davenport-Hines: Gordon.

<sup>143</sup> *Lowry*, 19 September 1884, TWA DF.Low/1/51, 17 February 1885, TWA, DF.Low/1/52.

<sup>144</sup> Hendrickson, *Making Saints*, 14-15, 95.

background and a member of the eminently middle-class Royal Engineers. He was also renowned for his rigorous Christianity, compared to old testament prophets and Christ himself.<sup>145</sup> Numerous hagiographic biographies were published, three in 1884 alone, in which the themes of Gordon as martyr, as bringer of civilisation to barbaric races and as devout Christian dominated.<sup>146</sup> These, and the popular Gordon narrative, ignored the numerous troubling and bizarre elements of Gordon's character – in contrast to Havelock, he was showy, erratic and with little sense of duty or responsibility, and possessed an 'eccentric, highly individual and homespun theology' – but as Hendrickson argues, none of this seemed to matter: the public wanted a Havelock-type figure, a Christian soldier-hero, representative of the imperial project and its principal tool, the army.<sup>147</sup>

Furthermore, there was a cumulative effect, his death occurring after seven years of continuous conflict and as the climax of a year-long campaign in Sudan, followed avidly at home.<sup>148</sup> Throughout the small wars there had been no 'big issue' for the public to rally round; Gordon's death seemed to bring together and touch personally a great many people and generated passionately-felt questions: why did it happen, could it have been avoided and who was to blame? There was no north-east connection to Gordon, as there had been to Havelock. Memorials to Gordon were erected in Trafalgar Square, Chatham (where Gordon had spent much time at the Royal Engineers headquarters), nearby Gravesend (where he had overseen new fortifications) and Southampton (where he had visited his sister).<sup>149</sup> It seems most probable that had Gordon been born in, for example, Newcastle or Middlesbrough, a memorial would have been erected there. Instead, the urge to commemorate a commander-hero would be manifested on Tyneside in receptions for (the surviving) General Graham who had a connection, even if tenuous, to the locality.

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<sup>145</sup> Hendrickson, *Making Saints*, 122, 128; ODNB, Davenport-Hines: Gordon.

<sup>146</sup> Hendrickson, *Making Saints*, 134.

<sup>147</sup> ODNB, Davenport-Hines: Gordon; Hendrickson, *Making Saints*, 135-136, 141.

<sup>148</sup> Lowry, 12 March 1884 – 22 February 1885, TWA DF.Low/1/51, DF.Low/1/52.

<sup>149</sup> ODNB, Davenport-Hines: Gordon.

While soldier-heroes tended to be senior officers, the 1890s would see a marked change in the representation of ordinary soldiers – partly driven by the latter’s growing assertiveness – with greater acknowledgment and celebration of their contribution to the army and empire, epitomised by the *Barrack Room Ballads* of Rudyard Kipling.<sup>150</sup> This transformation can be seen in some of the cultural representations of the wars of the 1870s and 1880s, such as Hermann’s ‘*The Fall of Khartoum*’, whose melodramatic plot featured contrasting middle-class officers and working-class soldiers coming together in General Wolseley’s expedition to save Gordon – as well as demonstrating the discursive qualities of imperialism.<sup>151</sup>

The individual winners of the Victoria Cross at Rorke’s Drift (including two corporals and five private soldiers) were much feted in the press and cultural entertainments; visiting cultural entertainments provided mutually-beneficial opportunities for two of the V.C. winning privates: William Jones narrated the ‘How Rorke’s Drift was Defended’ section of a diorama that toured the north-east in 1883 and 1884 (fig. 32) and Frederick Hitch acted as a commissionaire at the exhibition of Alphonse de Neuville’s painting *The Defence of Rorke’s Drift 1879* in Newcastle.<sup>152</sup> While Jones and Hitch gained employment after the army, the diorama and gallery management benefited by associating with, and endorsement from, real Victoria Cross winners. This low-key celebrity status of private soldiers, albeit winners of the V.C., presages the increased representation of ordinary soldiers in the following decade which, in turn, would influence the greater democratic emphasis of Boer War memorialisation.

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<sup>150</sup> Attridge, *Nationalism, Imperialism, and Identity*, 14; Russell, ‘We carved our way to glory’, 58-59. The next chapter will analyse the greater representation of the ordinary soldier in more detail.

<sup>151</sup> MacKenzie, *Propaganda and Empire*, 51; *The Era*, 23 and 30 May 1885, editorial.

<sup>152</sup> *The Era*, 16 June 1883, editorial; *Northern Echo*, 21 August 1880, editorial.

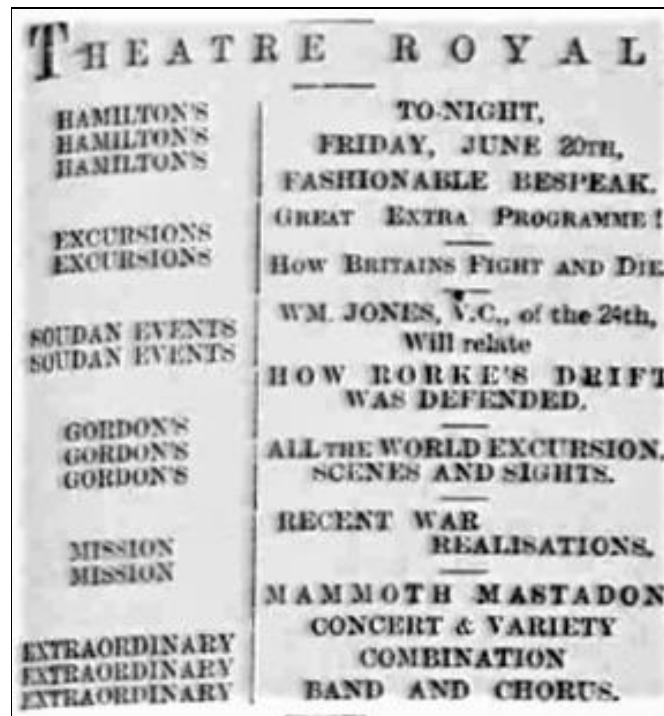


Figure 32: Hamilton's Excursions (advertisement), featuring Private Jones V.C.<sup>153</sup>

The press played a crucial role in determining how imperial wars were represented. The requisites of the liberal capitalistic system, the marketplace in which newspapers found themselves by the 1880s, necessitated a larger, guaranteed market and a more predictable, less volatile readership.<sup>154</sup> Maximising the readership, whose expectations of a newspaper had changed in the previous decade, was a priority and a marked change in ethos and content occurred.<sup>155</sup>

In what is often termed 'New Journalism', newspapers were de-politicised and made a lighter read, both in content and appearance, shifting away from mid-century sober integrity to melodramatic sensation and entertainment.<sup>156</sup> For many commentators, such as Matthew Arnold, this

<sup>153</sup> *Sunderland Daily Echo*, 20 June 1884, advertisement.

<sup>154</sup> Conboy, *The Press and Popular Culture*, 87-8; Lee, *Popular Press*, 38.

<sup>155</sup> Simon J. Potter. 'Jingoism, Public Opinion, and the New Imperialism', *Media History*, 2014, 20, 1, 34; Lee, *Popular Press*, 38, 129, 196, 211. Conboy, *The Press and Popular Culture*, 87-8.

<sup>156</sup> Simon Cottle. *Mediated Conflict: Developments in Media and Conflict Studies*. Maidenhead: Open University Press, 2006, 76-77; Hampton, *Visions of the Press*, 9, 37, 179; Brake and Demoor, *Dictionary of Nineteenth-Century Journalism*, 443; Conboy. *The Press and Popular Culture*, 89. Jones, 'The Press', 376.

coincided with the expansion of the electorate in 1867 and 1884 and 1885 and reflected the debasement of politics: no longer did the press see itself as educating the working classes out of their ignorance and irrationality, as it had done between the 1850s and 1880s; instead it was ‘feather-brained, flighty, superficial, irrational and unconcerned with the truth’, moving rapidly from one sensational story to another and relying on gimmicks in an attempt to compete in an increasingly difficult environment.<sup>157</sup> For autodidact, former Chartist and editor of the radical *Newcastle Weekly Chronicle*, W. E. Adams, the decline of the popular press was attributable to the 1870 Education Act:

Newspapers find it necessary to... pander to the lowest tastes because the lowest tastes pervade to the biggest multitudes. And so vulgar sensationalism has taken the place of sober earnestness. Instead of being the educators of the people, many of our newspapers have become mere ministers to the passions of the people.<sup>158</sup>

In this context, the melodramatic sensationalism and gripping nature of the imperial wars provided obvious benefits for newspapers. Simon Cottle sees the press as instinctively drawn to:

conflict, violence, deviance and drama... spectacular scenes... strong human-interest stories where journalists can seek and find pathos and tragedy, heroism and camaraderie, acts of selflessness, and personalized experiences of suffering... national feelings of communal identity, pride and patriotism.<sup>159</sup>

As Alan Lee suggested, the colonial wars of the period were especially suited to press coverage, ‘sufficiently distant as not to be too distressing, but successful enough to sustain confidence, with occasional setbacks to maintain tension’.<sup>160</sup> However, press coverage of the wars was different from that of the ‘bigger wars’ of the Crimea, Indian Rebellion and the Boer War. This reflected the nature of the wars, generally short, small-scale and remote, and without the greater logistical or existential challenges of the

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<sup>157</sup> Matthew Arnold. ‘Up to Easter’, *Nineteenth Century*, XXI (May 1887), 638-639; Potter, ‘Jingoism, Public Opinion’, 46; Hampton, *Visions of the Press*, 5, 9, 37.

<sup>158</sup> W.E. Adams. *Memoirs of A Social Atom*. A.M. Kelley, 1903 (Vol. 2), 584; Hampton, *Visions of the Press*, 10.

<sup>159</sup> Cottle, *Mediated Conflict*, 76-77.

<sup>160</sup> Lee, *Popular Press*, 161.

larger conflicts. The colonial campaigns of the 1870s and 1880s were 'spectator-sport' wars whose transient interest negated post-conflict memorialising impulses. However, when the ethos and style of New Journalism interacted with the profound challenges of the Boer War around fifteen years later, the press would be responsible for instilling a fundamentally modern sense of participation and 'stakeholdership' within that conflict's popular response.

A new breed of war correspondent emerged, accompanying the troops at the front. These men shared officers' attitudes to the conflicts they were covering, and communicated their excitement at campaigning – indeed correspondents became a new type of war hero, notably Archibald Forbes, Bennet Burleigh and Melton Prior.<sup>161</sup> The wars, with their unrivalled visual impact, became the most important single subject in illustrated weeklies, such as the *Illustrated London News* and *The Graphic*; military scenes formed nearly 40 per cent of all illustrations in both publications in an average year from 1875 until 1914, and almost every issue carried news and illustrations of the various campaigns.<sup>162</sup>

J. A. Hobson described the press as 'by far the most potent instrument in the modern manufacture of public opinion' and there is much historiographical consensus as to the significance of an increasingly powerful press in the propagation of imperial patriotism and the representation of colonial campaigns.<sup>163</sup> This is exemplified by three relatively-insignificant wartime events that, due to their newsworthiness, the press blew up out of all proportion and which became *the* topic of their day. Only child of Napoleon III, the Prince Imperial, was killed by Zulu Impi in an ambush in isolated countryside in June 1879. Newspapers exploited the

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<sup>161</sup> Stearn, 'War Correspondents', 150-151; Spiers, *Army and Society*, 206; Robert Machray, 'Soldiers of the Press', *Windsor Magazine*, April 1900, 595-602; Brake and Demoor, *Dictionary of Nineteenth-Century Journalism*, 224.

<sup>162</sup> Hichberger, *Images of the Military*, 92.

<sup>163</sup> J.A. Hobson. *The Psychology of Jingoism*. London: Grant Richards, 1901, 109; Potter, 'Jingoism, Public Opinion', 20, 1, 34-50; MacKenzie, 'The Press', 23-38; Springhall, 'Up Guards and At Them!' 50; Stearn, 'War Correspondents', 139.

incident's combination of heroism, tragedy and farce, laced with treachery and royalty, to make it the news sensation of the year, coverage outweighing even the disaster of Isandlwana and the defence of Rorke's Drift.<sup>164</sup> Richard Lowry devoted considerable space to the incident in his diary and mentions his purchase of a special illustrated supplement of the *Illustrated London News* to commemorate the Prince's funeral in England.<sup>165</sup> The ambush was frequently represented in cultural entertainments, such as the pantomime *Aladdin* in South Shields.<sup>166</sup>

The hunt, eventual capture and forced removal to England of King Cetewayo after the Zulu War was also avidly reported, Lowry writing frequent episodic updates in his diary.<sup>167</sup> Cetewayo became a popular feature in many representations of the war, including a circus in South Shields seven years later, in which over fifty 'auxiliaries' comprised a troupe of British soldiers and a tribe of Zulus, with a performer playing Cetewayo at their head.<sup>168</sup> In July 1882, the Royal Navy bombarded the Egyptian port of Alexandria, at the beginning of the short Egyptian War, a provocative action of questionable legitimacy. The incident became a massive news sensation, propelled into the national consciousness through the sketches of the artist Frederic Villiers in *The Graphic* and partly explained by the rare involvement in combat of the senior service.<sup>169</sup>

But it was Gordon's campaign in Egypt and Sudan and his protracted besiegement in Khartoum that spawned the greatest amount of press coverage, influencing government policy and fashioning the Gordon legend.<sup>170</sup> Evidence of this press infiltration and influence is the widespread duplication of the phrase 'Too late!', first coined by *Punch* in the title of a

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<sup>164</sup> Farwell, *Little Wars*, 239.

<sup>165</sup> Lowry, 10 and 18 July 1879, TWA DF.Low/1/46.

<sup>166</sup> *Shields Daily Gazette*, 29 December 1879, advertisement for *Siddall's Aladdin, Cetewayo and 40 Thieves*. Interest in the death of the Prince was evidently sufficient to again feature in the pantomime a year and a half after his death, see *The Era*, 15 January 1881.

<sup>167</sup> Lowry, 29 July – 18 September 1879, TWA DF.Low/1/46.

<sup>168</sup> *Shields Daily Gazette*, 22 February 1886, advertisement.

<sup>169</sup> Lowry, 4 July 1882, TWA DF.Low/1/49; Springhall, 'Up Guards and At Them!', 55.

<sup>170</sup> Spiers, *Army and Society*, 215; Russell, 'We Carved Our Way to Glory', 66.



John Tenniel cartoon in February 1885 (fig. 33) to describe the failure of the relief force to rescue Gordon in time (and, implicitly, the Liberal government's prevarication in despatching it). It was subsequently regurgitated in both Robson and Lowry's diary entries of 6 February 1885 bemoaning the death of Gordon – Robson stating 'Too Late! Again is the cry repeated throughout England' – and in the most widely-circulated of the Gordon songs 'Too Late! Too Late!' by G.H. MacDermott, who had found fame with the 'By Jingo' song in 1878.<sup>171</sup>



Figure 33: John Tenniel, *Too Late!* cartoon, *Punch*, 7 February 1885.

<sup>171</sup> Lowry, 6 February 1885, TWA DF.Low/1/52; *Robson*, 6 February 1885, TWA, DF.RNH/4/9; Russell, 'We Carved Our Way to Glory', 66. For more on the song 'By Jingo', see: Summerfield, 'Patriotism and Empire', 25.

The politicisation of the Gordon narrative reflects the profound impact the Empire and its wars had on politics. A swing to Conservatism in the 1870s and especially 1880s followed a period of Liberal dominance in the 1850s and 1860s, reflected by the relative decline of the Liberal, anti-imperial press and rise of an imperialist Conservative press: there were three daily Liberal newspapers in County Durham in 1875, but no Conservative titles; by 1881, the Conservatives had drawn level, with newspapers launched in Sunderland, Darlington and West Hartlepool.<sup>172</sup>

It was Disraeli and the Conservatives that chose to associate themselves with patriotic imperialism from the 1870s onwards in an attempt to co-opt the post-1867 transformed electorate. As Paul Smith noted,

The concept of the national party, identifying itself with the country's greatness, appealing to the masses first as Britons, but attending to their vital needs at the same time as it nourished their patriotic pride, was a brilliant comment on the mentality of the British working man, and it was to serve the Conservative Party well for more than eighty years.<sup>173</sup>

The procurement of new territory in Africa proceeded under both Liberal and Tory governments, but the latter certainly exploited the trend more successfully, portraying the less-enthusiastic Liberals as cosmopolitan, ambivalent about empire and weakening the strength of Britain. Imperial setbacks redounded especially harmfully on the Liberals amongst the broadly pro-imperial public (again exacerbated by the imperialistic press), exemplified by Robson and Lowry who, after the death of Gordon, complained in their diaries: 'the Ministry has failed in everything they have undertaken', 'More bungling', 'Gladstone trying to explain matters away. Probable result: Peace with Dishonour' [sic], and 'How humiliated all Englishmen must feel, and will feel, so long as Gladstone, Derby, Granville and Chamberlain, at the helm'.<sup>174</sup> As the staunchly-Liberal *Shields Daily Gazette* ironically observed after defeats in Sudan: 'The Government has

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<sup>172</sup> Stearn, 'War Correspondents' 140; Milne, *Newspapers of Northumberland*, 116.

<sup>173</sup> Paul Smith. *Disraelian Conservatism and Social Reform*. London: Routledge, 1967, 101.

<sup>174</sup> Lowry, 17 February 1885, TWA DF.Low/1/52; Robson, 6 February, 23 March, 20 April 1885, TWA, DF.RNH/4/9.

been denounced as few governments have been denounced before them for not sending English troops sooner and for not slaying more'.<sup>175</sup>

Identifying itself with patriotic imperialism provided the Conservative Party with a variety of benefits. It cast the party as the repository of national honour and tradition, and the executor of common national purpose, thereby appealing to a broad cross-section of the population – from the working classes, who experienced vicarious glory from colonial campaigns, to the elite gentleman-capitalists of the South East who profited from 'Stock Exchange' Imperialism.<sup>176</sup> Hobsbawm is right to emphasise the emotional attraction of patriotic imperialism, arguing that it discouraged discontent, offering voters glory rather than expensive reforms.<sup>177</sup> New Imperialism occurred in an era when citizens held unprecedented influence, and especially recently-enfranchised workers whose political attitudes became of critical importance to political parties; the 'ideological cement' of patriotic imperialism lent a sense of participation in the affairs of the country to all voters, a *stakeholdership* that encouraged a sense of belonging to and support for the nation that manifested itself in a 'populist consciousness' or chauvinistic patriotism – an 'era of public political hypocrisy or rather duplicity'.<sup>178</sup> The colonial wars were of a sufficiently minor scale to restrict civic participation to 'following from the side-lines'. The more *serious* wars of the 1850s had seen mass fundraising for the soldiers' families and, in the Crimean War, an existential crisis that had questioned the nature of the socio-political status quo. This was replicated and intensified during the Boer War when, crucially, the sense of civic stakeholdership was sufficiently entrenched to provoke thousands of citizens to volunteer to serve in South Africa and even more to gather in celebration of victories and bid farewell to departing troops.

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<sup>175</sup> *Shields Daily Gazette*, 3 March 1884, editorial.

<sup>176</sup> Cain and Hopkins, *British Imperialism*, 187-189; MacKenzie, *Imperialism and Popular Culture*, 2; Pugh, *State and Society*, 41; Cunningham, 'The Language of Patriotism', 306. Harrison, *Late Victorian Britain*, 211.

<sup>177</sup> Hobsbawm, *Age of Empire*, 69-70.

<sup>178</sup> Hobsbawm, *Age of Empire*, 84-88, 160.

Pro-imperial sentiment reacted with the unthinking Britishness and kneejerk patriotism that invariably occurred in wartime. The *Sunderland Daily Echo* complained of this innate and unreflective support of the British stance in the Afghan and Zulu Wars, 'Of course, Cetewayo is all wrong, and we are all right. What patriotic soul can doubt that? The British lion has no ambition bless him! Not like that ugly Russian Bear'.<sup>179</sup> Often demands for action were instinctive calls for revenge following a humiliating setback in the field, as the *Echo* noted during the first Boer War:

Unfortunately, our soldiers have been beaten and the cry has gone up that England cannot allow herself to be beaten and must wipe out the discredit of defeat in blood before she can afford to do right.<sup>180</sup>

Such thinking broached little reflective consideration of imperialism and its wars and contributed to broad approval for the political direction of travel.

The co-opting of much of the population to the imperial project was exemplified by the mass patriotic, imperial organisations that began in the 1870s and 1880s, such as the Patriotic Association and, later, the Victoria League and the Imperial South African Association.<sup>181</sup> The most successful was the Primrose League, established in memory of Disraeli in November 1883 by Randolph Churchill as a ploy to promote his authority within the Conservative Party.<sup>182</sup> It had attracted 11,000 members by April 1885, 200,000 a year later and 500,000 a year after that; by 1901, it had 1.5 million members, of which 1.4 million were said to be working class – 'the largest voluntary mass movement in British political history' according to Andrew Roberts.<sup>183</sup> Furthermore, as Martin Pugh pointed out, this was in

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<sup>179</sup> *Sunderland Daily Echo*, 10 February 1879, editorial.

<sup>180</sup> *Sunderland Daily Echo*, 7 March 1881, editorial.

<sup>181</sup> Andrew S. Thompson. 'Imperial Propaganda during the South African War', in Greg Cuthbertson, Albert Grundlingh and Mary-Lynn Suttie (eds.) *Writing a Wider War: Rethinking Gender, Race, and Identity in the South African War, 1899–1902*. Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 2002, 304–305; MacKenzie, *Propaganda and Empire*, 150–154.

<sup>182</sup> *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, OUP, online edition (accessed 2 June 2019), Alistair Cooke: Founders of the Primrose League.

<sup>183</sup> ODNB, Cooke: Founders of the Primrose League; MacKenzie, *Propaganda and Empire*, 150; Andrew Roberts. *Salisbury: Victorian Titan*. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1999, 276.

stark contrast to the small memberships of organisations that opposed aggressive imperialism, such as the National Liberal Foundation (1877) and Social Democratic Federation (1881), both dwarfed by the Primrose League's membership.<sup>184</sup> Its declaration of faith, to which all members subscribed, enshrined 'the maintenance of the Imperial Ascendancy of the British Empire' and the League was unrivalled in its generation of emotional and uncritical enthusiasm for empire, usually in vague and amorphous terms; it pioneered and perfected techniques of mass propaganda, invariably in the apolitical form of social events and mass entertainments, such as magic lanterns and *tableaux vivant*.<sup>185</sup> Its claims to be politically-neutral were clearly bogus and, as well as definitively associating the Conservative Party with empire, it was central to the fortunes of the party when its system of constituency associations was unequal to the challenges created by an expanding electorate.<sup>186</sup>

Citing the example of the Primrose League and its vast membership, Pugh countered the argument, espoused by Richard Price and Henry Pelling, that imperialism failed to win widespread popular support and that enthusiasm for empire stemmed mainly from the middle class.<sup>187</sup> This is part of a wider historiographical debate on the extent to which imperialism managed to impinge on people's lives. Though more nuanced about the impact of empire than critics allow, John MacKenzie and like-minded colleagues, through numerous publications from the Manchester University Press, have been most prominent in arguing that imperialism infiltrated everyday life and that the imperial message – in advertising and literature, education and entertainment – had a profound and inescapable impact on British society, particularly in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth

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<sup>184</sup> Pugh, *Tories and the People*, 87-88; Pugh, *Making of British Politics*, 85, 87.

<sup>185</sup> Pugh, *Tories and the People*, 88.

<sup>186</sup> Thompson, 'Imperial Propaganda', 305; ODNB, Cooke: 'Founders of the Primrose League'.

<sup>187</sup> Pugh, *Tories and the People*, 87-88; Richard Price. *An Imperial War and the British Working Class*. London: Routledge, 1972; Henry Pelling. 'British Labour and British Imperialism', in *Popular Politics and Society in Late Victorian Britain*. London: Macmillan, 1979, 82-100.

century.<sup>188</sup> Others disagreed, like Bernard Porter who claimed the impact of imperialism was actually fairly limited, arguing that attending a music hall performance with imperial content, for example, does not signify the ‘consumer’s’ agreement with the sentiment.<sup>189</sup>

Debate has also occurred over the extent to which imperialism was a form of social control, imposed on the rest of the population to distract from social reform, a theory reinforced by arch-imperialist Cecil Rhodes commenting in 1895: ‘The Empire is a bread and butter question. If you want to avoid civil war, you must become imperialists’.<sup>190</sup> In a Leader entitled ‘The Premier’s Smile’ the *Shields Gazette* attacked Disraeli and noted the diversionary benefits of colonial campaigns, “keep the people moving” is his motto “and then they won’t have time to think of my mistakes”.<sup>191</sup>

Patriotic imperialism offered political advantages at a time of greater democratisation and an enlarged electoral franchise. Steve Attridge and Michael Blanch argue imperialism unified a class-riven society, protecting the economic and political status quo through rechannelling popular sentiment towards a xenophobic patriotism, a view supported by French commentator Jules Vallès, writing of the London poor in 1884:

They are proud of being English; that’s enough. Without a shirt on their backs they find consolation in seeing a scrap of bunting in the wind – a Union Jack; shoeless, they are happy to see the British lion with the globe beneath its paw.<sup>192</sup>

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<sup>188</sup> MacKenzie, ‘Introduction’ in *Imperialism and Popular Culture*, 4; MacKenzie, ‘Introduction’ in *Popular Imperialism*, 1, 9; J.M. MacKenzie, “‘Comfort’ and Conviction: A Response to Bernard Porter”, *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 36:4 (2008), 662-663, 665; Gurney, *Making of Consumer Culture*, 76-77.

<sup>189</sup> Bernard Porter. ‘Further Thoughts on Imperial Absent-Mindedness’, *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* (2008) 36, 1, 107-110; 36, 1, 101-117. Porter, *Absent-Minded Imperialists*, ix, xv, 6, 80, 152-153.

<sup>190</sup> Vladimir Lenin. *Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism*. New York: International Publishers, 1939, 3; Price, ‘Society, Status and Jingoism’, 90.

<sup>191</sup> *Shields Daily Gazette*, 12 November 1878, editorial.

<sup>192</sup> Attridge, *Nationalism, Imperialism, and Identity*, 4-8; M.D. Blanch. ‘British Society and the War’, in P. Warwick (ed.) *The South African War: the Anglo-Boer War 1899-1902*. Harlow: Longman, 1980, 216; J. Vallès. *La rue à Londres*. Paris, 1884, 185 (translation reproduced in Bédarida. *Social History*, 147).

Porter considered imperialistic patriotism as a form of social control for a party and class that had no intention of ameliorating the plight of the masses, while Price, Cain and Hopkins see Tory imperialism as nullifying the working class but also latching onto a particular economic path that financiers in the Tory heartlands were keen to take – that of overseas investment in the infrastructure of colonial expansion and global growth.<sup>193</sup>

Richard Price cites the equation, made by working-class men, of aggressive imperial policies with material well-being, particularly in towns and industries that benefited directly, such as armaments in Newcastle and Sheffield and the dockyard towns of Plymouth and Portsmouth.<sup>194</sup> Price and Hobsbawm in part explain lower-middle class jingoism as a genuine outburst of sentiment though motivated by social pressures and a sense of inferiority rather than responding to the manipulative nudges of a dominant imperialistic elite.<sup>195</sup> To an extent, such arguments resolve to demonstrate that the lower-middle and working class had ‘agency’ in their enthusiasm for empire, that it was genuine and not merely exploitation. Philip Dodd argues against the notion of imposition of an imperialistic national identity, citing the variety of societal groups in diverse geographical locations that supported it and that, *pace* Gramsci, some degree of active consent (or agency) had to be involved for the patriotic hegemony or consensus to be established.<sup>196</sup> However, this underestimates the amount of social, political and cultural conditioning that surely led most people, consciously or not, to engage positively with the imperial project.

There has been a persuasive argument for a middle ground, ably elucidated by Andrew Thompson, who acknowledges a popular awareness of imperialism as well as an acceptance, and that this amounted to less than

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<sup>193</sup> Cain and Hopkins, *British Imperialism*, 187-8; Price, ‘Society, Status and Jingoism’, 90.

<sup>194</sup> Price, ‘Society, Status and Jingoism’, 85.

<sup>195</sup> Price, ‘Society, Status and Jingoism’, 90-91; Hobsbawm, *Age of Empire*, 160.

<sup>196</sup> Philip Dodd. ‘Englishness and the National Culture’ in Robert Colls and Philip Dodd (eds.) *Englishness: Politics and Culture 1880–1920*. London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2014, 27. See also Potter, ‘Empire and the English Press’, 18.

enthusiasm but more than indifference or ignorance.<sup>197</sup> Bédarida identified differences between contemporaneous notions of imperialism, expansionism and patriotism, arguing that the philosophy of imperialism held little appeal, expansionism (pride in territorial expansion won by feat of arms) was widespread and patriotism was universal.<sup>198</sup> While acknowledging the far-reaching presence of representations of empire within society, it is crucial to differentiate between political and philosophical support for empire and intermittent enthusiasm, manifested perhaps in participation in celebration of a victory in a colonial campaign or attending a melodramatic play with an imperial theme.

Protagonists on all sides of the historiographical debate on empire can agree that, as Pugh says, ‘much imperial sentiment seems superficial and thus liable to fluctuate sharply’.<sup>199</sup> This was embodied by the period’s small wars which tended to whip up underlying patriotic sentiment into passionate but short-lived spasms of jingoistic and militaristic fervour. The wars of the 1850s and the Boer War aroused a similar patriotic response which had a more profound impact on the popular imagination and consciousness, due to these conflicts’ greater traumatic effects, whether in terms of fatalities and casualties on (and off) the battlefield, or shocks to the societal status quo, the national body-politic, and to notions of national identity. The lack of impact, on the national psyche as well as in men and *materiel*, of the small wars undermined widespread urges for their memorialisation.

The transient superficiality of the wars of the 1870s and 1880s, did not generate the profound criticism and questioning of the political status quo of the Crimean War – or the more widespread anti-war agitation of the Boer War. However, the disjuncture (and hypocrisy) of an empire that was

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<sup>197</sup> Andrew S. Thompson. *The Empire Strikes Back? The Impact of Imperialism on Britain from the Mid-Nineteenth Century*. Harlow: Pearson, 2005. See also Krebs, *Gender, Race and Writing of Empire*, 9.

<sup>198</sup> Bédarida, *Social History*, 146-147.

<sup>199</sup> Pugh, *Making of British Politics*, 86; MacKenzie, ‘Introduction’ in *Imperialism and Popular Culture*, 4.



underpinned by ideals of political and legal liberty depending ultimately on coercion and the suspension of such principles was apparent to some commentators: 'We are invading and shooting and annexing all for the misguided people's good, and to spread among them the blessing of Christianity and civilisation. This is Lord Beaconsfield's high and noble mission'.<sup>200</sup> Each individual war incited criticism of British misanthropy: the campaign in Afghanistan was 'entirely of our own making' whose brutality exacerbated criticism of the dubious justifications, while the wars in southern Africa were condemned as vicious examples of imperialist oppression, crushing the liberties of Zulu tribesmen and Boer farmers.<sup>201</sup> The invasion of Zulu territory was 'an outrageous injustice... decimating if not annihilating their opponents' who were the true 'owners of the soil'.<sup>202</sup>

There was considerable disquiet among traditional opponents of war – Liberals and nonconformists – particularly over the Afghan war. Sir Henry Havelock's support for the war was criticised by a local Liberal newspaper, which considered it unwise and ungrateful to upset those in his constituency who had supported him, particularly the numerous members of the Society of Friends.<sup>203</sup> At a meeting at Shiremoor Colliery, a resolution was unanimously passed thanking Thomas Burt, the local Liberal MP, for his 'true, eloquent and forcible speech' against the Afghan war in the House of Commons.<sup>204</sup> A numerous public meeting of working men was held at North Shields Oddfellows Hall where a resolution was passed 'entirely disapproving of the policy of the Government in making so unjust and unnecessary a war'.<sup>205</sup> The Liberals were able to capitalise on this anti-war sentiment following the controversy and reverses in Afghanistan and

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<sup>200</sup> *Sunderland Daily Echo*, 10 February 1879, editorial.

<sup>201</sup> McCord and Purdue, *British History*, 302; Streets, *Martial Races*, 123, 125.

<sup>202</sup> *Sunderland Daily Echo*, 25 April 1879, letter from 'Observer'; *Sunderland Daily Echo*, 31 March 1879, editorial.

<sup>203</sup> *Shields Daily Gazette*, 9 October 1878, editorial.

<sup>204</sup> *Shields Daily Gazette*, 15 January 1879, editorial.

<sup>205</sup> *Shields Daily Gazette*, 10 December 1878, editorial.

South Africa in the 1880 General Election.<sup>206</sup> However, they were swimming against the tide in claiming that the ‘buccaneering’ justifications for imperial wars were no longer considered acceptable.<sup>207</sup> Moreover, their overseeing of subsequent colonial campaigns once in office – ‘Vacillation! Hesitation! In every occasion of urgency’ during the Sudan campaign, according to Nathaniel Robson – attracted considerable ire and tarnished them with an innate anti-imperialism, as well as weakness.<sup>208</sup> The Liberals would have to wait until after the Boer War for an imperial backlash.

Fierce if fragmentary public criticism of the wars came from individuals rather than concerted or broad-based campaigns. Prominent was Newcastle solicitor and Liberal Robert Spence Watson who gave speeches castigating the wars, such as ‘The History of English Rule and Policy in South Africa’ at the Nelson Street Lecture Room.<sup>209</sup> Later published in a pamphlet that had an international circulation of half a million, Watson’s speech called the British treatment of the Boers ‘a stain on the honour of his nation’ and claimed it possessed ‘the reek of the foul atmosphere of despotic imperialism’.<sup>210</sup> Looking back in 1907 to the aftermath of the death of Gordon, Watson commented that:

A kind of frenzy sweeps over our whole nation; it is nearly always in connection with war or bears a close relationship to that calamity. The Crimean War, the Indian Mutiny, the death of General Gordon, the skirmish at Majuba Hill and the recent war in South Africa, are instances of such frenzy.<sup>211</sup>

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<sup>206</sup> Robert Spence Watson. *The Government and the Soudan*. Newcastle-upon-Tyne: J. Forster, 1885, 2; Farwell, *Victoria’s Little Wars*, 219; McCord and Purdue, *British History*, 295, 302; Streets, *Martial Races*, 126.

<sup>207</sup> *Shields Daily Gazette*, 4 February 1879, editorial.

<sup>208</sup> Robson, 20 February 1885, TWA, DF.RNH/4/9.

<sup>209</sup> Robert Spence Watson. *The History of English Rule and Policy in South Africa: A Lecture Delivered in the Lecture Room, Nelson Street, Newcastle upon-Tyne, on Friday, the 30<sup>th</sup> May, 1879*. Newcastle-upon-Tyne: J. Forster, 1879; David Saunders. ‘Challenge, Decline and Revival: The Fortunes of Pacifism in Nineteenth- and Early Twentieth-Century Newcastle’, *Northern History*, XX (April 2017), 8-15.

<sup>210</sup> Watson, *History of English Rule*, 20-21; Percy Corder. *The Life of Robert Spence Watson*. London: Headley Brothers, 1914, 231.

<sup>211</sup> Corder, *Robert Spence Watson*, 240-241.

Gregory Claeys has written of the indefatigable efforts of the little-known Newcastle Positivist Malcolm Quin, who devoted more than thirty years to criticising imperialism, whose characteristics Quin described as: ‘Greed, aggression... a temper of ridiculous apprehension alternating with the arrogance of power... a revived militarism, a passion for unlimited domination...’.<sup>212</sup> Elijah Copland, president of the Newcastle branch of the Democratic Federation, denounced the hypocrisy of the small wars, stating in a tract of 1884 that far from being justifiable wars based on notions of self-defence or helping weaker peoples, the colonial campaigns were ‘onslaughts on weak and so-called barbarians’.<sup>213</sup> Charles Trevelyan, Northumberland aristocrat and colonial administrator, stated in a speech in 1880 about the first Boer War, ‘A great mistake has been made, a great wrong has been done’.<sup>214</sup> However, local criticisms of patriotic imperialism were isolated and were not part of organised anti-war agitation or questioning of the national political project, as occurred during the Crimean and Boer Wars. The absence of effective or widespread wartime opposition further undermined the need to heal wartime local political divisions through the unificatory memorialisation process.

### 4.3 General Graham’s Visit to Tyneside

The urge to commemorate the wars in some way existed, however, as can be seen in the visit of General Graham V.C. to Tyneside over three days in mid-July 1884. Graham was born in Cumbria and at sixteen joined the Royal Engineers – the same corps as Gordon, with whom he had been friends since serving in the Crimea together (where Graham won the Victoria

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<sup>212</sup> Gregory Claeys. *Imperial Sceptics: British Critics of Empire, 1850–1920*. Cambridge: CUP, 2012, 92; Malcolm Quin. *Religion of Humanity*. Newcastle-upon-Tyne: 1897, 3.

<sup>213</sup> Elijah Copland. *Guarantees against Unlawful War*. Newcastle upon Tyne: G.W. Havelock, 1884. Newcastle University Special Collections, Edwin Clarke Local 1510(8).

<sup>214</sup> Charles Trevelyan. *South Africa: The Boers*. Manuscript Notes for a Speech on the Boer Question, c. 1880. Newcastle University Special Collections, Ref: CET 70 (iii).

Cross).<sup>215</sup> He became the *cause célèbre du jour* in February 1884 when he commanded the first Suakin campaign in Sudan against the Mahdi commander, Osman Dingha; the short, highly-successful expedition was emblematic of the colonial campaigns generally, the engineer Graham overcoming difficult logistical conditions and numerically-superior ‘Fuzzy Wuzzie’ opponents to achieve ‘splendid victories that made the nerve of Englishmen vibrate with enthusiasm’.<sup>216</sup> On Graham’s return to Britain in May, the press continued to fete him, reporting his movements around the country as he received the thanks of Parliament and visited the Queen at Windsor and General Gordon at Chatham.<sup>217</sup>

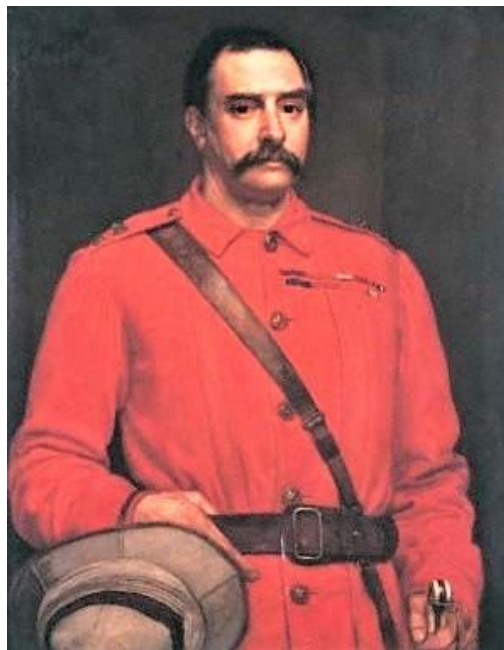


Figure 34: Sir Edward John Poynter, *Sir Gerald Graham* (1831-1899).  
(Institution of Royal Engineers).

In early July, it was announced that General Graham would visit Tyneside where he would be presented with a ‘sword of honour’ by the officers, non-commissioned officers and men of the Newcastle and Durham Engineer Volunteers, ‘in recognition of his recent services and connection

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<sup>215</sup> *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, OUP, online edition (accessed 25 June 2019), James Lunt: Graham, Sir Gerald (1831-1899).

<sup>216</sup> *ODNB*, Lunt: Graham; *Shields Daily News*, 19 July 1884, editorial; Lowry, 28 March 1884, TWA DF.Low/1/51.

<sup>217</sup> *Northern Echo*, 14 May 1884, editorial; *Shields Gazette*, 31 May 1884, editorial; *ODNB*, Lunt: Graham.

with the regiment as Inspecting Officer for several years'.<sup>218</sup> On 19 July, General and Lady Graham arrived at Newcastle Central Station where they were cheered by a large crowd. Over the next two days Graham attended receptions and dinners in Newcastle, Gateshead, and Jarrow, where he was presented with the sword of honour, his procession between events mobbed by enthusiastic local inhabitants.

This was a celebration of the hero-commander, an individual officer who, like General Havelock, had led a dashing and adventurous campaign. Though not as strictly *local* as Havelock, his Cumbrian upbringing was deemed sufficient: '... Graham has also the recommendation of being a north-country man'.<sup>219</sup> The Mayor of Gateshead stated that 'The North has produced men of the highest order, such as the Stephensons, Sir William Armstrong and others; now we are proud that a man of great military genius as a British officer has now risen from our midst'.<sup>220</sup> Despite Graham's roots across the Pennines, his military prowess placed him in the pantheon of north-east heroes where he could claim kinship with its greatest representatives, both responsible for profound industrial and social progress; indeed, it is worth contrasting the mayor's words with those of Thomas Headlam MP at the launch of the Stephenson memorial committee, when he had proudly stated that Newcastle was commemorating a man from an engineering rather than military background.<sup>221</sup> While this can be ascribed, in part, to the changed attitudes of the 1880s – the imperial-patriotic overriding the civil – a more pragmatic analysis would caution against generalisation and suggest that the context of who was being commemorated (or raised funds for) was as important.

The causes or indeed justifications of the Suakin campaign were not broached, Graham's presence instead an implicit endorsement of the imperial project and its innate martial aspects. He was commended for

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<sup>218</sup> *Sunderland Daily Echo*, 3 July 1884, editorial.

<sup>219</sup> *Jarrow Express*, 4 July 1884, editorial.

<sup>220</sup> *Shields Daily News*, 19 July 1884, editorial.

<sup>221</sup> *Newcastle Courant*, 29 October 1858, editorial; see Chapter 3.

sustaining ‘the high and honourable character of the British arms’ on campaign, where he had been ‘watched with great interest not only by every Englishman but by the all the Powers of Europe’.<sup>222</sup> Graham in turn claimed the enthusiastic receptions for him demonstrated ‘the great heart of England beats warmly for our soldiers’ and ‘so long as that is the case, England need not fear that her soldiers will cease to do their duty as she would have them do’.<sup>223</sup>

Despite there being no physical memorial on which to focus and leave as a communal legacy, manifestations of local civic pride were highly apparent. Before Graham’s visit, the press built-up the significance for the towns involved, associating them with the nation’s imperial project:

... the attention of the whole country will be directed to a notable event – of which Jarrow will most likely become the centre... It will be a red-letter day for the inhabitants of the town.<sup>224</sup>

This sense of municipal mythologizing can also be seen in some of the ritualistic minutiae of the visit, such as the sword (and scabbard) of honour, a ‘costly and magnificent production... enclosed in a box of solid old oak, the material having formed part of the piles of the ancient bridge thrown across the Tyne by the Emperor Hadrian’.<sup>225</sup>

Unlike Havelock, Graham was alive, present, and able to participate, and his presence (and words) endorsed the strongly-municipal nature of the ceremonies and particularly the civic elites that led them. The mayors of Newcastle, Gateshead and Jarrow all addressed receptions that featured panoplies of town councillors and local dignitaries, whose names were listed in local newspapers. As John Garrard noted, this was a period when industrial urban elites were at their most well-resourced and when the mayoralty (‘a super-squire’) was an increasingly spectacular advertisement

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<sup>222</sup> *Shields Daily News*, 19 July 1884, editorial.

<sup>223</sup> *Shields Daily News*, 21 July 1884, editorial.

<sup>224</sup> *Jarrow Express*, 4 July 1884, editorial.

<sup>225</sup> *Shields Daily News*, 8 July 1884, editorial.

for the values of the urban squirearchy.<sup>226</sup> Graham frequently drew attention to the merits of his hosts and the beneficial effects of the local middle-class elites, in so doing supporting the socio-economic, as well as the imperial, status quo. In Jarrow, Graham told his audience:

Yours is a town every Englishman should be proud of as a monument of northern industrial energy. You may point with pride to your shipping companies, which send forth splendid vessels to all parts of the world, and you may point with pride to this splendid corps of Engineer Volunteers – the greater part of which belong to Jarrow, and which was raised and sustained by the patriotic energy of one of your leaders of industry.<sup>227</sup>

Graham was referring specifically to his ‘personal friend’ Charles Palmer, who, as the *Jarrow Express* informed its readers, was responsible for attracting the General to Tyneside.<sup>228</sup> Palmer had been Jarrow’s first mayor in 1875 and would become its MP in 1885; he was also head of the Palmer’s Iron and Shipbuilding Company (among numerous other industrial concerns) and was the leading employer in Jarrow, described by Norman McCord as the ‘Tyneside giant’ who, along with William Armstrong, was responsible for making the north-east the country’s predominant shipbuilding area.<sup>229</sup> Graham’s visit was also an acknowledgment of Palmer the ‘super-squire’ *par excellence* and the crucial role he had played in the expansion of Jarrow, which grew from 3,835 in 1851 to 35,000 in 1891.<sup>230</sup> This was promoting Palmer to his community but from a paternalistic, ‘top-down’ perspective, the imposition of civic elite notions which, despite the backdrop of economic downturn and a less-consensual political atmosphere

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<sup>226</sup> Garrard, *Urban Elites*, 585, 612.

<sup>227</sup> *Shields Daily News*, 21 July 1884, editorial.

<sup>228</sup> *Jarrow Express*, 4 July 1884, editorial.

<sup>229</sup> *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, OUP, online edition (accessed 26 June 2019), Stafford M. Linsley: Palmer, Sir Charles Mark, First Baronet (1822-1907); Paul Usherwood, Jeremy Beach and Catherine Morris. *Public Sculpture of North-East England*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2000, 77-78 (a memorial to Palmer was unveiled in Jarrow in 1903); Norman McCord. *North East England: An Economic and Social History. The Region’s Development 1760–1960*. London: Batsford, 1979, 130-131; D.J. Rowe. *The Economy of the North East in the Nineteenth Century: A Survey*. Beamish: North of England Open Air Museum, 1973, 17.

<sup>230</sup> ODNB, Linsley: Palmer; Usherwood, Beach and Morris, *Public Sculpture*, 77-78.

– and expanding electorate – give little indication of the local elites attempting to be seen to be following the wishes of people within the communities; peddled instead were paternalistic narratives of civic leaders providing their localities with employment and communal infrastructure, amidst diversionary celebration of national and imperial martial glory. This can partly be explained by the absence of the process of voluntary fundraising which required the veneer of inclusivity and pan-society endeavour; all the same, the Graham commemorations appear closer to their memorialising forebears of the 1850s and 1860s than their Boer War descendants in the 1900s.

Crucially, Palmer was also commander of the local Volunteer Engineers and the emphasis of much of Graham's visit was to promote this corps specifically and the Volunteer Force generally. Cunningham draws attention to the innately local and visible elements of the Force, emphasising their connection to their community through playing key roles in functions of the local social scene, such as fetes, bazaars and cultural entertainments – not least those representing and endorsing the colonial campaigns, such as the 'Grand Fashionable Night' for Harry Hamilton's Afghanistan and Zululand diorama at Sunderland's Theatre Royal, 'under the patronage of Lieutenant-Colonel Reed, the officers and members of the Sunderland rifle Volunteers' (fig. 35).<sup>231</sup> Patronage of these types of events had a number of benefits, particularly welcome after the Volunteers' 1860s peak: as well as projecting themselves positively to the public, important for a body so dependent on public support and parliamentary funding, it was an effective way of gaining recruits.<sup>232</sup> Cunningham identified two spikes amidst the generally downward curve of recruitment: in the late 1870s after the Russo-Turkish War and in 1883-5 during the General Gordon 'mania'.<sup>233</sup>

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<sup>231</sup> Hugh Cunningham. *The Volunteer Force: A Social and Political History, 1859–1908*. London: Croom Helm, 1975, 68.

<sup>232</sup> Cunningham, *Volunteer Force*, 59-60.

<sup>233</sup> Cunningham, *Volunteer Force*, 105.



THEATRE	HARRY H. HAMILTON'S	THEATRE
ROYAL, SUNDERLAND.	AFGHANI-TAN and ZULULAND and COLOSSAL SCENERY of PASSING EVENTS.	ROYAL, SUNDERLAND.
WEDNESDAY	GRAND VOLUNTEER NIGHT.	& SATURDAY
AT	TO-MORROW (FRIDAY) 27TH, When the Entertainment will be under the Special Patronage of LIEUT.-COL. REED, the OFFICERS, and MEMBERS of the SUNDER- LAND RIFLE VOLUNTEER BATTALION. By kind per- mission, the BAND OF THE REGIMENT will attend and play during the evening.	THREE.
BRILLIANT TO-NIGHT,		PROGRAMME TO-NIGHT,
At 7.30.		At 7.30.
—		—
First Class, 2s.		First Class, 2s.
Second Class, 1s.	Tickets to be had at	Second Class, 1s.
Third Class, 6d.	Vincent's Music Ware- house, Bridge-street.	Third Class, 6d.

Figure 35: Hamilton's Afghanistan and Zululand and Colossal Scenery of Passing Events.<sup>234</sup>

Graham's visit was a remarkable combination of these elements, moreover featuring a contemporaneous celebrity-hero 'in the flesh' who willingly played his part and vociferously praised the Volunteers. The Volunteers were prominent throughout, whether the officers who attended the banquets, being inspected by Graham at their Gateshead or Jarrow drill halls, or participating in the processions that conveyed the Grahams from one event to the next. Palmer emphasised Graham's connection to the Newcastle and Durham Volunteer Engineers, claiming that the Corps was now 'the strongest engineer company in the country', about to begin a new role defending the harbours of the North East, a proposal gaining significant support at the time.<sup>235</sup> Having praised Palmer, General Graham told the audience of how 100 of the Newcastle and Durham Engineers had

<sup>234</sup> *Sunderland Daily Echo*, 26 May 1881, advertisement.

<sup>235</sup> *Shields Daily News*, 21 July 1884, editorial; Sir W.G. Armstrong. *National Defences by Sir W.G. Armstrong, being his Presidential Address to the Institution of Civil Engineers*. London: Spottiswoode & Co., 1882. Newcastle University Special Collections, Edwin Clarke Local, ref: 1886(5).

volunteered for active service in the Egypt, although the campaign ended before they were needed:

It is a fact that every Englishman should be proud of... the spirit of old England must be still alive amongst us; patriotism cannot be dead when men are willing to throw up good wages for the pittance of a soldier and hardships of a campaign in an African desert. England may have to pass through greater wars and your example will not be lost.<sup>236</sup>

The ceremonies held for General Graham were similar to earlier memorialisation activities, not least their elements of municipal pride and endorsement of the civic status quo. But they also presage elements of subsequent Boer War memorialisation, to an extent demonstrating the transitional nature of the 1880s, bridging the two eras of major conflicts. The crowds of people that cheered Graham at Newcastle Central Station would be replicated many times during the Boer War between 1900 and 1902 but would differ in two significant ways: firstly, they would be bidding farewell or welcoming back ordinary soldiers (often volunteer 'citizen-soldiers') rather than commanders; secondly, the crowds would be more spontaneous and unruly, largely outside the hierarchical formalities of civic ceremonies and seemingly representative of a rowdier populace and the decline of civic authority.

As the next chapter shows, Boer War memorials were created in a context of nationwide debate on national defence and the future of the Volunteer Force, often articulated somewhat incongruously at unveiling ceremonies; it is noteworthy that a similar debate was occurring in the mid-1880s and that the ceremonies for Graham were an appropriate arena for this. Similarly, in a foretaste of the widespread volunteering that would occur fifteen years later, it is significant that the commander-hero was countenancing an increasing role for the citizen-soldier volunteering for overseas service with the professional army, a narrative (for newly

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<sup>236</sup> *Shields Daily News*, 19 July 1884, editorial.

enfranchised and empowered societal stakeholders) of quasi-republican, citizenly duty and patriotic sacrifice that would be one of the key elements of memorialisation of the Boer War.

#### **4.4. Conclusion**

The wars of the 1870s and 1880s were markedly different from those that came before and after. They were minor wars: small in scale, short in duration and restricted to distant localised settings. They held no great threat to Britain itself or even, realistically, to its global hegemony. Fatalities were limited and there was no exceptional local link to the conflicts. These factors can explain the absence of wars memorials.

However, the nature of the wars and the heightened patriotic, imperialistic context in which they occurred, were also relevant. At home, they became a form of spectacular entertainment whose characteristics were superficial, frivolous and transient, reflecting the philosophical and emotional character of New Imperialism and the carnivalesque shrillness of jingoism; as one campaign fizzled out, popular focus swiftly moved on to the next, with little time for reflection or questioning. This can be seen in the publicity for a tour by one of the most renowned of the new breed of war correspondents, Archibald Forbes, whose lectures would ‘refrain from vexed questions, both of Politics and Military criticism’, instead aiming to ‘describe... the most exciting... momentous scenes’, such as the discovery of the body of the Prince Imperial (fig. 36).

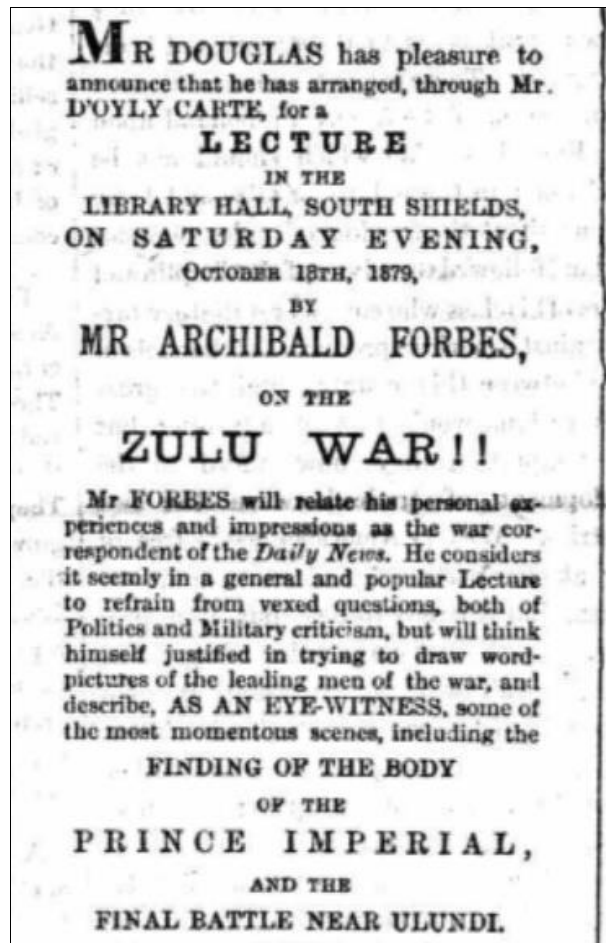


Figure 36: Lecture on the Zulu Wars by Archibald Forbes.<sup>237</sup>

While the relative lack of casualties lessened the traumatic impact of the wars, the relative lack of anti-war opposition also typified the generally-harmonious reactions to the wars (and demonstrated the wars' diversionary qualities) which removed the requirement of post-conflict conciliation that memorials offer divided communities. Neither was there the sense of participation and 'stakeholdership' of other wars: there was not the widescale fundraising for families of soldiers that occurred in 'bigger' wars and nor were there the waves of civilian volunteering that occurred in 1899-1900. There was therefore little urge within the civic elites and little demand from the wider population for memorialisation of the contributions of the local communities and its members. Indeed, as demonstrated by General

<sup>237</sup> *Shields Daily Gazette*, 18 October 1879, advertisement.

Graham's visit, this was an imposed vision of society by civic elites that were still relatively unaffected by a democratising society.

The Boer War would be the culmination of several decades of heightened imperialism and would share many of the spectacular elements of these earlier imperial wars. But in its scale, duration, and numbers of casualties, its profound effect on society and sense of national identity, it is very different. In a sense it was a more modern war, arguably the first in British history, which took place in a socially- and politically-transformed society.<sup>238</sup> It generated civic memorials that would seem to cohere to the perception of modern 'conventional' war memorials, conveying notably different narratives than memorials from the previous century that suggest a very different war to its predecessors, which generated new responses.

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<sup>238</sup> Stephen C. Call. 'Protesting against Modern War: A Comparison of Issues raised by Anti-Imperialists and Pro-Boers', *War in History*, 3 (1996), 66-84.

## Chapter 5. 'An Epidemic of War Memorials': Commemorating the Boer War in the New Century.

The second Boer (or South African) War began in October 1899 and ended in May 1902. Up to 450,000 imperial troops were fielded against an opposition that never had more than 40,000 – mainly farmers – in the field; circa 22,000 British and imperial troops died, 16,000 from sickness and 6,000 in action.<sup>1</sup> The war cost Britain over £222 million.<sup>2</sup> Richard Price describes it as the purest example of an 'imperialist' war although it was longer, on a larger-scale and fought against people who were white and protestant; it was also different in that it involved popular participation on an extraordinary scale.<sup>3</sup>

An unprecedented number of memorials were erected after the war, described by the *Northern Echo* as 'an epidemic of war memorials'.<sup>4</sup> Andrew Thompson has shown that Boer War memorials left a widespread and permanent mark on rural and urban landscapes, with more than 900 civic memorials erected in towns and villages.<sup>5</sup> The authors of a broad survey of memorials, which includes flags, trophies, sports pavilions and trees, identify 1,416 Boer War Memorials, describing the aftermath of the war as 'the first era of mass-memorialisation marking wide-scale commemoration in forms which are recognisable to us today'.<sup>6</sup> Commemoration also assumed

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<sup>1</sup> Peter Donaldson. *Remembering the South African War: Britain and the Memory of the Anglo-Boer War, from 1899 to the Present*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2013, 3; Kenneth O. Morgan. 'The Boer War and the Media', *Twentieth Century British History*, 13:1 (2002) 14.

<sup>2</sup> Anne Summers. 'Militarism in Britain before the Great War', *History Workshop*, 2 (Autumn, 1976) 111.

<sup>3</sup> Richard Price. *An Imperial War and the British Working Class*. London: Routledge, 1972, 1, 10.

<sup>4</sup> *Northern Echo*, 21 July 1905, editorial.

<sup>5</sup> Andrew 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, 113-123; Alan Borg. *War Memorials*. London: Cooper, 1991, ix.

<sup>6</sup> Jane Furlong, Lorraine Knight and Simon Slocombe. 'They Shall Grow Not Old': An Analysis of Trends in Memorialisation Based on Information Held by the UK National Inventory of War Memorials', *Cultural Trends*, 12:45 (2002), 7, 25; the more up-to-date,

more quotidian formats, such as in the commemorative burst of activity in the Staffordshire pottery industry.<sup>7</sup> At least 75 street names (for example Mafeking Road) commemorated the war in London, with over 200 such street names throughout Britain. Large numbers of children became living memorials including 6,100 children named 'Baden' and 800 girls christened 'Ladysmith' between May 1900 and the end of 1901.<sup>8</sup>

However, historiographical debate on Boer War memorialisation remains relatively limited (if greater than other nineteenth-century conflicts), often considered merely a pre-cursor to First World War memorialisation. There is disagreement over the balance of political and consolatory aspects to Boer War memorialisation. Elaine McFarland and Andrew Thompson argue that Boer War memorialisation was motivated by an amalgamation of consolatory and political factors.<sup>9</sup> For Connelly and Davidson, however, municipal political imperatives and patriotic pride were the key characteristics of Boer War memorials and these subsumed tokenistic representations of bereavement.<sup>10</sup> This chapter gauges the political and consolatory characteristics and asks how they differ from previous war memorials

It focuses on the gestation and inauguration of nine civic Boer War memorials in the north-east.<sup>11</sup> They were mostly located in larger towns where local casualties were higher or county hubs where county-wide losses were commemorated. Several were in smaller towns, such as Blyth, whose

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wider-ranging Imperial War Museum Online War Memorials Register states there are 2,214 Boer War memorials: [www.iwm.org.uk/memorials](http://www.iwm.org.uk/memorials) (accessed 17 June 2019).

<sup>7</sup> Thompson, 'Publicity, Philanthropy', 101.

<sup>8</sup> Mark Connelly and Peter Donaldson. 'South African War Memorials in Britain: A Case Study of Memorialization in London and Kent', *War and Society*, 29:1 (May 2010) 46; Valerie B. Parkhouse. *Memorializing the Anglo-Boer War of 1899–1902: Militarization of the Landscape, Monuments and Memorials in Britain*. Kibworth Beauchamp: Matador, 2015, 284. Mafeking and Ladysmith were sieges during the conflict, Robert Baden-Powell commanded the besieged British forces within Mafeking.

<sup>9</sup> E.W. McFarland. 'Commemoration of the South African War in Scotland, 1900–10', *The Scottish Historical Review*, LXXXIX, 2:8 (October 2010), 195–6. Thompson, 'Publicity, Philanthropy', 113.

<sup>10</sup> Connelly and Donaldson, 'South African War', 31.

<sup>11</sup> See appendix 2, page 309.

small size meant that the deaths of six local men were felt more keenly. The chapter will follow the methodology of previous chapters to ascertain who organised the memorials, how they were funded and what motivated the memorialisation process. Was it again a hegemonic group imposing their dominant narratives or, reflecting a more equitable society, was there more participation from other previously under-represented sections of society which led to a re-direction of emphases, such as a greater democratic focus?

The memorials will be placed in the context of wartime attitudes to the war and also post-war reactions and assess how these were endorsed or rejected in the war's memorialisation. They were erected in the aftermath of not only a large imperial war but also decades of heightened imperialism and martial patriotism and the chapter analyses if the memorials sought to transmit patriotic and imperial narratives. Similarly, social, cultural and political contexts will be examined to understand their influence on the memorial process and to adjudge how far memorials were reacting to these contemporaneous tensions as much as the war itself.

## **5.1 The War at Home**

New Imperialism reached a crescendo in the mid-to late-1890s. Events like the Jameson Raid (1896), the battle of Omdurman and the Fashoda Crisis (1898) dominated the popular imagination.<sup>12</sup> The Diamond Jubilee (1897) encapsulated the position of the monarchy and Britain at the heart of the empire – and in the heart of its people.<sup>13</sup> But it was the outbreak of the Boer War that was the climax of at least two decades of heightened imperialism,

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<sup>12</sup> Paul Readman. 'The Conservative Party, Patriotism, and British Politics: The Case of the General Election of 1900', *Journal of British Studies*, 40:1 (January 2001) 135; Edward Spiers. *The Army and Society, 1815–1914*. London: Longman, 1980, 237.

<sup>13</sup> Kathryn King and William Morgan. 'Hardy and the Boer War: The Public Poet in Spite of Himself', *Victorian Poetry*, 17:1/2, The Poetry of Thomas Hardy: A Commemorative Issue (1979) 70.



‘the finest excuse for England to throw aside traditional reserve and loudly prove that her people were still the finest race on earth’.<sup>14</sup>

The war seized the interest of the British public in a way not hitherto experienced. There seemed to be overwhelming support for the war throughout society. *The Times* in 1900 wrote ‘The war, more than any other in modern times, was and is a popular war’, while even the anti-war Labour leader Keir Hardie considered it ‘the most popular ever waged in England’.<sup>15</sup> But there was also a significant, vociferous minority who opposed the war, whose cause strengthened as the war dragged on. There has been vigorous historiographical debate on the depth of support for the war.<sup>16</sup> While not denying widespread enthusiasm for the war, Richard Price, in his seminal *An Imperial War and the British Working Class*, argues that it was the middle class who participated in overtly patriotic events while the working class was generally apathetic and indifferent.<sup>17</sup> This, to a large extent, became the historiographical orthodoxy but later historians often rejected or modified its conclusions, criticising a perceived reluctance to admit that the working classes could be seduced by the prevalent imperial mentality; for example, Stephen Miller points to the patriotic motives of the many working-class volunteers while Paul Readman and Iain Sharpe argue that ‘khaki’ issues dominated the 1900 general election campaign.<sup>18</sup>

Andrew Thompson’s middle ground, of both enthusiasm and indifference, gives nuance to the often-reductive treatment of support for the war; besides, as Paula Krebs notes, despite the extensive nexus of imperial propaganda, late-nineteenth century imperialism was not monolithic and

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<sup>14</sup> Price, *Imperial War*, 1.

<sup>15</sup> *The Times*, 10 September 1900, editorial. *Labour Leader*, 21 March 1900, editorial.

<sup>16</sup> For a survey of the historiography, see: Brad Beaven. *Visions of Empire: Patriotism, Popular Culture and the City, 1870-1939*. Manchester: MUP, 2012, 71-73.

<sup>17</sup> Price, *Imperial War*, 1, 238-9; Henry Pelling, ‘British Labour and British Imperialism’, in *Popular Politics and Society in Late Victorian Britain*. London: Macmillan, 1979, 82-100.

<sup>18</sup> Stephen M. Miller. ‘In Support of the “Imperial Mission”? Volunteering for the South African War, 1899–1902’, *Journal of Military History* 69:3 (2005), 694-695; Readman, ‘Conservative Party’, 107-145; Iain Sharpe. ‘Empire, Patriotism and the Working-Class Electorate: The 1900 General Election in the Battersea Constituency’ in *Parliamentary History*, 28:3 (2009) 392–412; Price, *Imperial War*, 105, 232.

individuals' beliefs could change and develop over time.<sup>19</sup> There were numerous manifestations in the north-east of both working-class, pro-war enthusiasm – such as the disruption of anti-war meetings and the antics of Mafeking Night – and working-class, anti-war sentiment. The former appears fleeting and carnivalesque while the latter occurred in politicised settings, such as miners' galas and Trades Council meetings.<sup>20</sup>

From December 1899 to May 1900, the war dominated popular discourse and infiltrated many elements of society.<sup>21</sup> It affected the streetscape: Frances Kelly, a former ship's stewardess from west Newcastle, noted in her diary, 'The streets everywhere are alive with bunting. We have a flag flying from our sitting-room window'.<sup>22</sup> The war brought about changes in people's appearance. Celebratory of ordinary soldiers, 'Tommy Atkins socks' were marketed – democratic descendants of Havelock capes and scarves and the Gordon hat.<sup>23</sup> Khaki became fashionable clothing while a 'Khaki Polka' featured in the winter dance programmes of 1900.<sup>24</sup> Kelly described how 'We are all wearing red, white and blue and Baden-Powell, the hero of the hour, buttons'.<sup>25</sup> There is a sense of ubiquity to the patriotic response, as well as a degree of self-perpetuating conformity, reflected in the lampooning of the war button craze by the satirical Newcastle publication *Northern Gossip*: 'Fellows who don't illustrate their war heroes on their coats are now regarded a button short'.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> Andrew S. Thompson. *The Empire Strikes Back? The Impact of Imperialism on Britain from the Mid-Nineteenth Century*. Harlow: Pearson Longman, 2005, 241-242; Paula Krebs. *Gender, Race and the Writing of Empire: Public Discourse and the Boer War*. Cambridge: CUP, 1999, 9, 30.

<sup>20</sup> For disruption of meetings, see: *Newcastle Daily Leader*, 12 October 1899, 10 March 1900 editorial; for analysis of Mafeking Night, see: Price, *Imperial War*, 130-132; Beaven, *Visions of Empire*, 189-191; J.H. Grainger. *Patriotisms. Britain 1900-1939*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1986, 148-150; Krebs, *Gender, Race*, 2-3, 6-7, 22, 29; Miners' galas and trades councils are discussed below.

<sup>21</sup> Thomas Pakenham. *The Boer War*. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1979, 465.

<sup>22</sup> Frances Kelly diary, 19 May 1900, Tyne and War Archives (TWA), DX441/1/1.

<sup>23</sup> *Shields Daily Gazette*, 6 November 1899, advertisement.

<sup>24</sup> *Northern Gossip*, 8 December 1900, editorial.

<sup>25</sup> Kelly diary, 19 May 1900, TWA, DX441/1/1.

<sup>26</sup> *Northern Gossip*, 2 June 1900, editorial. *Newcastle Daily Leader*, 13 September 1900, editorial.

Popular entertainments contributed to the domestic ubiquity of the war.<sup>27</sup> Journalist and economist J. A. Hobson introduced a cultural element to his criticism of the war and imperialism that drew attention to the coercive influence of new forms of entertainment (especially music hall), working in tandem with the political platform, press, and pulpit, which had succeeded in ‘monopolizing the mind of the British public’ and corralling them in a nefarious form of expansionist imperialism.<sup>28</sup> It wasn’t, however, imposed on disinterested audiences - there was genuine popular demand for cultural representations from the Front: films of the departure of troops from Southampton aroused the ‘wildest enthusiasm’, while scenes from the war in Poole’s Myriorama (a type of panorama) ‘excited unusual interest and were loudly applauded’.<sup>29</sup> Such representations of the war usually took place within a participative, patriotic atmosphere that embodied the previous decades’ patriotic imperialism and generated an unreflective, ‘knee-jerk Britishness’ that a war necessitated.<sup>30</sup>

There was intertextuality across the public discourse on the war, a shared, knowing utilisation of themes and phrases that ‘normalised’ the war within society.<sup>31</sup> This was particularly the case with music hall songs. A speaker at a Primrose League meeting at Bedlington adapted the key refrain from the most famous patriotic music-hall song, George Macdermott’s ‘War Song’, to declare: ‘As the good old jingo song said, “We’ve got the ships, we’ve

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<sup>27</sup> Steve Attridge. *Nationalism, Imperialism, and Identity in Late Victorian Culture: Civil and Military Worlds*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003, 22-30; Beaven, *Visions of Empire*, 184; David Russell. “‘We Carved Our Way to Glory’”. *The British Soldier in Music Hall Song and Sketch, c.1880–1914*, in John MacKenzie (ed.) *Popular Imperialism and the Military 1850–1950*. Manchester: MUP, 1992, 54; Thompson, ‘Publicity, Philanthropy’, 101-106; For cultural representations of empire: Bernard Porter. *The Absent-Minded Imperialists*. Oxford: OUP, 2004, 152-153; John M. MacKenzie (ed.) *Propaganda and Empire: The Manipulation of British Public Opinion, 1880–1960*. Manchester: MUP, 1984; Penny Summerfield. ‘Patriotism and Empire: Music Hall Entertainment, 1870-1914’, in John M. MacKenzie (ed.) *Imperialism and Popular Culture*. Manchester: MUP, 17-48.

<sup>28</sup> J.A. Hobson. *The Psychology of Jingoism*, London: Grant Richards, 1901, 3, 5. 138; Thompson, ‘Publicity, Philanthropy’, 106.

<sup>29</sup> *Shields Daily Gazette*, 3 October 1899, editorial; *Shields Daily Gazette*, 12 February 1901, editorial.

<sup>30</sup> *Shields Daily Gazette*, 27 December 1899, advertisement.

<sup>31</sup> Russell, ‘We Carved Our Way’, 55.

got the men, we've got the money too".<sup>32</sup> First published in *The Daily Mail* on 31 October 1899, Rudyard Kipling's poem *The Absent-Minded Beggar* was the most famous and ubiquitous cultural representation of the Boer War.<sup>33</sup> It became a song (by Sir Arthur Sullivan) and drama, and appeared on ash trays, tobacco jars, pillow-cases, plates and in many other formats, and was particularly exploited and referenced by fundraising efforts for the War Relief Fund.<sup>34</sup> This cross-fertilisation of cultural references reinforces the notion of a remarkable interplay between commerce, leisure, empire and war.<sup>35</sup>

Underpinning and intensifying popular enthusiasm for the war was the press - according to Hobson 'by far the most potent instrument in the modern manufacture of public opinion'.<sup>36</sup> Capitalistic press barons entered the field with the establishment of the *Daily Mail* (1898) and takeover of the *Daily Express* (1900); their priorities were ensuring bulk sales and, as in the 1880s, news from the war was an unrivalled sales tool, exemplified by the press coverage of (and consequent public obsession with) the siege of Mafeking and a rise in circulation for the *Daily Mail*, from 430,000 in 1898 to nearly a million by summer 1900.<sup>37</sup> Newspapers sought to exploit the mood and boost income by issuing ancillary products, such as 'an absolutely up-to-date war map, the largest that has ever been published,' which gave readers of the *Newcastle Daily Chronicle* 'a ready reference to the whole theatre of war, past, present and prospective'.<sup>38</sup> War correspondents were sent to South Africa in unparalleled numbers: there were fifty-eight

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<sup>32</sup> *Morpeth Herald*, 30 December 1899, editorial. For more on MacDermott's 'War Song', see: Summerfield, 'Patriotism and Empire', 25.

<sup>33</sup> For Kipling's poem *The Absent-Minded Beggar*, see appendix 3, page 313.

<sup>34</sup> Spiers, *Army and Society*, 237.

<sup>35</sup> For more on the war's commodification, see: David Nash. 'Turning the God of Battles. Secular and Moral Critiques of the South African War', in Greg Cuthbertson, Albert Grundlingh and Mary-Lynn Suttie (eds.) *Writing a Wider War: Rethinking Gender, Race, and Identity in the South African War, 1899-1902*. Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 2002, 274; Thompson, 'Publicity, Philanthropy', 101-103, 106.

<sup>36</sup> Kenneth O. Morgan. 'The Boer War and the Media, 1899-1902', *Twentieth Century British History*, 13:1, 2002, 3; Hobson, *Psychology*, 109; Krebs, *Gender, Race*, 14, 29.

<sup>37</sup> Paul Meller. 'The Development of Modern Propaganda in Britain, 1854-1902'. Unpublished PhD thesis: Durham University, 2010, 143; M.D. Blanch. 'British Society and the War' in P. Warwick (ed.) *The South African War: The Anglo-Boer War 1899-1902*. Harlow: Longman, 1980, 216; Porter, *Absent-Minded*, 170-171.

<sup>38</sup> *Newcastle Daily Chronicle*, 9 March, 27 April 1900, advertisement.

reporters in South Africa in the summer of 1900, around twenty from *The Times* alone.<sup>39</sup> The intensity of newspaper coverage of the war instilled a sense of popular ‘ownership’ of the war that perhaps gives the greatest sensation of modernity – a war of the twentieth-century. If, as Paula Krebs asserts, the press was the midwife at the birth of the twentieth century’s ‘Great British Public’, the Boer War was the inducement that hastened the delivery.<sup>40</sup>

By the 1890s, intertwined notions of patriotism and imperialism were firmly associated with Conservatism, and it was the Tories and affiliated organisations, with the press, that set the public discourse in support of the war.<sup>41</sup> The north-east remained a Liberal heartland though with serious Tory (and Liberal Unionist) incursions and a growing presence of working class activists and candidates for council and parliamentary elections. In the 1900 election, the Liberals won fourteen seats in Northumberland and Durham but the Tories won ten, including most of the urban constituencies: Newcastle, Sunderland, Tynemouth, Darlington, and Stockton.<sup>42</sup> The Conservatives maintained a barrage of pro-war and patriotic invective, not least during the election campaign. They were strengthened by the lack of clarity in the Liberals’ stance: generally lukewarm support for the war which criticised aspects of the government’s management while arguing for a hasty British victory.

The pre-war steady drip of patriotic and pro-empire propaganda meant the war was framed within the wider imperial project. Two national propaganda organisations, with considerable overlap with Tory officials and supporters, were prominent in propagating pro-war sentiment. The Primrose League intensified its programme of events to encourage support for the war, for example organising lecture tours like ‘Kruger and Khaki’, in which

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<sup>39</sup> Morgan, *Boer War and Media*, 2; Spiers, *Army and Society*, 238.

<sup>40</sup> Krebs, *Gender, Race*, 10.

<sup>41</sup> Hugh Cunningham, ‘The Language of Patriotism, 1750-1914’, *History Workshop Journal*, 12 (1981), 23-4.

<sup>42</sup> F.W.S. Craig. *British Parliamentary Election Results 1885-1918*. London: Macmillan, 1974.

Frederic Villiers, war correspondent for the *Illustrated London News*, described his experiences in South Africa.<sup>43</sup> The quasi-governmental Imperial South African Association (ISAA), formed in 1896, argued for a united British South Africa through the distribution of pamphlets and leaflets and by organising public meetings.<sup>44</sup>

Pro-war narratives attempted to justify war in a number of ways. A parallel blackening of the Boers and idealisation of the Uitlanders (or Outlanders) – the mainly British ex-patriates who had flocked to the Transvaal and Orange Free State in the aftermath of the discovery of gold on the Rand in 1886 – had occurred during the 1890s. Early pro-war agitation cohered around the Uitlander issue, representing them as an ‘oppressed and outraged multitude of our fellow subjects against the tyranny of a Boer oligarchy’, a challenge to contemporaneous notions of British national identity and sentimental attachments to a loyal British diaspora; advocates for war portrayed the conflict as a struggle to win voting and property rights for the Uitlanders equal to those of Afrikaners.<sup>45</sup>

At a Primrose League gathering at Blyth Mechanics’ Hall in October 1899, an ‘Outlander’ described the punishing conditions in which they were forced to live and work, while at a League meeting in Bedlington, a speaker said all in South Africa should be given the ‘rich blessing of liberty’.<sup>46</sup> This appeal to freedom and equality was sharpened by a patriotic edge: the majority of the Uitlanders were, according to a Conservative party agent giving a lecture at Dinnington, ‘their English brethren in the Transvaal’ – indeed many were miners who had sought a better life in southern Africa

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<sup>43</sup> *Newcastle Daily Journal*, 19 October 1899, editorial; *Shields Daily News*, 6 November 1900, editorial.

<sup>44</sup> Andrew S. Thompson. ‘The Language of Imperialism and the Meanings of Empire: Imperial Discourse in British Politics, 1895-1914,’ *Journal of British Studies*, 36 (1997) 148, 152, 155; Andrew S. Thompson. ‘Imperial Propaganda during the South African War’, in Cuthbertson, Grundlingh and Suttie (eds.) *Writing a Wider War*, 304-305; Meller, ‘Modern Propaganda’, 148; Price, *Imperial War*, 77.

<sup>45</sup> J.A. Hobson. *The War in South Africa*. London: J. Nisbet, 1900, 205; Attridge, *Nationalism, Imperialism*, 8; Thompson, ‘Imperial Propaganda’, 314-315.

<sup>46</sup> *Morpeth Herald*, 21 October, 30 December 1899, editorial.

and had taken labour traditions with them.<sup>47</sup> Significantly, these meetings occurred in Northumberland's mining district where appeals to class and occupational solidarity might be expected to be particularly effective, especially for those contemplating the move themselves.

The conflict was portrayed as a crucial moment in the history of the empire, in which the motherland realised its imperial responsibilities and the colonies rallied in support. The Bishop of Durham praised the colonies' response, celebrating that 'our kinsmen in blood had been knit together by heroic efforts'.<sup>48</sup> By the end of the war, 16,310 Australians, 6,051 Canadians and 6,416 New Zealanders had seen service in South Africa.<sup>49</sup> The war was, according to the Tory *Newcastle Daily Journal*, the 'Dawn of a new, dynamic imperialist and glorious century.'<sup>50</sup>

It was perceived as a test of national power and proof of national superiority.<sup>51</sup> As the *Newcastle Daily Chronicle* heralded, 'when the thrill of warfare came, it sounded the depths in the nature of men which, in Britons at least, proves to everyone's satisfaction the theory of heredity'.<sup>52</sup> According to MacKenzie, by the 1890s war had become the crucial determinant of national history, 'a means to moral stature and physical integrity, an anodyne against racial, spiritual and organic degeneracy'; as one commentator noted, 'wars in our time are the expression of vast natural forces, having their roots far down in national character'.<sup>53</sup> This filtered down to a sense of pride in the region's own display of traditional martial virtues, the *Chronicle* stating 'Our own tight little corner has more than maintained its ancient reputation for loyalty and bravery'.<sup>54</sup>

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<sup>47</sup> *Newcastle Daily Journal*, 21 October 1899, editorial; *Newcastle Daily Leader*, 23 August, 12 October 1899, editorial.

<sup>48</sup> *Newcastle Daily Leader*, 25 May 1900, editorial.

<sup>49</sup> G.R. Searle. *A New England? Peace and War 1886–1918*. Oxford: OUP, 2004, 278.

<sup>50</sup> *Newcastle Daily Journal*, 19 September 1900, editorial.

<sup>51</sup> John Springhall, "'Up Guards and at them!'" British Imperialism and Popular Art, 1880–1914', in MacKenzie, *Imperialism and Popular Culture*, 50.

<sup>52</sup> *Newcastle Daily Chronicle*, 3 March 1900, editorial.

<sup>53</sup> John M. MacKenzie. 'Introduction' in MacKenzie, *Popular Imperialism*, 2–3; H.F. Wyatt, *The Nineteenth Century*, LXV, 1899, 230.

<sup>54</sup> *Newcastle Daily Chronicle*, 3 March 1900, editorial.

This sentiment was replicated, somewhat less grandiloquently, by two music hall songs performed at the Newcastle Palace Theatre in early 1900: 'We can shed our best blood for the homeland' and 'We're ready for the fighting'.<sup>55</sup> They point to a reaction to the war that was probably the most widespread: an uncritical and instinctive patriotism that had been honed by New Imperialism's tenets, according to Hobson 'a strange amalgam of race feeling, animal pugnacity, rapacity and sporting zest', a type of 'childish patriotism, untampered by knowledge' that was a 'dangerous force in the hands of unscrupulous politicians'.<sup>56</sup>

At heart was an unquestioning assumption of British rectitude.<sup>57</sup> Historians have noted the creation of an environment in which willingness to acquiesce in a government line became a test of loyalty to one's country, engendering a desire to belong, not only to the 'winning side' but also to a code of estimable and respectable values (selfless duty, sacrifice and obedience) and an emulation of the presumed beliefs of societal superiors.<sup>58</sup> Kipling's *The Absent-Minded Beggar* ('Each of 'em doing his country's work', appendix 3) encouraged uncritical pan-society participation in the war, a national coming-together for the greater good.

Underpinning imperialistic patriotism was the heightened militaristic character of British society. By the beginning of the twentieth century, military values held increasing sway, with civil imitation of military organisation, discipline and rhetoric.<sup>59</sup> Blanch argues convincingly that this was inevitable, given the huge numbers of men that had served in various professional and voluntary components of the army: between 1881 and 1898, in excess of one million working men joined the regular army and

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<sup>55</sup> *The Era*, 13, 24 February 1900, editorial.

<sup>56</sup> Hobson, *Psychology*, 21, 98.

<sup>57</sup> Hobson, *Psychology*, 52.

<sup>58</sup> Mark Hampton, 'The Press, Patriotism, and Public Discussion: C. P. Scott, *The Manchester Guardian*, and the Boer War, 1899-1902', *Historical Journal*, 44:1 (March 2001) 177-197; Price, *Imperial War*, 108.

<sup>59</sup> Russell. 'We carved our way', 50.



Militia and by the beginning of the war 22.3 per cent of the entire male population aged between seventeen and forty years had previous military experience, whether in the above units, the Volunteers or Yeomanry.<sup>60</sup> Martial ideals were inculcated in state-run and public schools and the latter's patrician, officer-class values permeated wider society, not least among a status-conscious middle class emulating the traditional military prestige of the aristocracy.<sup>61</sup>

There was much vilification of opponents of the war, widely-known as pro-Boers, in the north-east located principally in Newcastle and its hinterland. While this mirrored the national situation – a level of popular opprobrium vastly more hostile than the world wars – it was exacerbated by intense regional anti-war agitation.<sup>62</sup> As at the national level, opponents of the war were undermined by disunity and a multiplicity of motivations but despite their ineffectiveness, they managed to raise awareness of alternative, negative attitudes to the war and imperialism; much of what they argued was vindicated in a post-war period of disillusionment.

Robert Spence Watson, the Newcastle lawyer and Quaker who had criticised the wars of the 1880s, was one of the leading pro-Boers.<sup>63</sup> He was President of the National Liberal Federation, arguably the most influential Liberal outside Parliament, and was prominent in the International Arbitration and Peace Association (IAPA).<sup>64</sup> Combining a middle-class,

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<sup>60</sup> Blanch, *British Society*, 214-5.

<sup>61</sup> John Hutchinson. *Nationalism and War*. Oxford: OUP, 2017, 173; Philip Dodd. 'Englishness and the National Culture', in Robert Colls and Philip Dodd (eds.) *Englishness: Politics and Culture 1880-1920*. London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2014, 30; John M. MacKenzie. 'Introduction' in MacKenzie, *Imperialism and Popular Culture*, 4. Blanch, 'British Society', 211.

<sup>62</sup> Stephen Koss. *The Pro-Boers: The Anatomy of an Anti-war Movement*. Chicago: University of Chicago, 1973, xvi-xxiii; For more on the anti-war movement, see: Greg Cuthbertson. 'Pricking the 'Nonconformist Conscience': Religion against the War in South Africa', in D. Lowry (ed.) *The South African War Re-appraised*. Manchester: MUP, 2000, 169-187; Bernard Porter. 'The Pro-Boers in Britain', in Warwick, *The South African War*, 210-238.

<sup>63</sup> *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, OUP, online edition (accessed 24 July 2019), Ian H.C.G. Matthew: Watson, Robert Spence (1837-1911); David Saunders. 'Challenge, Decline and Revival: The Fortunes of Pacifism in Nineteenth- and Early Twentieth-Century Newcastle', *Northern History*, xx, April 2017, 8-16

<sup>64</sup> Thompson, *Language of Imperialism*, 149, 164.

Liberal and nonconformist background, Spence Watson epitomised the composition of those who opposed the Boer War; in failing to seek support beyond the middle class, he also embodied the key weakness of the anti-war lobby.

The Liberal Party's early reaction to the war was encapsulated in a letter from party leader Andrew Campbell-Bannerman to fellow-Liberal Leonard Bryce in January 1900: 'We must be very careful not to take any line which might seem to be anti-British, for our countrymen, though sick at heart, are all the more touchy and obstinate' – although this changed in June 1901 with his 'methods of barbarism' speech.<sup>65</sup> There were forty-five pro-Boer MPs in Parliament, six of whom came from the north-east.<sup>66</sup> Unlike other Pro-Boer MPs, all were returned to Parliament in the 1900 general election, which perhaps demonstrates the strength of Liberalism in the region more than particular sympathy for their anti-war stance: the majority of Thomas Burt, the most notorious pro-Boer MP in the north-east and executive member of the IAPA and the anti-war Transvaal Committee, fell by 20 per cent from 1896, largely due to the changing socio-economic character of his constituency and the general upsurge in Tory fortunes.<sup>67</sup> The Liberals were further weakened by the relative decline of the Liberal press in the preceding decades and the encroachments of a burgeoning local Tory press.<sup>68</sup>

Although Christianity – especially nonconformity – inspired many individual Pro-Boers, there was no uniform, institutional opposition from any denomination. Given the relationship between the Church of England

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<sup>65</sup> Pakenham, *Boer War*, 504, 508.

<sup>66</sup> John Auld. The Liberal Pro-Boers', *Journal of British Studies*, 14:2 (1975), 100-101.

<sup>67</sup> Paul Laity. *The British Peace Movement, 1870-1914*. Oxford: OUP, 2002, 153; Lowell J. Satre. *Thomas Burt, Miners' MP, 1837-1922: The Great Conciliator*. London: Leicester University Press, 118-119; Pelling, 'British Labour', 94; Craig, *British Parliamentary Election Results*, 155.

<sup>68</sup> Frank Manders. 'History of the Newspaper Press in Northeast England', in Peter C.G. Isaac (ed.) *Newspapers in the North-East: The 'Fourth Estate' at Work in Northumberland and Durham*. Wylam: Allendale Press, 1999, 7; Alan J. Lee. *The Origins of the Popular Press in England 1855-1914*. London: Croom Helm, 1976, 175-176.

and the Conservative government, Anglican protest was rare but there was no consensus among the different nonconformist factions and no attempt to create an ecumenical or pan-nonconformist anti-war movement, partly as nonconformity generally had growing middle-class pretensions and declining influence among the working class; most factions maintained a troubled silence.<sup>69</sup>

Radical working-class and socialist agitation against the war was also hampered by disunity and an overall lack of strength within the regional body politic.<sup>70</sup> However, labour influence was growing, especially at the council level where working-class candidates were winning seats in the more populous and industrialised localities.<sup>71</sup> In Darlington, a bastion of urban Liberalism, Arthur Henderson became independent Labour MP in 1903, an indication of forthcoming political developments.<sup>72</sup> The rise in influence of organised labour should be borne in mind in analysis of Boer War memorials, especially when considering the organisers' attempts at democratising memorial narratives in a changed socio-political environment.

Nationally, Labour activists were in the vanguard of pro-Boer agitation though hampered by a lack of influence – only two Labour MPs were voted into Parliament in 1900.<sup>73</sup> Trade union leaders criticised the war through narratives that appealed to their constituencies of supporters.<sup>74</sup> Mining areas were receptive to pro-Boer speakers and large, well-publicised galas featured local and visiting anti-war speakers addressing large crowds.

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<sup>69</sup> For a survey of nonconformity and the war, see: Cuthbertson, 'Pricking the Nonconformist Conscience', 169-183.

<sup>70</sup> A.W. Purdue. *Newcastle: The Biography*. Chalford: Amberley Publishing, 2011, 213; *Northern Gossip*, 6 October 1900, editorial.

<sup>71</sup> *Morpeth Herald*, 1 June 1907, editorial; *Hartlepool Northern Daily Mail*, 3 November 1903, editorial: A returned councillor bemoaned the incursions of the 'hooligan members of the council', indicative of anxieties at rapid changes in the new mass society, including the rise of working-class politicians.

<sup>72</sup> *Newcastle Daily Chronicle*, 13 October 1903, editorial; *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edition (accessed 2 September 2019), Chris Wrigley: Henderson, Arthur (1863-1935).

<sup>73</sup> Bernard Porter. *Critics of Empire: British Radical Attitudes to Colonialism in Africa, 1895-1914*. London: Macmillan, 1968, 124-125, 127; Craig, *British Parliamentary Election Results*, 580.

<sup>74</sup> Pelling, *British Labour*, 83, 86.

Numerous anti-war meetings were held in the mining constituencies of Morpeth and Wansbeck and it seems the relative prominence of pro-Boer sentiment amongst Northumbrian miners reflected the attitudes of their pro-Boer MPs, Thomas Burt and Charles Fenwick, and nullified the attempts by the Primrose League and others to attract their support.

Pro-Boers portrayed the war in a variety of ways. The dominant representation was of a capitalist's war.<sup>75</sup> This was an economic critique of imperialism and its associated conflicts that had been present since the 1850s when Cobden and Bright had identified greed as the primary motivation behind British expansionism; it became increasingly prevalent from the early 1880s when British policy in Egypt had been driven by investors who had lobbied government to extricate them from a ruinous situation.<sup>76</sup> But the decisive role of economic interest groups in pushing an aggressive government policy in South Africa in the late 1890s was more blatant.<sup>77</sup> The radical newspaper *Reynolds News* called the conflict 'a Stock Exchange War' while editor of the influential *Pall Mall Gazette*, W.T. Stead, and Labour Representation Committee chairman Keir Hardie attacked the war as jingo capitalism.<sup>78</sup> J.A. Hobson, arguably the war's greatest critic, grasped the longer-term economic and cultural developments of which the war was a part and quickly identified the primary motivation of imperial intervention as the private profit of grasping 'Randlords' rather than the political rights of British subjects.<sup>79</sup>

Pro-Boers from different political backgrounds in the north-east portrayed the war in a similar vein. Dr Michael Clark attacked 'capitalist aggression' at a Ryton Liberal Association meeting while at the 1900

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<sup>75</sup> Porter, 'Pro-Boers', 242-244.

<sup>76</sup> Searle, *New England*, 272; P.J. Cain and A.G. Hopkins. *British Imperialism 1688-2000*. Harlow: Longman, 2002, 309-317.

<sup>77</sup> Cain and Hopkins, *British Imperialism*, 317-327.

<sup>78</sup> *Reynolds News*, 19 November 1899, editorial; Searle, *New England*, 272; Attridge, *Nationalism, Imperialism*, 94.

<sup>79</sup> Alan Jeeves. 'Hobson's *The War in South Africa: A Reassessment*', in Cuthbertson, Grundlingh and Suttie (eds.) *Writing a Wider War*, 234, 243; Porter, 'Pro-Boers', 256.

Northumberland Miners' Gala John Burns, prominent pro-Boer MP for Battersea, complained of the 'five years of acquisition and lust for territory that that had filled their minds' and appealed to the listening miners to 'discard the new imperialism'.<sup>80</sup> In stark opposition to the Tory women of the Primrose League, the annual meeting of the Gateshead Women's Liberal Association declared 'the flag had sunk to a mere commercial asset' and, aware of the rowdy nature of the war's early popularity, called it 'a drunkard's war'.<sup>81</sup> The Marsden Lodge of the Durham Miners' Association officially condemned the war as 'the work of avaricious capitalists whose only desire is to make money even at the sacrifice of the lives of our fellow-countrymen'.<sup>82</sup>

A common viewpoint was that the Tory government had engineered the war.<sup>83</sup> Dr Kitchin, Dean of Durham, wrote that 'I don't think I have ever met a more frivolous excuse for war than this'. The Marsden Lodge's resolution railed at the 'aggressive attitude pursued by the Government towards the Transvaal Republic in endeavouring to force war upon that state'.<sup>84</sup> The Boers were portrayed as fighting heroically for freedom and national independence, reinforcing the representation of capitalistic oppression by an expansionist empire.<sup>85</sup> At a meeting of the Newcastle and Gateshead Trades Council in March 1900, Mr Inkson, objecting to the killing of 'men with whom they had no quarrel, who were fighting for their homes and independence', tried to pass a resolution congratulating the Boers on 'their gallant stand against the land-grabbing and gold-grabbing British' but was 'howled down'.<sup>86</sup>

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<sup>80</sup> *Newcastle Daily Leader*, 1 February 1900, editorial; *Newcastle Daily Leader*, 22 July 1900, editorial.

<sup>81</sup> *Newcastle Daily Leader*, 21 March 1901, editorial.

<sup>82</sup> *Shields Daily Gazette*, 2 October 1899, editorial.

<sup>83</sup> Porter, 'Pro-Boers', 242.

<sup>84</sup> *Sunderland Daily Echo*, 3 October 1899, editorial; *Shields Daily Gazette*, 2 October 1899, editorial.

<sup>85</sup> Paul Ward. *Red Flag and Union Jack: England, Patriotism and the British Left, 1881-1924*. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1998, 66.

<sup>86</sup> *Northern Gossip*, 10 March 1900, editorial; *Sunderland Daily Echo*, 16 March 1900, editorial.

The diversionary effects of the war were criticised, mainly by working-class opponents.<sup>87</sup> Inkson claimed that ‘the effect of the war had been to hypnotise the workers’ while in June 1900, visiting speaker George Belt, president of the Builders Labourers Federation, criticised the war and its effect on the working man, attacking ‘the mad enthusiasm, the foolish patriotism that was blinding the men in the trade union movement’.<sup>88</sup> A correspondent in the letters section of the *Leader* wrote about pressing, unresolved social questions at home, overridden by ‘gold, gold, gold’ and one of the two resolutions passed at the 1900 Northumberland Miners Gala deplored the circumstances which led up to the war and the subsequent distraction of the attention of Parliament away from domestic policy.<sup>89</sup>

There was a perception among many Liberals that New Imperialism and the war reflected a wider decline in national political culture, and a sense of shame and humiliation at the widespread jingoism contaminating the region.<sup>90</sup> A correspondent in the *Leader*, commenting on ugly scenes that had broken up a peace meeting, wrote ‘I had expected better things of Newcastle which used to be in the van of progress; now apparently it is in the downgrade of militarism and imperialism’.<sup>91</sup>

Political anxieties coalesced with wider middle-class concerns about a deterioration of the nation’s social fabric and the war was perceived as a catalyst for accelerated moral decline. Much of this stemmed from the disillusionment with elements of modern life, discussed in the previous chapter, including mass society, ‘feather-brained’ journalism, Socialism and an uppity working class, modern methods of communication, and a religious crisis, all of which seemed to subvert the national character and betray the

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<sup>87</sup> Readman, ‘Conservative Party’, 128; Hampton, ‘Press, Patriotism’, 178.

<sup>88</sup> *Sunderland Daily Echo*, 16 March 1900, editorial; *Newcastle Daily Leader*, 8 June 1900, editorial.

<sup>89</sup> *Newcastle Daily Leader*, 29 July 1899, letter from ‘Equity’; *Newcastle Daily Journal*, 28 July 1900, editorial.

<sup>90</sup> Hobson, *Psychology*, 13; Robert Colls. ‘Englishness and the Political Culture’ in Colls and Dodd, *Englishness: Politics and Culture*, 67; Grainger, *Patriotisms, Britain 1900–1939*, 155, 159.

<sup>91</sup> *Newcastle Daily Leader*, 13 October 1899, letter from William Turnbull.

better part of British history.<sup>92</sup> Wartime problems of recruiting physically-healthy men to the army (later confirmed in the findings of the Inter-Departmental Committee on Physical Deterioration in 1904 that revealed that three-fifths of men of military age were physically unfit for service), played on fears of an urban underclass exacerbated by massive demographic change over the previous fifty years: in 1851 half of the population had lived in urban areas; by 1901 four-fifths did so.<sup>93</sup>

Scenes on ‘Mafeking Night’, when crowds came spontaneously together to celebrate the relief of the siege of Mafeking – an ‘orgy of patriotism’ according to Keir Hardie – chimed with middle-class fears of the mob and *fin de siècle* hooliganism.<sup>94</sup>

The man in the street’ – and he was not much in advance of his wife – lost his head in the enthusiasm... they came out in their thousands to show that the siege of Mafeking had touched them more closely than any other event in their lives.<sup>95</sup>

People seemed to clutch and hug each other in frantic groups. From every street and square, nook and alley, there were sounds of cheering and joy.... There was an enthusiasm and total abandonment of all distinction between classes that merged into one seething outburst of patriotic fervour.<sup>96</sup>

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<sup>92</sup> Simon Gunn. ‘The Public Sphere, Modernity and Consumption: New Perspectives on the History of the English Middle Class’, in Alan Kidd and David Nicholls (eds.) *Gender, Civic Culture and Consumerism: Middle-Class Identity in Britain 1800–1940*. Manchester: MUP, 1999, 20–21; G. Pearson. *Hooligan: A History of Respectable Fears*. London: Macmillan, 1983, 56, 69–70; Attridge, *Nationalism, Imperialism*, 70–73, 95–96. Mark Hampton. *Visions of the Press in Britain, 1850–1950*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2004, 5, 106–107;

<sup>93</sup> Bentley B. Gilbert. ‘Health and Politics: The British Physical Deterioration Report of 1904’, *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 39 (1 January 1965) 143–153; William Greenslade. ‘Fitness and the Fin de Siècle’ in J. Stokes (ed.), *Fin de siècle/Fin du Globe: Fears and Fantasies of the Late Nineteenth century*. New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1992, 37–49; Pearson, *Hooligan*, 56, 71, 73; Grainger, *Patriotisms*, 155; Hobson, *Psychology*, 6–8; Summers, ‘Militarism’, 111; Searle, *A New England*, 306; Hugh McLeod. *Religion and Society in England, 1850–1914*. Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1996, 27.

<sup>94</sup> Price, *Imperial War*, 1; Hobson, *Psychology*, 9. For more on the contemporaneous ‘hooligan problem, see: Pearson, *Hooligan*, 56–76; Attridge, *Nationalism, Imperialism*, 92, 99; Greenslade, *Fitness*, 42–43.

<sup>95</sup> *Newcastle Daily Leader*, 21 May 1900, editorial.

<sup>96</sup> *Newcastle Daily Leader*, 19 May 1900, editorial.

As these two extracts from the Liberal *Daily Leader* indicate, there was anxiety over working men – and their women – being touched by a temporary madness in which class boundaries were loosened and people stepped out of their everyday modes of behaviour. ‘Mafficking’ was nearly the opposite of civilised self-reliance, a regressive step for the national character and symptomatic of the middle class’ loss of societal authority and influence.<sup>97</sup> *Northern Gossip* – which supported the war but rejected the uninhibited popular enthusiasm – commented on the huge crowds that bade a rumbustious farewell to troops departing from Central Station: ‘I like a seasoning of jingoism; but our hugging of the 74<sup>th</sup> (Battery) was maudlin sentiment. To see the beerified, shirtless rabble... makes us feel that John Bull has lost his equanimity and manly pride’.<sup>98</sup>

Brad Beaven perceptively argues that, by the end of the nineteenth century, the development of civic identity and a growth of popular local patriotism became fused, at crucial moments, with spectacular imperial adventures; Beaven also sees the Boer War as the first conflict to feature such strong emphasis on local perspectives, with newspapers, for example, portraying the imperial conflict through a local lens and reporting on aspects of local ‘participation’.<sup>99</sup> Three wartime activities were especially illustrative of widespread popular involvement: fundraising, volunteering for military service and spontaneous crowds gathering to acclaim departing or returning troops and celebrate national victories. These were not new activities but their intensity and scale were extraordinary. Crucially, all three activities imbued a keenly-felt sense of collective participation, making civilians ‘stakeholders’ in a war that was a public-private initiative.

Victorian Britain was a charitable society, the voluntary sector frequently functioning as an effective substitute for the state in raising

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<sup>97</sup> Mandler, *The English National Character*, 109.

<sup>98</sup> *Northern Gossip*, 11 November 1899, editorial.

<sup>99</sup> Beaven, *Visions of Empire*, 70, 73-75.



emergency funds to meet mass domestic or foreign distress.<sup>100</sup> Around 22,000 soldiers died in South Africa and 75,000 returned to Britain suffering from the effects of wounds or diseases, and yet the provision made by the government for the relatives of dead or discharged soldiers – especially the injured – was paltry.<sup>101</sup> Newspapers led a nationwide drive for financial support from the civilian population, the response to which, while not unique – similar relief schemes had been organised as early as the 1790s and during the Crimean, Zulu, Afghan and Egyptian wars – was unparalleled in the amounts raised: the total raised for the various War Relief Funds was £5,126,994, including £56,527 from Liverpool and £52,840 from Northumberland and Durham.<sup>102</sup>

SOLDIERS' AND SAILORS' FAMILIES ASSOCIATION. DURHAM COUNTY BRANCH. The Marchioness of Londonderry, president. Thomas Appleby, Esq., J.P., Ashfield House, Greatham, R.S.O., Secretary. The Sixth List of Subscriptions.		
Amount advertised in previous list, £2,622 19s 6d. Collected by Mrs Craddock, Mayfield, Stockton:—J. W. Watson, Esq., Varo-terrace, £5 5s; Mrs Heslop, West End-terrace, £2 2s; the Girls' High School, Stockton, £1 8s 6d; F. W. Allison, Esq., Guisbrough, £1 1s; Mrs Craddock, £1 1s; C. M. Craddock, Esq., Mayfield, 10s; Miss Craddock, 5s; Miss Walker, Van Mildert-terrace, 5s; Mrs G. D. Leng, Richmond-road, 5s; W. Hutton, Esq., West End-terrace, 5s; —Gregory, Varo-terrace, 5s; sums under 5s, 10s 6d—£13 3s. Directors of Cement Works, West Hartlepool, per F. T. Tristram, Esq., £10 10s; collected by committee of eight men, East Rainton, for Mrs Wood, of Rainton House, Fence Houses, £10 5s 7d; offertory St. Paul's, Stockton-on-Tees, £4 16s 6d; Miss Surtess, Hamsterley Hall, £3 3s; collected by Mrs Anderson, Rimswell, Stockton, £2 10s; offertory Durham County Asylum, per the Rev. H. G. Croft, £2 1s; sale of chrysanthemums given by Mr W. Watt, Hartlepool, £2 10s. Collected by Mrs Appleton, Woodside Hall, Preston-on-Tees:—Mrs Appleton, £1; domestic servants, Woodside, 5s 6d; Miss Maude Appleton, 5s; Miss Ethel Appleton, 5s; Miss Muriel Appleton, 5s—£2 0s 6d. Carlton Ironworks, officials and workmen (1st contribution), £2; Washington Ironworks	ton Ironworks, officials and workmen (1st contribution), £2; Washington Ironworks (1st fortnightly contribution), £1 18s 6d; Joseph Cook & Sons, £1 18s 6d; N.E.R. Co. Waggon and Carriage (3rd donation), West Hartlepool, £1 5s; J. R. Maddersson, Esq., 38, High-street, Stockton, £1 1s; R. P. A. Swettenham, Esq., Hurworth-on-Tees, £1; Mrs Swettenham, Manor House, Hurworth, £1; T. H. Gamlen, Esq., Town Wall, Hartlepool, £1; employés of H. S. Sudron, Esq., West Hartlepool, 10s; Mr R. Dawson, Stockton (2nd donation), 5s; Mr J. Gwland, Dalton-le-Dale (2nd donation), 5s. Per Mrs Lauder, West Hartlepool District (3rd list):—Furness, Withy & Company's employés, £8 7s 4d; proceeds of Tea at Chrysanthemum Show, given by Mrs T. Robinson, £3 11s 9d; J. G. Fawcus, Esq., London, £2 2s; R. Lander & Company's employés (2nd week), £1 2s 6d; Messrs J. Howe & Company's workmen, Whitby-street, £1 1s 6d; C. J. Elgie, Esq., £1 1s; Tramway employés, per Inspector Ibbot, 13s 4d; Mrs Atkinson, Upper Church-street, 10s 6d; —Emitschke, Esq., 10s 6d; Miss Fryer, 10s—£19 12s 5d. Per Mrs Pike Pease, Darlington District (3rd list):—Mr Edwin Croneste, £28 5s; N.E.R. Locomotive Works (1st weekly instalment), £7 10s 4d; Kendrew-street Schools, £3 14s 10d; St. Cuthbert's Preceptory, per Mr W. C. Barron, Treasurer Knight Templars, £3 3s; exhibitors, Trades Exhibition, per Mr Elliott, Dolphin, £1 10s; Theo. Fry & Company (Limited), workmen, £1 8s 3d; Major Thompson, Walworth Castle, £3; T. M. Barron, Esq., £2; T. Marley, Esq., £1; Mrs Bryson, Lorne-terrace, £1; G. G. Hoskins, Esq., £1 1s; B. McDermid, Esq., £1 1s; Dr. Hartley, £1 1s; W. G. Moscrop, Esq., £1 1s; Alfred Massingham, Esq., £1 1s; —Grievason, Esq., £1 1s; R.	Harbour District:—Ed. Mary Magdalen, per Father Hayes, £5; Employés of Waggon Shops, £2 14s 10d; Captain and crew of steamship Longnewton, £1 3s 6d; South Hetton Docks employés (second subscription), 14s 2d; Dock Company's employés (second subscription), 11s 6d; J. B. Scott, Esq., 10s; Londonderry teamers, (second subscription), 5s 7d—£10 19s 7d. Per Mrs Rogerson, Wolstingham district:—Mrs Rogerson, £25; J. E. Rogerson, Esq., £25; C. Bainbridge, Esq., £10; C. J. Backhouse, Esq., £5; George Curry, Esq., £5 5s; J. Backhouse, Esq., £5; Mrs Vickers, £5; Rev. Chancellor Espin, D.D., £5; Miss Rogerson, £5; Sir S. Havelock-Allan, £2; Amos Mitchell, Esq., £2; J. A. Snowdon, Esq., £1 1s; J. A. Devoy, Esq., £1 1s; Mrs T. V. Davey, £1 1s; Rev. Father Wilkinson, £1 1s; Arthur Wooler, Esq., £1 1s; Miss Martin, £1 1s; Thomas Wiseman, Esq., £1 1s; Miss Annie Fenwick, £1; Dr. Craig, 10s 6d; Mrs Wooler, 10s 6d; Mrs A. Wooler, 10s 6d; Miss Lambert, 10s; Wm. Shaw, Esq., 10s; Rev. A. D. Rigby, 10s; officials and workmen of steelworks, up to date, £7 18s 11d; smaller subscriptions, £11 7s 6d—£114 17s 11d. Sedgefield branch Stockton district, per R. Thornton (2nd list):—No. 1 area (Messrs Thornton & Waite)—N. Turnbull, Esq. 10s 6d, W. J. Trenholm, Esq. 5s—15s 6d; No. 2 area (Messrs Sayers & Watt)—R. Robinson, Esq. £1 1s, sums under 5s, 18s 6d—£1 19s 6d; No. 4 area (Miss Douglas and Miss E. Smith)—C. W. Giles, Esq. £2 2s, Mrs Smith 5s 6d, Miss Smith 5s, Mr T. W. Shaw 5s, Mr R. Denton 5s, Sedgefield Cycle Club (per J. W. Longstaff, secretary) 5s, sums under 5s £1 2s 3d—£4 9s 9d; No. 5 area, Durham County Council (R. Lowe and J. Ward)—Subscriptions per Miss Duce 18s, per Miss Jones and Messrs Denhead & Bradley 6s 6d—£1 4s 6d;

Figure 37: Soldiers' and Sailors' Families Association, County Durham Branch, subscription list (detail); 4 December 1899 (*Northern Echo*).

<sup>100</sup> Frank Prochaska. *The Voluntary Impulse: Philanthropy in Modern Britain*. London, Faber, 1988, 24-59.

<sup>101</sup> Thompson, 'Publicity, Philanthropy', 106.

<sup>102</sup> K.B. Spurgin. *On Active Service with the Northumberland and Durham Yeomen*. London: Walter Scott Publishing, 1902, 2; Thompson, 'Publicity, Philanthropy', 106-113.

Subscription lists portrayed a pan-society response. Most of the financial support came from the region's middle classes but many people from more modest backgrounds also donated, an opportunity for lower-status individuals and groups to demonstrate their patriotic respectability (fig. 37): Stockton Girls High School, officials and workmen from Carlton Ironworks, Miss Surtees of Hamsterley Hall, Domestic servants from Woodside, Major Thompson of Walworth Castle, 'sums of under 5s', employees of Furness Withy collected by Mrs Lauder.<sup>103</sup> The Marsden Lodge of Miners Association, which had initially opposed the war, donated to the Mafeking Relief Celebration Fund, apparently caught up in the post-Mafeking euphoria.<sup>104</sup> As Andrew Thompson asserted, such war funds were testimony to the dynamism of provincial philanthropy at this time, to the strength of civic pride, and to the depths of public sympathy and solidarity with British soldiers.<sup>105</sup> Much of the memorialising impulse would stem directly from wartime fundraising.

The wealthy often directly supported the war effort by underwriting local volunteers. Lord Armstrong, W.D. Cruddas M.P., and Sir James Joicey, joined Henry Scott, the originator of the Northumberland and Durham Yeomanry – the first such scheme in the country – in each donating a thousand pounds to local yeomanry volunteers.<sup>106</sup> The gunmaker W. Pape offered a pound a week to a trooper in the Elswick Battery – an active service company comprised of workers from the Armstrong armaments factories – 'for a year, or longer if required', while Colonel Cookson paid to insure all Northumberland and Durham members of the Yeomanry.<sup>107</sup> Armstrong, Scott and Cookson would later be members of the Executive

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<sup>103</sup> Mrs Lauder and Christopher Furness (fig. 37, middle column) would later play prominent roles in the Hartlepool war memorial.

<sup>104</sup> *Shields Daily Gazette*, 16 May 1900, editorial.

<sup>105</sup> Thompson, 'Publicity, Philanthropy', 112.

<sup>106</sup> *Newcastle Daily Leader*, 3 January 1900, editorial; Spurgin, *On Active Service*, 2.

<sup>107</sup> *Newcastle Daily Leader*, 3, 24 January 1900, editorials. For the occupational backgrounds of the Elswick Battery, see *Newcastle Daily Chronicle*, 1 February 1900, editorial.

Committee of the Northumberland Memorial, indicative of the link between fundraising for wartime relief funds and post-war memorials.<sup>108</sup>

The government responded to early setbacks and the three defeats of Black Week in December 1899 (Magersfontein, Stormberg and Colenso) by calling for able-bodied men to abandon their families and jobs and serve their country in the army. The response was overwhelming.<sup>109</sup> While some joined the regular army, most who went to South Africa chose a briefer period of enlistment, serving in the Imperial Yeomanry or, if an existing Volunteer or Militia member, in an active-service company attached to their county battalions of line. Over 100,000 men had volunteered by the war's end which lent the army, albeit for a short period, a demographic configuration more akin to its parent population.<sup>110</sup> Volunteers came from a variety of socio-economic backgrounds, certainly from a broader swathe of society than the army's peacetime recruits, but recent research asserts that there were more working-class volunteers than previously thought, reflecting the mainly working-class composition of peacetime volunteers.<sup>111</sup> Regional newspapers emphasised a narrative of a classless reaction to the war, the *Chronicle* asserting that 'Men of all ranks hastened to enrol'.<sup>112</sup> In addition to providing manpower, the government recognised the political advantage in raising a volunteer force: nearly everyone supported it, even newspapers like the ambivalent *Northern Echo*, which at the end of the war sought to 'imagine anything more splendidly patriotic than ... those 120,000 men who had volunteered... at a critical period in their country's history'.<sup>113</sup> Enthusiasm for the war fluctuated but the volunteers never lost favour with

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<sup>108</sup> Programme of the Unveiling, Northumberland Boer War memorial, TWA, L/PA/1683: see fig. 43.

<sup>109</sup> Beckett, *Riflemen Form*, 211-213.

<sup>110</sup> Stephen M. Miller, 'The South African War, 1899-1902', in Ian F.W. Beckett (ed.) *Citizen Soldiers and the British Empire, 1837-1902*. Abingdon: Pickering & Chatto, 2012, 157; Connelly and Donaldson, 'South African War Memorials', 22. See also Hugh Cunningham, *The Volunteer Force: A Social and Political History, 1859-1908*. London: Croom Helm, 1975, 128.

<sup>111</sup> Beckett, *Citizen Soldiers*, 28; Miller, 'South African War', 159; Beaven, *Visions of Empire*, 77; Cunningham, *Volunteer Force*, 33; Spurgin, *On Active Service*, x; Summers, 'Militarism', 106.

<sup>112</sup> *Newcastle Daily Chronicle*, 12 June 1901, editorial.

<sup>113</sup> *Northern Echo*, 17 October 1902, editorial; Miller, 'South African War', 158.

their local constituencies, nor did the public become disinterested in what they were doing in South Africa.

Volunteers embodied a local patriotism since they were perceived to carry the reputation of the locality into battle.<sup>114</sup> The press conveyed widespread pride in the local contribution to the war effort, whether financial or personnel:

It was quite in keeping with the fitness of things that the inhabitants of South Shields should give a send-off to her citizen-soldiers, who have volunteered, and been accepted, for service at the front as hearty and large-hearted as has been given anywhere else.<sup>115</sup>

*The Jarrow Express* observed that ‘All classes have vied in showing the men our appreciation of the sacrifice they have made in going to the front and our belief that they will acquit themselves well if they are sent there’.<sup>116</sup> *Northern Gossip* claimed ‘Northumberland, in the matter of men and money, has shown an example which has stimulated other counties to great efforts during the present war’.<sup>117</sup> A year later, (echoing the speaker at the Bedlington Primrose League meeting in December 1899, as well as the *Jingo Song*) it wrote ‘We’ve got the guns and we’ve got the men on Tyneside; the War Office asked for 5,000 more Yeomanry out of all England, and Newcastle promptly responded with over a fifth of the lot’.<sup>118</sup> Pride in the region’s contribution can be seen at a post-war ceremony when 1,055 volunteers were made Freemen of the City of Newcastle, where the mayor claimed ‘More volunteers went out from Newcastle and the county of Northumberland than any portion of His Majesty’s dominions with equal population’.<sup>119</sup>

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<sup>114</sup> Beaven, *Visions of Empire*, 77.

<sup>115</sup> *Shields Daily Gazette*, 29 January 1900, editorial.

<sup>116</sup> *Jarrow Express*, 2 February 1900, editorial.

<sup>117</sup> *Northern Gossip*, 10 February 1900, editorial.

<sup>118</sup> *Northern Gossip*, 2 February 1901, editorial.

<sup>119</sup> Proceedings of Newcastle Council (PNC), Tyne and Wear Archives, 1902/3, 707.

The most novel manifestation of popular enthusiasm for the war were the rambunctious and spontaneous popular gatherings. Newcastle Central Station, the region's principal transport hub close to Gateshead and Newcastle barracks, witnessed numerous gatherings of people acclaiming departing and returning troops. Between October 1899 and March 1900, Frances Kelly wrote four times about joining crowds to observe the departing soldiers: 'Could not get near the station. Such a crowd of people so we went to the Barrack Road and saw them there'.<sup>120</sup> Lieutenant Spurgin wrote of his early-morning return to Newcastle:

As we reached Central Station we heard cheering enough to lift the roof off. Crowds of people lined the platforms... Any formation was impossible, so in ones and twos we elbowed our way through the living mass... All along the route to the barracks the streets were lined with cheering and enthusiastic crowds.<sup>121</sup>

Newspapers reported these events in detail. For the departure of the 74<sup>th</sup> Battery of Artillery, the *Journal* claimed that 'Newcastle has seldom if ever been the scene of such an enthusiastic demonstration of patriotism, loyalty and admiration for the soldiers who fight their battles of our Empire'.<sup>122</sup> Large numbers took part, 3000 people on one occasion in October 1899, 4000 at another.<sup>123</sup>

Mafeking Night was the most notorious example of a perceived breakdown of order, 'a species of madness' that continued for days afterwards.<sup>124</sup> The pro-war *Chronicle* complained of the detrimental effect on the local economy of shops and businesses remaining closed while the pro-Boer *Daily Leader* printed 'numerous reports of absolute lawlessness'; after 'Pretoria Night' it stated 'reports come in from all quarters of the stupid way

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<sup>120</sup> Kelly diary, 17 October 1899, TWA, DX441/1/1.

<sup>121</sup> Spurgin, *On Active Service*, 304-5.

<sup>122</sup> *Newcastle Daily Journal*, 4 November 1899, editorial.

<sup>123</sup> *Newcastle Daily Chronicle*, 13 October 1899, editorial; *Newcastle Daily Leader*, 24 January 1900, editorial.

<sup>124</sup> *Northern Gossip*, 26 May 1900, editorial.

in which the rejoicings were conducted... scarcely a single officer did not suffer from the throwing of stones and other missiles'.<sup>125</sup>

These were rowdy, spontaneous occurrences, outside the suzerainty of civic authority. Unruly behaviour at the station disrupted attempts by civic authorities to undertake more formalised ceremonies for the troops: the *Yorkshire Post* stated 'there were no frock-coated men, no daintily dressed ladies, no grand stand for the favoured ones, not even the glory of the municipality as represented by the begowned Mayor, aldermen and councillors' for the return of the much-feted Elswick Battery to Central Station in July 1901, which the *Daily Leader* blamed on the 'heedless young men of the rowdy kind' who had crushed the dignitaries at a previous occasion.<sup>126</sup> The mayor and civic dignitaries instead attended a thanksgiving service for the Battery in the sanctity of Newcastle cathedral the following day.<sup>127</sup>

While a desire for society, and especially its civic elite, to come together and heal itself after a divisive or traumatic period is a motivation common to the memorialisation of most wars, the socio-political context of early-twentieth century Britain meant this had greater urgency and significance in Boer War memorialisation. It is worth comparing to the motivations of the Havelock memorial, which sought to foster notions of civilizational and behavioural responsibility to a largely compliant audience; organisers of Boer War memorials were operating in a more hostile, less deferential environment. With fears of disorientating modernity and social upheaval, the reliable framework of subscriber democracy aided the

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<sup>125</sup> *Newcastle Daily Chronicle*, 21 May 1900, editorial; *Newcastle Daily Leader*, 23 May and 6 June 1900, editorial.

<sup>126</sup> *Yorkshire Post*, 19 July 1901, editorial; *Newcastle Daily Leader*, 19 July 1901, editorial. For more on the Elswick Battery, see *Journal of Gunner Archibald of Elswick Battery, Northumberland Volunteer Artillery*, TWA, DX924/1; *Diary of the Marches and Manoeuvres of the Elswick Battery in the South African War 1900-02*, by Andrew Coulson, Gunner, 1<sup>st</sup> Northumberland, Royal Garrison Volunteer Artillery, TWA, DX1374.

<sup>127</sup> *Sunderland Daily Echo*, 22 July 1901, editorial.

restoration of the authority and influence of the local elites, who comprised the memorials' organisers.

## 5.2 The Memorialisation Process

There was remarkable uniformity to the memorialisation process. In a society that still largely clung to precepts of minimal state intervention, it was not expected that national or local government would underwrite the memorials' construction.<sup>128</sup> Most civic memorials were funded through voluntary subscriptions, a procedure familiar to urban communities since the first half of the nineteenth century, portrayed as an opportunity for everyone within a community to participate and contribute voluntarily towards the memorial. Organising a local memorial committee and collecting for or donating to the memorial fund were acts with moral significance; a completed memorial was an indication that the appropriate actions had been undertaken and the dead properly acknowledged by the inhabitants of a particular place.<sup>129</sup>

South African War			
Memorial to Fallen Soldiers			
Account previously acknowledged	£ 373	12	0
W. G. Sudbury	1	1	0
H. Houghton	0	10	0
W. J. Watt	0	2	0
Pulp and Paper Works	0	3	0
Mrs M Gray	2	2	0
Dr. Moffat Young	2	2	0
A Friend	0	10	0

Table 3: Reproduction of Subscription list (detail), Hartlepool memorial, 19 March 1904. (Source: *Hartlepool Northern Daily Mail*).

<sup>128</sup> Ken Inglis. *Sacred Places: War Memorials in the Australian Landscape*. Melbourne: Melbourne University Publishing, 2006, 47; Alex King. *Memorials of the Great War in Britain. The Symbolism and Politics of Remembrance*. Oxford: Berg, 1998, 31.

<sup>129</sup> King, *Memorials of the Great War in Britain*, 27.

Public meetings were held to appoint committees which assumed responsibility for the memorial and launch appeals for funds.<sup>130</sup> Many of the memorial committees were direct offshoots of wartime fundraising, using post-war surpluses as seed money for memorial funds: the Hartlepool War Relief Fund set aside £150 for a future memorial and the Northumberland and Durham Yeomanry Equipment Fund used some of its £2,800 surplus to initiate the Northumberland Memorial Fund; similarly, a large surplus from an appeal for donations for returning soldiers began the Tynemouth memorial process.<sup>131</sup> Initial requests for donations were placed in newspapers and the subsequent reproduction of subscription lists effectively acted as advertisements (table 3).

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<sup>130</sup> For example, see: *Durham County Advertiser*, 29 November 1902.

<sup>131</sup> *Hartlepool Northern Daily Mail*, 10 February 1904; *Morpeth Herald*, 16 May 1903; *Shields Daily News*, 14 October 1903, all editorial. Members of the Hartlepool War Relief Fund as well as the Northumberland and Durham Yeomanry Equipment Fund played crucial roles in subsequent memorial committees.



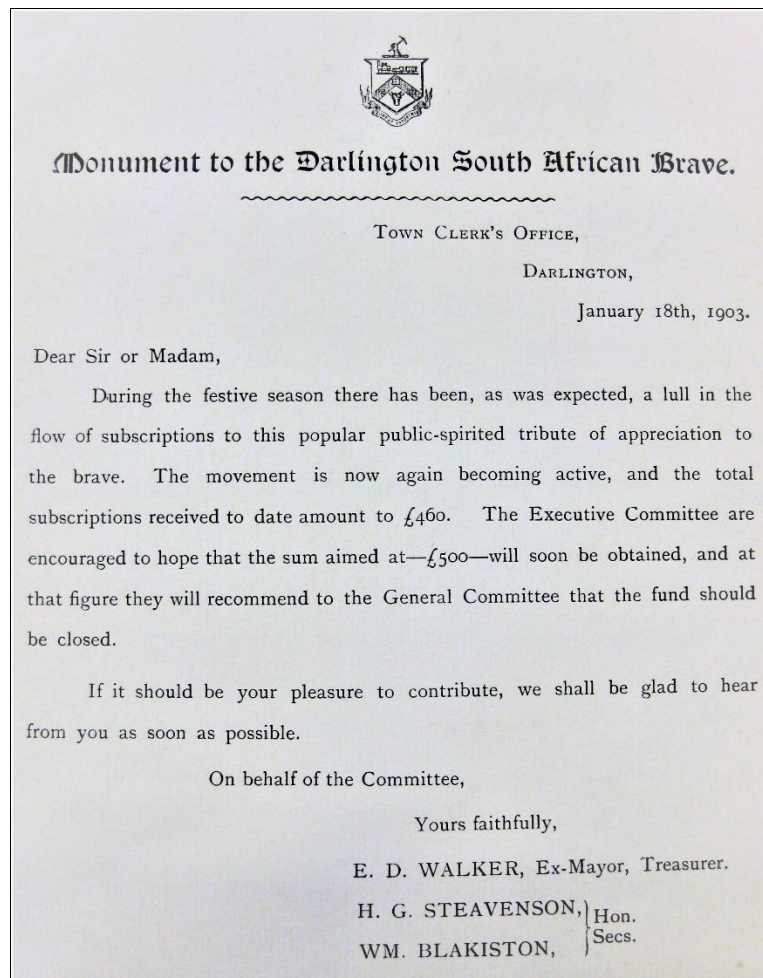


Figure 38: Appeal for subscriptions, Darlington Memorial Committee.<sup>132</sup>

Appeals could be sent directly to people of greater means or more widely within the community (figs. 38 & 46); as fig. 38 indicates, fundraising for a memorial was not necessarily straightforward – while all of the proposed memorials in the north-east were eventually erected, most were delayed due to various factors: financial problems (Ashington, Blyth, Newcastle), arguments about location and design (Blyth, Darlington, Durham, Middlesbrough, Newcastle), wrangling within or between town council and memorial committee (Darlington, Middlesbrough, Newcastle), obstruction from council ‘economists’ (Hartlepool, Newcastle), and lethargy and inefficiency (Hartlepool, Newcastle).<sup>133</sup> Such delays were nothing new –

<sup>132</sup> Darlington South African War Memorial Collection, Darlington Central Library {DCL} U418d/31166.

<sup>133</sup> Delays/problems at Newcastle: PNC, TWA, 1904-5, 353-4; 1906-7, 860; 1907-8, 235, 1030-1; Darlington: *Northern Echo*, 26 February 1903, letter from F.W. Denham; *Northern Star*, 14 March 1903, letter from Edward Wooler; *North Eastern Daily Gazette*, 22 March 1904; *South African War Darlington Memorial Executive Committee Minute Book*, Darlington

the Havelock memorial had been delayed for various reasons as had numerous Crimean War cannon, and, as Helke Rausch noted of late-nineteenth-century European statumania, progress of construction was invariably out of all proportion to the enthusiasm of the initial proposals.<sup>134</sup>

Historians argue that the notion of public, voluntary subscription was integral to the memorialisation process as, if a memorial were to have significance and validity within a community, it was important that citizens felt some engagement with the process of construction.<sup>135</sup> This was particularly resonant in a rapidly-changing society, riven with new class tensions and memorialising a war that had generated a sense of communal endeavour transcending class – exemplified by Kipling’s omnipresent *The Absent-Minded Beggar*: ‘Duke’s son – son of a belted Earl, Son of a Lambeth publican... Each of ‘em doing his country’s work... it’s all the same to-day!’ (appendix 3).

Five of the nine memorial inscriptions state that they were funded by ‘public subscription’ (appendix 2) and Darlington’s inscription stated that the memorial was ‘erected by 5,576 subscribers’ (fig. 39), suggesting an eagerness to convey just how comprehensive the fundraising effort had been. With a population of 44,511, Darlington’s ratio of subscribers to inhabitants was approximately one in eight.<sup>136</sup> This compared favourably to some memorials, for example Rochdale, where over half the total money

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South African War Memorial collection, DCL U418d/31166, 27 June, 19 November, 29 December 1904, 20 January 1905; *Northern Star*, 2 July 1904, 13 July 1905, editorials; Blyth: *Morpeth Herald*, 13 September 1902, editorial; Hartlepool: *Hartlepool Northern Daily Mail*, 10 February, 2 March 1904, editorials; Ashington: *Morpeth Herald*, 27 September, 11 October, 1 November 1902, editorials; Durham: *Hartlepool Northern Daily Mail*, 29 November 1902, editorial; Middlesbrough: Middlesbrough Town Council minute book, CB/M/C 1/64, 378-9, 483; *Middlesbrough Evening Gazette*, 11 May 1904, editorial.

<sup>134</sup> Helke Rausch. ‘The Nation as a Community Born of War? Symbolic Strategies and Popular Reception of Public Statues’, *European Review of History*, 14: 1 (March 2007), 85; Donaldson. *Remembering the South African War*, 21; *Shields Daily Gazette*, 23 August, 6 December 1860, editorial.

<sup>135</sup> Donaldson, *Remembering the South African War*, 8, 26. Catherine Moriarty. ‘Private Grief and Remembrance: British First World War Monuments’ in M. Evans and K. Lunn (eds.) *War and Memory in the Twentieth Century*. Oxford: Berg, 1997, 139; Martina Droth, Jason Edwards and Michael Hatt (eds.) *Sculpture Victorious: Art in an Age of Invention, 1837-1901*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014, 46.

<sup>136</sup> *Census of England and Wales 1911*. London: HMSO, 1915.

raised came from just five donors with a further 135 subscriptions accounting for all but forty pounds of the remainder.<sup>137</sup> Darlington's organisers may have been particularly keen to emphasise the popularity of their memorial in the face of considerable local opposition and Quaker discomfort. However, other civic memorials received more subscriptions, for example 15,000 people subscribed in eighty days to the fund for the monument to Middlesbrough industrialist and politician Sir Samuel Sadler in 1912 which suggests that war memorials were of lesser importance and popularity than those dedicated to well-known local dignitaries, which is reinforced by the size of crowds at their unveilings.<sup>138</sup>



Figure 39: Number of subscribers on inscription, Darlington memorial plaque. Author's photo.

The culmination of the memorial process was the unveiling ceremony. Unlike the Crimean cannon, all nine Boer War memorials were inaugurated with a ceremony. These were often the most significant public events to take place for years – ‘Seldom, if ever, had the Ward-Jackson Park, West Hartlepool, been the scene of such stirring events as those which were witnessed last night’ – which attracted sizeable audiences, on the day and

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<sup>137</sup> Donaldson, *Remembering the South African War*, 25.

<sup>138</sup> Paul Usherwood, Jeremy Beach and Catherine Morris. *Public Sculpture of North-East England*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2000, 291.

subsequently through newspaper reports.<sup>139</sup> The unveilings were portrayed by the press as an exciting and glamorous event in the social calendar, with the possibility of observing regional or national celebrities: 'There was upon the platform and in the enclosure, scarlet uniforms, glittering decorations and pretty dresses, the sun shone upon a fair a scene as one could wish to let one's gaze dwell upon'.<sup>140</sup>

According to McFarland, Boer War memorial unveilings in Scotland were impressive public spectacles rather than elite events but this ignores that such spectacles were organised by local elites and that their visual splendour and relative infrequency attracted spectators, without necessarily entailing actual support.<sup>141</sup> Except for Newcastle, where 20,000 attended the memorial's unveiling, newspapers did not estimate the sizes of the crowds at the inaugurations, although the usually-enthusiastic reports invariably implied a large turnout. The absence of estimates may indicate disappointment in the numbers that attended, compared to the crowds at the unveilings of other local monuments: 100,000 for the unveiling of the George Stephenson memorial in Newcastle (1862) and for the Joseph Pease statue in Darlington (1875), 65,000 for the memorial to Henry Bolckow in Middlesbrough (1881), for example.<sup>142</sup> Even the crowd at the unveiling of the war memorial in Newcastle – the region's largest town with a population of 266,603 in 1911 – seems small in this context.<sup>143</sup>

A number of explanations for smaller crowds are viable. The war had been over for years by the time the memorials were erected (six years in the case of Newcastle) and its impact must have waned – as enthusiasm had

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<sup>139</sup> Moriarty, 'Private Grief', 130; *Hartlepool Northern Daily Mail*, 20 July 1905, 23 June 1908, editorial.

<sup>140</sup> *Shields Daily News*, 23 June 1908, editorial; Donaldson, *Remembering the South African War*, 37.

<sup>141</sup> E.W. McFarland. 'Commemoration of the South African War in Scotland, 1900–10', *The Scottish Historical Review*, LXXXIX, 2:8 (October 2010) 208. See also Donaldson, *Remembering the South African War*, 36–37.

<sup>142</sup> Usherwood, Beach and Morris, *Public Sculpture of North-East England*, 149–152, 232–234, 297.

<sup>143</sup> *Census of England and Wales 1911*. London: HMSO, 1915.

diminished even during the war; the war typified the type of temporary ‘illness’, identified by Michael Billig, whose symptoms included an ‘inflamed rhetoric and an outbreak of ensigns’ but which soon passed.<sup>144</sup> The desire to memorialise was maintained by the organisers, who were keen to transmit their set of narratives to the community but, in the absence of a profound sense of communal loss, such sentiments were not shared by members of the community. But the smaller crowds also reinforce the notion of a decline in a publicly-manifested civic culture and municipal ostentation, even since the 1880s, coupled with the increase in leisure opportunities that offered myriad options for people to spend their time (football, leek clubs, pigeons, pubs, theatres, excursions, cycling, allotments, choral singing, horticultural shows) and that made such events, imposed by their civic leaders, much less appealing and out-dated.<sup>145</sup>

McFarland notes that a wide range of local constituencies and groups played some role in unveilings in Scotland; in Darlington, the procession from Council Chamber to unveiling included members of the local yeomanry, fire brigade, Guardians of the Darlington Union as well as members of the corporation, M.P.s and Lord Roberts.<sup>146</sup> Generally, however, unveilings in the north-east did not feature the long processions comprised of bodies like Freemasons and Foresters that accompanied mid-century events, as at the Havelock memorial’s unveiling or the 10,000-strong procession at the unveiling of Newcastle’s George Stephenson memorial which had included numerous representatives of ‘Tyneside labour’; where processions occurred they tended to be military, such as Ashington where

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<sup>144</sup> Michael Billig. *Banal Nationalism*. London: Sage, 1995, 5.

<sup>145</sup> For the decline of civic and processional culture, see: John Garrard. ‘Urban Elites, 1850-1914: The Rule and Decline of a New Squirearchy?’, *Albion*, 27:3 (1995) 604; Simon Gunn. *The Public Culture of the Victorian Middle Class: Ritual and Authority and the English Industrial City, 1840–1914*. Manchester: MUP, 2000, 178-180, 189-190; for the growth of leisure activities, see: Andy Croll. ‘Popular Leisure and Sport’ in Chris Williams (ed.) *A Companion to Nineteenth-Century Britain*. Oxford: Blackwell, 2007, 398-400; Martin Pugh. *State and Society: A Social and Political History of Britain since 1870*. London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2017, 98-99; Martin Hewitt. ‘Class and the Classes’, in Chris Williams (ed.) *A Companion to Nineteenth-Century Britain*. Oxford: Blackwell, 2007, 315-316; Hugh Fraser. *The Coming of the Mass Market*. London: Macmillan, 1981, 208, 214, 219.

<sup>146</sup> McFarland, ‘Commemoration’, 218; Moriarty, ‘Private Grief’, 130; *Northern Echo*, 7 August, 1905, editorial.



there was a 'parade and demonstration' by 'the regulars, volunteers and reservists of the Ashington district'.<sup>147</sup>

Boer War unveilings centred on the memorial itself where the key protagonists would be civic and political leaders and, in a somewhat more decorative role, military personnel – visiting or locally-based senior officers and regular troops or Volunteers. This reflects changes in civic culture, such as the decline in processional culture, but also a desire to retain influence in their community in the face of perceived socio-political threats. Instead of broadening the base of participants in the memorial process, organisers attempted to gain the validation of the local population through different channels, such as transmitting more equitable narratives and making the form of the memorial more democratic.

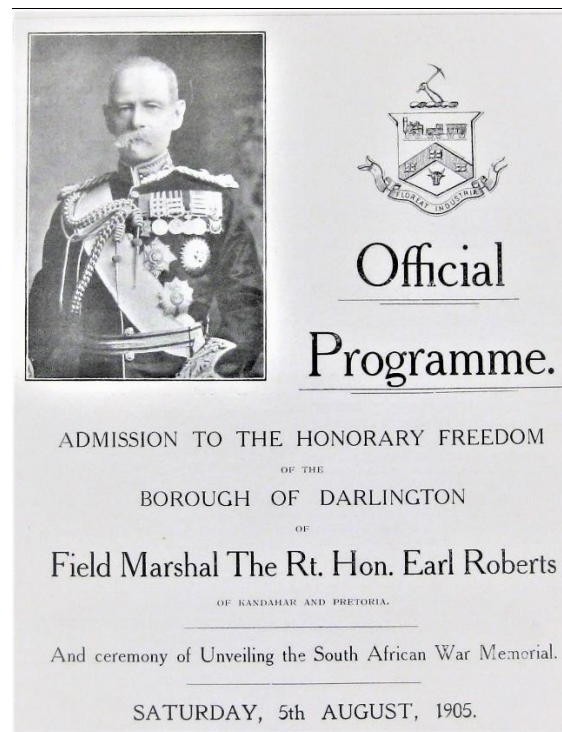


Figure 40: Front of Official Programme, Unveiling of Darlington Memorial.<sup>148</sup>

<sup>147</sup> *Morpeth Herald*, 1 November 1902, editorial; For a detailed account of the Stephenson memorial's unveiling, see: *Newcastle Daily Chronicle*, 4 October 1862, editorial.

<sup>148</sup> Darlington South African War Memorial collection, DCL U418d/31166.

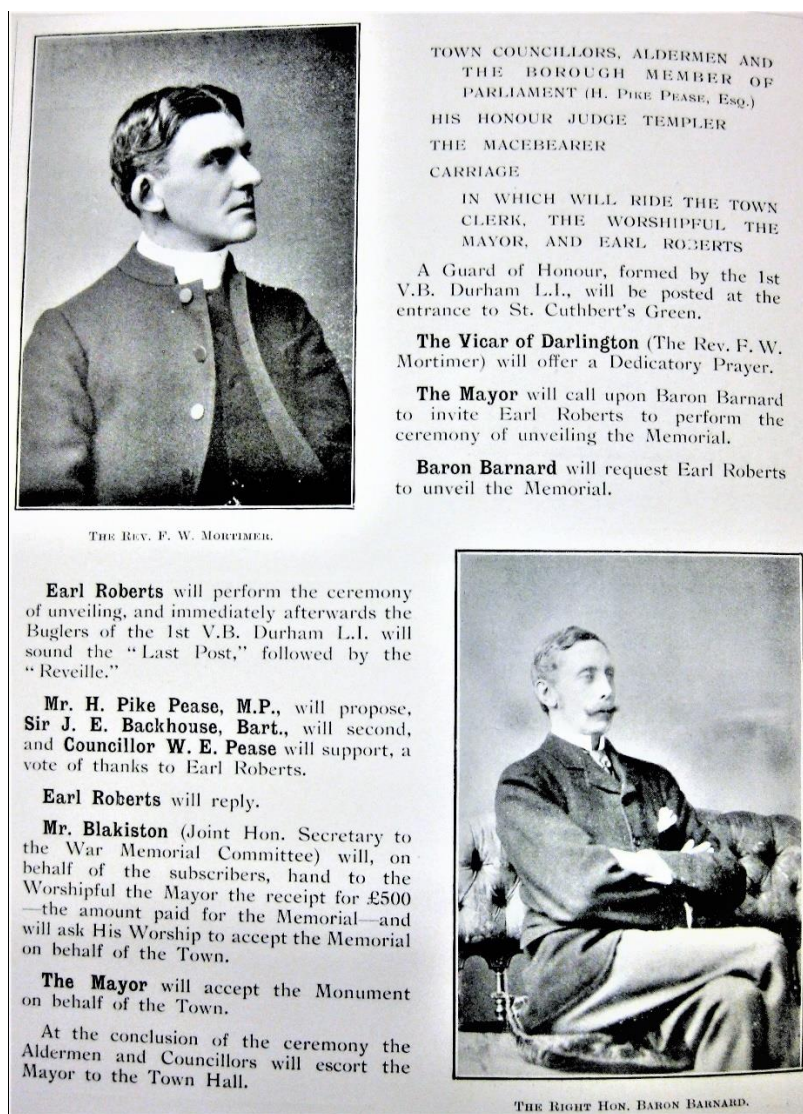


Figure 41: Official Programme, Unveiling of Darlington Memorial.

Participation in the memorial process, from manning the committees to subscribing, expressed and enhanced the civic leaders' high status, bestowing, according to Sergiusz Michalski, a measure of democratic glory, decorum and recognition that demonstrated their meritocratic worth, justifying their role in civic society (fig. 41).<sup>149</sup> In Middlesbrough, their prestige was perpetual, the names of the committee's key personnel placed alongside the names of the fallen soldiers (fig. 42).

<sup>149</sup> Sergiusz Michalski. *Public Monuments: Art in Political Bondage 1870-1997*. London: Reaktion, 1998, 28; *Hartlepool Northern Daily Mail*, 15 February 1904, editorial.



Figure 42: Inscription detail, Middlesbrough memorial; the principal organisers are inscribed with the dead. Author's photo.

Such philanthropic activities boosted the (civic and patriotic) reputations of business leaders – often key civic leaders in their own right – thereby endorsing the socio-economic status quo.<sup>150</sup> At the opening of the Memorial Museum in Middlesbrough, iron magnate Charles Dorman trumpeted his close relations with his workers, many of whom had volunteered and served in South Africa with his late son; reporting Dorman's speech, the *Evening Gazette* wrote 'It is a thing becoming well to see our great industrial leaders proud of the town they have helped to create, and willing to labour and sacrifice for its achievements'.<sup>151</sup> At the Ashington unveiling, the local colliery company was praised for finding work for returning soldiers, unlike in other towns, a gesture commended in *The Absent-Minded Beggar*: 'And tell him – what he'd very much prefer – That, while he saved the Empire, his employer saved his place'.<sup>152</sup>

As in the 1850s, members of the local gentry or regional aristocracy participated in the memorial process at varying levels of commitment.<sup>153</sup> Nineteenth-century philanthropic activity is generally considered a bourgeois liberal activity, with aristocratic participation a means by middle-class organisers of adding prestige to committees and glamour to unveilings,

<sup>150</sup> Garrard, 'Urban Elites', 588.

<sup>151</sup> *Middlesbrough Evening Gazette*, 2 July 1904, editorial.

<sup>152</sup> *Morpeth Herald*, 1 November 1902, editorial. *The Absent-Minded Beggar* is reproduced in full in appendix 3.

<sup>153</sup> King, *Memorials of the Great War*, 43-44.



such as Baron Barnard symbolically requesting Field Marshall Roberts unveil the Darlington memorial (fig. 40).<sup>154</sup>

These instances reinforce the notion of upper-class ‘window dressing’. Analysis of the participants in the committees and unveiling ceremonies suggests a mostly civic character but the memorials in Durham and Newcastle were exceptions. These differed from municipally-led memorials in other towns which tended to commemorate the citizenly-duty and sacrifice of ‘volunteers’ from the immediate locality; the memorials in Durham and Newcastle mainly commemorated the dead of the county regiments with less emphasis on the citizenly-virtue of volunteers (appendix 2); they also featured a decisive aristocratic element throughout their gestation, a dynamic that Alex King similarly identified after 1918.<sup>155</sup> The Earl of Durham, Lord Lieutenant of the county, chaired the initial meeting to discuss a war memorial in Durham and unveiled it three years later, when he spoke of his pride in the ‘territorial regiment’ – the Durham Light Infantry – which his ancestor had originally raised 150 years before, thereby interlinking his family and himself with the local community and war effort.<sup>156</sup> Earl Grey and the Hon. Charles Lambton initially proposed a memorial to the Northumberland Fusiliers in Newcastle and were joined on the memorial committee by influential landowners Sir Henry Scott and Colonel Blencowe Cookson.<sup>157</sup> Both memorials’ unveilings featured a strong aristocratic and county-elite presence among the dignitaries, including the Marquis and Marchioness of Londonderry, Lady Lucy Hicks Beach, Viscount Howick, and the High Sheriffs of Northumberland and Durham.<sup>158</sup>

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<sup>154</sup> Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall. *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class 1780-1850*. London: Routledge, 1992, 422. Gunn, *Public Culture*, 168; Garrard, ‘Urban Elites’, 588, 609, 613.

<sup>155</sup> King, *Memorials of the Great War*, 43.

<sup>156</sup> *Durham County Advertiser*, 28 November 1902, letter from John Wharton MP; *Durham County Advertiser*, 29 December 1905, editorial.

<sup>157</sup> *Morpeth Herald*, 16 May 1903, editorial; Programme of the Unveiling of the Northumberland Boer War Memorial, Newcastle upon Tyne, TWA, L/PA/1683.

<sup>158</sup> *Durham County Advertiser*, 29 December 1905, editorial account of unveiling; *Morpeth Herald*, 27 June 1908, editorial.

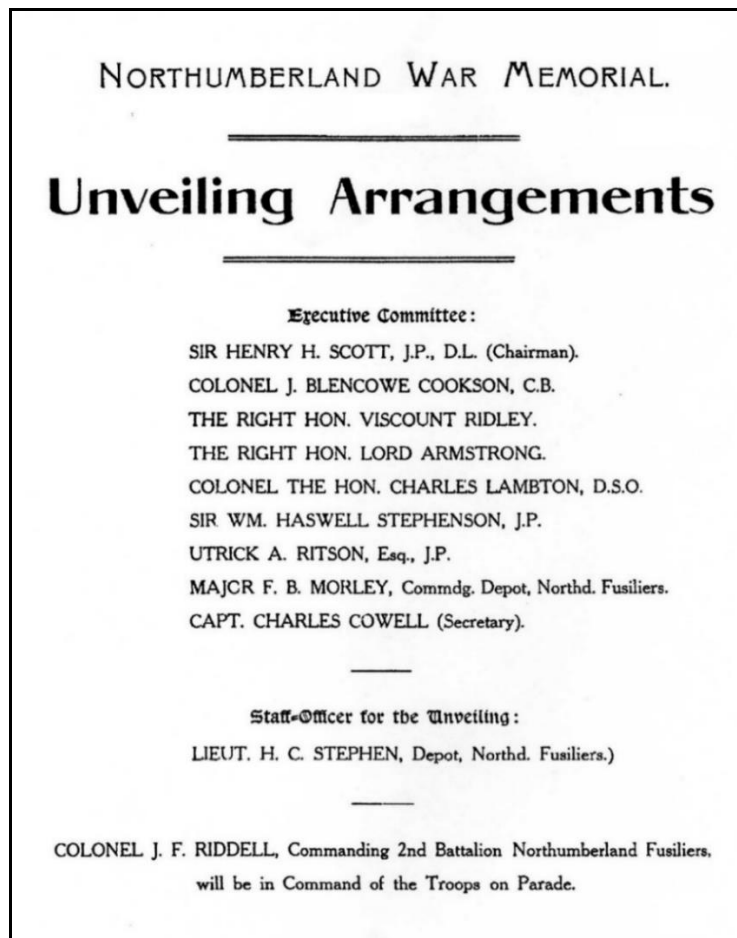


Figure 43: Members of the Northumberland Memorial committee.<sup>159</sup>

It is tempting to see this as evidence of a reassertion of traditional authority or the residual power of the landowning class but both memorials were as concerned to encourage united communal action as civic projects: urban leaders were integral throughout the Durham and Northumberland gestations and ceremonies (fig. 43; the Northumberland committee reveals a mix of leading county and municipal dignitaries, as well as military personnel). It mirrors aristocratic participation in the 1850s Crimean cannons: a leading role in locations where the landowner holds decisive socio-political sway, as at Seaham, whereas the cannons in more urban-industrial settings were products of middle-class authority.

<sup>159</sup> Programme of the Unveiling, TWA, L/PA/1683.



Figure 44: Official Programme, Unveiling of Darlington Memorial, names of 'veterans' invited.

Veterans, ex-servicemen and serving soldiers were more perceptible in the memorial process than in previous decades and (relatively) participated more. This can be part-attributed to the army's increased popularity and gratitude for its wartime actions; importantly, it is likely that the unprecedented number of returned volunteers, along with their families and acquaintances, expected some sort of acknowledgment of their service. A

leading townsman in Darlington consulted ‘old soldiers and volunteers’ as well as members of the council to support his agitation for a change to the memorial site but, typically, their involvement was most visible at the unveiling ceremonies (fig. 44), where they served a decorative and symbolic role.<sup>160</sup> Speakers at the Tynemouth and Hartlepool unveilings drew attention to the presence of volunteers and reservists who had served in the war and 135 recipients of the South African medal were at the opening of the Dorman Memorial Museum.<sup>161</sup> However, the participation of veterans must be viewed as tokenistic. While keen to be seen memorialising war veterans, the composition of the organisers mostly reflected civic hierarchies; Boer war memorialisation generally avoided the direct input of veterans, partly due to its limited impact on communities compared to later conflicts – though as J. Bartlett and K.M. Ellis convincingly argue, even after the mass casualties of the First World War, veterans were still excluded from the memorialisation process.<sup>162</sup> More important was the assumption that memorials were civic projects, to be undertaken by local civic leaders.

Working-class involvement was similarly limited. Voluntary subscription was considered the clearest demonstration of pan-society appeal and dignitaries at many unveilings emphasised working-class donations: at Hartlepool, the mayor spoke of the ‘singular and systematic manner in which the working men of the Hartlepools contributed to the requisite funds... to their lasting honour’ while at a fundraising event the Secretary of the Ashington committee praised the Linton and Woodhorn miners for being the ‘first to come forward, with £10 from each place’.<sup>163</sup> In Darlington, memorial committee secretaries visited ‘the representatives of various works in the town and arranged for the workmen to contribute to

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<sup>160</sup> *Northern Echo*, 26 February 1903, letter from F.W. Denham.

<sup>161</sup> Editorial accounts of unveiling ceremonies in: *Shields Daily News*, 14 October 1903; *Hartlepool Northern Daily Mail*, 20 July 1905; *Middlesbrough Evening Gazette*, 8 June 1905.

<sup>162</sup> 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) 234.

<sup>163</sup> *Hartlepool Northern Daily Mail*, 20 July 1905, editorial; *Morpeth Herald*, 2 February 1902, editorial.



the fund', with special maximum donations (fig. 45).<sup>164</sup> Hartlepool's memorial committee had dedicated representatives in local workplaces, such as Gray's Shipyard and Seaton Iron Works, who would receive donations from workers.<sup>165</sup>

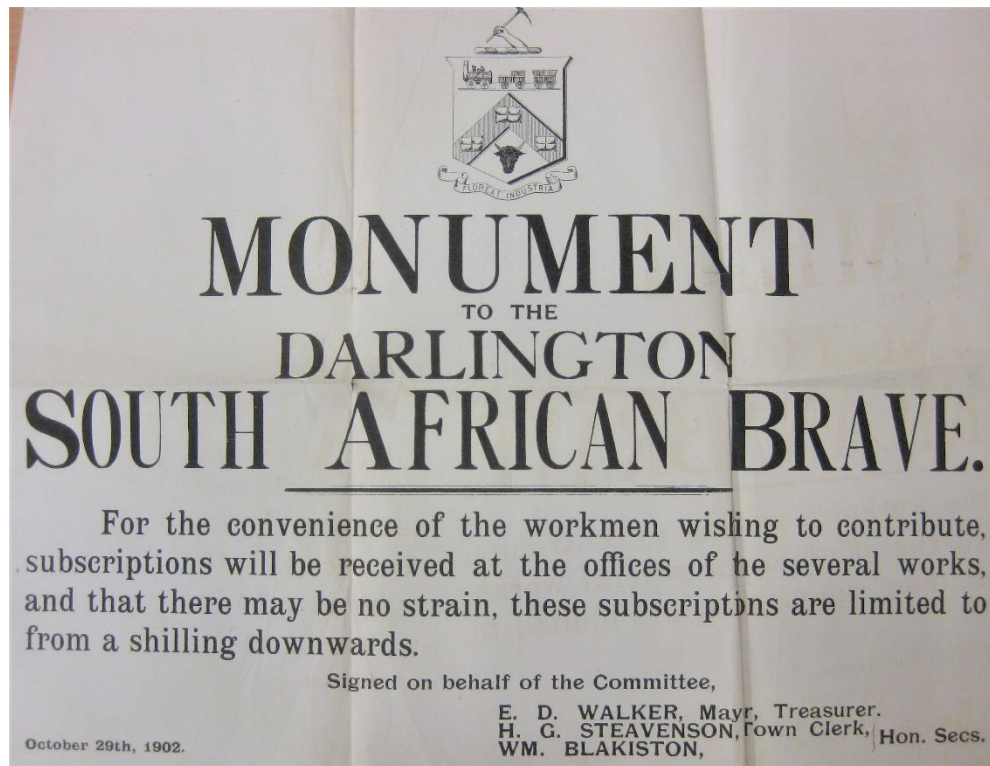


Figure 45: Poster issued by Darlington Memorial Committee.<sup>166</sup>

Frank Prochaska challenges 'Marxist historians' who see charity as an expression of class conflict, a means by which the middle classes confirmed their status and power. He points to widespread working-class philanthropic activity but the crucial point, however, must be that working class philanthropy operated largely within a framework determined by the middle classes, not least in an endeavour motivated by a range of middle-class socio-political and patriotic impulses, as in Boer War memorialisation.<sup>167</sup> Exceptionally, Hartlepool's memorial committee had several working-class members, one of whom, Mr Oliver, at the unveiling 'testified to the interest

<sup>164</sup> Darlington South African War Memorial Executive Committee Minute Book, 23 October 1902, DRO: Da/A 28/1/1.

<sup>165</sup> *Hartlepool Northern Daily Mail*, 5 March 1904, subscription list.

<sup>166</sup> Darlington South African War Memorial collection, DCL U418d/31166.

<sup>167</sup> Prochaska, *Voluntary Impulse*, 27-30.

taken in the movement for the erection of the memorial by the working man'.<sup>168</sup> While there was greater working-class involvement then during previous periods of memorialisation, a genuine if small-scale development, it was still middle-class civic leaders that played the dominant role in the memorialisation process.

Women's participation in the memorialisation process was also mostly decorative and superficial. Aristocratic and bourgeois women were among the dignitaries at the unveiling of county memorials at Durham and Newcastle but were not generally prominent at unveilings elsewhere.<sup>169</sup> Hartlepool was again the exception, where Mrs Lauder performed the unveiling and spoke (briefly). William Ropner J.P. said 'there were several good reasons why Mrs Lauder should have been asked to perform that function': firstly, she was married to Colonel Lauder J.P., Vice-Chairman of the memorial committee and C.O. of the 4<sup>th</sup> Durham Royal Garrison Artillery (Volunteers); secondly, she had been a very active wartime President of the West Hartlepool Division of the County Durham branch of the Soldiers' and Sailors' Families Association:

He was sure Mrs Lauder would not have him bring the blush to her cheek by saying that she herself was worthy of a memorial, but he did not think he was saying too much when he said that ladies like Mrs Lauder and others in the Empire, who attended to the wounded and broken-hearted, were deserving of the very highest commendation.<sup>170</sup>

Mr Oliver similarly praised Mrs Lauder 'for the amount of labour she had put into the movement. For three or four years, it was a daily occurrence for her... to comfort and cheer those who were left while the breadwinners were fighting for their country'.<sup>171</sup>

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<sup>168</sup> *Hartlepool Northern Daily Mail*, 20 July 1905, editorial.

<sup>169</sup> *Durham County Advertiser*, 29 December 1905, editorial; *Shields Daily News*, 23 June 1908, editorial.

<sup>170</sup> *Hartlepool Northern Daily Mail*, 20 July 1905, editorial.

<sup>171</sup> *Hartlepool Northern Daily Mail*, 20 July 1905, editorial.

Further to the patronisation of some speakers, Mrs Lauder's predicament was representative of the wider female experience. It is indicative of women's role in the flourishing sphere of philanthropy – 500,000 female voluntary workers in 1893 – whose participation was not matched by equivalent numbers of men in rank and file positions; instead, men would supervise altruistic activities through the decision-making committees; however, Mrs Lauder's role as president of the local relief fund is representative of the late-nineteenth century increase in women participating in aspects of local government and politics (not least the Primrose League).<sup>172</sup> But the speakers' praise also illustrates that notions of appropriate behaviour for women, restricted to the domestic sphere and caring for the less fortunate – in wartime, for families of the killed and wounded – still largely remained.<sup>173</sup>

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<sup>172</sup> Patricia Hollis. *Ladies Elect: Women in English Local Government, 1865-1914*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987; Gunn, 'Public Sphere', 19; F.M.L. Thompson. *The Rise of Respectable Society. A Social History of Victorian Britain, 1830-1900*. London: Fontana, 1990, 252-253; Theodore Hoppen. *The Mid-Victorian Generation, 1846-1886*. New York: Clarendon Press, 1998, 460; Garrard, 'Urban Elites', 587, 600; Prochaska, *Voluntary Impulse*, 42; Harold Perkin. *The Origins of Modern English Society*. London: Routledge, 2002, 160; Elizabeth Riedi. *Imperialist Women in Edwardian Britain: The Victoria League, 1899-1914*. Unpublished PhD thesis: University of St. Andrews, 1997; Beatrix Campbell. *The Iron Ladies: Why Do Women Vote Tory?* London: Virago, 1987, 11-16, 21-23.

<sup>173</sup> Thompson, *Respectable Society*, 253; Prochaska, *Voluntary Impulse*, 28-29

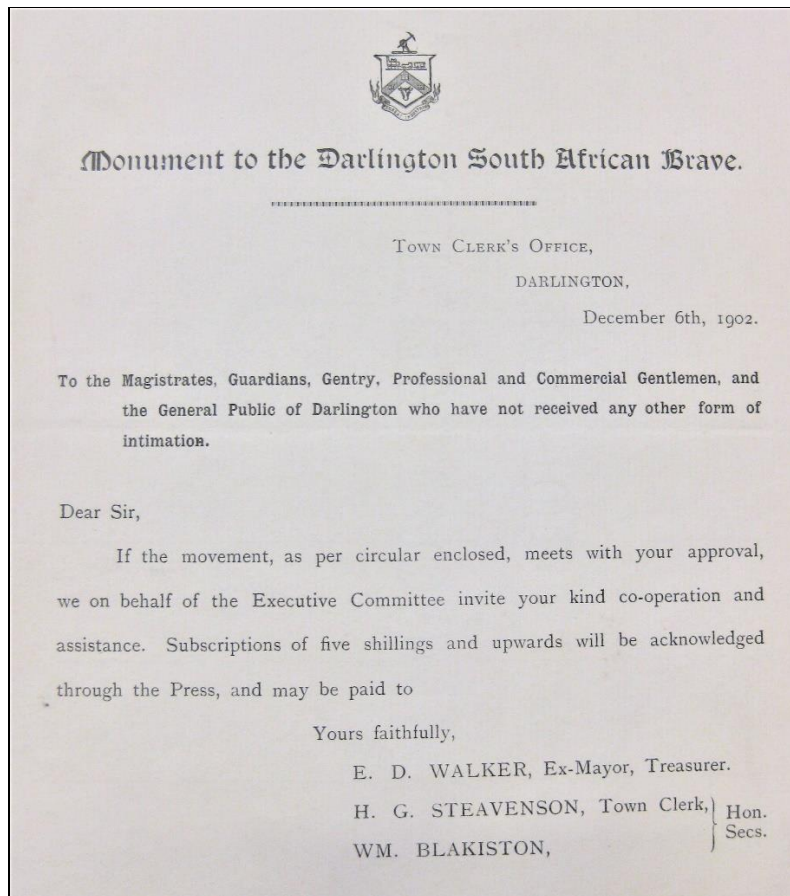


Figure 46: Appeal for subscriptions, Darlington Memorial Committee.<sup>174</sup>

Despite attempts to appear otherwise, the memorials were largely for, and not of, the people. In Darlington, where Quaker disapproval was potentially troublesome, the memorial committee declared ‘a large attendance of subscribers is urgently desired’ for a meeting to debate the memorial site and later placed the submitted designs for the memorial in a shop window to gauge public opinion.<sup>175</sup> However, the meeting was restricted to donors of five shillings or over (acknowledgments of subscriptions in the local press were also restricted to those of five shillings or more, fig. 46) and there is no evidence of the committee acting on the wishes of the public – ultimately, as had been the case with the Havelock memorial, it was the civic leaders on memorial committees and in town councils that steered the process, for example deciding on a memorial’s form

<sup>174</sup> Darlington South African War Memorial Collection, DCL U418d/31166.

<sup>175</sup> Darlington South African War Memorial Executive Committee Minute Book, 18 March and 14 May 1903. DRO, Da/A 28/1/1.



and site even if after discussion within the local political arenas of the council and newspaper.

Boer War memorialisation adheres to Pierre Nora's notion of 'dominant sites of memory' – spectacular, dignified and imposed from above – and Sherman's view of memorials as a set of narrative explanations emanating from dominant groups.<sup>176</sup> The public and publicised nature of memorial activity reinforced and gave physical form to the urban elites' legitimacy and authority but it was the issues that preoccupied them which must be examined to better understand the motivations that shaped the war's memorialisation.

### **5.3 Motivations**

There were four categories of socio-political factors that shaped the memorialisation process: civic assertiveness and local pride; reactions to political issues in the aftermath of the war; notions of citizenly duty; patriotic imperialism. While civic pride was a key element of earlier war memorialisation, the importance of political factors – not least tacit awareness of the war's questionable justification and execution – and emphasis on the soldiers' citizenly virtue reflect new ways of memorialising war in the first decade of the twentieth century. It is here that memorial narratives are markedly different from what came before: less narrowly overt in their endorsement of the civic elite and more commemorative of wider participation, especially local volunteers, idealising a more inclusive society and inspiring a more democratic aesthetic form of memorial.

Local pride underpinned civic memorialisation, filtering national identity and patriotism through a local prism, as had occurred during the war. A broader societal context is the late-nineteenth, early-twentieth-century

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<sup>176</sup> Pierre Nora. 'Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire', *Representations* 26 (1989), 23; Sherman, *Construction of Memory*, 8; Moriarty, 'Private Grief', 125.

identification with the locality, particularly among working-class males, who expressed enthusiasm and pride in a local football team, factory or town and a greater interest in neighbourhood issues; Brad Beaven asserts this type of 'local patriotism' – more intense and deeply-felt than national patriotism – merged at key moments with grand imperial adventures, exemplified by the recruitment, departure and homecoming of local volunteers.<sup>177</sup> Such local affinity followed, in part, from the municipal improvements of the previous decades, from sanitation and lighting to museums and town halls, and developments in leisure and consumption, typified by changed emphases of local newspapers.<sup>178</sup>

With an unprecedented number of civilian volunteers, the Boer War was an evolutionary moment in civil-military relations and memorials commended local manifestations of patriotic self-sacrifice. At the meeting to establish the Darlington memorial committee, the mayor stated that 'It must be to all of them a proud thing to remember that nearly 100 of the young manhood of the town were ready, at a critical period in the country's history to sacrifice home and everything else that meant all to them'.<sup>179</sup> There was similar pride in the locality's response to the memorial appeal: 'The way in which the large sum of money for the War Memorial has been subscribed does great honour to the old town'.<sup>180</sup>

Memorials were rooted in their locality. At the Ashington unveiling, the committee chairman stated it was 'raised entirely by local subscription, built by local men in honour of local soldiers' and Hartlepool's was 'an entirely local memorial – their own tribute to their own men, sculpted by one of West Hartlepool's sons', Francis Doyle-Jones, unanimously chosen by the memorial committee.<sup>181</sup> Doyle-Jones also designed Middlesbrough's memorial and local artists and designers produced the memorials at

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<sup>177</sup> Beaven, *Visions of Empire*, 70, 73-75, 209.

<sup>178</sup> Lucy Brown. *Victorian News and Newspapers*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985, 31; Beaven, *Visions of Empire*, 31-32.

<sup>179</sup> *Northern Echo*, 17 October 1902, editorial.

<sup>180</sup> *Northern Star*, 14 March 1903, letter from J. Turnbull.

<sup>181</sup> *Hartlepool Northern Daily Mail*, 20 July 1905, editorial.

Ashington, Newcastle, Blyth, and Durham.<sup>182</sup> There had been calls for local sculptors during the design stage of the Havelock memorial and this desire for local craftsmen reflects the 'local' emphases of war memorials generally. It may also have been the cheaper option especially for the smaller memorials like Ashington whose committee had a budget of only £120 and who would not have been able to commission nationally-renowned designers.<sup>183</sup>

Like their predecessors, Boer War memorials created or strengthened quasi-reverential spaces imbued with national and civic patriotism, particularly in smaller or newer towns keen to assert their importance. In Tynemouth, the war memorial was placed at the opposite end to a statue of Queen Victoria on the village green, visible but aloof from the main thoroughfare to the station. The Dorman Memorial Museum was situated at the main gates of Albert Park, opened in 1868 and the principal manifestation of Middlesbrough's civic splendour. Here it was close to the Crimean cannon (fig. 47), the bust of 'city father' John Bolckow (who had bestowed the park to the town) and where the civic Boer War memorial would be unveiled a year later (and indeed future memorials to the First and Second World Wars). The creation of such civic spaces replete with ensembles of politico-historical iconography reinforced the spectacular nature of towns in the late-nineteenth century and was an unambiguous signal to inhabitants of where the power, culture and authority lay in a town, often associating the local elite with the national body-politic.<sup>184</sup>

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<sup>182</sup> See Usherwood, Beach and Morris. *Public Sculpture of North-East England; North-East War Memorials Project* (<http://www.newmp.org.uk>).

<sup>183</sup> *Morpeth Herald*, 8 February 1902, notice of tender. For criticisms of Boer War memorial designs by First World War memorial committees and practitioners, see: Anne Brook. *God, Grief and Community: Commemoration of the Great War in Huddersfield, c.1914–1929*. Unpublished PhD Thesis: University of Leeds, 2009, 147–150.

<sup>184</sup> Quentin Stevens and Karen A. Franck. *Memorials as Spaces of Engagement: Design, Use and Meaning*. New York: Routledge, 2016, 12; Gunn, *Public Culture*, 44, 52; Beaven, *Visions of Empire*, 27.



Figure 47: The Dorman Memorial Museum (background) and the Crimean War cannon (foreground), Middlesbrough. Author's photo.

Most towns had expanded rapidly over the previous half-century. Memorials offered smaller and newer towns in particular the opportunity to beautify and aggrandise their streetscape, as others had in the 1850s and 1860s.<sup>185</sup> In so doing, communities could positively project themselves and address prevailing concerns of moral and physical health of urban environments, visibly apparent throughout the north-east, whether in large towns or smaller mining communities: 34 per cent of the population of County Durham was living at a density of more than two per room in 1891, while in Northumberland the ratio was over 38 per cent (in London it was 20 per cent).<sup>186</sup> The *Morpeth Herald* argued that Blyth needed 'a few monuments, surrounded by trees to remove the sordid, unattractive appearances of its streets' and, in an encapsulation of the mixed motivations

<sup>185</sup> Droth, Edwards, Hatt, *Sculpture Victorious*, 16; Gunn, *Public Culture*, 52.

<sup>186</sup> Norman McCord. *North-East England: An Economic and Social History. The Region's Development 1760–1960*. London: Batsford Academic, 1979, 159-161 (more statistical analysis of social problems in the north-east can be found here); Martin Pugh. *The Making of Modern British Politics 1867–1939*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1993. 78; François Bédarida. *A Social History of England*. London: Methuen, 1990, 104-105; Mandler, *The English National Character*, 107; Attridge, *Nationalism, Imperialism*, 69.

that typified the memorial process, an advocate at a public meeting remarked that

their unpicturesque town stood in need of some embellishment... Such a memorial would not only be a memorial to brave men, but would be an ornament to the town'.<sup>187</sup>

Promoting a range of benefits for a memorial would likelier attract support and as many subscriptions from as wide a constituency as possible.

Municipal rivalry was a motivational factor for some, as it had been in earlier civic monumentalism.<sup>188</sup> At a subsequent meeting in Blyth, a speaker stated that 'At Ashington they are erecting a beautiful drinking fountain and clock tower, at a cost of £200. Why cannot Blyth do so?'; Alderman Dent claimed 'It would be a disgrace, in view of what other places had done, if they could not find £150 to put up some suitable memorial'.<sup>189</sup>

It was not unusual for city fathers to 'invent' municipal history and traditions to bolster a sense of civic mythology.<sup>190</sup> At Darlington, a speaker at the ceremony appointing Lord Roberts a Freeman of the town, which took place in conjunction with the memorial unveiling, expanded on both the town's ancient pedigree and recent achievements, claiming they 'were citizens of no mean city... Darlington had an existence extending far back into the misty past... in the extension of commerce and the general prosperity of the country they had played their part'.<sup>191</sup> A memorial could transfer tradition and memory to subsequent generations of citizens, literally, as in Ashington, where a sealed bottle containing newspapers of the day and monarchical-imperialist items were buried for posterity under the memorial's foundation stone.<sup>192</sup> A speaker at the unveiling of the Hartlepool memorial said 'they were making history in West Hartlepool, for there were

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<sup>187</sup> *Morpeth Herald*, 30 August, 13 September 1902, editorial.

<sup>188</sup> Donaldson, *Remembering the South African War*, 17.

<sup>189</sup> *Morpeth Herald*, 13, 27 September 1902, editorial.

<sup>190</sup> David Cannadine. 'The Transformation of Civic Ritual in Modern Britain: The Colchester Oyster Feast', *Past and Present*, 94 (1982), 117-118, 128.

<sup>191</sup> *Darlington and Stockton Times*, 12 August 1905, editorial.

<sup>192</sup> *Morpeth Herald*, 5 July 1902, editorial.

around them thousands of young children who in years to come would look back to that day as one of the memorable events of their lives'; this chimes with Antoine Prost's assertion of the importance of French First World War memorial unveilings in instilling children with notions of civic duty.<sup>193</sup>

The memorial process took place while the meaning and repercussions of the conflict were still being contested and memorial narratives addressed (and avoided) contemporaneous political issues and changing attitudes to the war. Moreover, it is important to view the memorials as being produced in a period in which political thinking and ideas were in flux, in part brought about by the war. There was a post-war disenchantment with New Imperialism and a perception of the inadequacy of private rather than state relief for wounded soldiers and the families of fallen soldiers that helped to engender support for ideas of welfare Liberalism that culminated in the landslide Liberal victory in the 1906 general election.<sup>194</sup>

Memorials also became an arena for debate about national defence and the future of Britain's armed forces. Wartime military inadequacies added to anxieties concerning national decline and other fin de siècle fears.<sup>195</sup> Conscription was proposed as a remedy.<sup>196</sup> Following Prussia's successful example in 1870, nearly every state in continental Europe adopted some form of conscription, considered by supporters an instrument for developing social cohesion and by detractors as engendering political docility in the masses.<sup>197</sup> The National Service League, founded in 1901, was at the forefront of lobbying for the introduction of conscription, boosted by

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<sup>193</sup> *Hartlepool Northern Daily Mail*, 20 July 1905, editorial; Antoine Prost, 'Monuments to the Dead', in Pierre Nora (ed.) *Realms of Memory: Rethinking the French Past*, Vol. 2. New York: Columbia University Press, 1998, 325.

<sup>194</sup> Pugh, *State and Society*, 45; Thompson, *Language of Imperialism*, 149-152; Koss, Pro-Boers, xv; Gilbert, 'Health and Politics', 1.

<sup>195</sup> Margaret Levi, *Consent, Dissent, and Patriotism*. Cambridge: CUP, 1997, 57-58; Summers, 'Militarism', 111; Attridge, *Nationalism, Imperialism*, xvi, 3, 68-69; Donaldson, *Remembering the South African War*, 44; Thompson, 'Publicity, Philanthropy', 101; Bédarida, *Social History*, 101-116; Greenslade, 'Fitness' 37-49.

<sup>196</sup> *Morpeth Herald*, 1 November 1902, editorial.

<sup>197</sup> Brian Bond, *War and Society in Europe, 1870-1970*. Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 1998, 32.

the findings of the 1903 Royal Commission on the Militia and Volunteers.<sup>198</sup> Lord Roberts, victorious commander of the war and President of the League after 1906, was an energetic proponent, using his many appearances at memorial unveilings to call for conscription.<sup>199</sup> In the week before he unveiled the Darlington memorial, Roberts spoke about the need for universal training and defence reform at the London Chamber of Commerce and in the House of Lords, and at the unveiling of the York war memorial.

Although Roberts did not broach this subject at the Darlington unveiling – possibly because of the unusual degree of controversy that the Darlington memorial aroused – Lord Barnard told the audience that he trusted that ‘every word said’ by Roberts in Parliament ‘on the duty of Englishmen with regard to the military defences... would be taken to heart by the people of the country.’<sup>200</sup> It is probable that Roberts was invited because of his celebrity status (as other commanders were, such as General Buller at Ipswich and Sir Ian Hamilton at Birmingham) and although these military heroes avoided discussing the morality of the war, all used ceremonies to bemoan the state of Britain’s armed forces.<sup>201</sup>

Conversely, many civic and political leaders used memorial unveilings in the north-east as platforms to rebut calls for conscription, citing the war as evidence of the effectiveness and ‘Britishness’ of the volunteer, answering the call of a country in peril. This reflected deeply-felt mainstream and radical Liberal ‘civilianism’, which rejected any form of conscription and sought to deny the army a role in political decision making.<sup>202</sup> At Ashington’s memorial unveiling, Councillor Wilson spoke of rumoured plans for conscription as ‘barbarous Continental slavery’ which ‘would never find

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<sup>198</sup> Summers, ‘Militarism’, 111.

<sup>199</sup> Donaldson, *Remembering the South African War*, 44.

<sup>200</sup> *Darlington and Stockton Times*, 5, 12 August 1905, editorial.

<sup>201</sup> Donaldson, *Remembering the South African War*, 43-45.

<sup>202</sup> Michael Paris. *Warrior Nation: Images of War in British Popular Culture 1850–2000*. London: Reaktion Books, 2000, 13-14. Alastair J. Reid, *Social Classes and Social Relations in Britain, 1850–1914*. London: Macmillan, 1992, 41; Donaldson, *Remembering the South African War*, 44.

root on our shores' and proclaimed 'Britons were ever fond of freedom; but where would that freedom be if our sons are compelled to become soldiers?'<sup>203</sup>

The prospect of Roberts unveiling the memorial at Darlington triggered vehement debate about conscription amongst correspondents in the *Northern Echo*. An 'Ex-Soldier' preferred the status quo of 'the nation of shopkeepers' and volunteers, rejecting militarism and the 'armed camps... on the continent like Germany... teeming with their millions of armed beings, ready to fly at one another at a moment's behest'.<sup>204</sup> On the morning of the unveiling, an impassioned editorial leader criticised those 'hustling us into conscription... Lord Roberts wants a conscript army not for home defence but for foreign and colonial war... we say at once, that the nation will not give him or any other soldier its youth to play with'.<sup>205</sup>

There was alarm at proposals for the disbandment of the Volunteer and militia movements, deemed insufficient for twentieth-century warfare by an army high command which thought poorly of their wartime performance.<sup>206</sup> Volunteers embodied shifts in societal dynamics and the popular accrual of citizenship rights, in particular the transformation of institutions (including the professional army) run for and by the elite to those run for and by the central state on behalf of the people.<sup>207</sup> Furthermore, as Hugh Cunningham notes, the majority of Volunteers were working-class – especially in the north-east – and usually Liberal voters, perceived as a bulwark against Tory patriotism.<sup>208</sup> Speakers at unveilings defended the effectiveness of the volunteers and their non-professional patriotism. At Hartlepool, the radical Liberal MP Christopher Furness claimed 'The patriotism which drew men from the hills and dales of

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<sup>203</sup> *Morpeth Herald*, 1 November 1902, editorial.

<sup>204</sup> *Northern Echo*, 31 July 1905, letter from 'an Ex-Soldier'.

<sup>205</sup> *Northern Echo*, 5 August 1905, editorial.

<sup>206</sup> *Shields Daily Gazette*, 29 April 1904, editorial; Levi, *Consent, Dissent*, 57-58; Summers. 'Militarism' 113, 115.

<sup>207</sup> Levi, *Consent, Dissent*, 43, 52.

<sup>208</sup> Cunningham, *Volunteer Force*, 25, 33, 104.



England... was worth more than any scheme of conscription ever devised'.<sup>209</sup> To an extent, the assault on the Volunteers reflected the decline of traditional Liberalism and its municipal culture within a changed society.

At Darlington, the unveiling of the war memorial was to an extent overshadowed by the re-hashing of pro- and anti-war arguments, particularly concerning the nakedly capitalistic nature of the war. A letter from an ex-soldier, citing biblical precedents in the face of Quaker opposition to the memorial, claimed the war was caused by the necessity of driving out the Afrikaner money-grabbers from the South African temple, a claim refuted by another correspondent who argued the war had been 'engineered by the grabbers themselves so that they might have a clear road to enter and grab, grab, grab'.<sup>210</sup>

This tension was exacerbated by the importation of indentured Chinese labour into South African goldmines in 1904-5, sanctioned by the imperial government. Critics of the policy argued this was modern slavery, undermining imperialism's supposed civilising ideals and patently not opening up South Africa to Uitlander influence or British immigration, benefiting the Transvaal mine owners instead.<sup>211</sup> The *Northern Echo's* Leader 'On War Memorials' questioned the moral dilemma of memorialising a war motivated by the 'acquisition of goldfields and the swelling of dividends by slave labour'.<sup>212</sup> Chinese labour provoked strong feelings because people saw no improvement for the British working man, or his ability to emigrate and prosper in South Africa, and felt they had been deceived about the justifications for war which, in turn, tarnished the ideological imperatives of imperialism, exemplified by a correspondent in the *Morpeth Herald*:

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<sup>209</sup> *Hartlepool Northern Daily Mail*, 20 July 1905, editorial; *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edition (accessed 19 June 2019), Gordon Boyce: Furness, Sir Christopher, first Baron Furness (1852-1912).

<sup>210</sup> *Northern Echo*, 26 July 1905, letter from an 'Ex-Soldier'; *Northern Echo*, 29 July 1905, letter from 'Anti-War'.

<sup>211</sup> Thompson. 'Imperial Propaganda', 318, 320; Thompson, 'Publicity, Philanthropy', 119; Donaldson, *Remembering the South African War*, 42-43.

<sup>212</sup> *Northern Echo*, 21 June 1905, editorial leader.

Britain's strength is sapped to satisfy the appetites of bungling gluttons. War fever leaves, and we wake as from a bad dream to the knowledge of wasted blood and treasure, mistaken loyalty, unnecessary ruin and desolation – and Chinese slavery.<sup>213</sup>

Apart from disagreements over the site and occasionally design, there was little controversy around the memorials in the north-east, except for Darlington, where a rare thread of anti-war memorial protest linked the Crimean and Boer Wars. There was no equivalent dissent in the Quaker strongholds of Norwich, Bristol and York; where criticism occurred in these towns, it centred on the plight of veterans and was not obviously driven by Quakers.<sup>214</sup> Although the Quaker community's dominance had declined since its mid-century zenith, Friends remained relatively influential within Darlington and comprised most of the opposition to the memorial as it neared inauguration in summer 1905.<sup>215</sup> In a letter published in the *Northern Echo*, a group wrote that it was incumbent on them, Quakers and therefore pacifists, to protest against any local act 'which is provocative of a warlike spirit or is a means of preventing the growth of a friendly feeling between the various races and nations of men'.<sup>216</sup> The newspaper's editor questioned commemorating a corrupt war, mentioning the 'increasing shame over the years at the quarrel with the Boer Republics and at the fruits of that quarrel... the shame is for our country and not for the men' who served.<sup>217</sup>

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<sup>213</sup> *Morpeth Herald*, 13 May 1905, letter from John Lindsley.

<sup>214</sup> *Eastern Evening News*, 18 November 1904, editorial; Donaldson, *Remembering the South African War*, 31.

<sup>215</sup> Gillian Cookson. 'Quaker Families and Business Networks in Nineteenth-Century Darlington', *Quaker Studies*, 2003, 8:2, 119. F.M.L. Thompson, *Respectable Society*, 255

<sup>216</sup> *Northern Echo*, 21 July 1905, letter from Edward Brayshaw (insurance agent), E. Hodgkin (electrical engineer), Mary Pease and others.

<sup>217</sup> *Northern Echo*, 21 July 1905, editorial.



Figure 48: Darlington Boer War memorial. Author's photo.

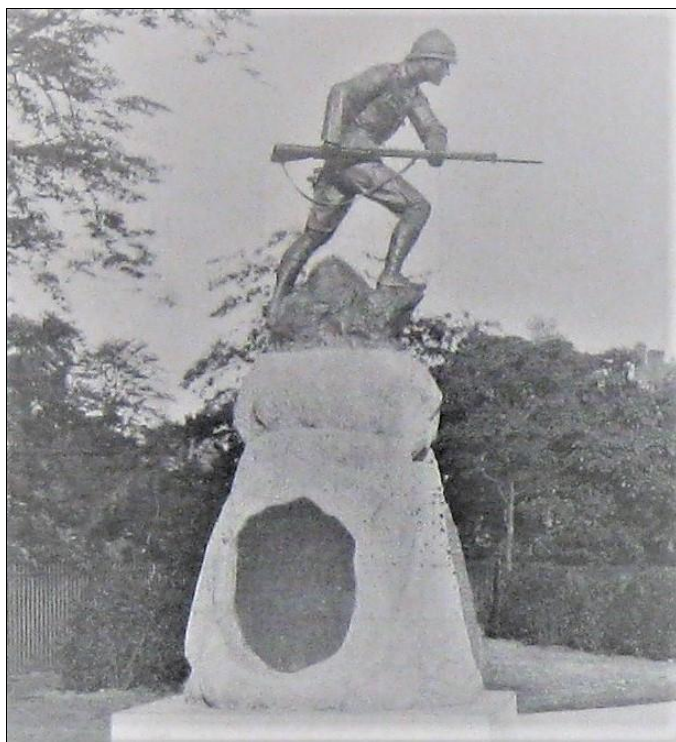


Figure 49: Darlington Boer War memorial (official programme, Unveiling of Darlington Memorial).<sup>218</sup>

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<sup>218</sup> Darlington South African War Memorial collection, DCL U418d/31166.

The Peace Society, somewhat in decline, had been subdued during the war but Darlington Local Peace Association – whose pedigree stemmed back to 1816 when Joseph Pease had been one of the Society’s founders – advertised a ‘prayer meeting’ for the same time as the unveiling of the memorial, for

those lovers of peace who regret the aggressive character of the War Memorial erected in Darlington... to spend the time allotted for the unveiling of the memorial in conference and prayer, with the desire that a peaceable spirit may spread in our own and other countries.<sup>219</sup>

Over 70 people attended, including ministers and townsmen of various denominations. Letters of support were read out, including from an ex-serviceman who had been so ‘disgusted with the war’ that he had, as soon as possible, left the army. A letter from ‘A Lover of Peace’ commended their efforts, asking

Why should we... try to perpetuate the memory of this type of misery and bloodshed? May this memorial thus placed in our midst bring home to every heart the wrong and sorrow of thus sacrificing priceless lives to settle a dispute between nations.<sup>220</sup>

Opponents of the Darlington memorial stressed they were not impugning the soldiers, instead bemoaning the bellicose nature of the statue (figs. 48 & 49), the retrospective portrayal of the war and its implication that such a conflict was the natural method of dealing with disagreements between countries.

Memorial organisers were aware of the memorials’ potentially controversial narratives. A climate of unease had supplanted wartime enthusiasm and memorials avoided the knee-jerk Britishness manifested in wartime representations. This could mean balancing praise for the soldiers with criticism for the war, as at Darlington, Ashington – where the chairman

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<sup>219</sup> Anne Orde. *Religion, Business and Society in North-East England: The Pease Family of Darlington in the Nineteenth Century*. Stamford: Shaun Tyas, 2000, 15. John W. Auld. ‘The Liberal Pro-Boers’, *Journal of British Studies*, 14:2 (May, 1975), 84.

<sup>220</sup> *Northern Echo*, 7 August 1905, letter from ‘A Lover of Peace’.

of the memorial committee praised brave local men who had fought a 'deplorable and disastrous' war – and Hartlepool, where Christopher Furness, in praising the soldiers, said 'he should not like to be understood as advocating a warlike or aggressive policy'.<sup>221</sup>

Previous war memorials and their unveilings were generally an opportunity for local elites to come together and put a divisive and disruptive period behind them but the apparent besieged predicament of civic leaders and the wider middle classes meant it was even more important for Boer War memorials to garner broad support and to be seen as representative of the wider community. Further to the supposedly democratic characteristics of voluntary subscriptions, this was achieved by the memorials' focus on the rank and file and the pan-society wartime response, embodied by the 'citizen soldier'. In part, this was aided by post-war disillusionment that led to a falling away of the types of patriotic, imperialistic values that had caused it.<sup>222</sup> But there were other factors. The memorials generally avoided the (questionable) justifications for war in favour of the 'democratisation of sacrifice'.<sup>223</sup> Memorials commemorated all classes, the fighting spirit and sacrifice of all propagating a national and local community, a measure of just how far the middle and working classes apparently now participated in the national endeavour. Councillor Wilson at the unveiling of the Ashington memorial said:

It was not given to all of them to attain the eminence of Field Marshals of their Roberts or Kitchener... It was the rank and file who, by their devotion to duty, their loyalty to the motherland, their splendid unselfishness, had earned their thanks.<sup>224</sup>

Alderman Hedley harked back to the ethos of the *Absent-Minded Beggar* ('Mews or palace or paper-shop': appendix 3) when, at the unveiling of the

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<sup>221</sup> *Morpeth Herald*, 1 November 1902, editorial; *Hartlepool Northern Daily Mail*, 20 July 1905, editorial.

<sup>222</sup> Koss, *Pro-Boers*, xv.

<sup>223</sup> Hutchinson, *Nationalism and War*, 61, 63.

<sup>224</sup> *Morpeth Herald*, 1 November 1902, editorial.

Middlesbrough war memorial, he said 'From mansion to hamlet all gave the best of their lives to fight for their country'.<sup>225</sup>

While the representation of the rank and file soldier built on changes in attitudes towards the army over previous decades, several historians perceive an increased cultural focus on ordinary private soldiers occurring in the 1890s: David Russell points to the number of songs and plays dealing with 'the boys of the rank and file' while Steve Attridge notes the music halls' use of the 'Tommy Atkins' moniker, endorsing a culture of working-class patriotism.<sup>226</sup> Attridge argues a concurrent shift occurred in adult and juvenile fiction, in which the ordinary soldier supplanted the officer as hero figure, most notably in Kipling's *Barrack Room Ballads* (1892, 1896) – a process accelerated by the Boer War.<sup>227</sup> By the end of the century, the specificities of a new kind of war made it difficult to foreground conventional stereotypes from military fiction. Romanticised, public-school educated gentlemen officers or the doggedly-loyal common soldier did not fit. A more nuanced rank and file emerged, often an outsider from the army hierarchy whose troubled personal history had led him to the extremities of empire, a precursor of the alienated anti-hero of twentieth-century popular culture who questioned orthodox notions of heroism and, ultimately, the empire itself.<sup>228</sup>

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<sup>225</sup> *Middlesbrough Evening Gazette*, 8 June 1905, editorial.

<sup>226</sup> Russell, 'We carved our way', 58-59; Attridge, *Nationalism, Imperialism*, 159-161.

<sup>227</sup> Attridge, *Nationalism, Imperialism*, 159-162; Rudyard Kipling. *The Complete Barrack-Room Ballads* (edited by Charles Carrington). London: Methuen, 1974, 30-110.

<sup>228</sup> Attridge, *Nationalism, Imperialism*, 50-51.



Figure 50 (left): Richard Caton-Woodville, *A Gentleman in Khaki*, 1899 (National Army Museum); Figure 51 (right): Hartlepool Boer War memorial (Hartlepool Museums and Library Service).

The emphasis on ordinary soldiers is reflected in the naturalistic design of some of the memorials.<sup>229</sup> In the Darlington memorial (figs. 48, 49), a soldier in contemporary uniform and helmet is atop a rock with rifle at waist height, running forwards with a resolute expression in a burst of purposeful energy. In Hartlepool (fig. 51), the memorial statue represents a weary but, according to the *Northern Daily Mail*, 'typical British soldier', his helmet cast aside, 'grim and determined, standing in a defensive attitude... alert and ready on the instant to use the rifle which he strongly grasps in his hands'.<sup>230</sup> Both portray an ordinary but unyielding soldier, a more realistic, kinetic version of the Crimean War's Guards Memorial in London and a far cry from the idealised grace of the Havelock memorial. Hartlepool's memorial in particular is a more intimate representation of the modern

<sup>229</sup> McFarland discusses attributes of Scottish statues: 'Commemoration', 208.

<sup>230</sup> *Hartlepool Northern Daily Mail*, 28 May 1904, editorial.

soldier: not the cannon-fodder of previous wars but a citizen-turned-soldier, emblematic of the dependable if more-nuanced soldier of Kipling's prose. It seems likely they were influenced by prevailing cultural representations of ordinary soldiers, especially Hartlepool, whose design closely resembles the famous Richard Caton-Woodville illustration *A Gentleman in Khaki*, widely reproduced alongside the poem and song versions of *The Absent-Minded Beggar* to raise funds for the War Relief Fund in 1900 (fig. 50).<sup>231</sup>

Durham and Newcastle's memorials displayed pictorial panels (figs. 52, 53, 54), which featured scenes of everyday life of ordinary soldiers in South Africa, as well as dramatic action: guard duty, a column of marching soldiers, a patrol defending themselves against an attack. The panels (and statues) realistically depict the men's uniforms, equipment and appearance and, through the mix of pathos and excitement, elevate the activities of the rank and file; a trompe l'oeil effect gives additional vividness and immediacy. This ascribes further progressive elements to Boer War memorials that reflects the influence of contemporaneous representations of the war, such as the woodcut prints in the illustrated weeklies and the new vibrancy of films from South Africa. The panels also harked back to medieval frescoes in churches, informing, contextualising and adding texture to the soldiers' experiences for those that viewed them.

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<sup>231</sup> For more on Caton-Woodville's illustration, see National Army Museum: <https://collection.nam.ac.uk/detail.php?acc=1984-08-104-1>.





Figures 52 & 53: Durham Boer War memorial, detail. Author's photo.



Figure 54: Newcastle Boer War memorial, detail. Author's photos.

The democratic nature of the memorials was demonstrated in the listing of all names and ranks, not just officers (fig. 55) This is atypical of most previous war memorialisation, though, as noted in Chapter 2, some



regimental memorials from mid-century onwards listed the names of all ranks killed.<sup>232</sup> The inclusion of names on civic memorials conveys different narratives to the regimental memorials' recognition of shared combat experience and corporate sacrifice.



Figure 55: Durham Boer War memorial inscription, names of the dead of all ranks. Author's photo.

Daniel Sherman notes the view that the lists of names on French First World War memorials was a by-product of mass democracy; this chapter argues that such claims should be brought forward to Boer War memorials.<sup>233</sup> Given the socio-political and cultural changes in society since

<sup>232</sup> Graham Oliver. 'Naming the Dead, Writing the Individual: Classical Traditions and Commemorative Practices in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries' in P. Low, G. Oliver and P. J. Rhodes (eds.) *Cultures of Commemoration: War Memorials, Ancient and Modern*. Oxford: OUP, 2012, 113.

<sup>233</sup> Eric Hobsbawm. 'Mass-Producing Traditions: Europe, 1870-1914' in Eric Hobsbawm and Terrence Ranger (eds.) *The Invention of Tradition*. Cambridge: CUP, 1983, 272; Sherman, *Construction of Memory*, 66; see also: George L. Mosse. *Fallen Soldiers: Reshaping the Memory of the World Wars*. New York: OUP, 1990, 99; James R. Bennett. 'From

the 1850s and their desire to be seen as representing their community, it is almost inconceivable that civic memorial organisers would have replicated earlier war trophies and traditional representations of heroic commanders and their non-inclusive characteristics. However, memorial narratives championed democratic rights gained and greater popular involvement in society but argued that these came at a cost: men had to be willing, now and in future, to embrace their citizenly duty and play the ultimate participative role by fighting for these freedoms – a branch of civic-republican thought found in Machiavelli, Tocqueville and Hegel and among strands of the left, stretching from Thomas Paine to the Social Democratic Federation.<sup>234</sup> In this way, the memorials should be seen as a weapon in the struggle of the ruling classes to achieve legitimacy for themselves and the socio-political system in the minds of the emerging, enfranchised masses – and to achieve this by projecting illusory, sovereign participation.

Boer War memorials should be placed in the context of late nineteenth-century European 'statumania', a wave of monuments propagating national mythology in France, Germany and Italy.<sup>235</sup> Eric Hobsbawm considers such statumania as part of the invention of national tradition but stresses the importance of both the localised and democratic elements to this phenomenon: a feature of mass democratic politics and the pre-eminence of the local bourgeoisie who organised and underwrote the monuments.<sup>236</sup> French memorials of the Franco-Prussian War (1870-1871) largely shared these characteristics, 'morally-charged expressions of specific

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Patriotism to Peace: The Humanization of War Memorials', *The Humanist* 58:5 (Sep/Oct 1998) 5.

<sup>234</sup> Adrian Oldfield. *Citizenship and Community: Civic Republicanism and the Modern World*. London: Routledge, 1990, 2, 148-149; T.G. Ashplant, Graham Dawson and Michael Roper (eds.) *Commemorating War: The Politics of Memory*. New Brunswick: Transaction Publishing, 2004, 8; Eric Hobsbawm. *Nations and Nationalism since 1870*. Cambridge: CUP, 1990, 89; Attridge, *Nationalism, Imperialism*, 9.

<sup>235</sup> Helke Rausch. 'The Nation as a Community Born of War? Symbolic Strategies and Popular Reception of Public Statues', *European Review of History*, 14: 1 (March 2007) 73–101; Hutchinson. *Nationalism and War*, 65.

<sup>236</sup> Hobsbawm, 'Mass-Producing Traditions', 271-272.

national ideals' according to Helke Rausch, conceived as much to assert and reinforce republican identity as to memorialise the dead.<sup>237</sup>

Unlike their predecessors, Boer War memorials transmitted notions of an idealised, democratised national identity that hinged upon the dutiful sacrifice of volunteers and fallen soldiers. John Hutchinson identifies the links between new forms of warfare, citizenship and mass national identities.<sup>238</sup> Reflecting a wartime transformation in status that configured both regular and volunteer soldier as a citizen serving in an army that was an instrument of national, civil will, it seemed fitting that the memorials recognize them as citizens – and it was beneficial to be seen to do so.<sup>239</sup> The empowering notion of social or participatory citizenship is most evident in the widespread emphasis on the 'citizen soldier', referenced especially during unveiling addresses. Part-time volunteers fought and died alongside regulars in greater numbers than in previous colonial wars and much emphasis was given to recognising their civic sacrifice: at the Tynemouth memorial unveiling, St John Brodrick noticed that the majority of names on the memorial 'were not members of the regular forces but those who voluntarily went forward to rescue the country in great difficulty' and a speaker at the Hartlepool unveiling stated that the nation owed a debt of gratitude to 'those private citizens who so readily volunteered for service in their time of need'.<sup>240</sup>

Although the memorials emphasised the formation of a democratic national community, which dovetailed with the post-war reaction against the war and the forces of capitalistic imperialism that had caused it, the

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<sup>237</sup> Rausch, 'The Nation', 73; See also: William Kidd, 'Memory, Memorials and Commemoration of War Memorials in Lorraine, 1908-1988', in Evans and Lunn, *War and Memory in the Twentieth Century*, 145; Sherman, *Construction of Memory*, 4; Antoine Prost, *Republican Identities in War and Peace: Representations of France in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*. Oxford: Berg, 2002, 12; Prost, 'Monuments to the Dead', 308; Jay Winter, *Remembering War: The Great War between Memory and History in the Twentieth Century*. New Haven, CT.: Yale University Press, 2006, 25.

<sup>238</sup> Hutchinson, *Nationalism and War*, 36, 63.

<sup>239</sup> Attridge, *Nationalism, Imperialism*, 9; Inglis, 'The Homecoming', 587.

<sup>240</sup> Searle, *New England*, 284; *Shields Daily Gazette*, 14 October 1903, editorial; *Hartlepool Northern Daily Mail*, 20 July 1905, editorial.

decades-long patriotic imperialism that culminated in the Boer War was present. After all, uncritical patriotic loyalty to the nation could be unifying during peace as well as war: as a speaker at the Tynemouth memorial unveiling stated, 'Politics was hushed in the presence of patriotism. It is right that this should be so and it is good for us as a nation that it is invariably so'.<sup>241</sup> It is perhaps illustrative that local pro-Boer MPs Thomas Burt and Charles Fenwick were absent from the unveilings in Ashington and Blyth (and Labour MP Arthur Henderson in Darlington); the reason given for their absence was parliamentary business but it seems likely, given their wartime attitudes, that they chose not to take part because of what they thought the memorials represented.<sup>242</sup>

Hutchinson argues that warfare often acts as a 'constituting myth' in the historical consciousness of populations, engendering a set of historical myths that become a framework for explaining and evaluating events.<sup>243</sup> Reflecting attitudes which had been prevalent during the period of New Imperialism and the war itself, the Earl of Durham noted at the Durham unveiling, 'From the remotest period of antiquity it had always been... a good and honourable thing to die for the fatherland. He trusted that sentiment might exist for countless generations of Britons'.<sup>244</sup> This rather discomfiting, warlike language by an aristocratic dignitary at a county memorial unveiling was replicated, albeit more measuredly, elsewhere; the war portrayed as part of an innate, continuous thread of British history and a key characteristic of national identity that linked the current crop of soldiers to those of the past – it was noted that the unveiling of the Ashington memorial took place on the anniversary of Balaclava and Agincourt.<sup>245</sup> At Hartlepool, Christopher Furness claimed 'it was good to

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<sup>241</sup> *Shields Daily News*, 14 October 1903, editorial.

<sup>242</sup> *Morpeth Herald*, 1 November 1902 and 25 July 1903, editorial; *Darlington and Stockton Times*, 12 August 1905, editorial.

<sup>243</sup> Hutchinson, *Nationalism and War*, 50-52.

<sup>244</sup> *Durham County Advertiser*, 29 December 1905, editorial.

<sup>245</sup> *Morpeth Herald*, 1 November 1902, editorial.

know that the bravery and endurance and determination of their forefathers have been transmitted in vigour to their descendants'.<sup>246</sup>

James Bennett calls this phenomenon 'patriotic ancestor worship'.<sup>247</sup> But the memorials also looked to the present and future. The army was portrayed as playing a strong social role, an antidote for concerns about physical decay, social problems and urban degeneration. Eugene Sandow, a fitness expert, claimed military training can turn the hooligan into 'a really ideal soldier, and not infrequently a hero... the best of pioneers and colonizers,' a sentiment echoed by Earl Grey at an early meeting to discuss proposals for a Newcastle memorial: 'It could be put somewhere where every hooligan and street boy could read the names of the heroes, and it would stimulate them to patriotic action'.<sup>248</sup> Similarly, at the unveiling of the Tynemouth memorial, Brodrick, until recently Secretary of State for War, 'expressed hope that the monument would stimulate many to join His Majesty's Forces'.

Boer War memorialisation was imbued with the didactic example of the fallen, an enduring inspiration for future generations. While this impulse was intermittently present in previous memorials, Boer War memorials were more explicit in conditioning the young and those not yet born for sacrifice in future wars. At the Newcastle unveiling, Henry Scott said 'their names would be read for generations to come, spurring others on to deeds of patriotism and self-sacrifice'.<sup>249</sup> Arguments about a memorial's site were important because the more prominent the location, the more effective its message to the town's future citizens; thus in Darlington, a memorial advocate suggested it 'should stand in some central position in the town to tell the coming young fellows of the heroism and patriotism of those who lived—it might be centuries—before they were born'.<sup>250</sup>

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<sup>246</sup> *Hartlepool Northern Daily Mail*, 20 July 1905, editorial.

<sup>247</sup> Bennett, 'From Patriotism', 6.

<sup>248</sup> Eugene Sandow. *Sandow's Magazine*, 27 September 1906, 386.

<sup>249</sup> *Shields Daily News*, 23 June 1908, editorial.

<sup>250</sup> *Northern Echo*, 17 October 1902, editorial.





Figures 56 & 57: allegories of Fame and Patriotism, Middlesbrough Boer War memorial.  
Author's photos.





Figure 58: Middlesbrough Boer War memorial. Author's photo.

Triumphal, bellicose characteristics were similarly downplayed. Middlesbrough's memorial featured bronze panels in relief with figures representing 'Fame' and 'Patriotism' but these (situated below an obelisk, a post-war commemorative symbol for four thousand years) convey allegoricalities of the immutability of war rather than endorsing New Imperialism or victories on the veldt (figures 56, 57, 58).<sup>251</sup> Generally, any glorification of war was avoided: at the unveiling of the Ashington memorial, the chairman of the memorial committee declared 'they were not there in any sprit of exultation or any degree of pride in the success of British arms... Their one purpose and sole desire was to show their estimation and

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<sup>251</sup> Borg, *War Memorials*, 2-4, 86-87.



appreciation of the noble work their local men had done in South Africa'.<sup>252</sup> At Hartlepool, Furness similarly rejected any bellicose intentions, describing how he had witnessed the Franco-Prussian war, whose memorials, would 'deter him from ever using any words which would encourage a warlike or aggressive spirit'.<sup>253</sup>

Where memorials possessed warlike characteristics, as at Darlington, opponents argued it encouraged an aggressive and pro-war mentality. A correspondent in the *Northern Echo* described the figure 'as ready to thrust his bayonet through an enemy... while an awful exploding shell close by will hurl them and many others into an indiscriminate mass of dead or dying victims'.<sup>254</sup> The editorial leader 'On Memorials' criticised the design, saying 'To many of us, the sight of that fixed bayonet and khaki uniform can only bring memories of a wicked and unnecessary war', complaining that, rather than inspiring civic or national pride, it would appeal to 'the lower and more savage tenets of our nature' and act as 'a daily influence' on passers-by.<sup>255</sup> While such strong criticism was restricted to Darlington, it reflected a wider reaction against militaristic patriotism.

It is intriguing, given the strong Quaker community in Darlington, that the memorial organisers chose this warlike design. It is conceivable that it was provocative, a theory reinforced by the unusual gesture of stating the number of subscribers, symbolically articulating the overthrow of Quaker values that proponents of the Crimean cannon had been attempting fifty years before (and further reinforced by the gleeful headline in the Tory *Darlington and Stockton Times* account of the ceremony to make Lord Roberts a Freeman of the town: 'Quaker Borough's First Freeman').<sup>256</sup> However, agitation in Darlington against the war had been muted and public opposition to the memorial only came to a head near its unveiling. Instead,

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<sup>252</sup> *Morpeth Herald*, 1 November 1902, editorial.

<sup>253</sup> *Hartlepool Northern Daily Mail*, 20 July 1905, editorial.

<sup>254</sup> *Northern Echo*, 7 August 1905, letter from 'A Lover of Peace'.

<sup>255</sup> *Northern Echo*, 21 July 1905, editorial; see also Billig, *Banal Nationalism*, 6, 8.

<sup>256</sup> *Darlington and Stockton Times*, 12 August 1905, editorial.

it is symptomatic of the dichotomous elements of the war's memorialisation, personified by E. D. Walker, Unitarian critic of the war in 1899 and 1900 (whose windows were smashed because of his views) but later a leading advocate of the memorial, presiding over the initial public meeting to establish a memorial committee in October 1902.<sup>257</sup>

Connelly and Donaldson observe that Boer War memorials had 'little to do with either formal or heartfelt grieving', arguing that greater political emphases meant a loss of focus on the dead.<sup>258</sup> Moreover, elements of unveiling ceremonies negated much of the mournful solemnity; with their procession of local or national celebrities, martial music, soldiers in uniform and crowds, unveilings were a rare opportunity in the local municipal calendar to come together, often amidst a festive atmosphere.<sup>259</sup>

In analysing the memorials' political elements, it is tempting to neglect or underestimate their genuine consolatory characteristics. The dead were buried in South Africa, not easily accessible to the bereaved and memorials were therefore interpreted as surrogate graves – by a greater quantity of bereaved than in previous conflicts.<sup>260</sup> The dead had remained where they fell in earlier wars but this new collective remembrance of soldiers – often individually named – in prominent civic locations, is further demonstration of the new 'levelling' impulse in memorialisation. Winter writes of memorials being sites of symbolic exchange where the living admit a degree of indebtedness to the dead which can never be fully discharged.<sup>261</sup>

Participants expressed Boer War memorials' inability to do justice to the dead: General Rundle reminded the crowd at Middlesbrough of 'the claims

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<sup>257</sup> *Northern Echo*, 7 March 1900, letter from E.D. Walker; *Northern Echo*, 8 March 1900, letters from W.W. Willmott and A. Woodward; *Northern Echo*, 17 October 1902, editorial.

<sup>258</sup> Connelly and Donaldson, 'South African War Memorials', 31; Donaldson, *Remembering the South African War*, 37-38.

<sup>259</sup> Billig, *Banal Nationalism*, 45; Donaldson, *Remembering the South African War*, 36-37.

<sup>260</sup> Sonia Batten. 'Memorial Text Narratives in Britain, c.1890-1930'. Unpublished PhD thesis: University of Birmingham, 2011, 86; Thompson, 'Publicity, Philanthropy' 106.

<sup>261</sup> Winter, *Sites of Memory*, 94.

on the living of the dead who have suffered and sacrificed' while Hartlepool's mayor 'felt that the men had not been fully repaid by this memorial'.<sup>262</sup>

Modern war memorialisation addresses two constituencies in particular: the bereaved and the veterans. Boer War memorials referenced these groupings to a hitherto unparalleled degree though there was little actual contribution from or consultation of them. Clearly, the memorials were portrayed as honouring the dead, not least at the fundraising stage. At the first meeting to discuss proposals for the memorial in Darlington, the mayor said the monument would 'perpetuate the memory of the Darlingtonians who lost their lives' and another speaker asserted: 'It was to those who went out and never came back ... those whose bones lay buried in a far off country, those who had left behind them memories which would be cherished long by those who were nearest and dearest to them'.<sup>263</sup> Space was allocated for relatives of the dead on platforms at unveiling ceremonies and speakers drew attention to the grieving: at Newcastle, the mayor said 'they could not but recollect those who were still sore at heart for those near and dear ones who were lost to them' while Henry Scott hoped it 'would be some consolation to the relatives to see that lasting memorial of their dear ones'.<sup>264</sup>

Untangling political and consolatory elements is difficult. Inherent to collective memorialisation are tensions between public and private forms of grief. The political dimension of memorialisation resides in the way it funnels mourning in a direction that conforms to dominant perceptions of the national interest. In making certain positive values the basis for commemoration, collective ritualistic grief deflects ideas that might disrupt the process of reintegration and thus promote forgetting.<sup>265</sup>

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<sup>262</sup> *Middlesbrough Evening Gazette*, 8 June 1905, editorial; *Hartlepool Northern Daily Mail*, 20 July 1905, editorial.

<sup>263</sup> *Northern Echo*, 17 October 1902, editorial.

<sup>264</sup> *Shields Daily News*, 23 June 1908, editorial.

<sup>265</sup> Sherman, *Construction of Memory*, 7, 264

The Boer War memorials were also unprecedented in their commemoration of the living as well as the dead (appendix 2). Commemoration emphasised narratives of civic pride and patriotic duty but it also reassured those that had returned – a far greater number than those that died – that their effort had not been in vain. The organisers of Tynemouth memorial considered themselves the first in the country to honour ‘both the living and the dead’, a further cause for commendation of the committee; at the unveiling, Brodrick said ‘It was most satisfactory to know that they were honouring those men while they lived. It was too often the rule that they waited until the grave had closed over them before any such recognition was given’.<sup>266</sup>

Though downplaying its politically-manipulative aspects, Jay Winter astutely suggests that First World War memorialisation tended to assert the healing language of tradition – the sentimentality of honour, duty and patriotism – because it offered the best explanation of why people had to suffer and die and such language helped heal ruptures caused by the war itself.<sup>267</sup> The symbols and narratives of Boer War memorials provided similar consolation in a number of intertwined ways beyond merely a physical solace for the grieving. It was important for the bereaved that men had died for an ideal or a purpose; hence a soldier could be transformed into a warrior and his military service and ultimate sacrifice could be justified by ideals such as duty, sacrifice or honour, and private grief at an unveiling could be turned into civic and patriotic pride.<sup>268</sup>

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<sup>266</sup> *Shields Daily Gazette*, 14 and 15 October 1903, editorial.

<sup>267</sup> Jay Winter. ‘Forms of Kinship and Remembrance in the Aftermath of the Great War’, in Jay Winter and Emmanuel Sivan, *War and Remembrance in the Twentieth Century*. Cambridge: CUP, 1999, 40-60; John Bodnar. ‘Pierre Nora, National Memory, and Democracy: A Review’, *Journal of American History* 87 (2000), 951-963; Sherman, *Construction of Memory*, 66-93; Borg, *War Memorials*, 67.

<sup>268</sup> Batten, ‘Memorial Text’, 163; Moriarty, ‘Private Grief’, 135.



Figures 59 & 60: details of inscriptions, Middlesbrough Boer War memorial. Author's photos.

The prominent use of Latin texts (figs. 59 & 60) on Middlesbrough's memorial, combined with its classical symbolism, placatingly suggested the perennial nature of war, as well as emulating a reassuring public-school, patrician ethos.<sup>269</sup> Consolation, or more accurately the re-moulding of the memorial narrative, discouraged the most committed stakeholders, the bereaved, from questioning the validity of the war and its execution – the questions that were the most dangerous and threatening to the post-war socio-political status quo.

## 5.4 Conclusion

Boer War memorials were motivated by a range of factors and sought to represent the conflict through various narratives. Political elements dominated but apparently contradictory political and consolatory impulses co-existed satisfactorily, as shown by Christopher Furness' address at the Hartlepool unveiling: praise for the bravery of the soldiers and the innately-

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<sup>269</sup> *Middlesbrough Evening Gazette*, 7 June 1905, editorial.

valorous national character alongside his disavowal of a warlike spirit and rejection of conscription.

Nineteenth-century civic monuments had striven to represent and be a product of their wider community, primarily through the seemingly participative nature of voluntary public fundraising. Boer War memorials were once more produced by civic leaders with mainly tokenistic participation from outside this social stratum; it was expected that the process be administered by them, as it had for their Crimean War and Indian Rebellion predecessors nearly fifty years earlier.

Boer War memorial narratives were fundamentally different, however, especially with their focus on the citizen-soldiers, acknowledgment of those that served as well as died, their more democratic forms and their listing of all ranks. This demonstrates the impact of long-term socio-political changes and the shifting balance of influence within society, not least since increases in the size of the electorate in 1867, 1884 and 1885, which ensured memorials had to be seen to be more representative of the wider community. The memorials were also by-products of short-term developments, particularly in the aftermath of the war. This explains the memorials' general avoidance of the strident wartime patriotism and their lack of triumphalism, as well as their reaction to some of the conflict's repercussions.

Boer War memorialisation is most markedly political in its didacticism, exemplifying civic duty and patriotic sacrifice for contemporary and future generations. This was distractive, encouraging post-war society to rally round certain civic values, thereby deflecting questions about the war and the socio-political status quo. Memorial narratives sought to restore pre-war order and counter some symptoms of the new, democratic mass society, in particular the spontaneous, rowdiness that existed beyond the authority – and wishes – of middle-class civic elites.

## **Chapter 6. Conclusion**

The wars between the 1850s and 1900s were individually distinctive from each other – as were their forms of memorialisation. Their causes were diverse and they had varying levels of popularity and support. Initially, all were enthusiastically supported but enthusiasm declined as the wars dragged on and initial passions dissipated. This influenced how the wars were memorialised. There was a basic, instinctive desire to commemorate the wars in some way however. This research has demonstrated an arc of memorial development, a tentative progression from captured war trophies via commemoration of hero-commanders to, by the end of the period, memorials that were more encompassing and representative of broader society.

That there were relatively few memorials after the wars can be ascribed to various factors. The lower numbers of war dead lessened the wars' traumatic impact on wider society and meant there were fewer people in the community who were grieving, thus diminishing the need to mourn the dead. The absence of a deeply-felt sense of popular participation in the wars was another factor, reducing the requirement to acknowledge the contribution made by local people. Opposition to the wars tended to be muted or carried out by a disunited minority which meant, in general, civic leaders did not feel the need to undertake a process to unify a divided middle class or disrupted society.

The Boer War had a similar number of fatalities to the Crimean War but many more civic memorials and of a different character – the most significant and drastic development in war memorialisation over the period. The Boer War, for a variety of reasons, had a far deeper impact on a society that had changed considerably since the Crimean War. By the 1900s, it would have been unacceptable not to acknowledge the sacrifice of ordinary men; similarly, it would have been inconceivable to commemorate the Boer

War with the type of memorial that had been prevalent after the Crimean War - cannon captured from the enemy.

There were threads of continuity that linked the wars' memorialisation practices. The memorials were all initiated, managed and inaugurated by men from the same echelon of civic society – local municipal leaders (or, in some cases, their county-level equivalents). This was an imposition of a dominant memory or representation of the war by the locality's hegemonic elite who had little doubt they were best qualified and able to steer the memorial process. With the exception of the Crimean War cannon, they were organised and paid for by a well-established system of voluntary, public fundraising. This system was a common procedure for numerous municipal and philanthropic activities from around the 1830s onwards, which strove to represent and be a creation of their wider community, primarily through its seemingly inclusive participative nature. Both the personnel involved and the system of organisation indicate war memorials were a manifestation of profound civic exuberance.

Notions of civic pride were a motivational factor common to all war memorials. By rallying around certain local civic values, the memorials deflected potentially-threatening questions about the war and, indeed, the political and socio-economic status quo in which the wars had occurred. Civic pride was manifested in a number of ways: endorsement of local leaders, their benevolent altruism and effective leadership; mythologization and promotion of the town or region's reputation, especially to its inhabitants; acknowledgement of the contribution of local soldiers and volunteers; embellishment of the community's built environment; positioning of the locality and its citizens within the national body-politic. Apart from the Crimean cannon, an emphasis on local connections was integral to all the war's memorials but reaching a peak after the Boer War; this was a consequence of decades of civic infrastructural improvements and the fostering of local identity, but heightened by the late-nineteenth



and early-twentieth century 'massification' of society which, despite its homogenising bias, still nurtured a greater sense of local identity.

Significantly, the imperialistic nature of most of the wars was not replicated in their post-war representation: the memorials eschewed the imperial, militarised and patriotic characteristics of not only wartime narratives and justifications but also the increasingly prevalent imperialistic tenor of society. Similarly, elements of bellicose triumphalism were mostly absent. Even in the commemorations of the military heroes Havelock and Graham, martial narratives were subsumed by didactic moral and civic narratives. The general lack of imperialistic patriotism and triumphalism is partly explained by the lapse of time that occurred between the war and the erection of the memorial - often over five years - meaning passions had waned. Also, as typified by claims made in many addresses at unveilings, whether after the Crimean or Boer Wars, memorials were not considered appropriate conduits for narratives of martial glory. Furthermore, such precepts were largely at odds with the dominant Liberal ethos still prevalent in the region.

Instead, the civil concerns of the memorials' organisers were the primary narratives transmitted - war memorials were by-products of social, cultural and political contexts, as much as of the individual conflicts. Though generally seeking to encourage further harmony and conformity in society, these civil concerns changed as society changed: in the 1850s and 1860s, middle-class and industrial bourgeois civic leaders were asserting themselves from a relative position of strength but not long after having attained dominance from more traditional aristocratic and landowning elites; in a sense they were consolidating their position as the dominant grouping with an eye to those they had replaced, buttressing their own distinct values and political assumptions by celebrating middle-class achievements since the 1830s. The commemorative activities for the visit to Tyneside of General Graham duplicated these mid-century notions of self-promotion by civic leaders and endorsement of the status quo. By the

1900s, however, there is a sense of anxiety in the narratives of the Boer War memorials, of the civic elite and wider middle class fearful of a loss of authority and socio-economic power in the face of the emergence of more assertive, politically-active working class, increasingly able to vote. In a sense, the civic leaders are looking below (to the working classes) and to the future (a larger, less docile electorate that included women as well as working men), from a position of declining influence, although this can be overstated: both in terms of memorialisation – local civic leaders would mostly direct the memorial process after the First World War – and society.<sup>1</sup>

Shifts in the nuance of the civic narrative can also be identified over the long term. In 1861, the Havelock memorial organisers sought to impose their own values and beliefs onto their community, establishing idealised modes of behaviour for the inhabitants of Sunderland in particular to conform and aspire to. While this was very much orientated to influencing behaviour in the local arena, the motivation reflected nationwide uncertainty over the British position in India and unease at some of the challenges to the civilizational ethos of empire which were beginning to challenge dominant social and moral values at home. In the aftermath of the Boer War, narratives acknowledged the increasing democratisation of society and sought to place the citizenly behaviour of local inhabitants within a democratic national community, the consequence of new political responsibilities for the recently enfranchised.

The Crimean War cannon were an exception to the memorialisation process in various ways. They were a more blatant imposition on the community than the other memorials, privately-funded and beyond the representative veneer of subscriber democracy and therefore possessing little attempt, even superficial, to be truly representative. This was reinforced by the general absence of unveiling ceremonies, notably incongruous for the era and its vibrant processional culture. Their implicit

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<sup>1</sup> Mansfield. *English Farmworkers and Local Patriotism*, 178; Bartlett and Ellis, 'Remembering the Dead', 231-242.

triumphalism was at odds not only with all other phases of memorialisation but also with the poor performance of the British at Sebastopol, as if compensatory for this display of British martial weakness. As such, the cannons set a narrative that did not match the popular mood. There was little emphasis on the locality, its contribution to the war or pride in its local soldiers, further undermining the probability of popular enthusiasm.

War memorials between the 1850s and 1900s were the product of a complex interplay of motivations. While they were mostly driven by political factors and expressed mostly political narratives, consolatory elements were present throughout, except for the commemorations of General Graham. That the paucity of war memorials in the period, compared to the scale of post-1918 memorialisation, is largely due to the lack of fatalities indicates the integral importance of consolation, acting as the apparent 'hinge' for memorial activities. Despite the inherently warlike nature of the Crimean cannons, references to the fallen and the sufferings of the soldiers were made at some of their unveilings and there is evidence that contemporaries considered the cannon as implicitly consolatory. The Havelock memorial had an element of grief for the fallen hero but subsumed by other more political narratives and there was little reference to the ordinary soldiers that had died during the Rebellion. The consolatory characteristics of the Boer War memorials are explicit. The change in attitudes to soldiers was important, a consequence of the changing nature of society (and the army) which became more imperialistic and patriotic and which assumed martial values. But more importantly, it was due to socio-political factors, the democratisation of society requiring the acknowledgment of the death of professional soldiers and especially 'citizen-soldiers' on behalf of the nation.

A sense of democratisation is common to most phases of memorialisation to varying degrees. The system of subscriber democracy gave the process behind the Havelock memorial and the Boer War memorials an air of participation by members of all the society. The memorial to Havelock promoted his middle-class upbringing and virtues in

contrast to the aristocratic officer corps' inefficiency. More visibly, the Boer War memorial narratives gave greater emphasis to the dutiful service and sacrifice of ordinary soldiers and the physical listing of all ranks and the introduction of tangible, aesthetic representations of ordinary soldiers were more concrete acknowledgments of pan-society endeavour. That 'democratic' civic war memorials, dedicated to the local, ordinary dead, were erected only after the Boer War – a transition from war trophy in the 1850s to more 'conventional' war memorial in the 1910s – is due to the changing nature of society and its increasingly modernising, democratic characteristics; indeed, they encapsulate this societal transition.

However, a Whig-type interpretation of the development of memorials as some inevitable, linear process of democratisation which mirrors concomitant socio-political change is undermined by the unrepresentative grip on the process retained by high-status civic leaders and the organisational system they used. This system, like the democratic narratives that were increasingly harnessed, was largely tokenistic, discouraging of a questioning of the social and political status quo. War memorials represented the civic leaders' notions of how to represent the wars through the filter of their local socio-economic and political standpoints rather than a genuinely inclusive response to the wars from the community as a whole.

## **APPENDICES**

### **Appendix 1: List of Crimean War Cannon memorials in the North-East of England**

(Includes, where known: number of cannons, date of request for cannon, date of arrival, location(s), details of unveiling)

#### **Berwick-upon-Tweed**

- One cannon.
- Request made to War Office by Captain Gordon: c. 8 May 1858.
- Arrival of cannon: 22<sup>nd</sup> January 1859.
- Location: Harbour walls, c.10 August 1859 (hitherto stored in warehouse).
- No evidence of unveiling ceremony.

#### **Darlington**

- One cannon.
- Request made to War Office by Local Board of Health: 13 August 1857.
- Arrival of cannon: April 1858.
- Location: People's Park, April 1858.
- No evidence of unveiling ceremony.

#### **Durham**

- One cannon.
- Arrival of cannon: January 1858.
- Location: Market Place, January 1858.
- Removed to Wharton Park, October 1858.
- No evidence of unveiling ceremony.

## **Hartlepool**

- One cannon.
- Request made to War Office: October 1857.
- Arrival of cannon: August 1858.
- Location: Sea front headland.
- No evidence of unveiling ceremony.
- Inscription:

‘A TROPHY FROM SEBASTOPOL  
THIS CANNON WAS CAPTURED FROM THE RUSSIAN ARMY  
AT THE BATTLE OF SEBASTOPOL  
DURING THE CRIMEAN WAR (1854 - 56). IN OCTOBER 1857  
THE THEN SECRETARY OF STATE, LORD PANMURE,  
OFFERED THE CANNON TO HARTLEPOOL BOROUGH COUNCIL  
WHO GRATEFULLY ACCEPTED IT.  
THE CANNON WAS TRANSPORTED FROM LONDON ON  
THE STEAMSHIP 'MARGARET' AT A TOTAL COST OF £2.19S 3D  
AND, AFTER A YEAR'S DELAY, ARRIVED AT HARTLEPOOL  
IN SEPTEMBER 1858’.

(There is no record of the contemporaneous installation of the plaque)

## **Middlesbrough**

- One cannon.
- Arrival of cannon: August/September 1859.
- Location: Between the Royal Hotel and the ferry-landing, c. January 1860.
- Removed to churchyard of St Hilda’s Church, August 1860.
- Removed to Albert Park, February 1866 (fired as part of park opening ceremony).
- No evidence of unveiling ceremony.

## **Seaham**

- One cannon.

- Request made to War Office: April 1858.
- Location: The Green, sea front.
- Unveiled: 31 July 1858 by Marchioness of Londonderry.

### **South Shields**

- Two cannons.
- Lord Panmure offers two cannons: September 1857.
- Location: The Lawe.
- No evidence of unveiling ceremony.

### **Stockton-on-Tees**

- One cannon.
- Request made to War Office: October 1858.
- Location: 'pleasure ground' on new Stockton to Middlesbrough road.
- Unveiled: 5 November 1858 by Mayor Joseph Dodds.
- Inscription on accompanying plaque:  
'Captured at Sebastopol, and presented by Lord Panmure to the Corporation of Stockton'.

### **Sunderland**

- Two cannons.
- Request made to War Office: March 1857.
- Arrival of two cannons: 4 May 1857.
- Location: People's Park.
- Unveiled: 11 May 1857 by Mayor Ranson.
- Inscription on accompanying plaque:  
'Russian gun taken at Sebastopol, 9<sup>th</sup> September 1855.  
Presented by Lord Panmure, Secretary of War to the Borough of  
Sunderland. Placed here 11<sup>th</sup> May 1857.  
George Smith Ranson, Esq., Mayor.  
William Snowball, Esq., Town Clerk'.

## **Appendix 2: List of Boer War Memorials**

(with date of unveiling, inscription, details of who was commemorated and name and role of person who unveiled the memorial)

### **Ashington: October 25<sup>th</sup> 1902**

'This monument has been erected by public subscription in honour of the Regulars, Reservists and Volunteers from Ashington Urban District, who served in the South African War 1902'.

- 64 names (inscription lost).
- Unveiled by Mr J.D. Milburn J.P. of Ashington Coal Company.

### **Blyth: July 22<sup>nd</sup> 1903**

'In memoriam of the men of this district who fell in the Boer War 1899-1902 Dulce at decorum est pro patria mori.

This monument was erected by public subscription'.

- 6 names with ranks, regiments, place and date of death.
- Unveiled by Viscount Ridley, local landowner and Chairman of North Eastern Railways.

### **Darlington: August 5<sup>th</sup> 1905**

'This memorial was erected by 5,576 subscribers as a tribute to the memory of the brave men of Darlington who volunteered and served the Empire in the South African War'.

- 100 names with rank and regiment.
- Unveiled by Field Marshall Lord Roberts, army commander in South Africa, December 1899 – December 1900

### **Durham: December 22<sup>nd</sup> 1905**

'To the memory of the officers, NCOs and men of the Durham Light Infantry who were killed in action or died of wounds or disease in the SA campaign 1899-1902. Faithful unto death'.

- 153 names with rank and regiment.



- Unveiled by the Earl of Durham, Lord Lieutenant of County Durham.

#### **Middlesbrough Dorman Museum Memorial: July 1<sup>st</sup> 1904**

- Unveiled by Arthur J. Dorman J.P., of Dorman, Long & Co and North-Eastern Steel Co.

#### **Middlesbrough Boer War Memorial: June 7<sup>th</sup> 1905**

‘To the memory of the Middlesbrough men who were killed in action or died of wounds and disease in the South African War AD 1899-1901. Erected by public subscription Charles Dorman Esq JP, John Hedley Esq MD, Deputy Mayor, Chairman of Committee AD 1904’.

- 70 names with ranks and regiments.
- Unveiled by General Sir Henry Rundle, Commander-in-Chief of Army, Northern District.

#### **Newcastle: June 22<sup>nd</sup> 1908**

‘To those who died in the service of their country.

To the memory of the officers, non-commissioned officers and men of the Northumbrian Regiments who lost their lives in the South African War 1899-1902’.

Erected by their County and Comrades”

- 370 names with rank and regiment.
- Unveiled by Lieut.-General Sir Laurence J. Oliphant, K.C.V.O., C.B., General Officer Commanding-in-Chief, Northern Command.

#### **Tynemouth: October 13<sup>th</sup> 1903**

‘Erected by public subscription to record the names of the men of the village of Tynemouth who served in SA 1899-1903’.

- 19 names with ranks, regiments and details of death.
- Unveiled by Rt Hon St John Brodrick MP, late Secretary of State for War (November 1900 – September 1903).

**West Hartlepool: July 19<sup>th</sup> 1905**

In honour of the 320 men from this town and district who fought for their country in the South African War of 1899-1902.

And in memory of those who gave their lives and whose names are inscribed below'.

- 22 names with rank and regiments.
- Unveiled by Mrs Lauder, wife of Colonel Lauder J.P., vice-chairman of the South African War Fund committee and C.O. of 4<sup>th</sup> Durham Royal Garrison Artillery (Volunteers).

### **Appendix 3: Rudyard Kipling – *The Absent-Minded Beggar* <sup>2</sup>**

When you've shouted 'Rule Britannia,' when you've sung 'God Save the Queen,'  
When you've finished killing Kruger with your mouth,  
Will you kindly drop a shilling in my little tambourine  
For a gentleman in khaki ordered South?  
He's an absent-minded beggar, and his weaknesses are great –  
But we and Paul must take him as we find him –  
He is out on active service wiping something off a slate –  
And he's left a lot of little things behind him!  
Duke's son – cook's son – son of a hundred kings –  
(Fifty thousand horse and foot going to Table Bay!)  
Each of 'em doing his country's work (and who's to look after the things?)  
Pass the hat for your credit's sake,  
and pay – pay – pay!

There are girls he married secret, asking no permission to,  
For he knew he wouldn't get it if he did.  
There is gas and coal and vittles, and the house-rent falling due,  
And it's rather more than likely there's a kid.  
There are girls he walked with casual. They'll be sorry now he's gone,  
For an absent-minded beggar they will find him,  
But it ain't the time for sermons with the winter coming on.  
We must help the girl that Tommy's left behind him!  
Cook's son – Duke's son – son of a belted Earl –  
Son of a Lambeth publican – it's all the same to-day!  
Each of 'em doing his country's work  
(and who's to look after the girl?)  
Pass the hat for your credit's sake,  
and pay – pay – pay!

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<sup>2</sup> Rudyard Kipling. *The Complete Barrack-Room Ballads* (edited by Charles Carrington). London: Methuen, 1974, 111-113.

There are families by the thousands, far too proud to beg or speak,  
And they'll put their sticks and bedding up the spout,  
And they'll live on half o' nothing paid 'em punctual once a week,  
'Cause the man that earned the wage is ordered out.  
He's an absent-minded beggar, but he heard his country's call,  
And his reg'ment didn't need to send to find him!  
He chucked his job and joined it – so the task before us all  
Is to help the home that Tommy's left behind him!  
Duke's job – cook's job – gardener, baronet, groom -  
Mews or palace or paper-shop – there's someone gone away!  
Each of 'em doing his country's work  
(and who's to look after the room?)  
Pass the hat for your credit's sake,  
and pay – pay – pay!

Let us manage so as later, we can look him in the face,  
And tell him – what he'd very much prefer –  
That, while he saved the Empire, his employer saved his place,  
And his mates (that's you and me) looked out for *her*.  
He's an absent-minded beggar and he may forget it all,  
But we do not want his kiddies to remind him  
That we sent 'em to the workhouse while their daddy hammered Paul,  
So we'll help the homes that Tommy's left behind him!  
Cook's home – Duke's home – home of a millionaire –  
(Fifty thousand horse and foot going to Table Bay!)  
Each of 'em doing his country's work  
(and what have you got to spare?)  
Pass the hat for your credit's sake,  
and pay – pay – pay!

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Diary of Nathaniel Edwards Robson

Diary of Richard Lowry

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