

ISSUE 3 | *Memorials and Memories* | Spring 2023

Perspectives



Welcome

Since the publication of the last edition, we have entered a new year and a new age. The death of Queen Elizabeth II and the accession of Charles III has stimulated a great deal of discussion about legacies, memory and the nature of memorialization. In the last issue of *Perspectives* the articles explored the importance of individual legacies at Haileybury, augmented by the series of wonderfully sensitive portraits of staff by Anya Campbell. This edition of *Perspectives* is devoted to an exploration of some of our memorials and the memories they represent.

The types of memorials explored in the articles are varied; they include the monumental works by Herbert Baker and un-monumental memorials such as the Hotchkiss Cup. All of the objects and buildings were created to preserve memories but each one had a different intention. Baker's monumental schemes not only addressed the School's sacrifice but he brought wider contemporary messages into his work. The papers relating to the First World War in the Old Haileyburian Rugby Football Club collection were kept to memorialise the effect the Great War had on the teams. Baker's architecture and Guy Adkin's papers both relate to the First World War but their messages are quite different.

A memorial's ability to convey meaning is not always reliable and it alters over time. Whilst abstract symbolic forms such as the Cross of Sacrifice (1923) retain their core meaning, important additional symbolic associations, such as its spatial relationships to the Chapel and the Terrace Field, are forgotten. Another consideration in the study of our memorials and memories is the politics of remembrance. Some of the memorials from the past may be distasteful to today's audiences but any demand to remove them, or intentionally leave them out of our histories, presents far more problems than it solves. It is my hope that through the articles in this edition of *Perspectives* our community can look at our memorials as active participants in the culture of understanding the past and the contemplation our future.

Toby Parker

Director of Learning and Research

PERSPECTIVES

Perspectives is published by
Haileybury, Hertford SG13 7NU
perspectives@haileybury.com

Editor: Toby Parker

Contributors: Jeanette Wight

Designed by James Brook,
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ABOVE: Ceiling rose, designed by Herbert Baker and Lawrence Turner, in Memorial Dining Hall represents the ability of the School to flourish in spite of adversity. The quotation 'Saepe Jovis telo quercus adusta viret' [often the oak scorched by the bolt of Jove becomes green once more] from Ovid's *Tristia*,

Book IV. IX, line 14 was first used at Haileybury by Edward Lyttelton (Master 1890.2-1905.2) on 18 September 1904. Lyttelton added the quotation to a board to commemorate the survival of Lightning Oak which had been struck by lightning on 2 June 1898 at 2.35pm.

THE HERITAGE CIRCLE



BELOW: 'Travelling by dak', No. 4, written and illustrated by the Honourable Frederick John Shore (EIC 1816-1817) from his scrapbook. Shore was a member of the Bengal Civil Service (1818-1837) and author of *Notes on Indian Affairs* (1837). Donated in 2006.

At last year's Heritage Day it was announced that we would be creating an interest group and a fund devoted to preserving the heritage of the School, its collections and estate. I am pleased to reveal that we will be launching the Heritage Circle on 20th May 2023.

The aim of the Heritage Circle is to allow all interested members of the Haileybury community to learn about and support the diverse collections we hold. Members of the Circle will be invited to termly events and will have the opportunity to support fund raising programmes designed to allow us to care for our existing collections and make relevant acquisitions.

If you are interested in joining this group or wish to find out more about it, please contact Toby Parker via t.parker@haileybury.com





Memorials and the creation of memories at Haileybury

OPPOSITE: Two pupils looking at Reginald Blomfield's (E. 1869.2) Roll of Honour in the eastern Cloister, 1903.

It is hard to ignore memorials at Haileybury. The daily use of Memorial Dining Hall, worship in the Chapel and walking through the Cloisters means that staff and pupils come into contact with them on a daily basis.

There are two School memorials to the Boer War: **The South African War Memorial** (1903) and **The Cloister Roll of Honour** (1903) by Reginald Blomfield. A further six School memorials to the First World War exist:

The Cross of Sacrifice (1923), Reginald Blomfield
The Book of Remembrance (1921), Graily Hewitt
The Roll of Honour (1903 and 1923), Reginald Blomfield
Memorial Hall (1932), Herbert Baker
The Clergy Chancel and Chapel interior (1936), Herbert Baker
The Centenary windows (2014), Toby Parker and Petri Anderson.

The Second World War and later conflicts are commemorated on the Roll of Honour on the western Cloister wall and in the Book of Remembrance.

Earlier School memorials (1903-1932) were designed primarily to enshrine the concept of service and honour. The emphasis was on the service that the School had provided to the state through its former pupils. Until the erection of the Indian Mutiny tablet for the East India College in 1897 there had been no institutional memorials. The earliest memorial commemorating Old Haileyburians, who had been killed in action, was a brass tablet to George Hodson (Ha. & L. 1868.2) and Nevill Coghill V.C. (T. 1865.2). They had been killed at Isandlwana during the Second Zulu War in 1879 and the memorial to their memory was put up in the Chapel in 1880. Between 1879 and 1898 there were 14 Old Haileyburians killed in action and memories of the conflicts were recorded in a different way. During the Second Afghan War the School acquired photographs of the British military machine and its diplomatic achievements (1878-80) in Afghanistan to memorialise the conflict. The memories of that campaign were focused on successes rather than the loss of human life. It was not until the end of the Second Boer War that the authorities considered it appropriate to erect a School memorial.

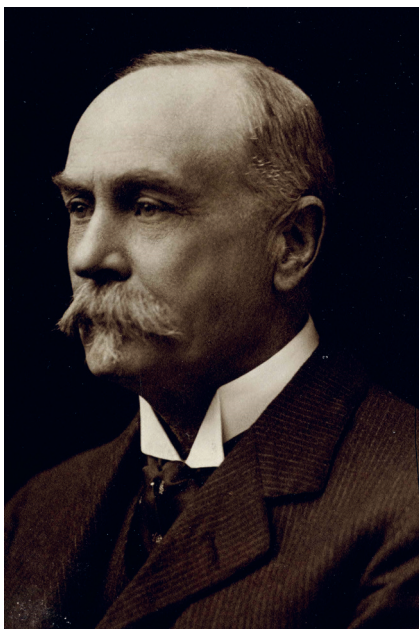


TOP: John Burke, *Lieutenant General Sir Frederick Roberts and the elders of Kabul*, 1879. Burke travelled with the Peshawar Valley Field Force between 1878 and 1880 recording people, landscapes and buildings during the Second Afghan War.

BOTTOM: John Burke, *Babur's Garden, Sher-e-Darwaza*, 1879.

OPPOSITE, TOP: The South African War Memorial, Reginald Blomfield, 1903.

OPPOSITE, BOTTOM: Walter Stoneman, for James Russell & Sons, *Sir Reginald Blomfield RA, FSA*, c.1916.



The Second Boer, or South African War (1899-1902) claimed the lives of 35 Old Haileyburians from the 350 who had served in the conflict. It was the number of Old Haileyburians serving in South Africa which captured the imagination of the School's governing body and the Old Haileyburian Society. Together these two bodies wished to capitalise on the scale of military service.

Through the generosity of Reginald Blomfield (E. 1869.2) and the Old Haileyburian Society two memorials were created for the School in 1903, in the forms of an obelisk and a roll of honour. The obelisk was sited at the formal entrance to the School and it was designed to be visible from the London Road. Blomfield's monument was intended to mark the service that Old Haileyburians has provided in South Africa. Carved from Portland stone and ornamented with cast bronze plaques, the overall effect of the monument was that of an eye-catcher.

Blomfield's triumphalist scheme owed its design to the 'Rositral Column' of Gaius Duilius commemorating the Roman navy's victory over the Carthaginians in 260 B.C. The use of cannon balls on the monument was a conscious adoption of a traditional symbol associated with victory and military trophies. Together these two elements in the obelisk's design emphasised the powerful message about the success of Haileybury's military contribution and Britain's imperial triumph. The 35 Old Haileyburians killed between 1899 and 1902 were not named on the South African War Memorial. Instead a roll of honour was created on the wall of the eastern Cloister which named the dead. The Roll of Honour formed one of two parts of a larger, unexecuted memorial designed by Reginald Blomfield. On the western Cloister wall Blomfield had envisaged recording the names of those who had 'conferred conspicuous honour upon the School in any walk of life'.

The message expressed in the South African War Memorial and the Roll of Honour was that every man had done their duty and that they had all brought honour to their school. The 12 October 1903 edition of *The Haileyburian* reported on the unveiling of the two memorials. Readers were reminded that during the South African War "the honours gained by Old Haileyburians included one Victoria Cross, two ADCs to the King, seven C.Bs [Companions of the Order of the Bath], one CMG [Companion of the Order of St Michael and St George], 26 DSOs [Companions of the Distinguished Service Order] and more than thirty Brevets [immediate commissions in the field]." The attitude in 1903 was that the School's memorials were to inspire the pupils to become patriots. At the unveiling of the memorials Montague Butler, the Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, and a member of the Council of the College, spoke about them as inspirations for service for generations of Haileyburians to come.

On 12 June 1917, at the Sports Club, St James's Square, London the question of a war memorial was discussed by the Old Haileyburian Society, with Sir Charles Longmore (B.F. 1868.1) presiding. At the end of the meeting it was decided a memorial fund for the School should consist of a roll of honour, scholarships for the sons of Old Haileyburians killed in the War and an ornamental memorial. Although the recommendations were unanimously accepted it was decided that any discussions about the form of the Memorial





RIGHT: The Trevelyan Roll of Honour, 1914-18, Trevelyan.



THIS PAGE

CLOCKWISE FROM BOTTOM RIGHT: The Right Reverend Edwyn Hoskyns, Bishop of Southwell (T. 1865.1). Hoskyns was the co-founder of the Haileybury Guild in 1890 with the Honourable and Reverend Edward Lyttelton, Master of Haileybury.

BOTTOM LEFT: Arthur Hacker RA, *William Hayes Fisher, Lord Downham* (T. 1866.3), oil on canvas, 1899. Fisher became the first Haileyburian to become an MP. The district of Downham in Lewisham was named after him in memory of his time as the chairman of the London County Council (1919).

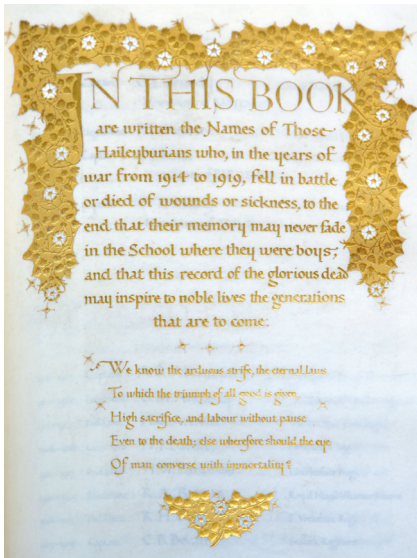
TOP RIGHT: The construction of Memorial Dining Hall, 1931.

OPPOSITE PAGE

TOP: 'Vobis parta quies' [Your rest is won]. The inscription carved on the base of the Cross of Sacrifice is taken from Vigil's *The Aeneid*, Book III, line 495.

BOTTOM: Graily Hewitt, *The Book of Remembrance*, vellum and bound in Morocco leather, 1921. Hewitt was responsible for the memorial scrolls sent by George V to the next of kin of those killed in the First World War. The title page is an excellent example of Hewitt's technique of gilding gesso on vellum.





Fund would take place at the end of the War. Six months after the initial, open meeting a further one was held at Goldsmiths' Hall, London. In the speeches given by the senior old boys, a great deal of emphasis was placed on the importance of the scale of the service rendered by Old Haileyburians and the number of honours that had been awarded to them. It was acknowledged that there was a need to remember the dead but Council and the Society were eager to record the honour of the service of the Old Haileyburians had brought to the School. The discussions about how achievements of the living and remembrance for the dead were to be memorialized were almost exactly the same as the one which had taken place in 1903.

At the meeting chaired by Sir Henry McMahon (Th. 1876.2) in Goldsmiths' Hall on 9 January 1918, evidence of the different rhetoric used by the clergy and the laity emerged. Edwyn Hoskyns, Bishop of Southwell (T. 1865.1) spoke about the loss of the young men and the purity of their spirit. William Hayes Fisher (T. 1866.3), a politician, asserted that the School could claim 'we have done more than any other school... we will claim for ourselves that we are at least equal in the achievements of the OHs'. Today we might recognise the sentiments of the Bishop of Southwell but Fisher's opinions are probably more difficult to align with our own attitude to remembrance of the First World War.

The tensions between the emphasis on service and the remembrance of the dead were in evidence at the Haileybury War Memorial meetings. At the end of the Goldsmiths' Hall meeting it was agreed that the creation of scholarships and the erection of a memorial hall, to replace the existing Dining Hall, were to be the beneficiaries of the Memorial Fund. Independent of the Memorial Fund, the first known memorial to the First World War appeared in the summer of 1920. Melvill commissioned a mahogany panel to be set up in their dormitory inscribed with the names of the former 55 members who had died serving in the War. On 24 November 1920 the College servants' memorial was unveiled. In the same year the calligrapher Graily Hewitt completed writing of the text for the Book of Remembrance for the School. The erection of any School monument did not appear until almost three years later.



THE RIGHT TO REMEMBER

Personal memory may differ from a collective one. Acts of remembrance can and do alter over time but if they are rendered into a memorial they become a reflection of the tastes and ideals of the society who raised it. The failure of Haileybury to understand the need to devote a specific space to remembrance drew attention to the differing meanings of ‘memorialize’ in the first three decades of the twentieth century.

OPPOSITE: The unveiling of the Cross of Sacrifice on 7 July 1923. General Sir Alexander Godley KCB, KCMG (Th. 1880.1) performed the unveiling. Godley said to the assembled pupils ‘I would specially commend this memorial. Read the motto on the service paper: “In remembrance of those who did their duty, even unto death.” Think of that and let it be an example to you. Keep it before you, honour it, treasure it, and when you leave here and go out into the world, and troubles and difficulties come to you, just think of this memorial and the motto that is on it. Remember how small must be your difficulties as compared with all the dangers and difficulties that must have confronted all those Haileyburians to whom this memorial is erected, whose courage, whose self-sacrifice, whose team-work, which we learn at a School like this, whose playing of the game was such a splendid thing in the Great War.’

The meetings of Old Haileyburians held at the Sports Club and Goldsmiths’ Hall before the end of the First World War were well intentioned but exclusive events. There were at least 2757 OHs on active service in January 1918 who were unable to attend either event. It was the older generation of Old Haileyburians who decided how the School was to memorialize the War.

The failure of the Fund’s architects Sir John Simpson and Maxwell Ayrton, to respond appropriately to the vision for a memorial hall, and the slow progress in the programme of fund raising were apparent. By 1922 there was considerable unrest about the situation amongst the younger Old Haileyburians. Letters sent to the secretary of the Memorial Fund expressed concerns about a failure in raising a memorial to those who had died in the War.

In *The Haileyburian*, Lancelot Lempriere (C. 1886.3), the School’s Resident Medical Officer and former officer in the Royal Army Medical Corps, wrote suggesting the erection of a temporary cross in front of the Chapel’s apse. Anthony Russell (C. 1910.2), who had lost two brothers in the War, expressed the view that the Memorial Committee was failing in its duty. Russell observed that strangers were asking about the type of memorial the School had erected and that answering in a negative response was becoming embarrassing. In his letter Russell identified a tension arising from the creation of a memorial and its use as a dining hall. The blending of a practical space with a memorial did not appear to be desirable or seemly. Noel Tennant (M. 1899.3), an assistant master at the School, felt passionate enough to write to *The Haileyburian* to voice his agreement with Lempriere. In his letter Tennant drew attention to the fact that the senior members of the Society were deciding the objectives for the Memorial Fund whilst his generation had been excluded from the process.

Haileyburians, such as Tennant and Russell, were losing patience with the older generation. In an anonymous letter from members of the Sixth form it was claimed that the funds were needed to improve conditions in the School. Rather than embark on one large project some pupils wanted to see investment in the day-to-day life of the School rather than

the construction of a large hall. The growing tensions were such that the editor of *The Haileyburian* closed correspondence on the subject and directed that the interested parties should send their correspondence to the secretary of the War Memorial Fund. On 18 January 1923 at the meeting of the General Committee of the War Memorial Committee, which had met only once since its foundation, members were finally forced to address the concerns of Old Haileyburians, former parents and grieving families. The Fund's committee had received communications informing them that the Haileybury community were no longer willing to wait for £65,000 to be raised before a memorial to the dead could be commissioned. The General Committee accepted that people wanted a small memorial but it continued to refuse to erect one in case the associated costs impacted on the plan to build a dining hall. The potential for a damaging conflict between the two camps of Haileyburians was only averted by the timely intervention of John Charrington (Th. 1869.3). At the meeting Charrington, a member of Council, made the offer to fund the memorial himself, thus preventing a potentially divisive issue from continuing to grow.

The generosity of John Charrington and the natural deference to authority of the establishment from the younger Haileyburians prevented any further chances of a schism. The outcome allowed the Fund to continue with their plans to build a new dining hall, commission a memorial and extend Reginald Blomfield's Roll of Honour in the western Cloister. Unsurprisingly, it was Blomfield's Cross of Sacrifice design that was selected by the Memorial Fund to act as the 'small memorial'.

On 7 July 1923 the Memorial Cross was unveiled by General Sir Alexander Godley (Th. 1880.1) and dedicated by the Bishop of Southwell, Edwyn Hoskyns. The speech given by Godley was largely devoted to the scale of service by Haileyburians and their successes. Similarities between the themes covered in Godley's speech and the one given by Montague Butler at the unveiling the South African War Memorial in 1903 are striking. Godley spoke of the '2,528 rewards' given and that such a record was one for the school to be proud of. He went on to emphasise to the pupils that the memorial should act as a reminder of their duty to serve. Following Godley's speech, Hoskyns' prayer was for the Haileyburians who had died serving the Empire's cause.

The unveiling and dedication ceremony did not allude to the idea of a 'lost generation'; the majority of the ceremony was devoted to memorialising a culture devoted to service. Lionel Milford (L. 1867.2) described the event as 'an inspiration to all lovers of Haileybury for the rest of their lives'. Whilst Anthony Russell and his contemporaries believed that it was their generation who *remembered* the dead and the suffering caused by the effects of war. For some of Russell's generation the memorial on Terrace was to be a *locus* point for their memories rather than a source of inspiration. Even after its erection there were still divisions within the community as to what the memorial meant.

OPPOSITE: A letter from Sir Reginald Blomfield to the Bursar, Colonel Robert Maclagan CB, CSI, CIE (L. 1874.2), dated 27 March 1923. Blomfield was making suggestions about the cutting of the inscription on the base of the Cross of Sacrifice (see page 13).

TEL. NO 5888 CENTRAL.
FROM SIR REGINALD BLOMFIELD
AND SON.

SIR REGINALD BLOMFIELD, M.A., R.A.
MR. AUSTIN BLOMFIELD, M.A., A.R.I.B.A.

1. NEW COURT.

TEMPLE. E.C.4.

March 27 1923

U
this
R.B.

Dear MacLagan
many thanks. I am asking Jones whether
they can complete in time for Speech-day.
About the lettering, I think it would be best
to have the ordinary U * instead of the (Roman) V
as I find people don't like the latter. If you
want a good letter cutter, it is very important
I recommend you to consult Mr. S. G. Kelly of 1A
Kensington Place. His men cut a lot of names for
me at Sherborne very well. I am doing the
inscription for me on the R.A.S. memorial on the
embankment.

Jones say if they can start in a
fortnight they could complete by June 29th. I am
writing to Sharrington

Yours sincerely
Reginald. Blomfield

Col. R. S. MacLagan, R.E.
Haileybury College
Westford

Saffron Walden



ANOTHER PERSPECTIVE:

Passing on a memorial but keeping hold of the memories

Jeanette Wight is the eldest daughter of Cornelius Thorne (T 1937.3), granddaughter of Joseph Thorne (B 1913.3), great niece of Cornelius (B 1905.2) and Marlborough (B 1906.3) and niece of Peter (T 1942.2).

OPPOSITE: Elizabeth Thorne, nee Crosse. The photograph was taken at Lovells Hall, Terrington St Clement, Norfolk, possibly by Marlborough Thorne (B. 1908.3), c.1912. Elizabeth Thorne carefully assembled a 'paper memorial' to her husband and two eldest sons.

Over three generations my family carefully created a collection of material that related to themselves and Haileybury. The collection was begun by my great grandmother, Elizabeth Thorne, and until my parents' deaths it was carefully preserved and added to. Elizabeth initially started the collection for her three sons, as a memorial to the memory of her husband. Two of her sons, Marlborough and Cornelius, were killed in the First World War and the need to remember their lives became a necessity in handling her grief. My grandfather Joseph, who inherited the collection, was killed in 1940 and his wife took over the curatorship of the collection before eventually this role passed to my father. Memories were preserved by keeping letters in their envelopes and annotating them like diary entries. The photographs, letters and artefacts came together as a constantly evolving memorial to successive generations. My father, Cornelius Thorne, donated part of the collection to the School shortly before his death in 2012. What we found after my mother's death went to make up the second part of a very large family collection, including her family papers. In addition to this was a small but important collection of letters, found in a suitcase in a loft by my cousin. This discovery included items missing from the original donation made by my father.

The scale and content of the collection was almost overwhelming. To try and understand the scope of the material I sat up night after night, reading everything. Reading the papers and looking at all the objects and photographs during the Covid lockdowns in 2020 and 2021 tied me closer to the past with each day. The daily interaction with each element of the collection brought me into a shared remembrance of the family, which had been begun by Elizabeth Thorne in the early 1900s. I began to understand that things had been kept as precious talismans and memorials. Relationships between objects began to make sense and I understood why they had been kept. By joining my family's collective remembrance, through their 'paper memorial', made it possible for me to not only understand more about their lives but it brought me even closer to my parents. I finally understood the significance of the care they, and in particular my father, took in labelling photographs, boxing old letters, and drawing together their memories on seemingly random USB sticks.

In 2021 I was left with a dilemma. What should happen to the collection? None of generation below myself were interested in housing and preserving it. Younger people in smaller houses and with busier lives have no time or space for the luxury of storing or exploring such a large assemblage of material. Where was the safest or most suitable place for it? If it went to a museum, it was likely to be buried away and never accessed. It was for this reason that my father had given the school the initial donation of Thorne material, rather than presenting it to the Imperial War Museum.

Mum and Dad had done a lot of peripatetic teaching, bringing history to life for young people over the years. With that in mind, and the fact that Dad had already donated an important portion of the collection to Haileybury, I approached Dr Toby Parker and Haileybury. The family knew what a very important part Haileybury had played in Dad's life. He was so respectful and genuinely fond of the school that I wonder if it had replaced his father, after he was killed in the Second World War. One cannot underestimate the value that caring teachers, housemasters, sport and structured learning give to a child, especially one 'lost in war'.

The emotional effect of handing over the collection was intense. I was pleased that we had found it a home and one where the story of my family was received with genuine interest and enthusiasm. It was going to be safe but it felt like I was *giving away* my parents and all they had stood for. My father and mother were people who cared and took time to be with people. They understood the importance of life and living, yet still ensured that the small things were done, observed, and shared. I was worried that without the collection I would start to forget what I had only recently learned. To this day, I still have a lingering anxiety about my separation from the work of the previous three generations of Thornes but I am learning to live with it. Memory is not just about specific dates and places, it is also about beliefs. In the end I was able to give the collection to Haileybury in the knowledge that others could continue to care for it and learn from it. If Haileybury had helped Dad and his father, and many other boys, to build their futures, then I feel grateful that such support was afforded to those young boys who must have felt such pain at the news of the loss of their dear brothers, father, or others in their families during the First and Second World Wars.

What have I learned about memorialization and memories? To be honest, I am still trying to figure a neat answer to this question. What I do know is that working with the collection emphasised and contextualised the values that my family imparted to me. Furthermore, the experiences of the last three years have provided me with a deeper sense of belonging, not just of my family but to multiple groups.

Visiting Haileybury last summer, with one of my brothers and one of my sisters, was not an alien experience because I knew of its importance to my father, uncle, grandfather and great uncles. The memorial to three generations of the Thornes now lives at Haileybury, where it is loved and understood. We are now able to share the memories of all of their lives with the wider Haileybury family.

OPPOSITE, CLOCKWISE FROM TOP RIGHT:

Self portrait of Marlborough Thorne, c.1911.

BOTTOM RIGHT: Wedding photograph of Joseph Thorne (B. 1913.3) and Marjorie (Mona) Brakenridge, 1922.

TOP LEFT: Thomas Child, *The Imperial Astronomical Observatory, Beijing*, c.1875.





THE SPORTING SACRIFICE:

Memories of the Old Haileyburian Rugby Football Club

ABOVE: The Old Haileyburian Rugby Football Club XV taken at the end of the 1912/13 season. *Standing from left to right:* R. D Shepard (T. 1903.3); S.M Priday (Le B. 1900.3); E.M Watts (T. 1907.2); J.H Boardman (C. 1905.2); K.P Smith (M. 1906.1); K.N McKenzie (Ha. 1908.1); Revd. C.L Holthouse (M. 1901.2).

Seated left to right: L.H Wilkins (C. 1907.3); W.G Allen (B. 1907.3); G.L.M Fache (C. 1903.2); R.Y Hedderwick (B. 1900.2); C.Thorne (B. 1905.2). *Seated on floor left to right:* R.N.C Pickering (Ha. 1909.2); C.G Mullock (C. 1903.2); F Allen (B. 1909.2).

Culturally, acts of remembrance remain important but identifying the original concepts associated with the memorials is more complex. The Old Haileyburian Rugby Football Club's collection is an example of a paper memorial that had been put together to record its service during the First World War.

Amongst the accounts, annual reports and minute books of the Old Haileyburian Rugby Football Club (OHRFC), which are held in the Archive, are a collection of letters and lists relating to membership of the Club during the First World War. It stands out amongst the other papers in the OHRFC records because they form a memorial to the Club members who were killed between 1914 and 1918. These papers also provide valuable insight into the relationship between Rugby Union and the idea of service during that period. Guy Adkin (Ha. 1897.3) the Club's Honorary Treasurer started the collection. His preservation of the records of service given by the members of the OHRFC captures the excitement of the first few months of the War and then the reality of regularly chronicling the dead and injured from 1915.

War was declared on 4 August 1914 and rugby clubs such as London Irish had cancelled their season by mid-August 1914. On 13 August 1914 the Rugby Football Union (RFU) issued a response to the large number of enquiries from clubs they had received about the appropriateness of continuing with the season. The RFU's advice was that the season should go ahead if individual clubs had enough members. At the meeting of the OHRFC full committee, convened on 28 August, members discussed the issue of playing during the War. The number of members of the OHRFC who had joined the forces by 28 August made it impossible to field a first and second team. With the rush of Club members to join the armed forces the committee unanimously resolved to cancel all of the 1914/15 fixtures. Their decision effectively meant the end of rugby for the OHRFC until the end of the War. The committee placed the playing side of the Club into abeyance and they issued the statement that it was 'the duty of every able bodied member of the Club, and particularly playing members, to volunteer for service immediately'.

By the time that the OHRFC annual report was printed in the October 1914 edition of *The Haileyburian* almost all of the playing members of Club had joined up. The news was not unusual in the world of English rugby. *The Athletic News* on 24 August 1914 reported that all of

the members of Birkenhead Park Rugby Clubs XV were serving in the forces. The scale of responses by the rugby clubs caused the RFU committee on 4 September 1914 to change their position and cancel all international, county and club matches. In addition the RFU encouraged all players to join the forces. C.J.B Marriott, secretary of the RFU, went even further and wanted to create a battalion of rugby players (c.1000 men) but the War Office quickly poured cold water on his idea believing it to be impossible. Instead the War Office recommended that regiments might accept companies (c.80+ men) made up of players.

The decisions of the OHRFC committee and the RFU were universally popular with members of the Club. While playing members of the Club joined the armed forces, some of the older (non-playing) members provided financial support. Lewis Birkett (C. 1863.3) a former England player wrote to Guy Adkin with a donation of 20 shillings towards the ground rental at Broxbourne, which the Club was still liable to pay. Birkett, part of a great rugby playing dynasty, proudly informed Adkin that his son Norman (C. 1907.1) had joined the 18th Canadian Rifles before ending the letter in a flourish with '*Haileyburia floreat*'.

George Pawle (B.F. 1868.1), an important advocate for the School and the Club, sent a letter in support of the decisions of the OHRFC and RFU. Pawle's letter, dated 10 September 1914, survives in the OHRFC collection. He wrote 'We can only remain an Imperial race by all of us showing we are prepared to sacrifice our sport to our duty.' Pawle's sentiments were repeated in another letter from the Master, Frederic Malim (1912.1-1921.20), who was pleased that matches had been scratched. Malim believed that the cessation of matches allowed members of the Club to 'take their share in a bigger game'. At the end of his letter Malim added a withering comment about the failure of the Football Association to follow suit and cancel its matches. Men like Pawle and Malim believed that rugby was part of a public school education, preparing the players to lead, and be led, and to dutifully serve their country.

Letters to Adkin from September 1914 demonstrate that he acted as an important figure in advising members of the Club in the selection of a regiment. Adkin facilitated introductions for Old Haileyburians with officers in their preferred regiment. Even housemasters recommended that their former pupils approach Adkin

Hill Head
Brosbourne
Sept. 9.

Many thanks for your ~~card~~ enclosure:
it is a pity but absolutely right of
course that there will be no football
this year. Yes: I have joined the
"Old Public School & University"
Battalion I of Lord Kitchener's Army.
We are going into camp at Epsom.
There are several O.H.'s in the
Battalions including C. D. N. Lawson,
(I think) Harries, Ziegler, & Hunt (a
quondam Wanderer)

R. H. Beckh.

Photo 1912-13

Pickering, mentioned in dispatches
Wilkins
Thorne
Friday included home
Watts.
Fish
Bunnie killed
McKenzie killed
Boardman wounded
K. P. Smith
Holthouse
Shepard
Munkoch
Allen
Allen

Photo missing.

ABOVE LEFT: Note to Guy Adkin (Ha. 1897.3) from Robert Beckh (B.F. 1908.1) dated 9 September 1914.

ABOVE RIGHT: Note relating to the OHRFC XV photograph for the 1912/13 season. At some point the photograph went missing from the OHRFC collection but another copy was donated to the School by Revd. C.L. Holthouse.

OPPOSITE: Letter to Adkin from Robert Sholto Hedderwick (B. 1900.2) informing him of members of the OHRFC serving with the Honourable Artillery Company.



Honourable Artillery Company,
Armoury House,
Finsbury, E.C.

1/7 dear Skipper

accompanying a list of O.N.s in
our 2nd Battalion, as fully as I
can get it. If I come on any
others I will let you know them.

Grte Cheson J. A.	B-Tree	4 Coy
" Stalman F. W. C.	Battin	4 "
" Shippo G.	Haily	3 "
" Shipdon E. A.	Colvin	4 "
" Jones J. E.	Highfield	4 "
— Wilkins L. A.	Colvin	Battin
Prte Fickering F. H. C.	Haily	2 Coy
" " R. H. C.	"	2 "
" Friday S. M.	LeBas	2 "

Cop ^t Plumb E. M.	Truelan	Battory
Private Shaw F. C.	Thomason	3 Coy
" Harrington W. A. J.	Battin	1 Coy
" Leggate V. N.	Highfield	1 "
" Thompson L. W.	Colvin	? 3 "
" Nevill F. H. C.	McNul.	? —
" Hedderwick J. A.	Battin	4 Coy
" " R. S.	"	4 "

Besides these there is C. H. Fair
a College Bear, a private in 3 Coy.

We are off early on Wednesday
for Rainham & all is busy here, as
we have no rifles coats or equip-
ment yet. Otherwise I could have
given you a better list.

I do not know Nevill at all
but I was told there was an O.N.
of that name who left about '98

It cannot be "Jaemy" Nevill whom
I know by sight, nor yet G. C.
Neville (Battin) as I guess it
must be F. H. C. I will try &
get hold of him in course &
if there is any error I will write
you again putting it right.

& Jack Gibson is not up at
head quarters so I suppose he went off
with the 1st Battalion, altho' I saw
him not.

Yr^s W. Sholto-Jedele-ich

K.D. Burnett - Boston
 2nd Lieut
 Oxford & Highgate
 2nd Lieut
 29/IX/14.

TELEPHONE 1 MAYFAIR 8390
 TELEGRAMS SKOOLUB, PICCOY, LONDON 6391

THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS CLUB,
 19, BERKELEY STREET,
 W.

Further details
 C.R. Attlee x 1st Lieut 6th South Lancs. W. K.A.
 Birkett J. (? J.P.T) ? 2nd Lieut Surrey Garrison Artillery
 Fairclough x 1st Lieut P. 2nd Lieut (Res) West Kent Yeomanry
 G. O'Hunt x 2nd Lieut Army Service Corps K.A.
 St Rigby x 1st Corporal H.A.C.
 Sillem A.H. Public School Thewinck
 -11- 8th H.A.C.
 Silver L.C. 2nd Lieut 8th Suffolks.
 29/IX/14. P. C. W. L. R. A. H. C. L. G. Attlee.

ABOVE: Card to Adkin from Laurence
 Attlee (L. 1898.3), 29 September 1914, with
 further news of members of the OHRFC
 joining the Army.

for advice on securing places in regiments. Herbert Deedes (Ha. 1896.3) wrote to Adkin thanking him for putting him with touch with the right people in the 2nd Artists' Rifles. Deedes on his arrival at the Artists' found himself drilled by Frederic Girling (Le B. 1894.3), and that 'F' Company had four OH members. In September 1914 many of the playing and non-playing members of the Club were private soldiers and non-commissioned officers in the Army. This situation required older serving members of the Club to salute much younger Old Haileyburians who had secured commissions. For the older Old Haileyburian this situation was a subversion of the natural order of things.

In spite of the large number of upbeat messages contained in Adkin's collection of memories, tragedies were beginning to be reported to him. David Russell (C. 1904.2), a son of William Russell (C.1864.3), wrote to Adkin informing him that on 14 September 1914 his brother Lawrence (C.1906.3), a lieutenant in The Duke of Wellington's Regiment, was missing. Lawrence Russell had been a talented player and he had helped 'The Dukes' to win the Army Rugby Cup in March 1914. Later in the year David Russell wrote again to Adkin to inform him that Lawrence had been killed on 23 August at Wasmes. The early confusion of the war caused the Club to believe Alexander 'Pat' Lyon (T. 1901.3), another playing member of the Club, was a prisoner of war, only to be told later that he has been killed on 27 August 1914.

Although the RFU had cancelled all matches, rugby continued to be played by members of the armed forces. George Zeigler (M. 1909.1), a talented member of the Club, played for the Public Schools' Brigade. At a match against the Canadian Contingent in December 1914 3,000 spectators came to watch them play. The Public Schools' Brigade won 13-10 and £100 was raised for the Belgium Fund. On 5 January 1915 Zeigler captained the same team to victory against the Northern Command. During 1915 Adkin's casualty list grew rapidly and demanded greater care in his record keeping. Ronald 'Bunny' Hedderwick (B. 1900.2) was killed at Ypres on 16 May 1915 and David Russell, one of Adkin's correspondents, died of wounds on 23 May 1915. Russell was to have been the Club's captain of the XV for the 1914-15 season. The enthusiastic letters from young men dried up and instead Adkin was required to add more names to his casualty lists.

On 4 November 1914 Guy Adkin wrote to *The Haileyburian* to inform them that out of a total

membership of 250, 150 members were serving in the armed forces. A carefully cut-out article titled 'A Worthy Record' from the 12 February 1916 edition of *The Sportsman* is included in the collection. The article recorded the contribution that the Club had made to the war effort, observing that every member of the 1913/14 team who had played in the last two matches had either served or were serving at the Front. *The Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News* published a similar article on 1 April 1916, informing its readers that of the 86 playing members of the OHRFC only one, the Reverend Cuthbert Holthouse (1901.2), who joined the Army Chaplains' Department in 1918, had not offered to join the forces. Included in the article was a photograph of the 1912/13 team. Eight members of the 1912/13 and 1913/14 teams had been killed by the time that the article was written. A list of the players who usually played in the 1912/13 XV was kept but a later hand noted that the iconic photograph was missing from the Club's collection.

On Saturday 11 February 2023 memorial boards to the members of the Old Haileyburian and ISC Rugby Club who served or were killed in the First World War were unveiled in the club house. Out of the Club's membership in 1914, 73 of them were killed and at least another 187 served in the armed forces. Without the papers that Adkin had so carefully put together in the early days of the War, many of these names would never have been known.

HERBERT BAKER'S THREE MEMORIALS: FORGOTTEN ARCHITECTURAL AND DECORATIVE SCHEMES

The Chapel and Dining Hall are two of the most iconic buildings at Haileybury. The Dining Hall and Chapel involved the development of complex decorative schemes exploring the secular and religious concepts of service. Today these sophisticated programmes are largely forgotten making them vulnerable to misinterpretation. The following three articles are an attempt to unpack some of Baker's themes for a twenty-first century audience.

1.

THE SACRED WAY: MEMORIAL QUADRANGLE AND THE BAKER WAR MEMORIAL

The planning and design for a memorial hall was a complex process. In 1905 the School had commissioned the architects John Simpson and Maxwell Ayrton to produce a masterplan for the modernisation of the School's site. It identified the limitations of the existing Dining Hall (now the Attlee Room) and kitchens but the scale of the associated costs had prevented any development of the project. Simpson and Ayrton were given the commission for the design of the hall by the War Memorial Committee and in 1921 they produced an initial report. They identified two possible sites; the first was at the east end of the South Front, making use of the existing kitchens, at an estimated cost of £55,000; and the second plan was behind Clock House forming a new quadrangle, with a building cost of c.£65,000.

Controversially, in 1927, Herbert Baker took over the role of official architect to the Memorial Fund. Initially Baker was extremely uneasy about the commission. He did not like the requirement to combine a memorial with a practical building. Like his predecessors, Baker identified the same sites as potential locations for the project. Eventually the site behind Clock House was selected; it offered the greatest potential for the provision of facilities, including a new dining hall, kitchens, a suite of rooms for the Common Room and servants' quarters.

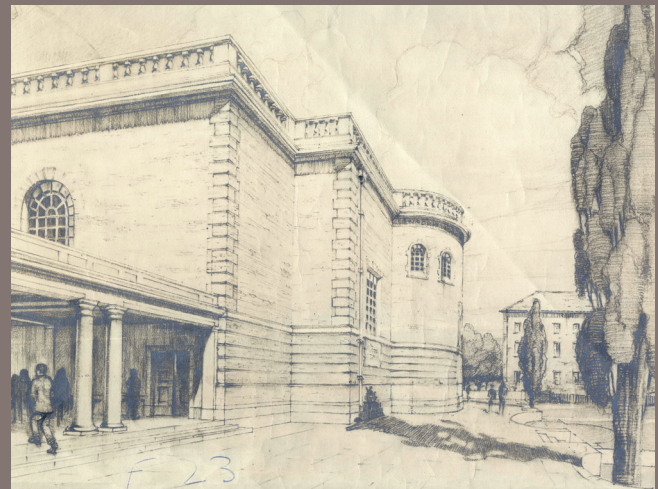
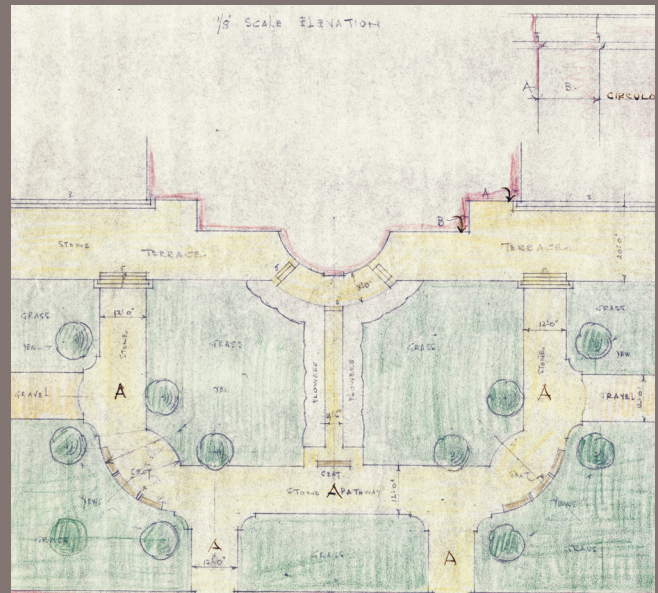
Baker was inspired to create two connected spaces for the Memorial Hall project. The first space was the south front of the Dining Hall and forecourt (now called Memorial Quad), designed to house the memorial to the Haileybury dead and provide an area in which to view it. The second space was the Memorial Hall interior. To emphasise the differing roles of the project Baker adopted

a contrast between the interior and exterior architecture of the Hall, an effect which was a favoured device in the religious and civic architecture of the Romans.

The relationship between the redesign of Clock House and the building of Memorial Hall is ignored today. A reassessment of the space and Baker's papers demonstrates that he created a *via sacra* [sacred way] between the two. His processional scheme to the Memorial Hall required the remodelling of Clock House so that it was able to act as a *propylaia*, or sacred gateway, into a 'memorial' space, distinct from the educational one (Main Quadrangle). Baker's use of a *propylaia* echoed William Wilkins own entrance on the western side of the Main Quadrangle.

Walking from the Main Quadrangle and passing through Clock House the viewer is met by a space dedicated to memories and ideals associated with service. Today this effect has been lost through the unthinking and unsympathetic appropriations of the space during the last decade. Baker's unification of architecture and designed landscape is masterful. He created a space that was a secular *hortus conclusus*, an enclosed contemplative garden. Baker's surviving drawings from November 1930 show that he had originally envisaged a softer garden design planted with plants and yew trees. The more austere grassed plats were adopted in 1931. Drawings and plans for this scheme describe the space as a 'forecourt'. Baker used of the term 'forecourt' to stresses the hierarchy of how the space should be viewed and used.

The entrances to the Hall were placed on the east and west of the building, preventing the formal war



CLOCKWISE FROM TOP RIGHT: Detail, unexecuted plan of the forecourt for Memorial Dining Hall, Herbert Baker, 9 November 1930. The sightlines for the seating in the garden and pathways are all focused towards the memorial on the Dining Hall's apse.

BOTTOM RIGHT: Charles Douglas St Leger, *Proposed view of the Memorial Dining Hall from the west*, n.d. Charles St Leger was Baker's assistant from 1912 until 1936.

BOTTOM LEFT: The South Front of Memorial Hall under construction, 1932.

TOP LEFT: Detail of Baker's War Memorial.

OPPOSITE: The completed Memorial Dining Hall from the south east, 1932.



memorial from being tainted by its utilitarian purpose as a dining hall. Baker's monumental and austere frontage allowed the apse wall to thrust the memorial forward and emphasise it. The landscape in front of it provided an appropriate setting within which to place a war memorial; Memorial Quad is in fact a memorial garden.

Lawrence Turner's powerfully sculpted war memorial contains elements that echo Edwin Lutyen's design for The Cenotaph (1920). The monument, carved in relief, composed of a pylon with retreating tiers, resembling a catafalque, on top of which are the arms of the kingdoms of England, Scotland, Ireland and the principality of Wales surmounted by the Imperial Crown. Combined together the shape of the memorial resembles an obelisk.

Baker's design of the monument meant that only when the easterly and westerly paths in Clock House came together, as the processional axial path, could the viewer see it. The vista is not of the Memorial Hall but only the memorial framed by the 'garden' and brickwork. Only on entering the forecourt does the thrust of the memorial leads the viewers eyes up to a frieze with the inscription 'Let us lift up our hearts with our hands unto the God of Heaven' in Classical Greek. The text, a variation of the School's motto '*Sursum corda*' [Lift up your hearts], acts as a perpetual prayer of thanks for the survival of the ideals of the nation and the sacrifices made by the dead. Members of the School community and visitors entering from Memorial Quadrangle cannot help to connect visually with memorial and the prayer.

The processional nature of Baker's design then moves from the monument to climbing the steps to the Tuscan order colonnades and finally into the Hall. Leading

people towards the eastern and western colonnades, the architect was playing with the idea of scale again. The monumentality of the building contrasted with the smaller scale of the columns and again with the human figure. Barker's clever use of scale allowed him to control slight lines as they moved towards and then into the Hall. Entering the building from the colonnades is rewarded with the experience of entering a vast, lofty and centralised space. After the sombre and reflective nature of Baker's exterior the effect of the interior is one of light. The rituals of separation and meditation, associated with viewing a war memorial that takes place outside, are replaced with a form of secular enlightenment; Baker's Dining Hall interior is a lecture on the nature of service and structure of authority.

2.

IMPERIAL LESSONS FOR THE COLLECTIVE MEMORY: THE INTERIOR OF MEMORIAL DINING HALL

Standing at the centre of Dining Hall and looking around its interior remains one of the finest experiences available to any visitor of the School. The scale of the room, the unifying nature of the shallow domed space and the heraldic plasterwork all serves to create a powerful visual experience. Nevertheless, there are messages hidden within its beauty that are potentially divisive and controversial, if they are not explained. The Hall's decorative scheme forms an imperialist programme designed and realised by Herbert Baker.

Herbert Baker designed the physical space of the Dining Hall around the shapes of a sphere and a cube. The effect created a centralised space in which the pupils could eat as one body with one exception; the College Prefects were given the apse as their dining area. The apse was a symbol of their authority over the remainder of the school body. Heraldic plasterwork above the prefects' table represented the kingdoms of England, Scotland, Ireland and the principality of Wales. Surrounding the shields were the national plants of the Home Nations. Together the sub-scheme symbolised the authority of the monarch as the King of the United Kingdom and Northern Ireland, the British Dominions (including the Irish Free State) and Emperor of India.

In the four corners of the Dining Hall Baker designed four huge plaster tondi, set in the pendentives of the dome. In each *tondo*, or roundel, were symbols of the dominions and colonies; together they represented the four corners of the British Empire. The effect, created through the careful arrangement of the tondi, was that

the Dining Hall ceiling became like a compass rose for an empire on which the sun never set. Within each *tondo* were the arms of the dominions who had adopted the Statute of Westminster in 1931. The arms of the East India College denoted the Indian Empire, which was not a dominion. Newfoundland and colonies were represented as symbols around the heraldic shields. These colonies were allocated to a dominion based on their geographical proximities.

Roundel 1: The Americas (West)

- a. Arms of Canada (Dominion, 1867)
- b. Cod: Newfoundland (Dominion, 1907)
- c. Sailing Vessel: British Guiana (Colony, 1831)
- d. Pineapple: Jamaica (Colony 1655)

Roundel 2: Africa

- a. Arms of the Union of South Africa (Dominion, 1910)
- b. Rhodesian Birds: Southern Rhodesia (Responsible Government, 1923)
- c. Mountains of the Moon: Uganda (Protectorate, 1920)

Roundel 3: Asia

- a. Arms and crest of the East India College: British India (Direct rule 1858)
- b. Elephants: Ceylon (Colony, 1796)
- c. Lotus flowers: Princely States of India (from 1798)

Roundel 4: Australasia and the Pacific (East)

- a. Arms of Australia (Dominion, 1901)



CLOCKWISE FROM TOP RIGHT: The Americas and the Caribbean
 BOTTOM RIGHT: Africa
 BOTTOM LEFT: Asia
 TOP LEFT: Australasia/Oceania

Herbert Baker emphasised the British Empire's territories on the five inhabited continents. The users of the Dining Hall were to enter and leave the building on a west/east axial. Baker's designs allowed the pupils to move across the space, as if they were travelling across the Empire, with Haileybury at its centre.

- b. Arms of New Zealand (Dominion, 1907)
- c. Outrigger canoe: Fiji (Colony, 1874)
- d. Shells: British Western Pacific Territories (Colony, 1877)
- e. Anchor: The ports of Singapore and Hong Kong (coaling stations for the Pacific)

Wreaths made up of the national flowers surround the symbols of the dominions and colonies. By placing the roundels around the dome, no dominion was placed above another in importance. Seated within this symbolic map of nations, the boys were to be the literal representation of the self-regulating populations who served the Crown. Baker's scheme was not just a symbolic map; he had created a working model of British Commonwealth of Nations and the Empire within the Hall. The dominions (houses) were equals, united in their allegiance to the Crown (the School). The Crown (the School) appointed high commissioners and governors (College Prefects) as their representatives. The colonies (pupils) were lesser entities, governed directly by the Crown's representative (prefect) with differing levels of autonomy.

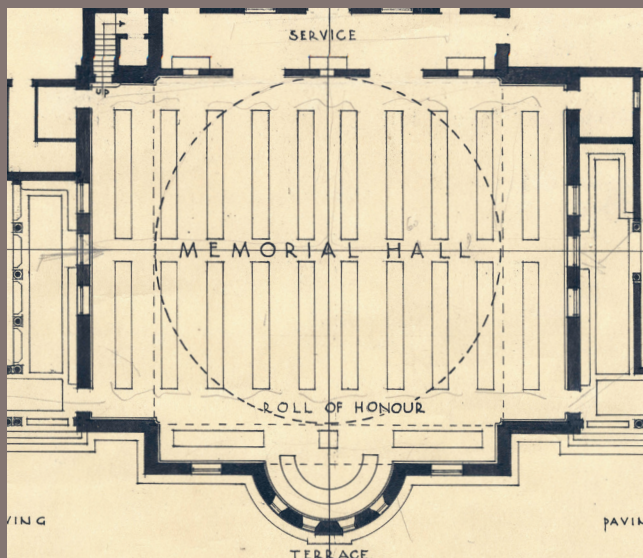
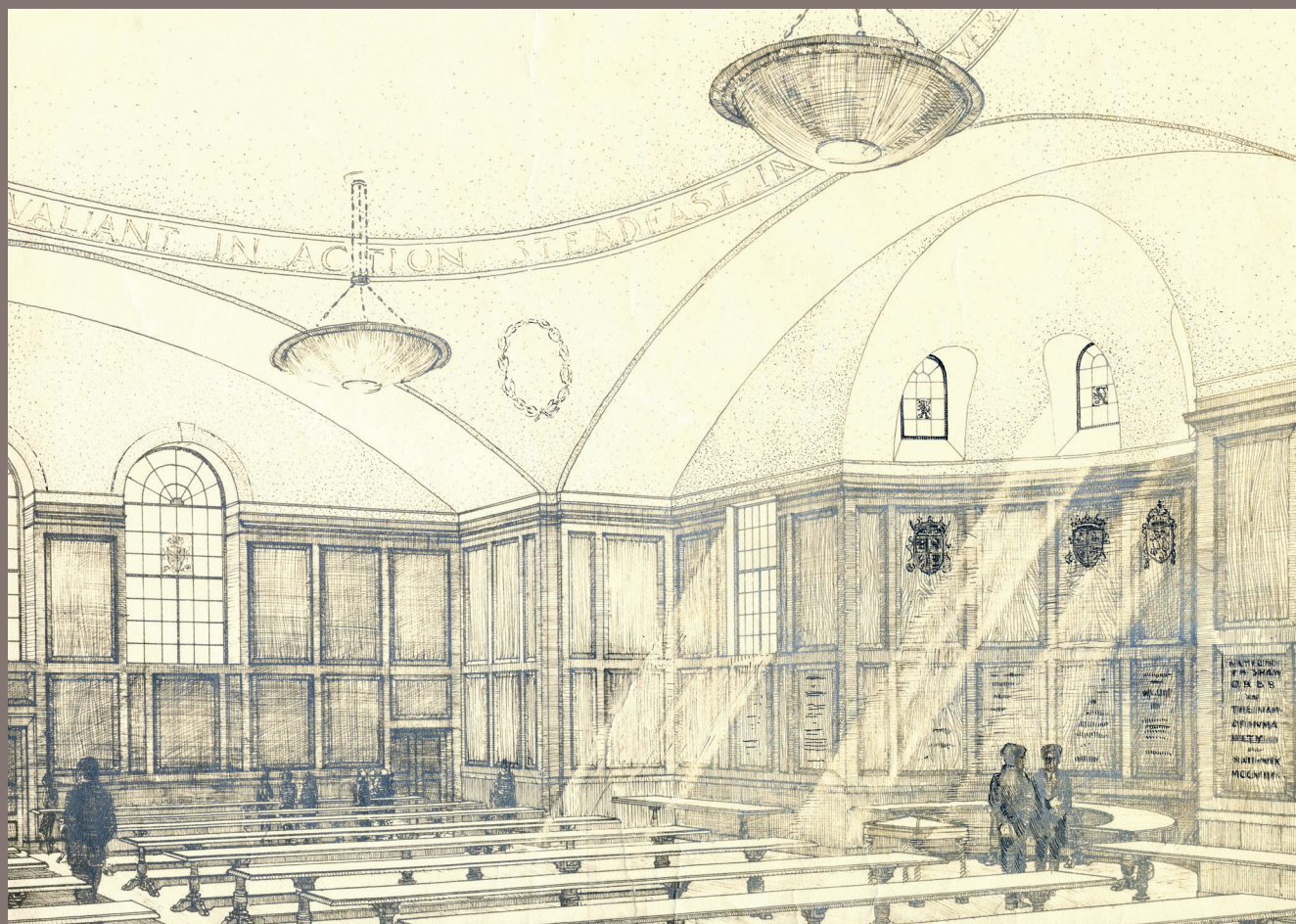
To a modern audience such a 'complex' scheme seems fanciful and even laboured but it is important to remember that the building was commissioned to perpetuate the concept of service to the Crown. To emphasise this point further Baker added an extract from John Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* (1678). He selected the passage in which Valiant-for-Faith passes his sword to his successor:

Then said he 'My sword I give to him that shall succeed me in my pilgrimage, and my courage and skill to him that get it; my marks and scars I carry with me to be a witness for me that I have fought his battles who now shall be my rewarder'. So he passed over and all the trumpets sounded for him on the other side.

The passage demonstrated to successive generations the debt that they owed to those Haileyburians killed in the War. Baker's designs reminded the pupils that they had a duty to continue in the tradition of serving the State.

At the centre of the dome Baker designed a large plaster tondo consisting of a oak tree, with winged hearts on each side, assaulted by Jove's lightning bolts. Surrounding the composition was the quotation from Ovid '*Jovis telo quercus adjusta viret*' [Often the oak scorched by the bolt of Jove becomes green once more]. Baker seized on the story of the large oak in front of William Wilkin's South Front that had been struck by lightning in 1898. The oak was thought to have died but in the new century it started to grow again. 'Lightning Oak' was a symbol of the resilience of the School's spirit in spite of the great losses it had experienced during the War.

Herbert Baker created a building which memorialised the order of school life and the structure of the British Empire. The confidence of Baker's designs demonstrates his belief that building materials should convey the idea of the order of British administration through symbolism. An imperial vision dominates the interior of the building but Baker's concept shows that it was a modern vision based on the ideas and policies of





ABOVE: The Royal Arms of Scotland surrounded by a wreath of thistles and surmounted by the Imperial Crown used by George V.

OPPOSITE

ABOVE: Charles Douglas St Leger, *Proposed view of the interior Memorial Dining Hall from the north west*, n.d.

BOTTOM RIGHT: Detail, plan of Memorial Hall, Herbert Baker, 1931.

BOTTOM LEFT: Interior of Memorial Dining Hall shortly after its completion, 1932.

the British Government from 1926 until 1931/32, when the designs were finalised. The excitement associated with the creation of the British Commonwealth of Nations in 1931 is palpable in its design. The inclusion of British India amongst the dominions reflected the potential for 'responsible government' there, as recommended by the Indian Statutory Commission (1927-30). One of the seven members on the Commission was Clement Attlee (L. 1896.2), the MP for Limehouse. It is as if Baker was leaving room in the scheme for further changes in the structuring of the Commonwealth to take place.

The survival of Baker's imperial propaganda may be judged by some individuals/groups as inappropriate and even insulting. But it is an institution's duty not to shy away from explaining and contextualising the schemes within national and global histories. In the past Memorial Hall's decorative scheme instructed pupils about their duties in the future. Today the Hall is a memorial to the architectural genius of Herbert Baker and the craftsmen who built it, as much as it is a memory of Britain's imperial past.



ABOVE: The words from Psalm 145, verses 17 and 18 around Herbert Baker's pierced dome (1936) looking up into Sir Arthur Blomfield's dome (1878).

3.

RENDER UNTO CAESAR THE THINGS THAT ARE CAESAR'S, AND UNTO GOD THE THINGS THAT ARE GOD'S: BAKER'S RELIGIOUS EXPLORATION OF SACRIFICE AND SERVICE

The Memorial Dining Hall, opened in 1932, was Herbert Baker's secular memorial at Haileybury. He had been uncomfortable with the commission but he succeeded in creating a *tour de force* in imperial architecture which expressed the relationship between the King Emperor and his empire. In June 1935 Baker began work on the alterations to the Chapel; he was determined that the project was to create a spiritual memorial.

The remodelling of the Chapel involved the creation of a clergy chancel and a new apse. Baker removed almost all of the interior decoration from the Chapel and he got rid of the collegiate style of seating. The brass and enamel memorial tablets were removed and the Campbell Smith polychrome decoration was painted over. To replace the decorative scheme Baker employed a talented group of artisans and artists. Sir Charles Wheeler RA was commissioned to create four plaster *tondi* in the pierced dome's pendentives and Herbert Hendrie was engaged to design five windows in the apse. Lawrence Turner, a carver and gilder, was employed to create the pulpit and lectern, organ screens and lettering. The metalworker, silversmith and engraver George Friend created the altar cross and candlesticks. Together with Herbert Baker these men were responsible for creating a powerful spiritual response to the sacrifices made by Haileyburians during the Great War. This group of craftsmen were advised by The Reverend Edward Bonhote (1934.2-1948.2), the Master of Haileybury, and Dr Montague Rendell, the former Headmaster of Winchester College and member of the Council. Baker believed that the design of the chapel required the thoughtful use of decoration to expand the ideas of the architect.

Baker's chosen theme for the Chapel was Christian love expressed through service and sacrifice. The ideas of service and sacrifice worked in parallel with the secular messages found in the Memorial Dining Hall project. Commissioning a chancel and a new apse provided Baker with a greater scope for emphasising the religious and liturgical significance of sacrifice. Having dealt with the civic issues, Baker was able to concern himself with the relationship between man and his faith. The themes of sacrifice and service were to be expressed in the liturgical east-west axial of the Chapel's interior.

In the surviving Chapel correspondence Herbert Baker displayed a determination to create a unified and spiritual scheme for the pupils. Throughout the commission Baker, Bonhote and Rendall continually assessed individual elements of the decorative scheme for their clarity of message. All three were acutely aware that a scheme that could not be understood by school boys was one that should be considered a failure.

The scheme was to begin in the nave under the new pierced dome with the inscription:

The Lord is righteous in all of His ways and holy in all of his works

The Lord is nigh unto all them that call upon him, to all that call upon him in truth.

The words from Psalm 145 was intended to act as a *laudate* or song of praise to God. Baker had initially suggested a quotation from Robert Bridges' "Spirit of Man" but Bonhote and the Bishop of St Albans were adamant that a hymn of praise should be used. They

believed that Psalm 145 worked with the programme that Baker and Rendall had composed for the different expressions of Christian service. The initial themes to appear in the roundels below the lettering were ‘rule, work, learning and art’. After a great deal of discussion, the programme was simplified further to represent ‘Government, Industry, Learning and the Fine Arts’.

Herbert Baker wrote to Bonhote on 19 November 1935 to explain that the more abstract the theme, the more accessible it would become. The idea for ‘equality of service’ emerged after Baker had remembered Robert Browning’s ‘Pippa Passes’ (1841):

*All service ranks the same with God:
If now, as formerly He trod
Paradise, His presence fills
Our Earth, each only as God wills
Can work-God’s puppets, best and worse
Are we: there is no last or first.*

Browning’s message, that God did not judge by the value of service but accepted all virtuous service as praise to him, had caught Baker’s imagination from the beginning of the project. It had been suggested that figures of prophets and martyrs should be used in the roundels but Baker was adamant that ‘you can’t expect boys to aspire to be prophets and martyrs’. The roundels reflected the line ‘All service ranks the same with God’ by surrounding the composition with wreaths of bay-laurels, a symbol of honour, and surmounted with a small cross. Combined, the wreaths and crosses symbolised the sacrifice and honour that each type of

service brought. In the roundels, Latin inscriptions, devised by Montague Rendall, were inserted to support the visual messages designed and modelled by Sir Charles Wheeler.

The combination of service and sacrifice, in the scheme for the five windows in the apse, demonstrated the love for and of Christ. Baker chose to adopt the ‘softer virtues’ of faith, hope, love and work with the figure of Christ in the centre. The stimulus for this part of the scheme was from Stanley Baldwin’s speech made on 16 February 1923 in the House of Commons. Baldwin identified these words with the salvation of World. Herbert Hendrie, a glass painter and tutor at Edinburgh College of Art, was given the commission to make them.

The figures in the windows, from left to right, represented Noah (Faith), Moses (Hope), St John the Evangelist (Love) and St Christopher (Work/Service). Baker’s selection of these figures placed the themes within specific religious contexts. The windows linked faith, hope, love and work/service to the suffering endured by the patriarchs, prophets, disciples and martyrs for their faith. The identification of service and sacrifice in the Church’s history emphasised the validity of the ultimate sacrifice made by the 589 Haileyburians in the First World War. Christ, as the central figure, holds the Crown of Life (the Martyr’s Crown) to all who made the final sacrifice. The Hendrie windows were designed as a memorial to the sacrifice of the Haileyburians in the First World War and as a reminder of the importance of the love of God and the deeds that his love inspires. Below the windows, Lawrence Turner carved and gilded the inscription ‘*Esto fidelis usque ad*



CLOCKWISE FROM TOP RIGHT: Charles Wheeler, *Government*, plaster, 1936, Chapel. 'Not for Oneself, but for the State'.

BOTTOM RIGHT: Charles Wheeler, *Industry*, plaster, 1936, Chapel. 'Seek the True Wealth'.

BOTTOM LEFT: Charles Wheeler, *Learning*, plaster, 1936, Chapel. 'Truth the Only Goal'.

TOP LEFT: Charles Wheeler, *Fine Arts*, plaster, 1936, Chapel. 'They see God in Human Things'.



CLOCKWISE FROM RIGHT: Herbert Hendrie, *Christ with the Crown of Life*, 1936, from the central window in the apse.
 BOTTOM LEFT: Detail, *Proposals for alterations to the Chapel*, Herbert Baker, 1935.
 TOP LEFT: Altar with the candlesticks and cross made by George Friend, c.1937.

mortem et dabo tibi coronam vitae [Be thou faithful unto death and I will give thee a crown of life]. The words were taken from Revelation 2:10 and reinforce the message in Hendrie's central window of Christ.

Seven Greek crosses, in white granite, were laid in the chancel flooring. Sited in front of the altar the crosses were devised to represent Christ's seven last words from the Cross. This element of the Chapel scheme was to encourage the contemplation of Jesus's Passion and the worshipper's own faith. The final part of Herbert Baker's spiritual scheme in the Chapel was the altar. On the front of the altar Baker designed a representation of a consecrated chalice, flanked by representations of the Holy Spirit and the Crown of Life. Sir Charles Wheeler designed two angels standing on clouds, one holding a winged candle (Light of the World) and the other a dove (the Holy Spirit). The design of the altar front celebrated love through sacrifice and service, as exemplified through Christ's life and death.

Together the windows, verse from the Book of Revelation, chancel floor and the altar combine to explain the importance of a Christian life of service, sacrifice and love. Baker had intended to commission a sculpture of the Crucifixion for the apse wall, below the lettering, but he soon realised that it was an unnecessary element within the scheme. The Archbishop of Canterbury, Cosmo Lang, rededicated the Chapel on 8 October 1936. Baker had finally achieved his goal of creating a religious memorial to the Haileyburians killed in the First World War. Together the Chapel and Memorial Dining Hall present a fascinating dialogue between Anglicanism and the State in a post-1918 society.



ABOVE: Herbert Baker's unexecuted design for a sculpture of the Crucifixion for the Chapel's apse wall, c.1935. Elements of this drawing were reused in the altar cross designed by Baker and Charles Wheeler in 1936.



KING EDWARD'S HORSE

OPPOSITE: The King Edward's Horse Bulletin front cover, no, 14, 1947, designed by Henry J. Dalton, a former trooper in the regiment. At the top of the page is a representation of the KEH regimental badge. Moving clockwise:

1. The fern badge was a version of the New Zealand hat/collar badge. New Zealanders joined 'D' Squadron (British African)
2. The elephant badge worn in the hat and on the collars of the British Asian or 'A' Squadron
3. The King Edward's Horse (The King's Oversea Dominions Regiment) collar badge
4. The beaver badge worn on the hat and on the collars of the British American or 'B' Squadron
5. The kangaroo badge worn in the hat and on the collars of the Australian or 'C' Squadron

At the centre of the cover's composition is the ostrich badge worn in the hat and on the collars of the British African or 'D' Squadron.

One of the most powerful ways to kindle a remembrance of the past is to provide a visual stimulus. The memory of the relationship between Haileybury and King Edward's Horse (The King's Oversea Dominions Regiment) is now very slight. Many of the Haileybury community have little or no knowledge about that the School's role preserving the memory of the regiment.

The King Edward's Horse (KEH) was founded as a volunteer regiment for colonials who were resident in London and the South East. The foundation of the unit emerged out of the call for volunteers during the Second Boer War (1899-1902). Lieutenant Colonel George Hamilton, a member of the Colonial Club, suggested in 1900 the formation of a unit to fellow members and it roused considerable interest. The idea grew and the London representatives of the colonies were approached. On 29 November 1901 the plan was approved and the unit was formed. The unit became the 4th County of London Imperial Yeomanry (The King's Colonials). The regiment never served in South Africa and it did not see active service until the First World War. The unit's name changed in 1905 to The King's Colonials Imperial Yeomanry. In 1906 a further three detachments were formed at Liverpool and the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. There was a particularly strong relationship between the regiment and the Rhodes Scholars at Oxford, supported by Alfred Milner, Viscount Milner. In 1906 after a meeting on the importance of military training, held at Brasenose College, approximately 20 Rhodes Scholars enlisted in The King's Colonials.

The regiment was divided into four 'colony squadrons' representing the dominions and British Asia:

1. British Asian Squadron (primarily British India)
2. British American Squadron (Canada and Newfoundland)
3. Australasian (later Australian) Squadron
4. British African Squadron

The squadrons were important identities for the Dominions in the military as vehicles of the recruitment of volunteers. It was the only regiment from the Dominions controlled by the War Office and its first honorary colonel was George, Prince of Wales, later George V. When Edward VII died in 1910, George V retained his Honorary Colonelcy but the appointment was renamed 'Colonel-in-Chief'. Donald Smith, Lord Strathcona, who sat on the regiment's Committee of Administration, made it known that he and other supporters were unhappy with the term 'colonial' in the name of the regiment. Strathcona believed that it was demeaning and inappropriate to describe dominions as colonies. The term 'colony squadron' had been abolished out of respect for the position of the dominions in 1909. Strathcona offered £10,000 as a donation to regimental funds if the unit changed its name. The requisite permissions were sought from the King and the War Office and on 12 July 1910 George V gave permission for The King's Colonials to be renamed King Edward Horse (The King's Oversea Dominions Regiment). In the following year the regiment was given the status of a Special Reserve Cavalry Regiment, which required a higher standard of training and proficiency than was expected of territorial units.

The order to mobilise the regiment was given at 4.30pm on 4 August 1914. Their orders were to use Alexandra Palace as a 'concentration station' and subsequent instructions were for the unit to move to Watford and Bishop's Stortford. At the end of the First World War the regiment had lost 81 of its members and on 30 January 1921 a monument was raised at Vielle Chapelle, Pas-de-Calais. The scale of the regiment's losses at Vielle Chapelle on 9 April 1918 was the reason for the regiment to locate it there.

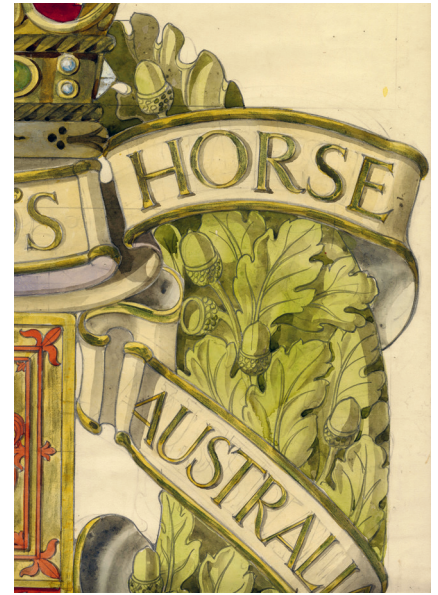
The regiment was disbanded on 21 March 1924. At the time of its disbandment the KEH had £20,000 in its regimental funds. A trust was formed to manage the money but it was unable to carry out its function. The trustees were forced to look for potential institutions to make use of it. Arthur Morrish, the chairman of The King Edward's Horse Endowment Fund, wrote to the headmaster of the Imperial Service College (ISC) on 16 April 1924 to ask if the school would consider accepting scholarships for boys from the dominions. The offer was not taken up and Morrish and the trustees were forced to reconsider their offer. In 1926 the ISC was offered the entire endowment by the Fund's trustees, with the *proviso* that the school was free from debt. At that time the ISC owed approximately £11,000, making it almost impossible for the governing body to think they could receive the endowment. Help was at hand for the ISC thanks to the generosity of Francis Cunningham Macaskie, already a major donor to the ISC. Macaskie agreed to pay off all of the school's outstanding debts.

On 27 July 1929 the Imperial Service College gained control of the King Edward's Horse Endowment. One third of £29,000 was allocated to building a hall dedicated to the memory of the KEH and the remaining two thirds was to be used to educate the 'lineal descendants of the members of the Regiment or used for the sons of officers who were serving abroad'. At the laying of the first stone of the Memorial Hall on 19 May 1931 Colonel Lionel James asked the boys of the ISC to pass down the traditions of service as exemplified by the regiment.



ABOVE: Finial from the Capetown Challenge Cup, silver, 1902. The finial is a representation of a trooper in the 4th County of London Imperial Yeomanry (The King's Colonials) in Full Dress uniform 1901-1904.

BELOW: Christmas card designed by Henry Dalton for the King Edward's Horse Old Comrades Association, 1943.



ABOVE: Details from Hubert Corlette's design for a relief sculpture of the King Edward's Horse badge, 1935. Corlette, an Australian architect based in London, was commissioned into The King's Colonials in 1903 and he served as a major in the regiment during the First World War.

Former officers of the regiment and the King Edward's Old Comrades' Association gave permission for the regimental tie to be worn by the ISC Shooting VIII and its regimental flag was placed in the Memorial Hall. In 1933 The Old Comrades' Association presented the regimental silver to the school. These three actions emphasised the connections between the regiment and the school.

When the amalgamation between Haileybury and ISC took place in 1942, care was taken to maintain the ties with KEH. In that year Colonel James informed the readers of the Old Comrades Association Bulletin that 'Our traditions, but alas not The King Edward's Hall, pass on to Haileybury.' Members of the Old Comrades' Association visited the School on King Edward's Horse Day each year, the Shooting VIII wore the regiment's tie and the silver adorned the Common Room table at formal events. It took time for the symbols and traditions of the King Edward's Horse to vanish but after the Old Comrades' Association was wound up the 1970s the memories of the regimental associations with the School began to fade quite quickly.

Today Haileybury is the guardian of the majority of the regimental silver, the officers and senior NCOs in the Combined Cadet Force wear the regimental tie and the badge of King Edward's Horse (The King's Oversea Dominions Regiment) adorns the Attlee Room. The remaining capital belonging to the King Edward's Horse Endowment Fund is now amalgamated with the School's funds to support pupils through bursaries and scholarships. Together these elements form a disparate legacy today but they remain memorials to the memory of a regiment, its officers and men.



The Hotchkiss Cup: A New Zealand story

OPPOSITE: The Hotchkiss Rifle Competition cup, silver, 1917, presented to the regiment by Cheviot Bell in memory of William 'Hal' Bell.

The Hotchkiss Rifle Competition Cup is the smallest piece of silver in the King Edward's Horse collection. The cup has a plain tapered and tucked body on a spread foot, with small loop and lugged handles; engraved on the cup is the badge of the regiment and an inscription. It was made in 1917 by the Goldsmiths and Silversmiths Company, 112 Regent Street, London. The addition of lugged handles, like a *quaich*, suggests that it was intended to function as a small loving cup. It was presented to the Regiment in memory of William Henry 'Hal' Dillon Bell, who was killed in action on 31 July 1917 at Ypres, by his younger brother Cheviot Bell.

'Hal' Bell was killed on the first day of the Battle of Passchendaele. At a little after 10am on 31 July 1917 the 'C' Squadron of the KEH (formerly known as the Australasian Squadron) mounted and received the order to move forward, despite the poor visibility. Eight hours later at c.6.30pm Bell was killed by a sniper whilst he was heading for Ferdinand Farm to meet with the Officer Commanding of the Seaforth Highlanders to discuss arrangements for the night. On 8 August flags on government, consular and commercial offices in Wellington, New Zealand were flown at half-mast as a mark of respect.

'Hal' Bell, a New Zealander by birth, had joined The King's Colonials (later The King Edward's Horse) whilst he was a student at Trinity Hall, Cambridge (1902-1905), studying Law. He returned to New Zealand where he practised as a lawyer. In 1909 he was appointed the Danish Consul and in 1911 he was elected a Member of Parliament for the Reform Party.

At the outbreak of the First World War Bell secured a commission and initially served with the Samoan Expeditionary Force in German Samoa. His commission led to accusations of nepotism in the Legislative Council. Opposition politicians claimed that Sir Francis Bell had used his influence to secure for his son a place as a staff officer. Bell re-joined the King Edward's Horse in December 1914 and he went out to France in 1915.

Cheviot Bell, his brother, the donor of the cup, had also joined the regiment whilst at Trinity Hall (1902-1905) and gained a commission with the KEH in 1915 but then transferred to the 10th (Prince of Wales's Own) Royal Hussars and later to the Royal Flying Corps.

Bell's family had held various political and governmental offices in New Zealand since 1851. His grandfather, Sir Francis Dillon Bell, had been Speaker of the House of Representatives and his father, Sir Francis Bell, was briefly the Prime Minister. Francis Dillon Bell moved to New Zealand in 1843 after securing a position with the New Zealand Company in 1839 through the patronage of Edward Gibbon Wakefield, his first cousin once removed. Sir Francis Bell was the first Prime Minister to be born in New Zealand and he married the daughter of another important politician, William Robinson. 'Hal' Bell's brother, Cheviot, became the fourth member of the family to enter politics in that country. Cheviot was one of a group of Legislative Councillors who voted to abolish New Zealand's Legislative Council on 1 December 1950. The Bell family's solid colonial credentials were augmented by their Quaker family connections. Francis Bell was related to the Barclay, Gurney, Buxton and Fry families, making him a cousin to Robert Hanbury one of the founders of the School.

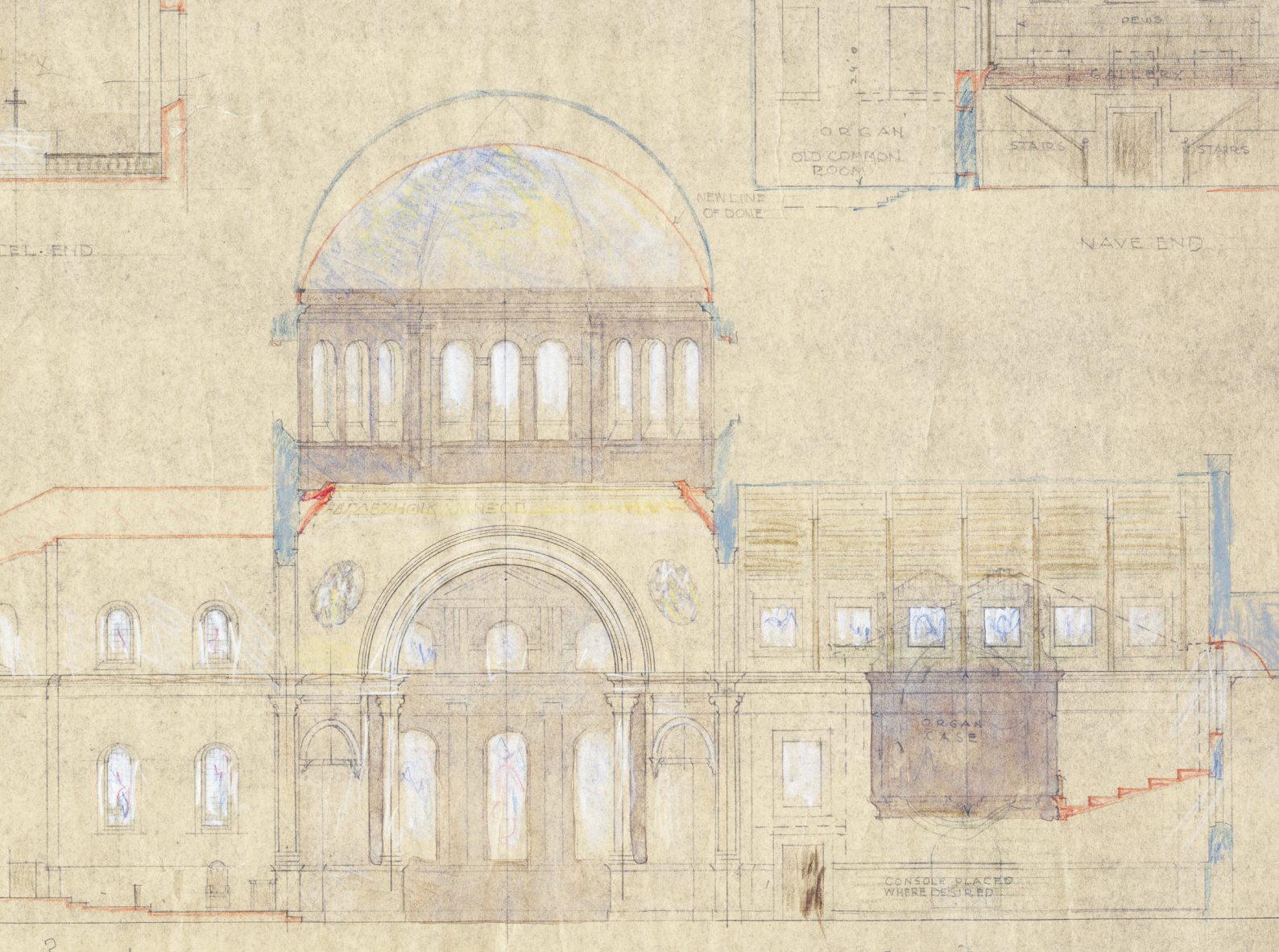
The Hotchkiss Rifle Competition cup maybe a small piece of silver, sometimes appearing to be lost amongst the larger pieces during a dinner but through unpacking its history and provenance, it can tell a story that is greater than its size may suggest.



ABOVE: William 'Hal' Bell, an officer in the King Edward's Horse and MP (1911-1914) was killed on 31 July 1917.

OPPOSITE: The badge of the King Edward's Horse, Attlee Room. In 1950 the regiment's flag was hung in the same room but it has since been lost or destroyed.





PERSPECTIVES | CONTENTS

FRONT COVER: Noah, the personification of 'Faith' by Herbert Hendrie, 1936, Chapel.
 ABOVE: Proposals for alterations to the Chapel, Herbert Baker, 1935.

2	Welcome
4	The Heritage Circle
6	Memorials and the creation of memories at Haileybury
14	The right to remember
18	Another Perspective
22	The sporting sacrifice
28	Herbert Baker's three memorials
44	King Edward's Horse
48	The Hotchkiss Cup