Report on the History and Significance of the Suffolk Regiment South African War Memorial on the Cornhill in Bury St Edmunds.

For the Bury St Edmunds Town Trust

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INTRODUCTION

The Churches Conservation Trust was commissioned by the Bury St Edmund's Town Trust at the beginning of June 2022 to provide a heritage assessment of the Suffolk Regiment South African War Memorial on the Cornhill in Bury St Edmunds. The Trust's brief (October 2021), as paraphrased in the letter of engagement (7th June 2022), asks for: "a fuller understanding of the significance of the Memorial to Bury St Edmunds, its community and wider society". This has become a topic of interest now because the Town Trust is concerned that the bronze figure on top of the stonework of the Memorial is in need of work to clean and protect it. The proposed conservation work comes at a time when there is increasing awareness of the history of British Imperialism and Colonialism (which includes the South African or 'Boer' War of 1899 to 1902). Therefore, the Town Trust has decided that:

"…as there is increasing awareness of the issues surrounding Imperialism/ Colonialism, quite rightly raised by such organisations as the Black Lives Matter movement, it is felt that to undertake these conservation works it is necessary to have a full understanding of the significance of the memorial and what it represents".[1]

The Churches Conservation Trust offers consultancy services to other organisations and charities in the heritage sector, sharing our skills in supporting communities to care for redundant places of worship; this report has been undertaken on a consultancy basis.

THE BRIEF

The brief asks that the final report address the following questions:

- What were the 'Boer' or South African Wars and what is their significance in British History, and in particular, how do they relate to other conflicts which are deemed to have been 'Imperialist or Colonialist' in their aims?
- How did they affect the indigenous populations and the Dutch/ Boer colonialists?
- What was the Suffolk Regiment's involvement in the wars and who were those commemorated and what were their origins?
- How did the memorial come about, who funded it and how was the artist commissioned?
- Why was the site in Bury St Edmunds chosen?
- What is the artistic evaluation of the sculpture and comparatively how significant is it as a memorial which seems not to glorify war but rather reveal its grim reality?
- What is the significance of the memorial in regional and national terms?

This assessment has comprised historical research, using both archival and secondary material, and a site inspection. It considers the history and significance of the Memorial, in order that decisions about its future might be informed by a full understanding of its value. There is also the possibility that greater understanding of the historical context of the Memorial might be used to engage local people and visitors to Bury St Edmunds with the story of the people commemorated on it and those affected by the Boer War in South Africa.

[1] *Bury St Edmunds Town Trust Brief for Heritage Assessment October 2021.*

We have used the specific questions set by the client to shape this document but before dealing with them, Section 1 will describe the Memorial, its setting, legal status and a brief review of the statutory protection this affords it. Section 2 provides the background to this conflict, how it relates to Britain's Colonialist past and what its impact on the South African population was. Section 3 explains the Suffolk Regiment's involvement, who those commemorated were and where they were from. Section 4 seeks to explain how the Memorial came about, how it was funded, how the artist was commissioned and the wider enthusiasm for memorials at this time. Section 5 gives an evaluation of the sculpture as a work of art and its significance as a memorial. Section 6 attempts to understand its significance in regional and national terms. Section 7 offers a brief discussion of the issues associated with contested histories and the National Planning Policy Framework. Finally, Section 8 offers a conclusion to this report with a summary of its findings in line with the questions asked by the client.

Section 1. The Memorial and its Setting

The Suffolk Regiment South African War Memorial is listed at Grade II Listed and stands in the middle of the Cornhill, Bury St Edmunds. Its description on the National Heritage List for England is accurate:

> *Memorial to the 193 Suffolk men who died in the Boer War. 1904. By AG Walker. Stone. On an island site in the centre of Cornhill. The monument stands on a low raised platform paved with stone setts and surrounded by iron railings with low square vase-shaped stone posts. It takes the form of a stone rectangular table tomb with small moulded pillars recessed at the angles and egg-and-dart ornament round the top. Each face is panelled, the panels on the south, east and west with the names of those killed, that on the north with the words VULNERATUS NON VICTUS above the arms of West Suffolk, and an inscription below which reads: THIS MONUMENT WAS ERECTED BY SUFFOLK PEOPLE AS A MEMORIAL TO SUFFOLK SOLDIERS WHO LOST THEIR LIVES IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN WAR 1899-1902. On the coffin lid a bare-headed soldier is seated in a defensive attitude, grasping a rifle, with his fallen helmet lying on the rocks below. (Buildings of England: Pevsner N: Radcliffe E: Suffolk: London: 1974-: 150).*

Plate 1 South African War Memorial, Cornhill. Bury St Edmunds.

The 193 names of the fallen are listed according to unit seniority, i.e. cavalry, artillery, members of the Suffolk Regiment, then other infantry and volunteers *(See Table 1)*. All are listed by rank and alphabetically within each group. The Memorial was dedicated on 11th November 1904 and unveiled on the same date by the veteran Boer War commander Field Marshall Lord Methuen.

Map 1 Ordnance Survey 25 Inch Map Suffolk XLIV.7, Revised: 1903, Published: 1904

The Memorial stands on the Cornhill in Bury St Edmunds (Plate 2) which is the town's historic commercial centre to the west of the perhaps better known, religious heart of the town around Abbeygate Street. This is an historic gathering place where markets have been held since Norman times. It's a setting populated with numerous designated heritage assets. According to the online records of Historic England[2], there are at least 8 Listed buildings in view of the Memorial, including: the 12th century Moyses Hall which now houses a museum but has also served as a Bridewell, workhouse and police station; and the Market Cross, a former theatre which the architect Robert Adam designed at the end of the 18th century. Both are Grade I Listed.

[2] https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/map-search

Legal Status and Statutory Protection

This is a short summary of how the Memorial is protected in planning law:

The South African War Memorial on the Cornhill in Bury St Edmunds is Grade II Listed.

The Cornhill is also in The Town Centre Conservation Area, of Bury St Edmunds. As Historic England notes:

> *The special character of these areas does not come only from the quality of their buildings. Elements such as the historic layout of roads, paths and boundaries and characteristic building and paving materials all contribute to the familiar and cherished local scene.*[3]

The above designations are evidence of a consensus that the Memorial contributes positively to the character and appearance of its locality and for this reason, and by virtue of its Grade II listing, it is protected from removal or insensitive alteration. Moving or altering the memorial would require consent and, possibly, planning permission.

The above should be seen in the context of The Planning (Listed Buildings and Conservation Areas) Act 1990 which is the legislative basis for decision-making on applications that relate to the historic environment. Sections 66 and 72 of the Act impose a statutory duty upon local planning authorities to have 'special regard to the desirability of preserving listed buildings (or listed structures), their settings or any features of special architectural or historic interest which it possess' and, in regards to conservation areas, pay special attention to 'the desirability of preserving or enhancing the character or appearance of that area.'

The Town and Country Planning Acts 1995, specifically the Town and Country Planning (General Permitted Development) Order 1995, are also important as they brought in Article 4 Directions.[4] These can be made by the local planning authority to restrict the scope of permitted development rights in relation to a particular site or area. Article 4 directions are used to control works that could threaten the character of an area of agreed importance, like a conservation area. In Bury St Edmunds the Article 4 Direction was applied in 2015 to the Town Centre Conservation Area which includes the Cornhill. This means that certain alterations now need planning permission.

> *The intention is to protect the surviving traditional features of the conservation areas, such as sash windows and wooden panelled doors, and to encourage the accurate reinstatement of traditional features which had been removed in the past. The Direction also applies to modern and commercial buildings to prevent changes being made which might detract from the character and appearance of the conservation areas.*[5]

In considering applications for listed building consent and planning permission, local authorities are also required to consider the policies on the historic environment set out in the National Planning Policy Framework (NPPF). The Framework requires local authorities to 'recognise that heritage assets are an irreplaceable resource and conserve them in a manner appropriate to their significance'. The framework requires an applicant to describe the significance of any heritage asset affected, including any contribution made by their setting. This document could well be seen as evidence of such a heritage assessment.

In Paragraph 200 the Framework also states that 'significance can be harmed or lost through alteration or destruction of the heritage asset or development within its setting. As heritage assets are irreplaceable, any harm or loss should require clear and convincing justification.' Within the Framework, harm is categorised as either 'substantial' or 'less than substantial'. Where a proposed development will lead to 'substantial harm to or total loss of significance' of a designated heritage asset, the Framework states, in paragraph 201, that, 'local planning authorities should refuse consent, unless it can be demonstrated that the substantial harm or loss is necessary to achieve substantial public benefits that outweigh that harm or loss.' Where a development proposal will lead to 'less than substantial harm' to the significance of a designated heritage asset, the Framework states, in paragraph 202, that, 'this harm should be weighed against the public benefits of the proposal, including securing its optimum viable use.'

[3] Conservation Areas – Planning Law Overview | Historic England

[4] See: Restricting Permitted Development: Article 4 Directions and Heritage – Planning Law Overview | Historic England

[5] See: Bury St Edmunds Article 4 Directions (westsuffolk.gov.uk)

The National Planning Policy Framework states:

> *190. Plans should set out a positive strategy for the conservation and enjoyment of the historic environment, including heritage assets most at risk through neglect, decay or other threats. This strategy should take into account: a) the desirability of sustaining and enhancing the significance of heritage assets, and putting them to viable uses consistent with their conservation; b) the wider social, cultural, economic and environmental benefits that conservation of the historic environment can bring; c) the desirability of new development making a positive contribution to local character and distinctiveness; and d) opportunities to draw on the contribution made by the historic environment to the character of a place.*[6]

Furthermore, as we will see later, in relation to so-called contested histories, the guidance states:

> *198. In considering any applications to remove or alter a historic statue, plaque, memorial or monument (whether listed or not), local planning authorities should have regard to the importance of their retention in situ and, where appropriate, of explaining their historic and social context rather than removal.*[7]

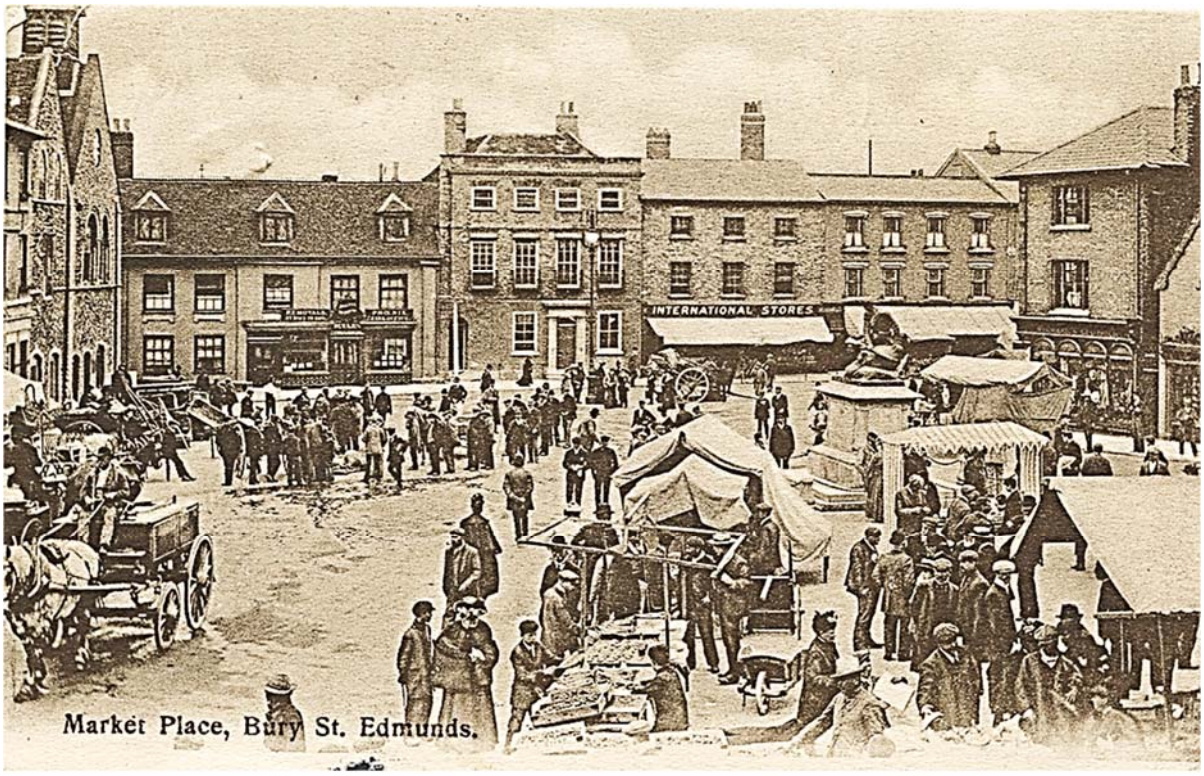

Plate 2 The South African War Memorial, centre right, in 1914.

[6] National Planning Policy Framework - 16. Conserving and enhancing the historic environment - Guidance - GOV.UK (www.gov.uk)
[7] National Planning Policy Framework - 16. Conserving and enhancing the historic environment - Guidance - GOV.UK (www.gov.uk)

Section 2. The Background to the Boer War

This episode in history tends to get overshadowed by the domestic reforms of the 1906 Liberal Government and the global conflict in 1914 which, in many ways, historians feel it anticipated. It is particularly telling that one of the key texts, Thomas Pakenham's *The Boer War*, was written over 40 years ago in 1979 and has not been superseded since[8]. It is important that due space in this report is given to the background of the conflict and how it played out, given that public knowledge of it is likely to be thin.

In 1899, the year that the South African War or Second Boer War broke out, the British Empire was made up of some seventy territories. It was, as the historian Niall Ferguson notes in his introduction to "*Empire. How Britain Made The Modern World"*, "the biggest Empire ever, bar none"[9]. Emerging in the late 16th century as Elizabethan explorers travelled down the African coast and then sought land in the New World, the trading of European goods and arms for enslaved people from West Africa became its foundations. Britain gradually came to rule the oceans with a powerful Royal Navy and around a quarter of the earth's landmass and the people therein, at first via commercial operations such as the East India Company but increasingly through a colonial administration governed from London. While, as Ferguson has noted, Britain brought the rule of law, an idea of liberty (for the landed and mercantile classes at least), representative assemblies and, of course, team sports to far flung places,[10] the British Empire was first and foremost a commercial undertaking, built on a sound knowledge of profit and loss accounting. Britain used its growing wealth and military might to control indigenous peoples so that it could extract goods that could either be sold in Britain or traded around the world: everything from meat, spices, tea and cotton to the barbaric and shameful trade in human beings. The English language and the Protestant faith were often imposed on colonies because this made them easier to rule, leading to a loss of indigenous cultures and languages, along with wealth and resources. As this Empire grew it needed to occupy strategic places, like Gibraltar and the Cape of South Africa, to protect itself and its trade routes.

[8] *The Boer War*, Thomas Pakenham. George Weidenfield & Nicolson Ltd. (1979)
[9] *Empire: How Britain Made The Modern World*, Penguin, 2004 (First Published, 2003) p.xi
[10] Ibid. p.xxiii

Britain in South Africa

This then is the colonial back-story to Britain in South Africa. It is also, importantly for this study, the start of a chain of events which led to the deaths of the men thousands of miles from home who are remembered on the Cornhill memorial in Bury St Edmunds. For the British, what started in the Western Cape to protect its lucrative trade route to India and the Far East in the eighteenth century, became a race throughout the reign of Queen Victoria for South Africa's unimaginable wealth in minerals, most notably diamonds and gold.

The first European settlers in what is now South Africa were the Dutch, in 1652, when the Dutch East India Company took advantage of the natural harbour of Table Bay as a permanent staging post. These were the ancestors of those who would become Afrikaners and Cape Town was the settlement they founded. From the late 17th century nomadic pastoralists, the *Trekboers*[11], began migrating north and east from the Cape over the vast areas of land which they used as pasture. When Britain and France went to war in 1793 both sides tried to capture the Cape to protect their, now global, supply lines. The British succeeded in ending the Dutch domination of the region by occupying the Cape in 1795, only to hand it back as part of the Treaty of Amiens in 1802, before re-annexing it once more at the start of the Napoleonic Wars in 1806. Many Dutch speaking farmers remained, however, and these *Boers* (descendants of Dutch settlers who had then become freemen or *Free Burghers*) followed in the path of the Trekboers to become trailblazers opening up and actively farming huge swathes of land, first in Natal on the east coast and then north in what, after the 1852 Sands River Convention, were to become the republics of the Orange Free State and Transvaal (also known as the South African Republic or SAR).

Map 2 South Africa in the 1890s

[11] Trekboer means "moving farmer". Trekboers – McGregor Museum (museumsnc.co.za) The McGregor Museum, Kimberley. South Africa

The opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, and with it a more direct route to India and the Far East, did nothing to slow British interest in South Africa. Indeed, as Niall Ferguson notes, as late as the 1890s Colonial Secretary Joseph Chamberlain had worries that the canal was an obvious target for enemies and alternative routes were necessary. So, the Cape remained a military base of 'immense importance' and 'the cornerstone of the whole British colonial system'.[12] This was also a land rich in natural resources which were much in demand in newly industrialised Britain and Europe. Cape wineries were given preferential access to the British market as early as the 1820s and Merino sheep were introduced to supply its world-leading textiles industry. But it was minerals, including the diamonds and gold that made men like the, now, infamous Cecil Rhodes unbelievably rich, which helped trigger what historians have described as the Scramble for Africa towards the end of the 19th century. Rhodes founded De Beers in 1888 with funding from the South African diamond magnate Alfred Beit and the London-based N M Rothschild & Sons bank. The company controlled 80% of rough diamond distribution globally for 100 years. The second half of the 19th century became, then, a period of colonisation and exploitation during which European control of Africa rose from 10% of the continent in 1870 to a staggering 90% by 1914. [13]

This moment in the late 19th century is what historian Howard W. French[14] sees as the culmination of an aggressive history of colonisation in Africa that had begun nearly 500 years previously in 1415 with the Portuguese capture of Ceuta (the thin strip of land between the Atlantic Ocean and the Mediterranean Sea neighbouring modern-day Morocco, 17km south of Cadiz). That too had been driven by the desire to exploit African gold. But, Europeans began to seize another 'resource' too: human beings. French and others suggest that it was the collapse of the hugely profitable slave trade in the mid-19th century, largely through abolition, as well as industrialisation that drove the scramble for Africa.[15] Their argument is that industrial capital needed to replace the profits made from the cruel trade in people by creating new markets, as well as securing essential raw materials for their factories.

What, then, is called the 'South African War' on the memorial unveiled in November 1904 on Bury St Edmund's Cornhill, is a bloody chapter in all this. For some (e.g. Niall Ferguson[16]), the War might even be the beginning of the finale in the story of the British Empire.

[12] *Empire: How Britain Made The Modern World*, Penguin, 2004 p.273
[13] BBC Online BBC - History - British History in depth: Slavery and the 'Scramble for Africa'
[14] *Born in Blackness*. Howard W. French. Liveright. 2021
[15] *Ibid.*
[16] *Empire: How Britain Made The Modern World*, Penguin, 2004 p.281

What began in October 1899 was, in fact, the Second Boer War. The First had been fought from December 1880 until March 1881 with the Boers fighting off and winning the battle against continued British expansionism. But, the British Government and self-interested capitalists, like Rhodes, wouldn't give up on their ambition to take control of the riches being discovered in the Transvaal; an area that by 1900 was producing 25% of the world's gold and had consumed £114 million of mainly British capital.[17] To the men behind the huge mining companies, the Boer republics had become a stumbling block to the extraction and shipment of minerals. The British Government didn't disagree. Indeed, many of its members shared the views of Cecil Rhodes, who had become Prime Minister of the Cape Colony in 1890 and who wanted a British Empire corridor in Africa from Cairo to the Cape. His views would be quickly condemned as racist today, but they sum up the world-view of many British politicians and grandees on the eve of the Second Boer War:

> *I contend that we are the first race in the world and that the more of the world we inhabit the better it is for the human race. Just fancy those parts that are at present inhabited by the most despicable specimen of human being, what an alteration there would be in them if they were brought under Anglo-Saxon influence….*[18]

Plate 3 The Rhodes Colussus

[17] *Empire: How Britain Made The Modern World*, Penguin, 2004 p.273
[18] *Cecil Rhodes "Confession of Faith" Oxford 1877, (later amended in Kimberley).*

There was, of course, a human dimension to all this too. Thousands of black and white southern Africans, together with prospectors from all over the world were employed in Transvaal mines which were very deep and needed gangs of men and not individuals to work them. The foreign workers were known as *Uitlanders*, and a high proportion were Britons escaping poverty at home or trying to make their own pot of gold. Work wasn't guaranteed and conditions were tough but businessmen like Rhodes and their financiers (Lord Rothschild was pre-eminent) were more concerned about the South African Republic outstripping Britain in wealth and power than the condition of the workers. In what looks, now, like a show of blatant colonial hypocrisy the government in London used the rights of these foreign workers as a pretext to attacking the Boers. It made public pronouncements about how Uitlanders could find themselves on the wrong side of the law with no good reason and argued that they should have voting rights after five years of residency in the Boer republics. The Boers were suspicious. They could see what Britain had done elsewhere in the world and they weren't interested in sharing power with immigrants. They saw a greedy intent behind this 'concern' for people's rights. What their president, Paul Kruger, also feared was that a British presence was incompatible to the Boers' strictly Calvinist and (it could be argued) less tolerant way of life.

In 1895 Kruger officially opened a railway which linked the gold-rich SAR with the Portuguese-controlled Delagoa Bay on the Indian Ocean in what is now Mozambique. This was the shortest route to the sea and the railway, built with Dutch financial help, would open up the Bay and the SAR to competitive commercial development.[19] It would also bypass British territory, taking riches away from the British in the west. Later that year Cecil Rhodes tried to stir up the situation by employing a British colonial administrator, Leander Starr Jameson, to carry out a raid to start an uprising among the Uitlanders over the New Year weekend of 1895-96. But, the Jameson Raid, as it became known, was a total failure. It embarrassed Britain, led to the replacement of Rhodes as Prime Minister of the Cape, and acted to strengthen the Boer's dominance of the Transvaal gold mines. It also made all-out war more likely. The Boers were embittered by what had been attempted and the Governor of the Cape also lost his job. He was replaced by Alfred Milner who (if he did not already) quickly came to hold hostile views towards the Afrikaners and was the leading voice, with Chamberlain, in advocating war to secure British control. Indeed, the Boer soldier and future politician Jan Smuts said, perceptively, on meeting Milner that he would be 'more dangerous than Rhodes'.[20]

In 1899, Kruger had offered the voting rights that Milner and Chamberlain were demanding but, in return, he wanted assurances that Britain wouldn't interfere in the affairs of the South African Republic. He also demanded that Britain dropped any claim to rule the SAR. Persuaded that the Boers would not resist British military might, Chamberlain rejected Kruger's proposals. Realising that Britain didn't seek peace, the SAR and its ally the Orange Free State decided to strike and issued an ultimatum that Britain should remove all of its troops. The ultimatum was rejected and on 12th October the war began as the two Boer republics invaded the Cape Colony and Natal.

The people of Suffolk, through their regiment, were now to be bound up with the fate of men, women and children, black and white, in a land thousands of miles away: a connection which is kept alive through the South African War Memorial on the Cornhill in Bury St Edmunds.

[19] *See: The 'Key to South Africa in the 1890s: Delagoa Bay and the Origins of the South African War'*. Peter Henshaw. Queens University, Kingston. Canada. Journal of South African Studies Vol 24 No 3 September 1998.
[20] *"Selections from the Smuts Papers, June 1886 – May 1902".* University Press 1966. Quoted in *The Boer War*, Thomas Pakenham. Abacus Edition (1992) p.102

Section 3 The Suffolks in South Africa

Conflict in South Africa came at a time in Britain when political opposition to the war was split, farming was in depression and a re-organisation of the British Army had yet to properly impact on its leadership. All of this is important in understanding the involvement of men from Suffolk in the South African War and what has been described as a revolution in 'memorialisation'[21] across the country after the war, not just in Bury St Edmunds.

Working People

As Richard Price argues, not everyone supported the British Government's aggressive approach to the Boers.[22] But, the Liberal opposition was split between a 'Gladstonian'[23] belief, shared by younger members like the up and coming David Lloyd George, that Empire was all about spreading 'good for the governed'[24] and that this was not good for South Africans; and 'Liberal Imperialists' like the Earl of Roseberry. Whatever the debate, and as Price argues, despite some protests, this split explains a lack of radical opposition to the War in Parliament. Furthermore, the newspapers of the day were almost all in the pockets of the government, and Milner in particular. He had worked on the Pall Mall Gazette after his days at Oxford. It was edited by W.T. Stead who, at the time, "set everyone's blood racing with the passion of his imperialist convictions" [25] (Stead, rather bizarrely after a fall from grace, started to take a pro-Boer stance though his 'Stop The War Committee' [26]). Milner also had long-standing university friends who were now running other newspapers: E.T Cook edited the Liberal imperialist Daily News, J.A Spencer the Westminster Gazette, which backed the 5 year rule and in South Africa, Edmund Garrett edited The Cape Times, which Pakenham describes as 'incendiary' in its support for war. On top of this, two other influential papers, the Morning Post and The Times, where Milner didn't have such good contacts, nonetheless "drummed the jingoist drum the loudest".[27]

As Price explains, what little we can find out in the historic record, shows that, on balance, if working people were against the war it was because it 'detracted from social progress' [28].But, they had little outlet for this view.

"The war, to them, meant friends and relatives joining the army and risking their lives, perhaps returning home injured or crippled. Their celebrations, when soldiers did return home, were indicative more of relief and pleasure that the hazards of war had been survived than they were of support for the war itself" [29]

In short, many working class people were pro-soldier but anti-war. But, working men did join the Army, many were from rural areas such as Suffolk (see below). But was this an act of patriotism or because they felt they had no alternative?

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[21] *Memorializing The Anglo-Boer War of 1899-1902*. Valerie B.Parkhouse. Matador (2015)
[22] *An Imperial War and the British Working Class – Working Class Attitudes and Reactions to the Boer War.* Richard Price, Kegan Paul International. 1972
[23] Gladstone's influence was very much alive despite his death in 1898
[24] *An Imperial War and the British Working Class – Working Class Attitudes and Reactions to the Boer War.* Richard Price, Kegan Paul International. 1972 p20
[25] *The Boer War*, Thomas Pakenham. Abacus Edition (1992) p.87/88
[26] *An Imperial War and the British Working Class – Working Class Attitudes and Reactions to the Boer War.* Richard Price, Kegan Paul International. 1972 p.19
[27] *The Boer War*, Thomas Pakenham. Abacus Edition (1992) p.88
[28] *An Imperial War and the British Working Class – Working Class Attitudes and Reactions to the Boer War.* Richard Price, Kegan Paul International. 1972 p.91
[29] Ibid. p.95

The British Army

By around 1870, politicians had come to realise that there were serious problems with the British Army; problems that didn't befit a nation with military commitments across the globe. In the 1850s the Crimean War had received wide support, whilst the conflict played out. Once it was over, though, it was largely remembered for its logistical, medical and tactical failures.

There was a problem with recruitment, and the standard of men being recruited. Poor pay and conditions meant that would-be soldiers were being tempted into work on the expanding railway network or even by the police. The Army could only rely on what has been described as the 'lower tenth' of British society[30]. The majority of recruits were now coming from newly industrialised, urban areas, men who were, according to some army officers, "the scum of the cities… brought up in vice and crime".[31] At the same time the ideas shaped by a reaction to industrialisation, from the Chartist Land Company in the 1840s through to John Ruskin's Guild of St George in 1871, together with a wider sense that social order and traditional hierarchies were being destroyed, seem to have percolated through to the military. Many of these ideas romanticised rural life as better than urban life.[32] Received wisdom had it that recruits from the cities weren't as fit, physically or mentally. Officers considered rural workers to be healthier and stronger because of the labouring work they did and, tellingly, more likely to follow orders given their deferential lives on farms and in villages.

Edward Cardwell was Secretary of State for War in Gladstone's reforming Liberal Government from 1868 to 1874. He set about changing the organisational structure of the army and how it would recruit. First, in 1870, he secured a government act (War Office and Army Enlistment Act, 1870) which did away with the requirement of 21 years' service, a length of time that some argued put men off enlisting. He brought in so-called 'short service' of 12 years – 6 years on active duty (with 'the colours' as it was known) and 6 in reserve. More pertinent, for this study and the Memorial on the Cornhill in Bury St Edmunds, Caldwell's reforms led to the Military Localization Act of 1872. This located regiments in specific geographical areas, most often counties, from where they were tasked with recruiting personnel. At the same time, each regiment was linked with the local auxiliary force, or reserve. Valerie Parkhouse argues that this local focus was further reinforced by the 1888 Local Government Act which established 60 elected county councils in England & Wales (Suffolk split into East and West).[33] The result was a military force with a much stronger local identity than before and so, the argument goes, communities took more interest in 'their' regiment and the men in it. This has also been put forward as one of the main reasons behind an explosion in memorials after the war ended in 1902 (see below).

[30] Sally Mitchell, ed, *Victorian Britain. An Encyclopedia.* Garland Publishing 1988 – quoted in *Memorializing The Anglo-Boer War of 1899-1902.* Valerie B.Parkhouse. Matador (2015) p.2
[31] Keith Surridge. *All you soldiers are what we call pro-Boer; The Military Critique of the South African War, 19899 – 1902*. The Journal of the Historical Association. No 268. Oct 1997 *Quoted in Parkhouse Ibid p.2*
[32] Parkhouse. Ibid. p.2
[33] Ibid. p3

Volunteers

The origins of the Suffolk Regiment can be traced to 1685 when Henry, 7th Duke of Norfolk, raised a regiment in Norfolk and Suffolk as part of the forces of James II to meet the threat of the Monmouth Rebellion. The regiment was known in its early years by the names of the various colonels who commanded it. The Suffolk Regiment was created in 1881 as part of the reorganisation of the Army described above. It was based at the Gibraltar Barracks in Bury St Edmunds, which had opened in 1878, and was the army force for both East and West Suffolk.

Plate 4 Gibraltar Barracks, Bury St Edmunds 2022

The reorganisation of the Army had also created different types of forces: a *militia*, an age-old constitutional force that from the 1880s could be raised by a ballot if sufficient volunteers weren't forthcoming; *reservists* who were essentially militiamen who had signed the Reserve Army list and could be called up at any time; and *volunteers* who were not compelled to serve. As we have seen, these were all tied to the county regiment. In Suffolk these volunteers were grouped into two battalions – the 1st and 2nd Volunteer Battalions of the Suffolk Regiment, with headquarters at Woodbridge (East Suffolk) and Sudbury (West Suffolk).

Mobilisation

When the South African War broke out in 1899 most members of the Cabinet and leaders of the Army, were convinced that a rag-bag Boer army of farmers on horseback was no match for Britain's Imperial troops and so they planned for a short-war. At this time the British Army had around 200,000 men serving with it across the globe. A Cabinet meeting in September had heard that the Army thought that 10,000 men would be needed to defeat the Boers.[34] The majority of these were to come from India and plans had been put in place to move them before war was declared in October. But, it quickly became clear that many in the Army and in the Cabinet had seriously underestimated how many men would be needed to fight an enemy that used the great expanse of the South African landscape to carry out a new style of mobile war. A few people had reservations. Sir George White, who was in charge of the forces in Natal, wrote to his wife in the September saying: "Goodbye dear old lady… we should have 20,000 more troops in South Africa than we have … the Cabinet have only themselves to thank if they have to reconquer South Africa from the sea". [35]

Plate 5 Suffolk Regiment Volunteers early 20th

In Suffolk two companies (today a company can have anything from 80 to 250 men in it and will be made up of platoons) were formed from among the soldiers of the Volunteer Battalions, which served alongside the Regular soldiers of the 1st Battalion and qualified for the Battle Honour 'South Africa 1900-1902'. They were part of a total volunteer force at the time which, according to the Army Estimates for 1899 – 1900, numbered 231,833. These were men who agreed to serve for one year or until the end of hostilities. The question that many historians have posed is what motivated them; were they men from across society "welding the British race in one gigantic whole, ready to do and die for the honour of the Old Flag"[36], or were other forces at work?

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[34] *The Boer War*, Thomas Pakenham. Abacus Edition (1992) p.92

[35] Ibid. p.99

[36] P.T. Ross *A Yeoman's Letters*. London 1901 Quoted in *Memorializing The Anglo-Boer War of 1899-1902.* Valerie B.Parkhouse. Matador (2015) p.10

There were elements within the British Army, then, that felt that men from rural areas made ideal recruits. Suffolk was as good a place as any to find them. This was a county where agriculture dominated the economy in such a way that if men and women weren't physically working the land they were actively supporting agriculture in allied trades. Suffolk *was* farming, but times were hard down on the farm. The summer of 1879 was disastrous and ended a period known as 'high farming'.

> *The cold, wet weather delayed the ripening of the harvest, so that even in East Anglia in some places the corn had not been gathered in by Christmas.*[37]

Furthermore, the repeal of the protective Corn Laws in 1846 was now having the impact that the agricultural community feared it would have as cheaper American grain started to flood the market. Farmers (most usually tenant farmers) went to the wall, the value of land spiralled downwards and so did farmworkers' wages. The rural poor could do little to improve their lot.

The social relations of the countryside had changed little, however. As the Welsh oral historian George Ewart Evans rather romantically put it in his pioneering work in East Suffolk in the 1950s (recording men who were working in the 1890s), this was: "A way of life that came down to us from the days of Virgil…*" .*[38] The farmworkers' unions which had started to win support were dealt a blow by the depression because their bargaining tool was men's labour, but men's labour wasn't needed. Furthermore, as the late Alun Howkins pointed out in "*Poor Labouring Men: Rural Radicalism in Norfolk 1872 – 1923"* the power of church, gentry, and geography further inhibited collective action for better pay, sanitary conditions and housing.[39] The Suffolk countryside of the 1890s, then, was impoverished, geographically isolated and deferential. The academic Raymond Williams, who wrote the influential *The Country and the City*[40]*,* is quoted in a review of that book to mark its 40th anniversary talking about his rural upbringing. Although home for Williams was the Welsh Borders in the 1920s he could have been talking about rural East Anglia in the 1890s: "dirty water, an earth bucket, a four-mile walk each way to work, headaches, broken women, hunger and monotony of diet".[41] Add to this, unemployment and the threat of the workhouse and you can understand why men might want to plump for regular pay and food in the British Army. Indeed, the idea that men volunteered solely out of patriotic duty is firmly put in its place by this witness:

> *I only remember one man who declared that he had enlisted from reasons of patriotism, and he was generally regarded as peculiar".*[42]

This individual went on to list some of the reasons why people did join up, including:

> *a chance of emigration at Government expense; some for love of sport and excitement; some, because their domestic affairs were in a tangle, from which enlistment offered a ready escape; some, because they were tired of their present occupation; some because they wanted a job.*[43]

Be it deference or desperation, Suffolk men did sign up. The Illustrated London News' review of The Transvaal War 1899 – 1900 states that: "Of 600 (Suffolk) Reservists called up to join the colours only six did not respond*".*[44] Approximately 90% of the strength of the 1st Battalion of army regulars, who took part in the conflict, were Suffolk men. *See Appendix 1 for a breakdown of where the men on the Cornhill Memorial come from.*

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[37] Martin Rowley Weather Consultancy Services *Weather in History 1850 to 1899 AD (weatherweb.net)*

[38] Quoted by Raymond Williams, *The Country and the City*, London, Chatto and Windus, 1973, Williams, 1975, p. 18

[39] Alun Howkins. *Poor Labouring Men: Rural Radicalism in Norfolk, 1872-1923*. (History Workship Series.) Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul. 1985

[40] *The Country and the City*, London, Chatto and Windus, 1973

[41] *The Guardian 12th March 2016*

[42] The Honourable Sidney Peel. Trooper 8008, I.Y, Introduction. London: Edward Arnold. Quoted in *Memorializing The Anglo-Boer War of 1899-1902.* Valerie B.Parkhouse. Matador (2015) p.10/11

[43] Ibid. p.11

[44] Illustrated London News – The Transvaal War 1899 – 1900. Item GB554/A14/5 Suffolk Regiment Museum Collection, Suffolk Records Office Bury St Edmunds

The South African War 1899 – 1902

"It was the worst run war ever – no transport, no grub, nothing…"[45]

In the early weeks of the war the Boers laid siege to the towns of Kimberley, Mafeking and Ladysmith and, in December 1899, defeated British attempts to relieve them in the battles of Stormberg, Magersfontein and Colenso. This was a period remembered for 'Black Week' and came as a major shock to a British public that had been fed jingoistic fodder and was more used to hearing of victories throughout the Empire. The news from South Africa was unremittingly bad, and was delivered in record time from the eye-witness accounts of a press corps which included Winston Churchill. Copy could be sent by telegraph (if it hadn't been cut by the Boers) which had come to South Africa in 1859 with undersea links to Europe added in 1889 and, again, during the war. The internet of its time could ensure that news could be on the front page in London within a couple of days if not sooner.

It became clear to all that British tactics, leadership and equipment that had been questioned after Crimea still weren't up to the job. A Private Smith of the Black Watch took to poetry to sum up the feelings of the ordinary soldier after the Battle of Magersfontein in December 1899.

Such was the day for our regiment
Dread the revenge we will take.
Dearly we paid for the blunder –
A drawing-room General's mistake.

Why weren't we told of the trenches?
Why weren't we told of the wire?
Why were we marched up in column
May Tommy Atkins enquire…..

Pte Smith of Black Watch Dec. 1899 [46]

Black Week introduced the British Army to a new style of warfare. No longer was it facing another army that was also using parade ground tactics with units marching in close formation as it had done in the Crimea and throughout the Napoleonic era. Nor was it operating against largely defenceless civilians protesting against British rule, as in some colonies. For the first time it came up against modern European weapons, not least the Mauser rifle which could fire 5 rounds at a faster rate than the British Enfield rifle could. The Boers also used smokeless powder which meant that they could snipe on the British without giving their position away too easily. They avoided the set-piece confrontations that the British had resorted to for a century or more and they were able to hit their targets quickly and retreat on horseback or to trenches dug in concealed positions. To make matters worse for the British, they had poor military intelligence and the summer conditions of blisteringly hot days followed by very cold nights challenged even the fittest of men. Most supplies came via just the one railway line which kept being hit and hit again by the Boers and, as in the Crimea, medical provision was desperately poor (see below).

The authorities quickly realised that more men were needed and the one bright point of the early part of the war was how well mobilisation of reserves worked.

> *It was a triumph for the system…. How people like (General) Roberts had scoffed at the short service army, the linked territorial battalions and the army reserve! Yet when the call had come, the twenty-five thousand reservists of the 1st Army Corps had responded manfully. In some battalions ninety seven per cent. Had reported at the depots….* [47]

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[45] Old soldier interviewed by Thomas Pakenham and quoted in *The Boer War*, Thomas Pakenham. Abacus Edition (1992) p.311
[46] Ibid p.201
[47] *The Boer War*, Thomas Pakenham. Abacus Edition (1992) p.110

Patrick J Wilson was a regular soldier in 1st Battalion of the Suffolk Regiment which were based in Dover when, on the 1st November, they received orders to mobilise. His pocket book held in the Suffolk Record Office shows the relative speed of the process which took him from pheasant shooting to active service in a little more than three weeks: [48]

> *8th November "Went home by 09.35 from Dover arrived at Beccles about 4.00pm. Met by mum"*
> *9th November "Pheasant shooting and then train from Beccles at 12.5 pm to Dover. Arrive 6.30. At Queen's Hotel".*
> *11th November "Train at 9.00am to Southampton".*
> *12th November "Started voyage 4.00am".*
> *29th November (Cape Town) "Went into dock about 5.30 and disembarked…Orders to go up to De Aar junction".*
> *2nd December "Arrived at NaauwPort".*

NB. *There is no P Wilson on the memorial in Bury St Edmunds, so it is presumed he survived the conflict.*

Naauwport was, then, a tiny settlement on the railway line running to De Aar and then on to Kimberley in the South African Republic. This was the southern frontier and it is where the Suffolks gained some notoriety (see below). But they and their comrades were met with a refugee disaster which had started at the outbreak of war as Uitlanders fled the Boer republics. Pakenham tells us that 60,000 refugees were crammed into cattle trucks fleeing Johannesburg and surrounding for the Cape and Natal.[49] Later in the war it would be Boer refugees and captives who would experience this at the hands of the British.[50]

[48] Item GB554/71/270a Suffolk Regiment Museum Collection, Suffolk Records Office Bury St Edmunds

[49] *The Boer War*, Thomas Pakenham. Abacus Edition (1992) p.116

[50] The Suffolk Regiment Collection at the Suffolk Records Office (Bury St Edmunds) includes item GB554/Y1/251a which is the diary of an Officer from 1st Suffolks . Living Saffron Walden. Essex. On the 11th August 1900 he writes: 'First trainload of females pass here being sent back to the Boers from (General Roberts) who refuses to feed them any longer'.

Colesberg and ‘Suffolk Hill’

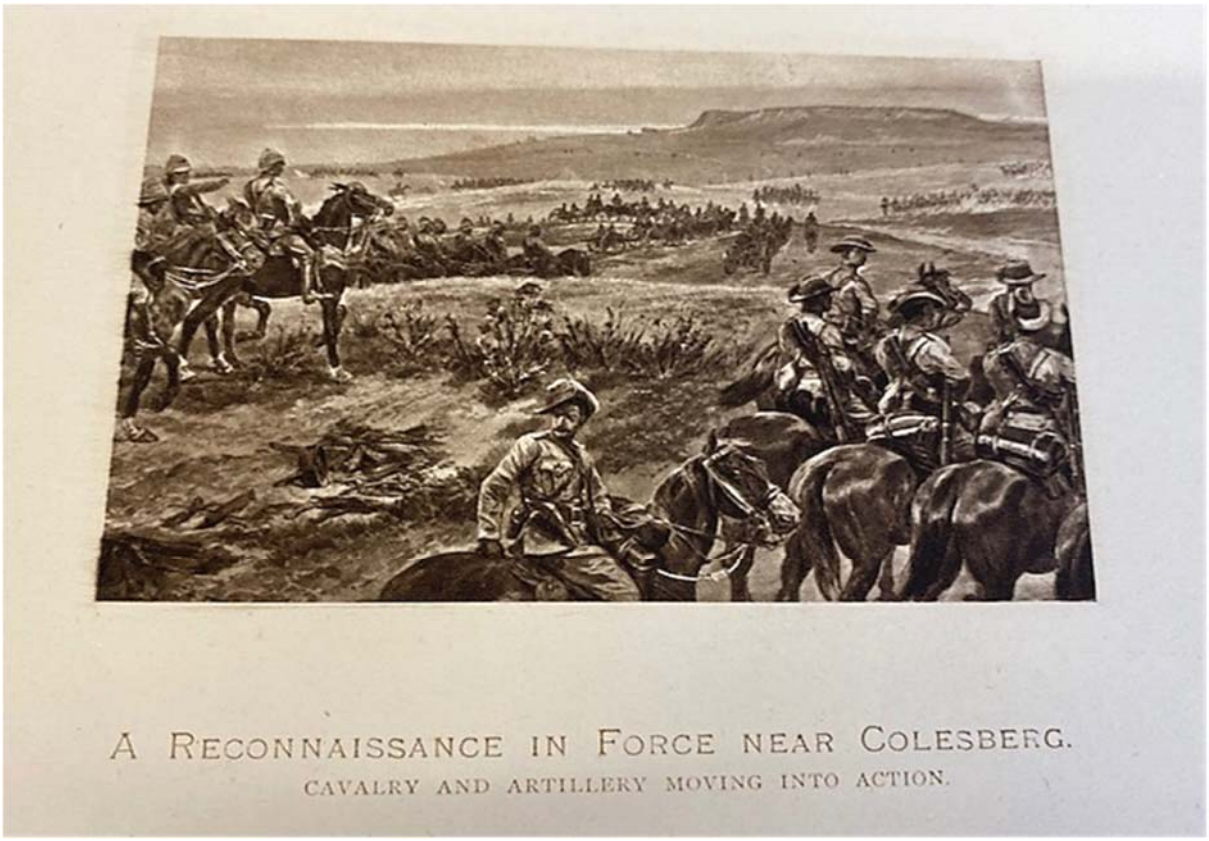

Plate 6 A Reconnaissance near Colesberg

Today, Colesberg is a small town of some 20,000 people on the N1 road from Cape Town to Johannesburg. At the end of the 19th century this was a well-trodden route for traders and settlers travelling north and east. In January 1900 it was also on the front line. There is a hill 5km west of the town the name of which, ‘Suffolk Hill’, still links it to one of the worst tragedies that ever befell the Suffolk Regiment. British intelligence thought that the hill was being used by a handful of Boers as a safe place to rest up. On the 5th January Colonel Watson of the Suffolks received permission from General French to launch a night attack. It went disastrously wrong. Instead of a surprise attack on some sleeping Boers, the Suffolks found that the Burghers had been reinforced. In the confusion there were reports of the Boers shouting the word ‘Retire’ to confuse the men scaling the hill. In the pandemonium 36 men of the Suffolk Regiment were killed and 200 wounded or taken prisoner. In the days following the battle, the Battalion's dead were collected into a single grave and a stone cairn was erected soon afterwards. Though those men lie in Colesberg, South Africa, their memory lives on thanks to the Memorial in Bury St Edmunds.

Such a disastrous night was, however, sadly typical of the opening months of the South African War.

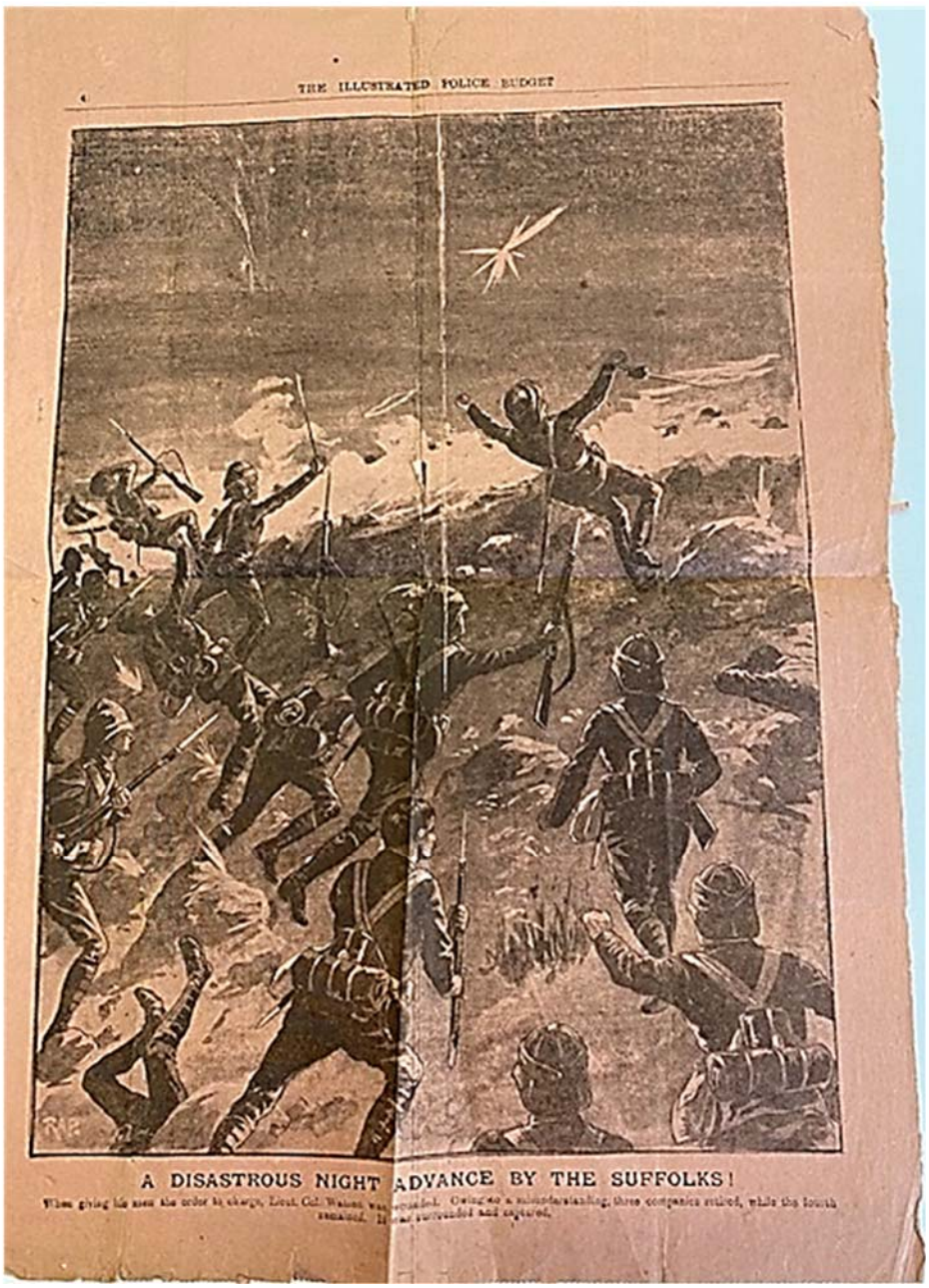

Plate 7 A Disastrous Night Advance By The Suffolks!

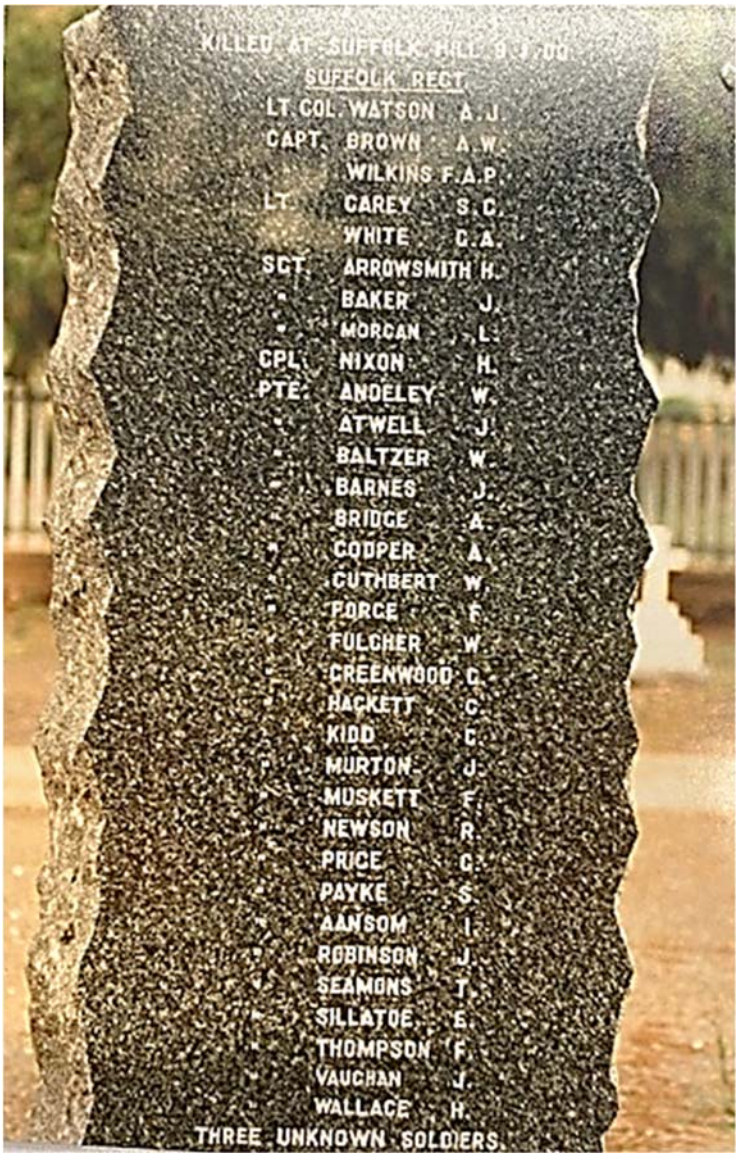

Plate 8 Memorial to the Suffolks who died at Colesberg in January 1900

Scorched earth, barbed wire and concentration camps

The Suffolks went on to serve throughout 1900 in the Transvaal including a spell erecting and garrisoning blockhouses, part of the controversial tactics which new leadership resorted to, to win the war. The British commanding officer, General Redvers Buller, was replaced by Lord Roberts and Lord Kitchener. They relieved three besieged towns (including Mafeking) and invaded the two Boer Republics in early 1900 at the head of a 180,000-strong expeditionary force. This looked like the end for the Boers but many of them fought on and 18 months of a guerrilla war followed. The military might of the British Army lacked the mobility or flexibility to deal with lightning attacks by well-armed men, more often than not on horseback, who knew the unforgiving countryside well. To combat this, the British built the stone and corrugated tin 'blockhouses' mentioned above, which were permanently manned and connected by telephone and barbed wire. They also resorted to a 'scorched earth' policy, burning farms and crops to stop supplies and information getting to the guerrillas and punishing those who supported them.

Most terribly of all, however, they imported an idea from the Spanish fighting in Cuba: concentration camps. In 1896, thousands of rural peasants in Cuba were given just 8 days to move into a camp. If they refused they were shot. By 1898 a third of Cuba's population were said to be in these camps which were virtually uninhabitable and lacking food. Some estimates claim that by 1898, 400,000 Cubans had died as a result of the Spanish 'Reconcentration' Policy.[51]

The British version was no better. They placed Boer families and black Africans in concentration camps. The intention was to destroy any support for the guerrillas, thinking that they would surrender if their families or compatriots were incarcerated. Conditions were grim; water, food and medicines were in short supply and sanitary facilities almost non-existent. 28,000 Boers, mainly women and children, died. Half that number again of black Africans perished in separate camps. The horror of the British concentration camps was uncovered first by a British woman, Emily Hobhouse who reported in 1901:

> *I call this camp system a wholesale cruelty… To keep these camps going is murder to the children… They drop in the terrible heat, and with the insufficient unsuitable food… Thousands, physically unfit, are placed in conditions of life which they have not strength to endure. In front of them is blank ruin… If only the English people would try to exercise a little imagination – picture the whole miserable scene. Entire villages rooted up and dumped in a strange, bare place.*[52]

[51] PBS America Online Crucible of Empire - PBS Online

[52] Emily Hobhouse. *Report of a Visit to the Camps of Women and Children in the Cape and Orange River Colonies. 1901*. Quoted by The National Army Museum, London. Boer War | National Army Museum (nam.ac.uk)

Plate 9 Lizzie Van Zyl

Eventually Hobhouse persuaded the government to open an inquiry which was chaired by Suffolk-born feminist Millicent Fawcett and in time conditions did improve. But it was too late for Elizabeth Cecilia van Zyl (above). Born on 22nd April 1894 she was a South African child inmate of the Bloemfontein concentration camp. She and her mother (also Elizabeth) were labelled as 'undesirables' and given the smallest food rations because her father Hermanus van Zyl had refused to surrender. Lizzie was just 7 years old when she died of typhoid fever on the 9th May 1901. For some time, the publishers of Emily Hobhouse's report refused to print this photo.

Typhoid also has a bearing on the story of the Bury St Edmunds memorial. Around 80 of the men named on the memorial in Bury St Edmunds didn't die from wounds sustained in battle. They died of disease which, shockingly, was the main killer of soldiers between 1899 and 1902:

> *Thousands of troops became sick through poor sanitation and limited access to clean water, suffering from dysentery, typhoid and cholera using the name 'enteric fever' as the main cause of death during the conflict.*[53]

[53] The Boer War - Ipswich War Memorial

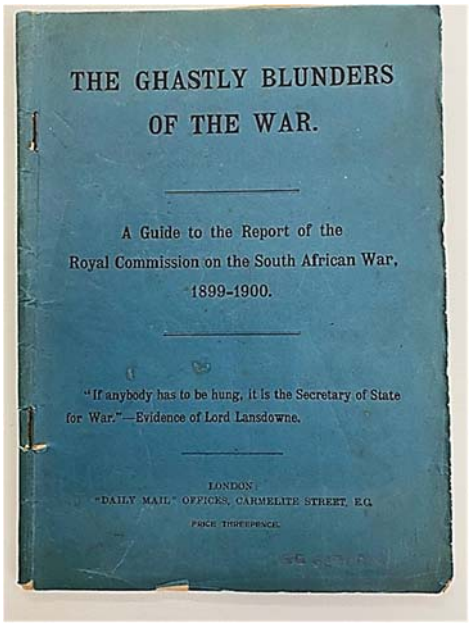

Plate 10 A copy of *The Ghastly Blunders of the War – A Guide to the Report of the Royal Commission on the South African War 1899 -1900.*

There were two Royal Commissions into the South African War. One was appointed as early as 1900 to: "inquire into the Care and Treatment of the Sick and Wounded in the South African Campaign."[54] The other was the Royal Commission on the South African War, 1899-1900 and a resume of its findings was published in a 'guide' with the rather candid title "The Ghastly Blunders of War"[55] The evidence was a wake-up call for the British Army and there is little sign that leading officers shirked their responsibility for poor planning and woeful provision of healthcare. For example, the Director General of Ordnance, Sir Henry Brackenbury, the man responsible for army equipment testified:

> *The hospital equipment before mobilisation was sufficient for three hospitals; twenty-one were sent out to South Africa by September 1900, and even then they were insufficient.*[56]

Similarly, General Sir Charles Warren, the man in operational command at the disastrous battle of Spion Kop who was withdrawn and effectively retired in August 1900, said of the disease that spread through the ranks:

> *Typhoid fever does not belong of necessity to an army in the field; its presence is usually a sign of neglect of some kind.*[57]

[54] The British Medical Journal Vol. 2, No. 2226 (Aug. 29, 1903),p484
[55] *The Ghastly Blunders of the War – A Guide to the Report of the Royal Commission on the South African War 1899 -1900. P.15 Suffolk Regiment Collection held at the Suffolk Record Office, Bury St Edmunds.*
[56] *The Ghastly Blunders of the War – A Guide to the Report of the Royal Commission on the South African War 1899 -1900. P.15 Suffolk Regiment Collection held at the Suffolk Record Office, Bury St Edmunds.*
[57] Ibid p.35

However, it was a medical man, Sir Alexander Ogston, the father of the Royal Medical Corps (created in 1898) and who served as a surgeon throughout the conflict, who offered some of the most damning evidence:

> *The water supplies were not tested chemically of bacteriologically, and measures to secure their being cleaned and kept clean were not instituted… The watercarts were not regularly disinfected. One could see some of the orderlies, from lack of knowledge, washing their kettles in filthy puddles and puddles and scraping them with the infected earth around…Sanitation was practically entirely neglected… Disinfection, one might almost say, was absolutely unknown. The men… had no training in keeping themselves disinfected; in fact, it seemed to me that many of them looked upon it as a species of cowardice.*[58]

Airbrushed Africans, the Fate of Indigenous People

If the humanitarian catastrophe of this war, and the role of Britain in it, remains little-known; then the experience of indigenous Africans is largely absent from the historical record and, therefore, our present understanding. Colonialism demands various degrees of subjugation of peoples for whom the territory fought over or occupied was once home. In South Africa, these weren't just the ancestors of early European settlers (the Boers for example); they were peoples who had been there for millennia. Black Africans were caught up in the conflict and roped in by either side to fulfil a range of roles, from menial labour to wagon drivers, guides and, in time, soldiers and intelligence officers.[59] Thomas Pakenham notes that we may never know the number of Africans who lost their lives in the conflict, be they: one of the 107,000 so-called 'black Boers' incarcerated in concentration camps; the 10,000 who took up arms for Britain; or the 40,000 unarmed who also served the British Empire in the roles mentioned above.[60]

Men like Robert Baden Powell, who led the defence of Mafeking, treated the indigenous population with contempt, for example executing starving Africans who stole food.[61] Even Millicent Fawcett, whose inquiry did so much to expose the appalling conditions in the concentration camps (see above), only visited 1 of the 31 African camps in the Orange River Colony (created after the British annexation of the Orange Free State in 1902) though found the time to see conditions at 33 white ones.[62] The so-called 'white man's war'[63], then, was also an Africans' war, a critical detail that the Memorial on the Cornhill in Bury St Edmunds fails to convey.

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[58] *The Ghastly Blunders of the War – A Guide to the Report of the Royal Commission on the South African War 1899 -1900.* P.15 Suffolk Regiment Collection held at the Suffolk Record Office, Bury St Edmunds.
[59] Thomas Pakenham suggests that a thousand Africans were working for British intelligence by the end of the war. See: *The Boer War,* Thomas Pakenham. Abacus Edition (1992) p.540
[60] Ibid p.573
[61] Ibid p.402
[62] Ibid p.516
[63] Amery L.S. (Ed) *The Times History of the War in South Africa (1900 – 1909)*

Section 4 Memorialising the Suffolks

A Memorial

The South African War Memorial on the Cornhill in Bury St Edmunds is one of over two thousand memorials to that conflict. That it is one of so many doesn't take away from its importance, however. Far from it. It can be seen as a monument to the impact of Empire and the loss of lives, and the beginnings of a much more democratic form of remembrance. It is also one of the more interesting in terms of its sculpture.

In her sweeping survey "Memorializing The Anglo-Boer War of 1899 – 1902" Valarie Parkhouse claims that: "No previous war resulted in such a popular and public expression of remembrance".[64] To back this up she compares the response to the Crimean War to that of the Boer War. 22,000 soldiers lost their lives in Crimea, about the same figure for South Africa, but there are only 7 memorials to Crimea in the UK, with 2 in St John the Evangelist church on Princes Street in Edinburgh alone. According to the website of the Anglo-Boer War Memorials Project, at the last count, 2021 memorials have been recorded, mostly in the UK but including, Australia, Bermuda, Canada, Eire, New Zealand and Sri Lanka (these countries either sent troops or were home to some of the overseas refugee/concentration camps that the British set up).[65]

What is striking is that ordinary soldiers' names appear on these memorials for the first time. This isn't because this is the first time that we have records of the dead - army records were kept before this date. It is much more about local connections to men and regiments – particularly those volunteers who lost their lives. That those men never came home, their bodies buried in South Africa where no one could ever think of visiting at that time, added to the strong desire of most people to name these men and remember them in Britain.

Plate 11 An early postcard of the South African Memorial in Bury St Edmunds

[64] Meurig Jones, Anglo-Boer Memorials Project. Journal of the Africana Society No 15 1999. Quoted in *Memorializing The Anglo-Boer War of 1899-1902.* Valerie B.Parkhouse. Matador (2015) p.xi
[65] Anglo-Boer War Memorials Project www.casus-belli.co.uk

There is no evidence of a government fund for all these memorials and so, despite scant evidence from the brief examination of the local and national newspapers of the day, it would seem that these were erected by public subscription. In Suffolk, it was a meeting in Ipswich in January 1903, where the idea for memorials first made the news.[66] The use of the plural is important because Suffolk was, then, two counties (East Suffolk with a County Council based in Ipswich) and West Suffolk (with a County Council in Bury St Edmunds), but it had just the one regiment, based in Bury. The person who appears to lead this is the Lord Lieutenant of Suffolk (the whole county) Frederick Hervey the 3rd Marquess of Bristol who lived at Ickworth. We later learn from a supplement to the Bury & Norwich Post, produced as a souvenir of the unveiling of the Memorial in Bury St Edmunds that a committee in Ipswich had decided that a memorial to the fallen from the Suffolk Regiment should take the form of 3 monuments in Ipswich, Bury and Cambridge. The Isle of Ely, too, was interested in such a move and erected its own memorial in Ely cathedral.[67]

The Cambridge memorial, which was unveiled after that in Bury in June 1905, is in the form of a bronze plaque on the exterior of the east end of Great St Mary's Church, facing the market. It reads:

IN MEMORY OF CAMBRIDGESHIRE MEN AND THEIR
COMRADES OF THE SUFFOLK REGIMENT
WHO DIED GALLANTLY DEFENDING THEIR
COUNTRY IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN WAR
1899 - 1902.

[66] East Anglian Daily Times 28th January 1903
[67] *"In Memory of Suffolk Heroes"* Supplement to the Bury & Norwich Post November 22nd 1904

The East Suffolk memorial was unveiled in September 1906 and stood on the Cornhill in Ipswich before being moved to Christchurch Park in 1931 where it still stands. It is by the sculptor Albert Toft and is a life-size bronze statue of soldier in uniform resting his rifle barrel on his advanced left foot in an attitude of contemplation. It provides an interesting counterpoint to the more dynamic pose of the West Suffolk Memorial in Bury St Edmunds.

Plate 12 The East Suffolk Boer War Memorial

Captain Metcalfe, Chief Constable of West Suffolk was Hon Sec of the W.Suffolk Committee and it was a Mr Tollemache of Risby near Bury St Edmunds (almost certainly from the family that began a brewery in the 1880s which merged to become Tolly Cobbold in the 1950s, and who had family at Helmingham Hall north of Ipswich) who suggested that the work should be carried out by Hanchets the stonemasons in Bury St Edmunds. It cost £750.00 to erect. Sadly, despite the firm still being in business, Hanchets no longer hold any records from this period. The sculpture was entrusted to Mr Arthur Walker of London who the Marquess of Bristol described as an 'able and talented artist and sculptor'. But, as we will see, although this suggests that Bristol was behind the commission there is evidence that the Tollemache family recommended him.[68]

[68] "In Memory of Suffolk Heroes" Supplement to the Bury & Norwich Post November 22nd 1904

Arthur Walker, Sculptor

Arthur George Walker (20 October 1861 – 13 September 1939) is best known as an English sculptor and painter, though the descriptions 'illustrator', 'ivory carver' and 'mosaicist' have also been applied to him as well. [69] The Royal Academy of Arts in London holds 21 items of his work and these range from landscape and portrait paintings to sculptures in plaster and marble. [70]

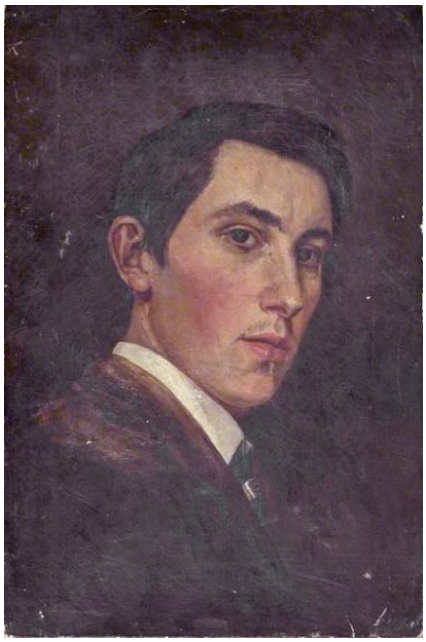

Plate 13 Arthur Walker

Walker was born in Hackney, East London and his father was a ship owner and surveyor. Kineton Parkes, the art historian who published two volumes of *Sculpture of Today* in 1922 describes Walker as: "devoted to his art and with no outside interests".[71] He lived with his brother, sister and aunt in Fulham. His most notable works are, probably, that of Florence Nightingale in Waterloo Place, London and Emmeline Pankhurst in Victoria Tower Gardens, Westminster. He was to work on a number of war memorials during his career (including: Wolverhampton, Ironbridge, Shrewsbury School, Derby, Limehouse, Dartford and Sevenoaks) but the one in Bury St Edmunds seems to be his first.

Walker was part of what became known the New Sculptors, artists who sought to represent the body in a more dynamic fashion than previously. There are no records that explain why Walker was commissioned.[72] This appears to be his first war memorial and so, given the tradition of deference in Suffolk described above, the appointment seems a brave one. However, according to *Mapping the Practice & Profession of Scuplture in Britain and Ireland 1851 – 1951, University of Glasgow,* Walker was commissioned to "make memorials for both Lady Lothian at Blickling Hall, Norfolk and Lady Tollemache at Helmingham" north of Ipswich.[73] It seems highly likely that this Lady Tollemache was from the same family as that which recommended the stone mason (see above). It seems reasonable to suggest, then, that Walker probably won the commission because of connections within the East Anglian upper classes (i.e. the Kerrs at Blickling, the Tollemaches at Helmingham and Herveys at Ickworth).

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[69] See: *Mapping the Practice & Profession of Scuplture in Britain and Ireland 1851 – 1951, University of Glasgow).* www.sculpture.gla.ac.uk

[70] See: Arthur George Walker | Artist | Royal Academy of Arts

[71] *Mapping the Practice & Profession of Scuplture in Britain and Ireland 1851 – 1951, University of Glasgow).* www.sculpture.gla.ac.uk

[72] *The Emmeline Pankhurst Memorial: Unmoved and Upgraded* Hannah Parham and Sarah Bridger ASCHB Transactions Volume 42: 2020

[73] *Mapping the Practice & Profession of Scuplture in Britain and Ireland 1851 – 1951, University of Glasgow).* www.sculpture.gla.ac.uk

The Site

Although this short survey hasn't found detailed documents relating to the management of the process to erect a memorial, we do have a good idea of why the Cornhill was chosen as the site for it to stand. The Ipswich Evening Star reports on a meeting held in the town on the evening of the 9th February 1903. At that meeting a Sir Cuthbert Quilter is recorded stressing that:

…whatever memorial was erected to the brave fellows who suffered and died, it should be in a form which every man in the street could see, and that the names of all those who had fallen in the service of their country should be recorded legibly and clearly, in places where the most men congregate.[74]

Cornhill met this test. Although Domesday doesn't record that Bury St Edmunds had a market in 1086 there is some evidence that it had a large market-place where the Cornhill is today. The layout of this and the town as a whole were by Baldwin, Abbot of the Abbey of St Edmundsbury who was responsible for starting the work on the great Abbey Church. He increased the size of the town with a new town plan which included both the Cornhill and Buttermarket. This, then, is an ancient meeting place where goods were traded and people met on market day; something that has gone on for hundreds of years and an obvious place to erect the South African War Memorial as Sir Cuthbert Quilter wished.

Plate 14 The unveiling of the Boer War Memorial on the Cornhill, Bury Edmunds, November 1904

[74] *Evening Star*. Ipswich. 10th February 1903

Plate 15 South African War Memorial, Cornhill Bury St Edmunds

A New Style

What is immediately striking from the literature is that both the historical record and today's architectural and art historians are in some agreement: the South African War Memorial on the Cornhill at Bury St Edmunds represents the early work of a sculptor who becomes significant in this field and who is combining modernity with the classical as he is developing a style.

Text beside early photos of the memorial found in a scrapbook in the Suffolk Record Office (Bury St Edmunds branch), perhaps unknowingly, show that this work is something new: "The position of the figure, sitting on a heap of rocks resting on one hand whilst the other holds his gun, indicates that, although wounded, he is still unconquered".[75]. In other words, the sculptor is trying to convey the dynamic of battle or, as Parham and Bridger claim the memorial is: "… notable in depicting a soldier in active combat (in contrast to the conventions of the time which favoured allegorical or classical figures)".[76] They go on to explain that this is a 'style' that the sculptor, Arthur Walker, went on to refine in his memorials to the fallen of the First World War which:

> *gave cause and opportunity for him to develop this approach. In 1918, he designed a war memorial showing a British infantry soldier, in full battle dress, carrying a backpack and with additional kit slung from his belt, standing at ease. Walker sketched his design for the 'Tommy' from life; the model was a soldier, recently returned from Flanders.*[77]

The memorial is, therefore, hugely significant as an example of a new approach being pioneered by the group mentioned above known as the New Sculptors. However, what is equally important perhaps, is that others see Arthur Walker 'borrowing' from classical ideas. One piece in particular.

Plate 16 The Dying Gaul

[75] Item *GB554/A16/8* Suffolk Regiment Collection, Suffolk Record Office (Bury St Edmunds)
[76] *The Emmeline Pankhurst Memorial: Unmoved and Upgraded* Hannah Parham and Sarah Bridger ASCHB Transactions Volume 42: 2020
[77] Ibid.

The Dutch statue cataloguers René & Peter van der Krogt,[78] have likened the figure that we see on the Cornhill in Bury St Edmunds to a work that was known up until the 19th century as the Roman *Dying Gladiator.* Today it is more accurately described as the *Dying Gaul* or *Dying Galatian.* It was rediscovered in the early 17th century and is now on show in the Capitoline Museum in Rome. It shows a semi-recumbent, wounded Celt. It is actually a copy of an ancient Greek statue and the copy has been copied many times all around the world. In the UK, most notably, the National Trust at Fountains Abbey near Ripon in North Yorkshire has recast the *Dying Gladiator* to replace a copy that mysteriously disappeared from the water gardens there in the 1800s. Other examples, in the UK, include a version over a pub door in Brigg, North Lincolnshire. The main difference to Walker's work is that our Suffolk soldier is looking, rather awkwardly, to his rear. The suggestion being that he is looking back on his fallen comrades. But, once drawn to this history it is clear to see the influence that the der Krogts point out.[79]

Therefore, even to the untrained eye and once these insights are explained, it is clear that Arthur Walker's work on the Cornhill in Bury St Edmunds is significant for the way that is both acknowledging a classical past with a sculpture that is also, for the first time maybe, trying to convey something that is a more dynamic representation of war.

For these reasons, it has strong aesthetic significance, in addition to the historical associations already described in detail.

[78] See *www.vanderkrogt.net*

[79] See *www.vanderkrogt.net*

Section 6 - Significance

This short study highlights several areas in which the South African War Memorial on the Cornhill in Bury St Edmunds has significance for local and national audiences. One way to explain these is employing the guidance set out by Historic England.[80] They outline the following criteria:

> ***Evidential value**: the potential of a place to yield evidence about past human activity.*
>
> ***Historical value**: the ways in which past people, events and aspects of life can be connected through a place to the present - it tends to be illustrative or associative.*
>
> ***Aesthetic value**: the ways in which people draw sensory and intellectual stimulation from a place.*
>
> ***Communal value**: the meanings of a place for the people who relate to it, or for whom it figures in their collective experience or memory.*

Evidential Value

A casual glance at the South African War Memorial on the Cornhill in Bury St Edmunds will immediately engage the viewer with a specific moment in history. The conflict remembered might not be familiar to everyone but, the long list of the names of local men who lost their lives will surely be significant for locals and visitors alike. Those names, of course, are, for the first time, inclusive of all who gave their lives and not just the so-called officer class who had been remembered on memorials for generations. The evidential value of this Roll of Honour is therefore very high. That the conflict the memorial commemorates was on foreign soil, and so far from Bury St Edmunds, also encourages the more interested to consider this event in the wider context of Empire, at the end of the reign of a British Queen whose name is almost synonymous with this now contested past. The collapse of Britain's Empire in the 20th century means that its role in colonising Africa is very little understood by the general public. The memorial is powerful evidence of this period.

Historical Value

War memorials are both illustrative and associative in the ways that they connect time through a place of commemoration and the rituals centred on it. A memorial which still sports a wreath of poppies in the height of summer (as this one and so many others do) has an immediate pull on our emotions in some way or another. The Bury St Edmunds Boer War Memorial has strong historical significance as the locus for commemoration of this conflict for over a century. It also has strong associations with the Suffolk Regiment and is a permanent marker of those who lost their lives in the Boer War.

Aesthetic Value

The memorial has very high aesthetic significance as an expressive work of sculpture by a talented artist. It is evidence of new thinking in British sculpture, a powerful example for those with an interest in this field of the move from the classical to the vigour of the New Sculpture. The figure atop a rock is a powerful 'pull'. An inanimate lump of stone with words that need to be read to be appreciated is transformed by its bronze figure. Figurative sculpture can have a particular sensory power and this is a fine example of a dynamic, active work of public art.

The setting of the sculpture – the plinth and boundary rails – is also of high quality of design and materials, although its designer is unknown. This, combined with the historic backdrop of the many buildings in Cornhill, further enhances its aesthetic significance. The fact that the sculpture is in its original and intended location is a part of its aesthetic and historical value.

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[80] *Conservation Principles, Policies and Guidance*. Historic England. April 2008

Communal Value

We have seen above how the Cornhill was an historic meeting place in Bury St Edmunds and that there was a desire on the part of those commissioning the memorial for public engagement with the memorial. For those who have grown up in the town, visited the market that is held here, or attended a Remembrance Sunday event close by, the memorial and its setting will have a significant meaning. The commemoration of the fallen, soldiers engaged in Britain's imperial conflicts so far from home, in the midst of a civilian, commercial space is particularly poignant and powerful. This will be heightened for those who have served their country, be they: local people, visitors, or serving members of the armed forces part of the not insignificant military presence based nearby. The memorial will also have additional resonance – perhaps negative ones – for people of South African heritage in Bury St Edmunds and people who are all too aware of the painful legacies of British imperialism. The connections between people from Britain and places connected to British colonial history are powerfully expressed in this memorial and for this the communal value is very much more than just local.

Section 7 Contested Histories and Engagement

Retain and Explain

The death of George Floyd in May 2020 sparked anger and revulsion around the world. Here in the UK it re-energised the debate about statues to the trader of enslaved people Edward Colston in Bristol and the South African imperialist, businessman and politician Cecil Rhodes (see above). In June that year, protestors in Bristol took matters into their own hands and toppled the statue of Colston, pushing it into the harbour. That act made heritage professionals, politicians and the wider public take stock of our statues and memorials. The responses have been divergent. Some point to the insight of L. P. Hartley in his 1953 novel *The Go-Between* (set in East Anglia, in Norfolk, at the time of the Boer War) "The past is a foreign country: they do things differently there" to justify leaving statues that commemorate the past unaltered, even unquestioned.[81] Others campaign for those monuments and memorials that represent acts and ideas which we find unacceptable to be removed, maybe to museums where they might be contextualised better (as happened to the statue of Colston in Bristol), rather than continue in public prominence.

The events of 2020, the ongoing debate surrounding 'Rhodes Must Go' in Oxford, and the activism of Black Lives Matter have all contributed to an atmosphere where public bodies and other organisations have to take extra care to understand and contextualise heritage assets in their custodianship, and be responsive to modern audiences' concerns about what they represent (which vary significantly from person to person). Such monuments and places have been labelled 'contested heritage'. Clearly, a memorial to a colonial war like this one might well be included in this category.

The Government's position in the debate was made clear in September 2020 when the Secretary of State for Digital, Culture, Media and Sport wrote to national museums and galleries as well as other Arm's Length Bodies to, in part, explain the Government's position on so-called contested histories. His letter is worth quoting at length:

> *History is ridden with moral complexity. Statues and other historical objects were created by generations with different perspectives and understandings of right and wrong. Some represent figures who have said or done things which we may find deeply offensive and would not defend today. But though we may now disagree with those who created them or who they represent, they play an important role in teaching us about our past, with all its faults.*
>
> *It is for this reason that the Government does not support the removal of statues or other similar objects. Historic England, as the Government's adviser on the historic environment, have said that removing difficult and contentious parts of it risks harming our understanding of our collective past. Rather than erasing these objects, we should seek to contextualise or reinterpret them in a way that enables the public to learn about them in their entirety, however challenging this may be. Our aim should be to use them to educate people about all aspects of Britain's complex past, both good and bad.*[82]

[81] L. P. Hartley *The Go-Between* Hamish Hamilton, 1953

[82] Department for Digital, Culture, Media and Sport. September 2020 See 22-09-20_Letter_to_DCMS_ALBs.docx (live.com)

This approach led to the inclusion of paragraph 198 in the National Planning Policy Framework. Church of England guidance for the faculty system has a similar tenor. The 'retain and explain' approach has been upheld in recent planning decisions. For example, in March 2022, the Consistory Court of the Diocese of Ely refused permission for Jesus College Cambridge to remove "from the west wall of the Grade I listed College Chapel… the memorial to Tobias Rustat and the conservation of the memorial, which is to be re-erected in an exhibition and study space to be created in a room on the ground floor of East House…"[83] In short, the College felt that a memorial to a known 'slaver' did not sit well in a place of prayer. David Hodge QC Deputy Chancellor of the Diocese of Ely decided that the college hadn't proved the extent of Rustat's wealth from trafficking enslaved people and that "the Rustat memorial may be employed as an appropriate vehicle to consider the imperfection of human beings and to recognise that none of us is free from all sin". [84]The judgement, therefore, gave more weight to Government's policy of 'retain and explain'.

How does this impact on the South African War Memorial on the Cornhill in Bury St Edmunds? As we have seen above in Section 2 of this document, West Suffolk District Council and Historic England have a responsibility under the National Planning Policy Framework "…to enhance or better reveal their (heritage assets') significance. Proposals that preserve those elements of the setting that make a positive contribution to the asset (or which better reveal its significance) should be treated favourably".[85]

We have seen above in what ways the Memorial is significant. Some of this significance can be highlighted by interpretation online and close to it, either with boards or QR codes (or both). The cleaning and conservation of the bronze sculpture would provide a moment, when the work is completed, to put into practice ways of better revealing the history and significance of the memorial.

[83] The Rustat Memorial, Jesus College, Cambridge. Summary of Conclusions of Deputy Chancellor Hodge QC 23 March 2022 Microsoft Word - Jesus College - Summary of Conclusions.doc (lawandreligionuk.com)
[84] Ibid.
[85] Paragraph 206 National Planning Policy Framework. 2021. National Planning Policy Framework - 16. Conserving and enhancing the historic environment - Guidance - GOV.UK (www.gov.uk)

Section 8 Conclusion and Summary of Findings

We have seen that the Suffolk Regiment South African War Memorial is a Grade II Listed monument that stands in the middle of the Cornhill, Bury St Edmunds. This is within the Town Centre Conservation area in Bury's historic market, a significant heritage site which is slightly to the north and west of the town's Abbey (*See Map 1 above*). The Memorial includes 193 names of men serving in the Suffolk Regiment who lost their lives in the Second South African War between 1899 and 1902, which we know today as the Boer War. It was dedicated on 11th November 1904 and unveiled on the same date by the veteran Boer War commander Field Marshall Lord Methuen. The Memorial is important evidence of how local men were caught up in a, now, little understood imperial war that was fought on the pretence of securing rights for overseas settlers but, in reality, was part of an African-wide land grab by a number of European nations to secure valuable mineral resources. We have tried to highlight new scholarship which makes a stronger connection between what happened in the Africa at the end of the 19th century with the ending of the exploitation of its black population through slavery decades earlier.

Closer consideration of the Memorial and the names on it, encourages us to see how changes made to the organisation of the British Army in the late nineteenth century, especially the linking of regiments to counties, created stronger bonds between local people and army units. This was, perhaps, the biggest reason for what we can now detect as a wave of memorialisation that is still familiar now. By researching the cause of death of those named on the Memorial, we can also see evidence for how poor hygiene, healthcare and resulting disease had a terrible impact on combatants and civilians during the war.

This monument is important as a work of art too; an example of a 'new style' where the sculptor, Arthur Walker, is trying to take classical ideas of how to represent the human body and breathing life into them to create a more dynamic piece which conveys a more realistic view of war. Finally, following the guidelines laid down by Historic England, we have shown how the Memorial has evidential, historical, aesthetic and communal value; whilst also, more contentiously, bringing to the fore the issues of historic racism, discrimination and racial inequality that the Black Lives Matter movement has highlighted.

Summary of Findings

- What were the 'Boer' or South African Wars and what is their significance in British History, and in particular, how do they relate to other conflicts which are deemed to have been 'Imperialist or Colonialist' in their aims?

The Boer Wars (the first started in December 1880 and lasted only months) came at the apogee of the British Empire. Historians broadly agree that what happened between 1899 and 1902, the Second Boer War, was dressed up as a fight for the rights of settlers in South Africa, but was actually part of a wider push across Africa by European nations for its huge mineral resources. However, new scholarship shows that this may be too simplistic an analysis and that the fate of the Boers and indigenous Africans was actually bound up in a much wider history of colonisation which is only now being fully explored.

British desires on the Cape were primarily to secure its trade routes with India and the Far East. But, as new work from authors such as Howard W. French (see above) explores, the slave trade influenced Britain's (and Europe's) relationship with the continent of Africa; turning it into a seemingly bottomless pit of free labour with all the cruelty and misery that this inflicted. Far from relying solely on its own raw materials and innovation, the British Industrial Revolution had depended on the huge wealth and resources arrived at by the exploitation of people and places through the slave trade. When it was finally abolished in August 1834 a tap supplying British economic growth was turned off. Therefore, by the end of the century Britain needed a new source of natural resources and wealth. South Africa with its minerals (including gold, which is both mineral and a metal) and cheap labour was a land of plenty.

Britain's struggles against the Boers was also significant for its military. Many historians discuss how the Boer War introduced new weaponry and military tactics to warfare, such as: the end of a reliance on cavalry, trench warfare and guerrilla tactics. But, it also flagged up areas of British incompetence in logistics and medical care.

- How did they affect the indigenous populations and the Dutch/ Boer colonialists?

If it is possible to leave-aside the deaths and injuries suffered by black and Boer combatants, the costs to civilians was most telling. It's estimated that some 28,000 Boer women and children died in the concentration camps set up by the British. A further 20,000 black people also perished in them. The farms of blacks and whites were destroyed. The Boer (or Afrikaan) economy was wrecked. All of this would have a political impact which would come to dominate the politics of southern Africa, and international relations with it, throughout the 20th Century.

At the end of the war, Britain annexed the Orange Free State and the Transvaal Republic. By 1910 these would become part of the autonomous Union of South Africa. But, the devastation brought upon the Afrikaans created an aggressive nationalism which, fuelled by a fear of the black majority, explains the beginnings of the policy of racial segregation which we know today as apartheid. It is this, then, that should be seen as the lasting outcome of the Second South African, or Boer, War.

- What was the Suffolk Regiment's involvement in the wars and who were those commemorated and what were their origins?

The 1st Battalion of the Suffolk Regiment was mobilised in November 1899. Two further companies were formed from among the soldiers of the Volunteer Battalions, which served alongside the Regular soldiers. They began arriving in South Africa at the end of November. On the 5th January 1900 the Regiment gained notoriety when, on a hill near a settlement called Colesberg (known today as Suffolk Hill), its surprise attack on some sleeping Boers went badly wrong when those scaling the hill found that the defenders had been reinforced. In the pandemonium 36 men of the Suffolk Regiment were killed and 200 wounded or taken prisoner. The Suffolks went on to serve throughout the war, especially in the Transvaal where they were involved in erecting and garrisoning blockhouses, part of the controversial tactics which were used to combat the Boer's guerrilla tactics.

Analysis of the names on the Memorial on Bury's Cornhill shows that 83% of the 193 names were so-called 'private' soldiers, the lowest rank there is (see Table 1 below). Analysis is needed on the balance between volunteers and regulars in this list, but we do know that there was an agricultural depression at this time and that there is evidence from around the country that those who signed up to fight did so more to escape rural poverty at home, rather than through any overbearing patriotism.

- How did the memorial come about, who funded it and how was the artist commissioned?

This study has found no evidence of a competition or the equivalent of a modern-day public tender. Rather, given how the idea for a public memorial was pushed by members of the East Anglian landed gentry and that the artist, Arthur Walker, had won some commissions from some of these individuals, there is a strong suggestion that he benefitted from being en vogue with those who had influence. This is not to say that the choice of Arthur Walker wasn't exciting, or challenging even. Good or challenging art isn't the corollary of democratic decision-making.

- Why was the site in Bury St Edmunds chosen?

The historic record is, again, largely silent on how the choice of the Cornhill as the location for the Memorial was arrived at. It seems that those most intangible of factors, history and community memory were at play. We have shown how this was, historically, a place where trade was carried out in Bury. We know that, throughout time, markets and shops have been places where people gather to exchange news and views as well as buy and sell. A market place in a county town such as Bury St Edmunds takes on a meaning that transcends commerce. They, almost subliminally (especially in a pre-media age when even film was in its infancy), become a focal point for celebration or memorialisation. Similar locations were chosen at this time up and down the country, most noticeably for the same regiment on the Cornhill in Ipswich.

- What is the artistic evaluation of the sculpture and comparatively how significant is it as a memorial which seems not to glorify war but rather reveal its grim reality?

The Suffolk Regiment South African War Memorial on the Cornhill in Bury St Edmunds is both a significant work of art and memorial. What is perhaps missing in Bury is interpretation for the public which explains this. The sculptor, Arthur Walker, is borrowing from the classical (specifically a work known as the Dying Gaul) whilst embracing modernity. This is a 'new style'. His Suffolk soldier isn't head-bowed and respectful, as is the case in Ipswich for example (see above). The Bury soldier looks reflective and battle weary, maybe even beaten? The appearance to the bystander, then, is a memorial that has heart and is perhaps easier to engage with. Considering the other memorials and statues that Edwardians were familiar with in 1904, this really is something different.

- What is the significance of the memorial in regional and national terms?

The Memorial has considerable significance, locally and nationally. As we have shown, this is evidential, historical, aesthetic and communal. Locally, it reminds people of the role that their county played in an episode of imperial history and the sacrifices made. It raises question about those named, what they were involved in, why they were involved and what their involvement was. Its location asks these questions in a very public space. Better interpretation would answer these questions and encourage engagement. Similarly, as we have shown, nationally, the Memorial is both unique yet almost common-place. It is one in a wave of memorialisation that tried to make sense of the losses suffered in this little understood war, but it is also a unique work of art which tries to show a more realistic side of war by embracing new approaches to sculpture.

Appendices

Appendix I

Table 1 Bury St Edmunds South African War Memorial - Soldier numbers, ranks and regiments

Memorial elevation	**Total no. soldiers**	**Privates inc Drivers, Drummer, Gunners, Sapper, Troopers**	**NCO's**	**Officers**	**Suffolk Regiment**	**Other Regiments**
North	**15**	14	1	-	-	15
South	**125**	125		-	125	-
East	**27**	21	6	-	4	23
West	**26**	1	17	8	26	-
Overall totals	**193**	**161**	**24**	**8**	**155**	**38**
Percentages	100%	83%	13%	4%	80%	20%

Bury St Edmund's Town Trust – South African War Memorial – soldier analysis - 14.02.22

Appendix II

Names engraved on the South African War Memorial, Cornhill. Bury St Edmunds. Researched and published online by Roll of Honour Roll of Honour - Suffolk - Bury St Edmunds Boer War Memorial (roll-of-honour.com). Reproduced here with permission of Roll of Honour.

ALLENSBY	**G A**	Private 4709, Suffolk Regiment (Mounted Infantry). Died of disease 26th February 1901 at Wynberg.
ANASLEY	**W**	[ANDSLEY elsewhere] Lance Corporal 4794, 1st Battalion, Suffolk Regiment. Killed in action 6th January 1900 at Colesberg.
ARBON	**A**	Private, Suffolk Regiment - **probably** also listed a J ARBON elsewhere, Private 2725, 1st Battalion, Suffolk Regiment. Wounded 6th January 1900, Colesberg, died of disease 20th September 1900 at Kroonstad.
ARNULL	**Thomas A**	Private 4794, 1st Battalion, Suffolk Regiment. Killed in action 6th January 1900 on Suffolk Hill; commemorated on Suffolk Hill Memorial, Colesberg, South Africa.
ARROWSMITH	**Henry**	Lance Sergeant 3594, 1st Battalion, Suffolk Regiment. Killed in action 6th January 1900 on Suffolk Hill; commemorated on Suffolk Hill Memorial, Colesberg, South Africa.
ATTWELL	**James M**	[Listed as Lance Corporal on memorial, spelt ATTSWELL elsewhere] Private 3369, 1st Battalion, Suffolk Regiment. Killed in action 6th January 1900 on Suffolk Hill; commemorated on Suffolk Hill Memorial, Colesberg, South Africa.
BAKER	**John**	Sergeant 384, 1st Battalion, Suffolk Regiment. Killed in action 6th January 1900 on Suffolk Hill; commemorated on Suffolk Hill Memorial, Colesberg, South Africa. See also Ipswich Boer Memorial
BALTYER	**William**	[Listed as BALTZER on Colesberg memorial and BALTZAR on Cambridge memorial] Private 2868, 1st Battalion, Suffolk Regiment. Killed in action 6th January 1900 on Suffolk Hill; commemorated on Suffolk Hill Memorial, Colesberg, South Africa.
BANTOCK	**W**	[Listed as B for Hill on memorial] Lance Corporal, 4616, 2nd Battalion, Bedfordshire Regiment. Died of disease at Thaba N'chu 25th February 1901. See also Bedford Boer War
BARKER	**Albert**	Private 814, 1st Battalion, Suffolk Regiment. Died of disease 30th June 1900 at Bloemfontein.

BARNES	**J**	Private 5370 , Suffolk Regiment (4th Mounted Infantry). Died of disease 22nd December 1901, Pretoria.
BARNES	**Samuel**	Private 2196, 1st Battalion, Suffolk Regiment. Killed in action 6th January 1900 on Suffolk Hill; commemorated on Suffolk Hill Memorial, Colesberg, South Africa.
BARRETT	**G R K**	Private, Suffolk Regiment
BEDWELL	**[Harry] Albert**	Private 3961, 1st Battalion, Suffolk Regiment. Died of disease 14th November 1900 at Middelburg.
BOCOCK		Trooper, 44th Imperial Yeomanry
BOSWORTH	**J**	Private 5861, Suffolk Regiment (28th Mounted Infantry). Died of disease 31st March 1902 at Germiston.
BOYCE	**W**	Private 2133, 1st Battalion, Suffolk Regiment. Died of disease 22nd May 1901 at Middelburg.
BRIDGE	**Arthur**	Private 3230, 1st Battalion, Suffolk Regiment. Killed in action 6th January 1900 on Suffolk Hill; commemorated on Suffolk Hill Memorial, Colesberg, South Africa.
BROWN	**Arthur Wale**	Captain, 1st Battalion, Suffolk Regiment. Wounded in action 6th January 1900 on Suffolk Hilldied of wounds at Jacobsdarl, Pretoria, 26th January 1900, age 33; commemorated on Suffolk Hill Memorial, Colesberg, South Africa. [Reported in news of the World 14-Jan-1900] 1st Battalion, The Suffolk Regiment. Commemorated on the Suffolk Memorial, Suffolk Hill, Colesberg. Son of J Brown, Coombe Villa, Teignmouth. Born 1867. Educated at Allhallows School, Honiton. Joined the Suffolk Regiment in 1889, promoted lieutenant 1893, captain 1898. Accompanied his battallion to South Africa November 1899. Sources: News of the World 14 Jan 1900 and "The Last Post - Roll of Officers who fell in South Africa 1899-1902" by Mildred G Dooner. See also Cambridge Boer War Memorial
BROYD	**Frank**	Private 1131, 1st Battalion, Suffolk Regiment. Died of disease 11th July 1900 at Germiston.
BRUNNING	**A**	Gunner 69776, 15th Company, Royal Garrison Artillery. Died from disease on 8 June 1900 at Bloemfontein.
BRUTY	**George**	Private 4835, 1st Battalion, Suffolk Regiment. Died of disease 31st May 1900 at Vet River

BUTCHER	**Alfred**	Private 2913, 1st Battalion, Suffolk Regiment. Died of disease 12th June 1900 at Bloemfontein.
CALTHORPE	**C**	Sergeant, Royal Berkshire Regiment
CALTON	**F**	Private, 13th Hussars
CAMPAN	**C**	Private, Essex Regiment
CAREY	**Seymour James**	[Listed as S G CAREY on Colesberg Memorial] Lieutenant, 1st Battalion, Suffolk Regiment. Killed in action 6th January 1900 on Suffolk Hill, aged 26; commemorated on Suffolk Hill Memorial, Colesberg, South Africa. Carey.—Lieut. Seymour James Carey, 1st Batt. Suffolk Regt., was killed in action, near Rensburg, Jan. 6th, 1900. He was a son of A. Carey, Esq., of 21, Rosary Gardens, London was born Jan., 1874, and educated at St. Paul's School. He entered the Suffolk Regt. in Jan., 1895, being promoted lieut. May, 1897. Lieut. Carey served as Chief of Police in the Monofatsi district of Crete, from Nov., 1898, to July, 1899, and was mentioned in despatches for the services he rendered in that capacity. He accompanied his battalion to South Africa in Nov., 1899. (See Lieut.-Col. Watson.) Sources: "The Last Post - Roll of Officers who fell in South Africa 1899-1902" by Mildred G Dooner. There is a stone wall plaque to his memory in the nave of the Church of St. Mary the Virgin, Little Burstead, Essex, and he is also mentioned on the family tomb in the churchyard attached to it.
CAWLEY	**William J**	Private 3298, 1st Battalion, Suffolk Regiment. Prisoner of war 6th January 1900 at Colesberg, died 5th June 1900 at Waterval.
CHAPMAN	**H**	Private 5320, Suffolk Regiment (28th Mounted Infantry). Died of disease 2nd March 1902, Pretoria.
CHENERY	**A**	Private, Army Service Corps
COBBIN	**William**	Private 2506, 1st Battalion, Suffolk Regiment. Died of disease 6th July 1900 at Germiston.
COBBOLD	**C**	Private, King's Own (Yorkshire Light Infantry)
COBBOLD	**H**	Private 5615, Suffolk Regiment (28th Mounted Infantry). Died of disease 7th March 1902 at Elandsfontein.

COLEMAN	**F**	Sergeant 3917, 1st Battalion, Suffolk Regiment. Died of disease 15th December 1901 at Krugersdorp.
COLEMAN	**W**	Private 3355, 1st Battalion, Suffolk Regiment. Died of disease 27th December 1900, Pretoria.
COOPER	**Alfred**	Private 5118, 1st Battalion, Suffolk Regiment. Killed in action 6th January 1900 on Suffolk Hill; commemorated on Suffolk Hill Memorial, Colesberg, South Africa.
COOPER	**H**	Private 3907, 1st Battalion, Suffolk Regiment. Died of disease 27th December 1900, Pretoria.
CORDER	**H**	Private 4517, 1st Battalion, Suffolk Regiment. Died of disease 22nd April 1901, Charlestown.
CUTHERBERT	**Walter**	Private 4232, 1st Battalion, Suffolk Regiment. Killed in action 6th January 1900 on Suffolk Hill; commemorated on Suffolk Hill Memorial, Colesberg, South Africa.
DAMES	**E**	Lance Corporal 5052, 1st Battalion, Suffolk Regiment. Died of diesease 23rd May 1901 at Middelburg.
DAVIS	**C**	Private 5166, 1st Battalion, Suffolk Regiment. Died of disease 5th May 1901 at Pretoria.
DAW	**A**	Private 3339, 1st Battalion, Suffolk Regiment. Died of disease 30th December 1900 at Aliwal North.
DAY	**William**	Lance Corporal 2951, Suffolk Regiment (Mounted Infantry). Died of disease 1st November 1900, Bloemfontein.
DAYNES	**[Albert] William**	Private 3000, 1st Battalion, Suffolk Regiment. Died of disease 23rd April 1900, De Aar. From Cambridge. See also Cambridge Boer War Memorial
DEADMAN	**W**	Private 5636, Suffolk Regiment (28th Mounted Infantry). Prisoner of war 31st March 1902 at Boschbult; died of disease 28th May 1902 at Vryburg.
DEWELL	**J**	Private 5543, Suffolk Regiment (28th Mounted Infantry). Died of disease 22nd January 1902 at Elandsfontein.
DOUBLE	**C**	Private, Suffolk Regiment
DOWIE	**Ronald MacKenzie**	Captain, 3rd Battalion, Suffolk Regiment. Wounded at Vredeport, 17th December 1901, died 20th December 1901.

		Dowie. - Capt. Ronald Mackenzie Dowie, 3rd Batt. Suffolk Regt., died at Kroonstad, Dec. 20th, 1901 from a gunshot wound in the abdomen, received in action near Vredefort three days previously. He was seconded in his battalion for service with the 1st Batt. of his Regiment, and formerly held a commission as lieut. in the 4tb Batt., being gazetted to a company in the 3rd Batt. in Jan., 1900. Sources: "The Last Post - Roll of Officers who fell in South Africa 1899-1902" by Mildred G Dooner.
DUNKLING	**T**	Private 1913, 1st Battalion, Suffolk Regiment. Died of disease 27th April 1901 at Wonderfontein.
DYER	**W**	Private 4811, 1st Battalion, Suffolk Regiment. Died of disease 24th January 1900 at Pretoria.
EAST	**F**	Corporal, Army Service Corps
EDGLEY	**Frank**	[Spelt EDGELEY elsewhere] Private 5229, 1st Battalion, Suffolk Regiment. Died of disease 2nd April 1900 at Prieska.
ELLINGHAM	**Charles**	Lance Corporal 4660, 1st Battalion, Suffolk Regiment. Died of disease 15th June 1900 at Bloemfontein.
ENNALS	**J**	Private, Essex Regiment
FINCH	**Edward**	Private 4915, 1st Battalion, Suffolk Regiment. Died of disease 9th November 1900 at Johannesburg.
FINTER	**J**	Private 5309, 1st Battalion, Suffolk Regiment. Died of disease 13th March 1901 at Middelburg.
FISK	**Ernest**	Private 5231, 1st Battalion, Suffolk Regiment. Died of disease 21st June 1900 at Germiston
FORGE	**Frederick**	Private 3494, 1st Battalion, Suffolk Regiment. Killed in action 6th January 1900 on Suffolk Hill; commemorated on Suffolk Hill Memorial, Colesberg, South Africa.
FORSDYKE	**S**	Private 2733, 1st Battalion, Suffolk Regiment. Died of disease 29th December 1900 at Pretoria.
FROST	**H**	Private, Royal Army Medical Corps. Also commemorated on RAMC Memorial, Gun Hill, Aldershot.
FULCHER	**William**	Private 3887, 1st Battalion, Suffolk Regiment. Killed in action 6th January 1900 on Suffolk Hill; commemorated on Suffolk Hill Memorial, Colesberg, South Africa.

GARRARD	**Ernest C**	Sergeant 6193, Volunteer Company, Suffolk Regiment. Died of disease 5th July 1900 at Germiston.
GARROD	**[Ernest] G**	Private 1374, 1st Battalion, Suffolk Regiment. Died of disease 24th December 1900 at Pretoria.
GILL	**Arthur**	Private 4643, Suffolk Regiment (Mounted Infantry). Wounded 5th May 1900 at Bloemfontein. Date of death unknown. .
GODDARD	**A**	Lance Corporal 5070, Suffolk Regiment. Prisoner of war 6th January 1900, Colesberg, died of disease 21st January 1900.
GODDARD	**E**	Private, Suffolk Regiment
GOOCH	**H**	Private, King's Royal Rifle Corps
GREEN	**E B**	Corporal 6702, 4th Volunteer Company, Suffolk Regiment. Died of disease 13th June 1901, Middelburg.
GREENWOOD	**George**	Private 2064, 1st Battalion, Suffolk Regiment. Killed in action 6th January 1900 on Suffolk Hill; commemorated on Suffolk Hill Memorial, Colesberg, South Africa.
GRIGGS	**A**	Private 5673, Suffolk Regiment (28th Mounted Infantry) Died of disease 8th April 1902 at Germiston.
HACKETT	**Charles**	Private 4684, 1st Battalion, Suffolk Regiment. Killed in action 6th January 1900 on Suffolk Hill; commemorated on Suffolk Hill Memorial, Colesberg, South Africa.
HALE	**E**	Private, Scottish Rifles
HANCOCK	**S**	Private 5666, 1st Battalion, Suffolk Regiment (and 28th Mounted Infantry). Died of disease 23rd May 1902, Klerksdorp. From Cherryhinton, Cambridgeshire. See also
HARDING	**E**	Trooper, 44th Imperial Yeomanry
HEARNE	**W**	Private 2912, 1st Battalion, Suffolk Regiment. Died of disease 27th January 1900 at Germiston.
HEAUME	**W**	Private 5745, 1st Battalion, Suffolk Regiment. Drowned 8th February 1902 at Schoonspruit, Klerksdorp.
HEMMINGS	**[Charles] S**	Private 2452, 1st Battalion, Suffolk Regiment (Mounted Infantry Company). Died of disease 17th August 1900 at Johannesburg.

HERRINGTON	**A**	Private, Grenadier Guards
HICKS	**Albert E**	Private 2885, 1st Battalion, Suffolk Regiment. Died of disease 12th October 1900 at Bloemfontein.
HICKS	**G**	Private 4014, 1st Battalion, Suffolk Regiment. Died of disease 1st January 1901 at Germiston.
HOLLAND	**E G**	Private 3303, 1st Battalion, Suffolk Regiment. Died of disease 8th January 1900 at Pretoria.
HOLLAND	**[B] Robert**	Private 3404, 1st Battalion, Suffolk Regiment. Prisoner of war 6th January 1900 at Colesberg; died of disease 1st April 1900 at Pretoria.
HOUSDEN	**Alfred**	Sergeant 3686, Suffolk Regiment (Mounted Infantry). Wounded 4th June 1900, near Pretoria. Date of death not known. from Swaffham Prior, Cambridgeshire. See also Cambridge Boer War Memorial
HOWE	**A**	Private 3448, 1st Battalion, Suffolk Regiment. Wounded 16th February 1900 at Coleskop; died of disease 31st January 1901 at Pretoria.
HOWE	**F**	Private, Manchester Regiment
HOWELL	**Hammond C**	Private 3274, 1st Battalion, Suffolk Regiment. Died of disease 4th May 1900 at Naauwpoort.
HUGHES	**H**	Private, 1st Kings Dragoon Guards
HUNT	**F**	Private, Suffolk Regiment
HURRELL	**P**	Private, 4th Battalion, Yorkshire Regiment
JOHNSON	**William**	Private 795, 1st Battalion, Suffolk Regiment. Died of disease 11th August 1900 at Deelfontein.
KIDD	**Charles**	Private 3088, 'A' Company, 1st Battalion, Suffolk Regiment. Killed in action 6th January 1900 on Suffolk Hill; commemorated on Suffolk Hill Memorial, Colesberg, South Africa. Son of Mr & Mrs G Kidd, Plantation Farm, Burnt Fen. Age 27.
KNIGHTS	**Henry [Harry]**	Private 2026, 1st Battaliuon, Suffolk Regiment. Died of disease 17th June 1900 at Germiston.
LAMBERT	**John**	Private 1165, 1st Battalion, Suffolk Regiment. Died of disease 25th June 1900 at Germiston.

LAST	**J**	Private 4720, Suffolk Regiment (15th Mounted Infantry). Died of disease 16th February 1902 at Harrismith.
LEACH	**W [G]**	Private 11341, Royal Army Medical Corps. Resident Ipswich. Died of disease at Modder River 17 January 1900. Also commemorated on Ipswich Boer War Memorial and on on RAMC Memorial, Gun Hill, Aldershot.
LEWIS	**W**	Private 4447, 1st Battalion, Suffolk Regiment. Died of disease 8th February 1901 at Middelburg.
LLOYD	**William Rreade de-la-Pere**	Major, 1st Battalion, Suffolk Regiment. Killed in action at Twyufelaar, 26th January 1901, age 40. Lloyd. - Major William Reade De la Pêre Lloyd, 1st Batt. Suffolk Regt., was killed in action in Major-Gen. Smith Dorrien's engagement of Jan. 26th, 1901. He was the only son of the late Capt. Lloyd, 57th Regt., who was killed in action in New Zealand. Born, Sept. i86o, Major Lloyd entered the 12th Foot, Jan. i88o, being promoted lieut. Jan., 1881, capt. May, 1886, and major Feb., 1897. He served in the Hazara Expedition, 1888, with his battalion, receiving the medal with clasp. Major Lloyd who had served in South Africa from 1899, in the north of Cape Colony and in the Transvaal, was mentioned in despatches, L.G., Sept. 10th, 1901. Sources: "The Last Post - Roll of Officers who fell in South Africa 1899-1902" by Mildred G Dooner.
LYNES	**C**	Corporal, 44th Battery, Royal Field Artillery
MALONEY	**J**	Private 2742, 1st Battalion, Suffolk Regiment. Died of disease 8th March 1901 at Middelburg.
MALYON	**Thomas**	Private 4253, 1st Battalion, Suffolk Regiment. Died of disease 1st April 1900 at Naauwpoort.
MANCHESTER	**W**	Private 4964, 1st Battalion, Suffolk Regiment. Died of disease 12th December 1900 at Springfontein.
MARTIN	**A**	Private 4101, 1st Battalion, Suffolk Regiment. Died of disease 29th April 1902 at Tafel Kop.
MARTIN	**E**	Private 5121, 1st Battalion, Suffolk Regiment. Wounded and prisoner of war 6th January 1900 at Colesberg; died 21st July 1901.
MAY	**Alfred Henry**	Private 6942, Volunteer Company, Suffolk Regiment. Died of disease 3rd August 1900 at Germiston.

MAYES	**Charles**	Private 2997, 1st Battalion, Suffolk Regiment. Died of disease 11th July 1900 at Germiston.
MEADE	**A**	Private 5029, 1st Battalion, Suffolk Regiment. Died of disease 29th April 1902 at Tafel Kop.
MILLER	**H**	Trooper, Bethune S Horse
MOORE	**J**	Driver, 81st Battery, Royal Field Artillery
MORGAN	**E**	Sergeant, 1504, 1st Battalion, Suffolk Regiment. Killed in action 6th January 1900 on Suffolk Hill; commemorated on Suffolk Hill Memorial, Colesberg, South Africa.
MUMFORD		Trooper, 5th Imperial Yeomanry
MUMFORD	**O**	Private, 1st Kings Dragoon Guards
MUNNINGS	**H**	Private, 13th Battalion, Royal Field Artillery
MURTON	**T**	[Listed as J MURTON on Colesberg memorial] Private 4121, 1st Battalion, Suffolk Regiment. Killed in action 6th January 1900 on Suffolk Hill; commemorated on Suffolk Hill Memorial, Colesberg, South Africa.
MUSKETT	**Frederick**	Private 3067, 1st Battalion, Suffolk Regiment. Killed in action 6th January 1900 on Suffolk Hill; commemorated on Suffolk Hill Memorial, Colesberg, South Africa.
NEWSON	**Robert**	Private 4651, 1st Battalion, Suffolk Regiment. Killed in action 6th January 1900 on Suffolk Hill; commemorated on Suffolk Hill Memorial, Colesberg, South Africa.
NIXON	**Herbert Howlett Higgs**	[Listed as Corporal on Colesberg memorial and Cambridge memorial] Lance Corporal 5230, 1st Battalion, Suffolk Regiment. Killed in action 6th January 1900 on Suffolk Hill; commemorated on Suffolk Hill Memorial, Colesberg, South Africa. Born circa 1879 Coates, son of James Howlett and Ann Elizabeth NIXON. Father was a Policeman, family living in Thorney in 1881.
NORMAN	**Henry**	Private 2119, 1st Battalion, Suffolk Regiment. Died of disease 20th June 1900 at Green Point.
NORRIS	**W C**	Private 4251, Suffolk Regiment (1st Mounted Infantry). Died of disease 11th April 1902 at Harrismith.

NORWOOD	**A**	Private 2890, 1st Battalion, Suffolk Regiment. Died of disease 11th February 1901 at Pretoria.
OLLEY	**G**	Private 5143, 1st Battalion, Suffolk Regiment. Died of disease 5th February 1901 at Middelburg.
ORBELL	**L**	Sergeant Drummer 1983, 1st Battalion, Suffolk Regiment. Died of disease 7th July 1901 at Pretoria
OXFORD	**E**	Gunner, 73rd Battery, Royal Field Artillery
OXFORD	**G**	Driver, 44th Battery, Royal Field Artillery
PALMER	**[Thomas] W**	Sergeant 2450, 1st Battalion, Suffolk Regiment. Died of disease 20th April 1900 at De Aar.
PAMMENT	**W**	Private, Rifle Brigade
PANNIFER	**C**	Gunner, 81st Battery, Royal Field Artillery
PARMENTER	**J**	Private 5579, Suffolk Regiment (28th Mounted Infantry). Died of disease 21st May 1902 at Elandsfontein.
PEARSON	**J**	Private, Suffolk Regiment. Died of disease 11th June 1900 at Bloemfontein.
PETERS	**David**	Private 3271, 1st Battalion, Suffolk Regiment. Died of disease between 21st March 1900 and 31st March 1900 at Britstown. From Trumpington, Cambridgeshire. See also Cambridge Boer War Memorial
PHILLIPPS	**C**	Driver, 78th Battery, Royal Field Artillery
PLUMB	**J**	Private 5569, 1st Battalion, Suffolk Regiment. Run over by train 7th May 1902 at Myfontein. From Cambridge. See also Cambridge Boer War Memorial
PODD	**Harry**	Private 2707, Suffolk Regiment (Mounted Infantry Company). Died of disease 21st June 1900 at Johannesburg.
POLLARD	**Thomas**	Private 3406, 1st Battalion, Suffolk Regiment. died of disease 7th June 1900 at Naauwpoort.
POMEROY	**George**	Private 2843, 1st Battalion, Suffolk Regiment. Died of disease 3rd June 1900 at Bloemfontein.
PRIGG	**George**	[Listed as C PRIGG on Colesberg memorial] Private 4812, 1st Battalion, Suffolk Regiment. Killed in action 6th January 1900 on

		Suffolk Hill; commemorated on Suffolk Hill Memorial, Colesberg, South Africa. From Cambs Times 23/11/1900, Henry & George Prigg were brothers, sons of Nathan Prigg of Quanea [Hill, near Ely] Born Soham 1877, son of Nathan and Dinah (nee (Garner) Prigg. QSA with clasp for Cape Colony.
PRYKE	**Stephen**	Private 2826, 1st Battalion, Suffolk Regiment. Killed in action 6th January 1900 on Suffolk Hill; commemorated on Suffolk Hill Memorial, Colesberg, South Africa.
RADLEY	**Walter**	Private 2542, 1st Battalion, Suffolk Regiment. Killed in action 6th January 1900 on Suffolk Hill; commemorated on Suffolk Hill Memorial, Colesberg, South Africa.
RANSOM	**Thomas**	Private 2691, 1st Battalion, Suffolk Regiment. Killed in action 6th January 1900 on Suffolk Hill; commemorated on Suffolk Hill Memorial, Colesberg, South Africa.
READ	**T**	Lance Corporal 4122, 1st Battalion, Suffolk Regiment. Died of disease 13th May 1901 at Pretoria.
READ	**T**	Private, Suffolk Regiment
REYNOLDS	**W**	Lance Corporal 1121, 1st Battalion, Suffolk Regiment. Died of disease 30th June 1900 at Nooitgedacht.
RICE	**C**	Private, Suffolk Regiment
RISBY	**Harry [Henry]**	Private 3004, 1st Battalion, Suffolk Regiment. Died of disease 23rd April 1900 at De Aar.
ROBINSON	**Joseph**	Private 3090, 1st Battalion, Suffolk Regiment. Killed in action 6th January 1900 on Suffolk Hill; commemorated on Suffolk Hill Memorial, Colesberg, South Africa.
ROGERS	**George**	Private 3543, 1st Battalion, Suffolk Regiment. Died of disease 12th May 1900 at Bloemfontein.
ROGERS	**W**	Private 4908, 1st Battalion, Suffolk Regiment. Prisoner of war 6th January 1900 at Colesberg; died of disease 10th March 1900 at Middleburg.
ROSBROOK	**W**	Private, 5th Kings Dragoon Guards
ROSENDALE	**J**	[Spelt ROSSENDALE elsewhere] Private, Suffolk Regiment. From Bassingbourn, Cambridgeshire. See also Cambridge Boer War Memorial

RUMSEY	**R**	Private, Suffolk Regiment
SALTER	**T**	Private, Leicestershire Regiment
SCOTT	**E**	Private 2513, Suffolk Regiment (Mounted Infantry). Died of disease 7th February 1901 at Bloemfontein.
SEAMANS	**[S] Thomas**	[Listed as SEAMONS on Colesberg memorial] Private 4738, 1st Battalion, Suffolk Regiment. Killed in action 6th January 1900 on Suffolk Hill; commemorated on Suffolk Hill Memorial, Colesberg, South Africa.
SHARMAN	**John**	Private 2773, 1st Battalion, Suffolk Regiment. Died of disease 18th June 1900 at Naauwpoort.
SILLITOE	**Ambrose**	[Listed as SILLATOE on Colesberg memorial] Private 2299, 1st Battalion, Suffolk Regiment. Killed in action 6th January 1900 on Suffolk Hill; commemorated on Suffolk Hill Memorial, Colesberg, South Africa.
SKEET	**John R**	Private 2948, 1st Battalion, Suffolk Regiment. Wounded and prisoner of war 6th January 1900 at Suffolk Hill, died 30th April 1900 at Pretoria; commemorated on Suffolk Hill Memorial, Colesberg, South Africa.
SMITH	**A**	Sapper, 12th Company, Royal Engineers
SMITH	**William**	Private 876, 1st Battalion, Suffolk Regiment. Died of disease 11th August 1900 at Middelburg. From Pampisford, Cambridgeshire. See also
SOAMES	**L**	[Listed as SOANES on memorial] Private 5243, 1st Battalion, Suffolk Regiment. Died of disease 29th December 1900 at Bloemfontein.
SOUTHGATE	**A James**	Private 2023, 1st Battalion, Suffolk Regiment. Prisoner of war 6th January 1900 at Colesberg; died 30th April 1900 at Pretoria.
STEGGLES	**H**	Private 4123, 1st Battalion, Suffolk Regiment. Died of disease 29th November 1900 at Pretoria.
STEVENS	**G**	Private, Royal Army Medical Corps Volunteers
STEWARD	**E**	Private, 1st Kings Dragoon Guards

STOCK	**William James**	 Private 4745, 1st Battalion, Suffolk Regiment. Killed in action 6th January 1900 on Suffolk Hill, aged 21; commemorated on Suffolk Hill Memorial, Colesberg, South Africa. Born 7th October 1879, in Cambridge, son of Fred and Caroline Stock. Served in the Cambridgeshire Territorial Regiment which was allied to the 1st Battalion Suffolk Regiment. See also Cambridge Boer War
STOLLERY	**William**	Private 2573, 1st Battalion, Suffolk Regiment. Killed in action 6th January 1900 on Suffolk Hill; commemorated on Suffolk Hill Memorial, Colesberg, South Africa.
STURGEON	**G**	Lance Corporal 2602, 1st Battalion, Suffolk Regiment (15th Mounted Infantry). Died of disease 30th April 1902 at Wynberg.
STUTLEY	**W**	Private, Suffolk Regiment - **possibly** there is Edward Stutley, 1295, 1st Battalion, Suffolk Regiment, died of disease 16th June 1900 at Kroonstad.
SYMONDS	**W**	Private, Essex Regiment
TABOR	**William Ernest**	[Listed as E TABOR on memorial] Private 41909, 1st Battalion, Suffolk Regiment. Died of disease 14-11-1901 at Krugersdorp. From Cambridge. See also Cambridge Boer War Memorial
TAYLOR	**R**	Private 5244, Suffolk Regiment (15th Mounted Infantry). Killed by lightning 10th November 1901 near Senekal.
TAYLOR	**W**	Private, Suffolk Regiment
THOMPSON	**Frederick**	Private 2102, 1st Battalion, Suffolk Regiment. Killed in action 6th January 1900 on Suffolk Hill; commemorated on Suffolk Hill Memorial, Colesberg, South Africa. From Shingay, Cambridgeshire. See also Cambridge Boer War Memorial
THOMPSON	**William Gordon**	Captain, 1st Battalion, Suffolk Regiment. Prisoner of war 6th January 1900, Colesberg, Died (suicide, temporarily insane) at Pretoria, 9th June 1900, age 34.

		Thomson.- Capt. William Gordon Thomson, 1st Batt. Suffolk Regt., died suddenly at Pretoria on June 9th, 1900, He was born Oct., 1865, entered the Connaught Rangers May, 1885, being transferred to the Suffolk Regt. in the same month, and was promoted capt. Nov., 1894. Capt. Thomson had been adjutant of his battalion from Aug., 1895, to Aug., 1899. He accompanied the 1st battalion of his Regiment to South Africa in Nov., 1899, and served with it in the north of Cape Colony, and afterwards in the O.R.C. and Transvaal. Sources: "The Last Post - Roll of Officers who fell in South Africa 1899-1902" by Mildred G Dooner.
THORNHILL	**E**	Private 4996, 1st Battalion, Suffolk Regiment. Died of disease 22nd May 1901 at Middelburg.
TOOKE	**R**	Private 4679, 1st Battalion, Suffolk Regiment. Died of disease 9th March 1901 at Elandsfontein.
TUFFS	**Thomas**	Private 6522, Volunteer Company, Suffolk Regiment. Died of disease 9th June 1900 at Kroonstad.
TURNER	**H**	Sergeant, Royal Inniskilling Fusliers
VAUGHAN	**John**	Private, 1st Battalion, Suffolk Regiment. Killed in action 6th January 1900 on Suffolk Hill; commemorated on Suffolk Hill Memorial, Colesberg, South Africa.
WALDEN	**J**	Drummer 2672, 1st Battalion, Suffolk Regiment. Died of disease 26th December 1900 at Aliwal North.
WALLACE	**Henry**	Private 2721, 1st Battalion, Suffolk Regiment. Killed in action 6th January 1900 on Suffolk Hill; commemorated on Suffolk Hill Memorial, Colesberg, South Africa.
WARD	**John**	Private 5366, 1st Battalion, Suffolk Regiment. Died of disease 2nd November 1900 at Middelburg.
WATLING	**Walter**	Private 2739, 1st Battalion, Suffolk Regiment. Prisoner of war 6th January 1900 at Colesberg; died of disease 15th April 1900 at Pretoria.
WATSON	**A**	Private 647, 1st Battalion, Suffolk Regiment. Died of disease 14th November 1901 at Krugersdorp.
WATSON	**Arthur John**	Lieutenant Colonel, 1st Battalion, Suffolk Regiment. Killed in action 6th January 1900 on Suffolk Hill, age 46; commemorated on Suffolk Hill Memorial, Colesberg, South Africa.

		Watson.—Lieut.-Col. Arthur John Watson, p.s.c., 1st Batt. Suffolk Regt., was killed in action near Rensburg, Jan. 6th, 1900. He was born in June, 1853, and entered the 12th Foot in Aug., 1873, being promoted capt. April, 1883, major Oct., i886, and lieut.-col. Sept., 1898. He was instructor of musketry to his battalion from Feb., i88o, to Jan., 1883. He served with the Bechuanaland Expedition under Sir Charles Warren, 1884-85, as brigade-major, and was mentioned in despatches. He was employed with the Egyptian Army from Feb., 1886, to the following Sept. He took part in the Hazara Expedition in i888 as brigade-major to the First Column, under Brigadier-General Channer, was mentioned in despatches and received the medal with clasp. He also served with the Chitral Relief Force under Sir Robert Low, in 1897, as road commandant on the lines of communications, receiving the medal with clasp. Lieut.-Col. Watson was D.A.A.G. in Bengal from July, 1889, to Feb., 1896. He obtained command of the 1st Batt. Suffolk Regt. in Sept., 1898, and took the battalion to South Africa in Nov., 1899. He fell in a night attack on the enemy who held a kopje which formed the key to their position round the town of Colesberg. The Boers, who were apparently well informed of our intended attack, opened fire and Lieut. Col. Watson was killed early in the fight. A monument has been erected at Colesberg in memory of all those who fell in this engagement. Sources: "The Last Post - Roll of Officers who fell in South Africa 1899-1902" by Mildred G Dooner.
WEBB	**Thomas**	Private 2276, 1st Battalion, Suffolk Regiment. Missing in action, died of wounds 6th January 1900 at Suffolk Hill; commemorated on Suffolk Hill Memorial, Colesberg, South Africa.
WHITE	**Cecil Arbuthnot**	Lieutenant, 1st Battalion, Suffolk Regiment. Killed in action 6th January 1900 on Suffolk Hill, aged 25; commemorated on Suffolk Hill Memorial, Colesberg, South Africa. White.- Lieut. Cecil Arbuthnot White, 1st Batt. Suffolk Regt., was killed in action near Rensburg, Jan. 6th, 1900. He was the youngest son of Robert Holmes White, Esq., of io, Devonshire Place, W., and Boulge Hall, Woodbridge. He was born Aug., 1874, educated at Eton (Mr. Durnford's), and entered the Suffolk Regt. from the 3rd Batt. Derbyshire Regt. in May, 1897, being promoted lieut. March, 1899. Lieut. White accompanied his battalion to South Africa in Nov., 1899, and served with it in the north of Cape Colony until killed. Sources: "The Last Post - Roll of Officers who fell in South Africa 1899-1902" by Mildred G Dooner.

WILKINS	**Francis Alfred Pressland**	[Memorial lists him as Lieutenant & Adjutant] Captain & Adjutant, 1st Battalion, Suffolk Regiment. Killed in action 6th January 1900 on Suffolk Hill; commemorated on Suffolk Hill Memorial, Colesberg, South Africa. Wilkins—Capt. Francis Alfred Pressland Wilkins, Suffolk Regt., was killed in action near Rensburg, Jan. 6th, 1900. He was the only son of Alfred Wilkins, Esq., of 43, Earl's Court Square, S.W., and was born in April, 1871. He was educated at Westminster School, and at Paris, and passed into the Royal Military College at the head of the list. When leaving Sandhurst he passed out with Honours, and entered the Suffolk Regt. in May, 1892, being promoted lieut. June, 1895, and Capt. August, 1899. He had been adjutant of his battalion since Jan., 1899, and was qualified as an interpreter in French, German, and Italian. Capt. Wilkins embarked for South Africa with his battalion in Nov., 1899, and served with it in the north of Cape Colony until killed. Sources: "The Last Post - Roll of Officers who fell in South Africa 1899-1902" by Mildred G Dooner.
WILLIS	**C**	Private, Rifle Brigade
WILSON	**Charles**	Private 4281, 1st Battalion, Suffolk Regiment. Died of disease 7th July 1900 at Germiston.
WILSON	**H H**	Private 1249, 1st Battalion, Suffolk Regiment. Killed in action 6th January 1900 at Colesberg. From Cambridge. See also Cambridge Boer War memorial.
WOODGATE	**A**	Private 4298, 1st Battalion, Suffolk Regiment. Died of disease 8th February 1901 at Middelburg.
WOODS	**G**	Private, Suffolk Regiment
WOOLARD	**W S**	Private 763, 1st Battalion, Suffolk Regiment. Died of disease 26-12-1900, Pretoria. From Kirtling, Cambridgeshire. See also Cambridge Boer War memorial and Ipswich Boer War Memorial.
WRIGHT	**P**	Private 4356, 1st Battalion, Suffolk Regiment. Died of disease 9th March 1902 at Johannesburg.

Appendix III Plates & Maps.

Plates

Plate 1 South African War Memorial, Cornhill. Bury St Edmunds. N. Patrick. Churches Conservation Trust.

Plate 2 Postcard Published by Cook and Son, Fine Art Dealers, etc, 10, Cornhill Bury St Edmunds, and 1 & 2, Ipswich Street, Bury St Edmunds, and Hyde Park Corner, Ipswich.' 1914

Plate 3 *The Rhodes Colossus* by Edward Linley Sambourne (1844–1910) from Punch 10 December 1892. Public Domain.

Plate 4 Gibraltar Barracks, Bury St Edmunds 2022. N. Patrick. The Churches Conservation Trust

Plate 5 *Suffolk Regiment Volunteers early 20th* From the Suffolk Regiment Collection at the Suffolk Records Office, Bury St Edmunds.

Plate 6 *A Reconnaissance near Colesberg*. From the Suffolk Regiment Collection at the Suffolk Records Office, Bury St Edmunds

Plate 7 *A Disastrous Night Advance By The Suffolks!* From the Illustrated Police Budget, 1900. From the Suffolk Regiment Collection at the Suffolk Records Office, Bury St Edmunds.

Plate 8 *Memorial to the Suffolks who died at Colesberg in January 1900.* From the Suffolk Regiment Collection at the Suffolk Records Office, Bury St Edmunds.

Plate 9 Lizzie Van Zyl May 1901, Bloemfontein – Public Domain

Plate 10 A copy of *The Ghastly Blunders of the War – A Guide to the Report of the Royal Commission on the South African War 1899 -1900*. From the Suffolk Regiment Collection at the Suffolk Records Office, Bury St Edmunds.

Plate 11 An early postcard of the South African Memorial in Bury St Edmunds. Courtsey Roll of Honour

Plate 12 The East Suffolk Boer War Memorial. Photographer: Steve James. Public Domain

Plate 13 Arthur Walker. Self Portrait. Public Domain

Plate 14 The unveiling of the Boer War Memorial on the Cornhill, Bury Edmunds. November 1904. From an old photograph and by permission of Roll of Honour Roll of Honour - Suffolk - Bury St Edmunds Boer War Memorial (roll-of-honour.com)

Plate 15 South African War Memorial, Cornhill Bury St Edmunds. N. Patrick. Churches Conservation Trust.

Plate 16 *The Dying Gaul*, Capitoline Museums, Rome. Public Domain.

Maps

Map 2 Ordnance Survey 25 Inch Suffolk XLIV.7, Revised: 1903, Published: 1904 Courtesy National Library of Scotland Online Map Images. Public Domain

Map 2 Parks H.B. (?- 1936) ; Butcher, Charles Simpson; Lankford, John Anderson, (1874-1946) “Africa : the problem of the new century : the part the African Methodist Episcopal Church is to have in its solution”. 1899. Public domain.

Appendix IV

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