

FOR KING AND COUNTRY

This is a groundbreaking history of the British monarchy in the First World War and of the social and cultural functions of monarchism in the British war effort. Heather Jones examines how the conflict changed British cultural attitudes to the monarchy, arguing that the conflict ultimately helped to consolidate the crown's sacralised status. She looks at how the monarchy engaged with war recruitment, bereavement and gender norms, as well as at its political and military powers and its relationship with Ireland and the empire. She considers the role that monarchism played in military culture and examines royal visits to the front, as well as the monarchy's role in home front morale and in interwar war commemoration. Her findings suggest that the rise of republicanism in wartime Britain has been overestimated and that war commemoration was central to the monarchy's revered interwar status up to the abdication crisis.

HEATHER JONES is Professor of Modern and Contemporary European History at University College London. An expert on the First World War, her previous publications include *Violence against Prisoners of War in the First World War: Britain, France and Germany, 1914–1920* (2011). She is a former Max Weber Fellow of the European University Institute and is a director of the International Research Centre of the Historial de la Grande Guerre, Péronne. She has been awarded the Irish Research Council's Eda Sagarra Gold Medal.



Studies in the Social and Cultural History of Modern Warfare

General Editors Robert Gerwarth, University College Dublin Jay Winter, Yale University

Advisory Editors
Heather Jones, University College London
Rana Mitter, University of Oxford
Michelle Moyd, Indiana University Bloomington
Martin Thomas, University of Exeter

In recent years the field of modern history has been enriched by the exploration of two parallel histories. These are the social and cultural history of armed conflict, and the impact of military events on social and cultural history.

Studies in the Social and Cultural History of Modern Warfare presents the fruits of this growing area of research, reflecting both the colonisation of military history by cultural historians and the reciprocal interest of military historians in social and cultural history, to the benefit of both. The series offers the latest scholarship in European and non-European events from the 1850s to the present day.

A full list of titles in the series can be found at: www.cambridge.org/modernwarfare



FOR KING AND COUNTRY

The British Monarchy and the First World War

HEATHER JONES

University College London





CAMBRIDGEUNIVERSITY PRESS

University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom

One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA

477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia

314–321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre, New Delhi – 110025, India 103 Penang Road, #05–06/07, Visioncrest Commercial, Singapore 238467

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning, and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org
Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781108429368
DOI: 10.1017/9781108554619

© Heather Jones 2021

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2021

Printed in the United Kingdom by TJ Books Limited, Padstow Cornwall

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data Names: Jones, Heather, 1978– author.

Title: For king and country : the British monarchy and the First World War / Heather Jones, University College London.

Description: First edition. | New York : Cambridge University Press, 2021. | Series: Studies in the social and cultural history of modern warfare | Includes bibliographical references and index.

Identifiers: LCCN 2021006787 (print) | LCCN 2021006788 (ebook) | ISBN 9781108429368 (hardback) | ISBN 9781108554619 (ebook)

Subjects: LCSH: Windsor, House of. | World War, 1914–1918 - Great Britain. | Monarchy - Great Britain - History - 20th century. | Great Britain-Kings and rulers - History - 20th century. | Great Britain - Politics and government - 20th century. | BISAC: HISTORY / Europe / Great Britain / General | HISTORY / Europe / Great Britain / General Classification: LCC DA28.35.W54 J66 2021 (print) | LCC DA28.35.W54 (ebook) | DDC

940.3/410922-dc23

LC record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2021006787 LC ebook record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2021006788

ISBN 978-1-108-42936-8 Hardback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.



CONTENTS

	List of Figures page vi List of Tables ix Acknowledgements x
	Introduction 1
	Prelude: The Monarchy and Wartime Political Power 20
	PART I The Role of the British Monarchy in Cultural Mobilisation for War
1	Monarchist Mentalities and British Mobilisation, 1914-1916
2	Monarchist Culture and Combatant Practices 101
	PART II The Emperor's New Clothes: Changing Cultures of Deference
3	The Royal Body in Wartime 171
4	De-Sacralisation Discourses: Challenges to the Monarchy's Status, 1916–1918 245
	PART III The Unknown Soldier: The Role of the Monarchy in Post-War Commemoration
5	The Monarchy and the Armistice: Ritualising Victory, Channelling War Grief 325
6	The Monarchy's Role in Sacralising Post-War Commemoration 361
	Conclusion 405
	Notes 413 Bibliography 495 Index 542

43



FIGURES

- 1 The meeting of King George V and President Poincaré of France at the British Headquarters at Merville, France on 1 December 1914, by Herbert Arnould Olivier. page 61
- King George V working in his tent in Buckingham Palace Gardens with his Private
 Secretary Arthur John Bigge, Lord Stamfordham, in June 1918.
- 3 A King and Country postcard, c. 1916: 'A message to a soldier fighting in World War I, sent by a loved one at home', with inset of King George V, accompanied by a rousing verse, encouraging him to do his best 'For King and Country'. 73
- 4 Parliamentary Recruiting Committee, Poster no. 74, 1915, 'Come into the Ranks', NAM 1977-06-81-39. 81
- 5 Recruitment Poster for the South Midland Division, Art. IWM PST 4893. 82
- 6 Parliamentary Recruiting Committee, Poster no. 83, May 1915, NAM 1981-09-26-1. 83
- Parliamentary War Savings Committee poster, July 1915, Art. IWM PST 10135.
 84
- 8 War card, Mary Evans Picture Library, 10728467. 85
- 9 'For the Empire! The King Gives His Two Sons to the War', postcard c. 1916, Mary Evans Picture Library, 10997342. 98
- 10 Illustrated London News, 25 November 1916, front page depiction:'Her Son's V.C.: The King Presenting the Victoria Cross to the Mother of a Fallen Hero', Mary Evans Picture Library, 10725550.107
- 11 Postcard of king and Royal Navy, Mary Evans Picture Library, 10950001.
- 12 'Troops Cheering the King', from the Field Marshal Earl Haig Collection, National Library of Scotland, (106) X.33013.120
- 13 King George V on Wytschaete Ridge, Flanders in Belgium on 4 July 1917, during a tour of the Western Front, IWM Q 5586/154448839. 124
- 14 Example of a tin decorated with wartime monarchist imagery, Mary EvansPicture Library, 11034465. 131
- 15 A Princess Mary Gift Box from the collections of the Historial de la Grande Guerre, Péronne, catalogued as Boîte offerte aux officiers en 1914 par la princesse Mary 12 AFU 8.3. 132



LIST OF FIGURES

vii

- 16 Trench-art version of a Princess Mary Gift Box reworked as a wooden coffin, from the collections of the Historial de la Grande Guerre, Péronne, catalogued as Coffret artisanal en forme de cerceuil, 21 ART 4.3.
- 17 King George V inspects South African Native Labour Company, 10 July 1917, from the Field Marshal Earl Haig Collection, National Library of Scotland, C2088. 150
- 18 'The King Emperor as Colonel-in-Chief, Lancers, Indian Army', 1914. King
 George V (1865–1936) in military uniform during the First World War.
 151
- Christmas card, 1917, from Australian Signal Engineer, Sapper
 D. G. McHugo, Imperial War Museum, Documents 8877, Box Misc. 82 item
 1249.
- 20 A Christmas card sent by Edward, Prince of Wales, in 1915, Magdalen College Archives, University of Oxford MC P163/14. 161
- 21 HRH the Prince of Wales in the garden of the chateau which was his Headquarters in France, NAM 2001-02-256-11. 184
- 22 The king and queen's Christmas card to the troops, 1914, NAM 1999-11-149. 190
- 23 Souvenirs gathered from the battlefields by George V and labelledby the king, Royal Collection Trust, RCIN 69437.195
- 24 Matron-in-Chief introduces a matron to Her Majesty, Western Front, 1917, from the Field Marshal Earl Haig Collection, National Library of Scotland, C2023. 196
- 25 Queen Mary with her husband and eldest son during her visit to the Western Front, from the Field Marshal Earl Haig Collection, National Library of Scotland, C2062. 197
- Queen and her party witnessing some explosions, 1917, from the Field Marshal Earl Haig Collection, National Library of Scotland, C2040.200
- Queen chats with a patient, Western Front 1917, from the Field Marshal
 Earl Haig Collection, National Library of Scotland, C2021.
 217
- 28 'Queen Alexandra's Christmas Day visit to the wounded', front page of the *Daily Mirror*, 27 December 1915, Mary Evans Picture Library, 11115158. 218
- 29 'The King's Daughter as a Hospital Nurse: Princess Mary in Her Uniform as a Probationer', *Illustrated London News*, 6 July 1918, Mary Evans Picture Library, 11806729. 232
- 30 Wartime roll of honour from St Barnabas's Church of Ireland Parish. 258
- 31 Armed members of the Irish Citizen Army parade outside Liberty Hall in Dublin under their anti-monarchist banner, Keogh Collection, National Library of Ireland Ke198. 262
- 32 King George V and Queen Mary in Belfast, 22 June 1921, photograph by Alex Hogg. 269



viii

LIST OF FIGURES

- 33 "A Good Riddance": The King has done a popular act in abolishing the German titles held by members of His Majesty's Family', *Punch Magazine*, 27 June 1917. 288
- 34 'King and People in the Streets of London, Armistice Day, November 11, 1918,'
 The Sphere front page, 16 November 1918, illustration by Fortunino Matania,
 Mary Evans Picture Library, 10980897.
 330
- The Public Proclamation of Peace at Friary Court, St James's Palace, 2 July 1919,Getty Images, 646304130.336
- 36 Clevedon-on-Sea peace souvenir, 1919 pamphlet. 341
- 37 Queen Mary lays flowers at a local memorial shrine and roll of honour on Palace Road, Hackney, August 1916, Mary Evans Picture Library, 12014319 353
- 38 Sprunt Family Memorial, St Peter's Church, Berkhamsted. 357
- 39 King George V (flanked in rear by Prince of Wales and Duke of York) leading procession for the burial of the Unknown Soldier of WWI, Getty Images, 53370747.
- 40 Image of the king in a war cemetery from *The King's Pilgrimage* (London, 1922). 389
- 41 Crouy British Cemetery, the king talking to two bereaved Australian relatives, from *The King's Pilgrimage* (London, 1922). 391
- 42 Image of Edward VIII's visit to Gallipoli from *The Sphere*, 19 September 1936, p. 456, Mary Evans Picture Library, 13156681. 400



TABLE

1 Google N-Gram of the term 'King and Country', 1900–39. page 72



ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

In researching and writing this book, I have been helped by the generosity and knowledge of many archivists, librarians, fellow historians and students. It has been my good fortune to work with some of the leading cultural historians of the First World War - John Horne, Jay Winter, Annette Becker, Alan Kramer and Stéphane Audoin-Rouzeau - who have encouraged me in this project and inspired with their own work in equal measure. John and Alan deserve a special note of gratitude as they mentored my undergraduate and doctoral studies and have been my teachers and colleagues for over twenty years. Laurence Van Ypersele kindly shared her own expertise on the Belgian monarchy in the First World War. Others helped by offering the chance to test out some of the ideas of this book. Hew Strachan provided a crucial opportunity to develop some of the ideas in this study through a conference invitation in 2018 and subsequent paper publication. Sophie de Schaepdrijver helped me to crystallise my thoughts on monarchy and gender by inviting me to present at the University of Kent while Mathilde von Bulow invited me to the University of Glasgow. James McConnel allowed me to trial my arguments on wartime monarchy at Northumbria University; Christoph Mick enabled me to present parts of this book to the Modern European Research Seminar at Warwick University; Philip Mansell kindly invited me to present my ideas to the Society for Court Studies; Christopher Clark and Tim Rogan helpfully invited me to present at Cambridge University and discussed ideas for the book in detail. Gary Sheffield, Matthew Stibbe, Claire Shaw, Mark Connelly, Brian Walker, Jonathan Boff, Dennis Wardleworth, Judith Rowbotham, Ana Carden-Covne, Frédéric Hadley, Alan Fidler and Jenny Macleod offered invaluable source advice, support, sources or suggestions at key moments. Jonathan Lewis kindly allowed me to cite his unpublished thesis. Among those historians whose conversations have advanced and encouraged this study, I would particularly like to thank Alison Fell, Catriona Pennell, Max Jones, Richard Grayson, Santanu Das, Aimée Fox, Adrian Gregory, John Röhl, Annika Mombauer, Alexander Watson, Edward Madigan, Sven Oliver Müller, Daniel Steinbach, Nicolas Beaupré, Franziska Heimburger, Arndt Weinrich, Pierre Purseigle, William Philpott, Dominic Lieven, George



ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

νi

Morton-Jack and the late, much missed, Clare Makepeace. This book was greatly improved by enjoyable conversations with a number of fellow monarchy historians – Edward Owens, Heidi Mehrkens, Matthew Glencross, Frank Lorenz Müller, Frank Mort and Axel Körner. Philip Williamson and Frank Mort both kindly read extracts and suggested a number of important amendments; John Horne and Mark Jones generously read final drafts. I am immensely grateful for their suggestions.

Earlier extracts from Chapters 1 and 2 appeared as Heather Jones, 'The Nature of Kingship in First World War Britain' in Matthew Glencross, Judith Rowbotham and Michael Kandiah, eds., The Windsor Dynasty, 1910 to the Present: 'Long to Reign over Us?' (London, 2016), pp. 195-216; Heather Jones, 'A Prince in the Trenches? Edward VIII and the First World War' in Heidi Merkhens and Frank Lorenz Müller, eds., Sons and Heirs: Succession and Political Culture in 19th Century Europe (Basingstoke, 2015), pp. 229-46. This book also benefited from the opportunity in 2017 to script and present a BBC Radio 4 documentary on the First World War experiences of the future Edward VIII; producer Mark Burman provided many helpful sources and suggestions. My fellow convenors of the War, Society and Culture Seminar at the Institute of Historical Research have offered a welcome forum for debate and discussion. The two anonymous readers for Cambridge University Press provided crucial comments; this book is all the better for them. My editor at CUP, Michael Watson, has safely steered this project to publication; my sincere thanks to him, Jane Burkowski, Tanya Izzard Melissa Ward, Jayavel Radhakrishnan and Emily Sharp for all their help. The usual disclaimer applies that any errors that may remain are my own responsibility.

The British Library has proved a wonderful haven in which to research and write. The Royal Archives very kindly fielded my many queries and helpfully allowed me access to consult a number of key documents, including the wartime diaries of King George V, Queen Mary and the Prince of Wales, the later Edward VIII. In particular, I would like to thank Pamela Clark, Julie Crocker and Laura Hobbs for their painstaking work in locating documents and their generosity with their time and support. All extracts from the Royal Archives are reproduced here by gracious permission of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II. The staff of the following archives and libraries also assisted this book either in person or by email; I am extremely grateful to them: The Churchill Archives Centre, Churchill College, Cambridge; the Imperial War Museum and, in particular, Suzanne Bardgett and Alan Wakefield; the Lincolnshire Archives; the Commonwealth War Graves Commission Archive and, in particular, former CWGC historian Glyn Prysor; the Bodleian Libraries, Oxford; Cambridge University Library; the Lambeth Palace Library; Dublin City Library and Archive; the National Library of Ireland and, in particular, Glenn Dunne and Berni Metcalfe; the Essex Record Office; the National Archives at Kew; the Liddle Collection at Leeds



xii

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

University Library; Southampton University Library; St Bartholomew's Hospital Museum and Archives, London and, in particular, Dan Heather; the Liddell Hart Centre for Military Archives at King's College London; Newcastle University Library Special Collections and Archives; the Parliamentary Archives; the Templer Study Centre at the National Army Museum; Trinity College Library, University of Dublin; the Mary Evans Picture Library and, in particular, Jessica Talmage and Lucinda Gosling; the UK Government Art Collection (GACS); and the staff of The Keep at Sussex University Library. Bette Baldwin and Phil Curme of Clevedon Pier and Heritage Trust Archives and Michael Pegum of www .irishwarmemorials.ie were fantastic in helping me to include images from their collections here. I would also like to thank Jasper Olivier and the Estate of Herbert Arnould Olivier. The Historial de la Grande Guerre at Péronne provided a number of sources, and my fellow directors of its International Centre for the Research of the First World War continue to inspire; Caroline Fontaine merits a special word of thanks for her deft management support, as well as Marie-Pascale Prévost-Bault and Christine Cazé. Every effort has been made to trace copyright holders and to obtain their permission for the use of copyright material. The author apologises for any omissions and correction and acknowledgement will be made in any future reprints or editions of this book.

Much of this book was researched during my time at the Department of International History at the London School of Economics and Political Science, where I benefited from the outstanding First World War knowledge of David Stevenson and Alan Sked and from collegial support from all of the department. It is not possible to list everyone here, but Matthew Jones, Janet Hartley, Nigel Ashton, Tanya Harmer, Paul Keenan, David Motadel, Taylor Sherman, Paul Stock, Kristina Spohr, Demetra Frini, Nayna Bhatti and Milada Fomina merit a special mention of thanks. This book was completed in the congenial surroundings of the History Department at University College London. I would like to thank UCL for supporting this project to completion and, in particular, Nicola Miller, Eleanor Robson, Margot Finn, Johanna Dale, Iain Stewart and Michael Collins. My students, at undergraduate, taught Masters and doctoral levels, at both the LSE and at UCL, have provided constant intellectual stimulation and ideas; they continue to make me a better historian. I would particularly like to thank my current and former doctoral students Alex Mayhew, Ian Stewart, Tommaso Milani, Mahon Murphy, Giovanni Graglia, Chloe Pieters, Nick Sorrie, Yorai Linenberg, Artemis Photiadou, Chris Batten and my MA student Nicole Souders for valuable discussions.

I owe my brother, the historian Mark Jones, a debt of gratitude that goes well beyond our history discussions. To Ulrike Ruemer, Luke and Ben Jones, my thanks for the many blessings of family. My grateful thanks also to Louie and



ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

xiii

Constantina Loizou for all their help. This book was produced against a background of very significant personal events. My wonderful parents Valerie and Stuart Jones did not live to see its completion; their loss is keenly felt and this book owes much to their lifetime of love and care. While working on this book, my life was immeasurably enriched by the birth of two beautiful, beloved children, Evelyn and Patrick. This book is dedicated to my husband Nicholas, without whose tireless support, love and true partnership neither it, nor so much else, would have ever been possible.