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War memorials in organizational memory: a case study of the Bank of England

Victoria Barnes[a] and Lucy Newton[b]

[a]Max-Planck-Institut für europäische Rechtsgeschichte, Frankfurt am Main, Germany; [b]Department of International Business and Strategy, Henley Business School, University of Reading, UK.

ABSTRACT

Nation-states are not the only bodies to have invested in memory-building through the construction of war memorials. This article moves the analysis on from nation-states to firms. It undertakes an analysis of war memorials built by the Bank of England. At the close of World War I, the Bank of England was not yet a nationalized company. Yet, it still, like many other organizations, engaged in this process of memorialization. We show that businesses closely followed the habits of nation-states when it came to commemorating war. The building of monuments and the ceremonies, which took place around them, assigned values to the imagined communities, groups and nations. These events continue to the present day.

KEYWORDS

Organizational memory; organizational identity; banks; banking; finance

> The reality of these events does not consist in the fact that they occurred but that, first of all, they were remembered.
>
> (White 1980, 23)

Introduction

The war dead have been commemorated for centuries (Low, Oliver, and Rhodes 2012). Historians have done much in uncovering the importance of monuments and, in particular, in establishing an official memory of World War I and II. Their research shows that war memorials forged a collective national identity (Fussell 1975; Becker 1988; Heffernan 1995; Vance 1997; Winter 1998; Connelly 2002; Prost and Winter 2004; Goebel 2007; Winter 2006). In the Anglo-American experience, the state produced physical tributes in order to commemorate a victory. The artifacts stood in high-profile public spaces. They acted as a vessel through which civic bodies, such as nations, cities, towns and even small villages, could memorialize, recognize and tell the story of those who gave their lives. Yet it is not only nation-states who have engaged in memory building. From a walk along the English high streets or through a railway station, it is clear that business organizations have also engaged in these commemorative practices. Nevertheless, little is known about these objects and their impact in shaping organizational memory and identity. Do

CONTACT Victoria Barnes Barnes@rg.mpg.de Max-Planck-Institut für europäische Rechtsgeschichte, Hansaallee 41, Frankfurt am Main 60395, Germany

organizations follow the same principles and patterns that historians have observed in wider society? What do these practices say about the culture of the organization in comparison to that of the nation, other imagined communities and groups?

To answer these questions, this article uses the Bank of England and its war memorials as a case study.[1] The memorials were first constructed in the twentieth century following the end of World War I and another was created to commemorate the end of World War II (see Figure 1 and 2). This article investigates the way that artifacts have been used as means of communicating ideas about the organization's understanding of its identity and how this changes over time. The Bank of England began building war memorials in 1920 when it was a private company. After World War II, the Bank was nationalized and came to be a publicly owned enterprise. Overall, we find considerable similarities between the processes used to build a collective memory in nation-states and business organizations. Those in the organization believed that it had all the hallmarks of a community; it functioned as a society honoring its members who had perished in the war. Through its memorialization, it renegotiated the roles and rights for those who remained as part of the organization after the conflict had ended.

Figure 1. World War I Memorial of St Christopher.

Figure 2. World War II Memorial.

The article starts by engaging in a review of the relevant literature in historical and organizational studies. It then discusses the methodologies used in this article. We begin the substantive analysis in the third part by enumerating the memorials that were installed in the Bank after World War I. This section also provides a brief description of those artifacts. This is followed by a discussion of the sentiment behind the memorials and to whom it was intended to represent. The subsequent section engages in an exploration of the context in which these memorials were erected and it compares of the practices in wider society to those at the Bank. The next part considers the longevity of the ceremonies and how the messages about the organization's identity changed over time. The final sections provide a discussion of the results and then a conclusion.

Organizational memory in perspective

The creation of a war memorial by an organization combines public memory of an event with personal and individual memories. Events with dual aspects of memory are often those of significant historical importance, such as war (Brown, Shevell, and Rips 1986). Halbwachs (1980) and Corning and Schuman (2015) show that while the memorial may exist in perpetuity, the memory will be strongest as a lived experience. War memorials continue to play a role in the present long after those who experienced the conflict have passed. Indeed, the anniversary speeches and orations that take place around these monuments remind us of the conflict: they repeat the story of the battle and the war dead. In doing so, these ceremonies assign values to the imagined communities, groups and nations which took part.

Winter explained that there is a three-part cycle to war memorialization, starting with the first constructive phase, evident by monument building and ceremonies. This then moves to the second stage where the remembering becomes institutionalized and, finally, the third stage where the sites of memory are transformed or disappear. The final stage requires 'reinscription' for the commemoration to continue and is dependent on subsequent generations inheriting meanings surrounding the commemoration and also, possibly, adding new meanings (Winter 2001). Gough (2004, 448) emphasized the role of war memorials in the collective memory but also in terms of present and future public duties. He said that '[c]ontaining and conveying collective memory, war memorials exist not only as aesthetic devices but as an apparatus of social memory' which 'have the power to extend our understanding of national and local heritage and remind us of our public responsibilities'.

War memorials were designed to store memories and mediate between the past, present and future. At the end of the First World War, the Royal Academy of Arts in the United Kingdom stated that:

> It is essential that memorials within our Churches and Cathedrals, in the close, the public park, or the village green should not clash with the spirit of the past; that, however simple, they should express the emotion of the present and hope of the future without losing touch with the past, and that instead of being a rock of offence to future generations, they should be objects of veneration to those who follow us. (Royal Academy of Arts 1918)

In the case of Canada, Vance asserted that Canadians needed to put the war to 'some use' and that it 'had to be recalled in such as way that positives outcomes, beyond the defeat of German aggression, were clear' (Vance 1997, 9). The key narrative that was established after World War I in Canada was, Vance argues, of noble sacrifice as opposed to unnecessary slaughter. In this way, a collective memory helped to make sense of the past conflict for those living in the present and future (Vance 1997, 11).

Studies of organizational memory have likewise emphasized the link between the past, present and future. Walsh and Ungson (1991, 61) asserted that: '[i]n its most basic sense, organizational memory refers to stored information from an organization's history that can be brought to bear on present decisions'. Yet Rowlinson, et al. (2010, 69, 74–76), noted that studies of organizational memory should not treat memory 'as a storage bin', nor should it be considered merely as a tool for management decision-making. In addition to aiding decision-making, organizational memory may link the past and present through its role in an organization's culture and identity. These are built through past experiences, and, as a result, involve the use of memory. Such culture and identity may be stored in language (Donnellon 1986), stories (Martin et al. 1983; Wilkins 1983), symbols and objects (Pfeffer 1981; Dandridge 1983; Barnes and Newton 2017) and rituals (Dacin, Munir, and Tracey 2010). Of particular interest to this research is the use of objects in organizational identity and memory. Objects, such as statues, ornaments, portraits, architecture or museums, exist as an expression of a collective memory. Decker (2014) argues that they form a record of a ritual and a sign of the organization's past. Suddaby, Foster and Trank (2016, 300) consider that '[m]onuments, statues, and related shared symbols of the past are uniquely effective in creating a sense of commonality in a given social group'. Artifacts and objects are a means by which memory may be kept within an organization and perpetuated over time. This process involves the objects serving as 'talking points' or a 'show and tell' (Ames 1980; Rafaeli and Pratt 1993) to explain the meaning

of the act that has occurred. Interaction with historical objects offers occasions for the organization to embed a memory. It can establish a 'story' about a corporation and this narrative may be continued through retelling. Using history in forming organizational identity often involves sense-making by companies. Past events and cultures may be used by an organization to make sense of their current situation (Ravasi and Schultz 2006). Schultz and Hernes (2013, 2) assert that the construction of identity takes place 'in an ongoing present suspended between the past and the future'. Memory cues, such as artifacts, provide an opportunity to place organizational identity in a broader context and to carry forward future organizational identity (Schultz and Hernes 2013, 4, 6).

Suddaby, Foster and Trank (2016, 298) stress that: '[a]n organization's history is made relevant to a group by contextualizing past events in the present through memory and recollection'. They call this process 'organizational re-membering' (Suddaby, Foster, and Trank 2016, 302–3). Research into the use of objects to generate organization memory and to forge organization identity has focused on reactions to threats to the identity of corporations (Dutton and Dukerich 1991; Elsbach and Kramer 1996; Gioia and Thomas 1996; Ravasi and Schultz 2006; Schultz and Hatch 2003; Hatch and Schultz 2017; Barnes and Newton 2018). The importance of corporate history and corporate memory has also been viewed as a strategic asset or a valuable marketing tool (Brunninge 2009; Suddaby, Foster, and Trank 2010). What happened when there was no threat to the identity of an organization or when organizational memory is not being used to market a product or service? In choosing to examine the Bank of England after World War I and World War II, we consider an organization that had been involved in an international event and wished to remember the events at an organizational level. The desire was for this memory to be perpetuated into the future and for the loss of life in the conflicts not to be forgotten. In this article, we examine the Bank of England war memorials from World War I and World War II. These objects form part of the identity of the Bank of England and have been used to remember the organization's role in both wars. The Bank took the lead in the financial sector with this type of commemoration (Boorman 1988, 30–31). In addition, we argue, they have been used both as a reminder from the past to inform present organizational culture and identity. The methodology of our approach is discussed below.

Methodology

This article uses qualitative evidence to discuss the concepts of organizational memory and identity. It follows a case study approach as it considers the example of the Bank of England. As an example of a British bank, the Bank of England does not represent other organizations in the domestic sector particularly well. It is unique in comparison to the other retail banks in the United Kingdom as it has a different history and role. By the 1920s, the Bank of England operated more as a government agency than a private corporation and 'fully identified the state's priorities with its own' (Abramson 2005, 234).[2] The Bank of England is, however, more comparable on an international scale. It is an organization that serves as a central bank – a state-owned organization and a market regulator. Other central banks have engaged in similar processes.[3]

To consider the Bank of England's use of war memorials, this article relies upon three bodies of sources: the memorials themselves, archival documents relating to their

commissions and materials on later ceremonies and celebrations. We have also solicited an interview with a present staff member to discover more about their current usage, but their contemporary position is by no means the focus of the article. This article aims to elucidate upon how these artifacts and their usage and purpose changed over time. Using a long-run analysis, the focus is upon the artifacts themselves; it considers how staff members in the organization related to them through time using a polyphonic methodology. Smith and Russell (2016) commend this approach, arguing that research in management and organizational studies should take on a polyphonic framework to include a wide range of voices. Even so, Hatch and Schulz (2017, 4–5) claim that much of the literature considering history and organizational identity does not consider 'the activities that occur at the micro-level of organizational actors as they use that history or why it occurred to actors to use organizational history in the first place'. This article thus brings in the many voices and competing interests that contributed to the aims and objectives of the group who commemorated the Bank of England's war dead.

Background

The Bank of England was formed in 1694 as a private bank, with the objective of acting as banker to the government. Such a position placed it in a unique, and lasting, position of political power and influence.[4] Despite this, it was still a profit-making enterprise, which was responsible to its shareholders. In the nineteenth century, the Bank opened branches in provincial cities and competed with other banks for business (Ziegler 1990). While not being a central bank or a formal part of the state's apparatus at this stage, the relationship between the Bank of England and government was always close (Collins 1988). By the mid-nineteenth century, the Bank of England would become the state's mechanism for controlling the supply of money (Desan 2014). It gradually assumed the responsibilities of a central bank in the nineteenth century (Sayers 1957; Wood 2005). It was nationalized immediately after the end of World War II in 1946.

The war memorials are located in the Bank's current offices on Threadneedle Street. These offices were originally designed by Sir John Soane in the late eighteenth century. They underwent significant remodeling in the period between 1925 and 1939. The architect of the new, remodeled offices was Sir Herbert Baker.[5] The new buildings were seven stories high, with three stories below ground. The head offices form an imposing Neo-Classical Grade I listed building, located on a block of land that is adjacent to Threadneedle Street, Prince's Street, Lothbury and Bartholomew Lane. The front entrance is opposite the Mansion House, official home of the Lord Mayor of London, and sits at the heart of the financial district of London.

Memorialization

The Bank of England commemorated the death of its employees in war in a variety of ways (as shown in Table 1). The process started in February 1919 when a committee was established to organize the commemoration of those Bank staff that had been killed in World War I. Two months later the names of those employees were read from the steps of the altar at a service in Southwark Cathedral.[6] Subscriptions were called by from Bank staff to fund a bed at Guy's Hospital. Any money left over was to be used for a memorial.

Table 1. Memorials and commemoration of the Banks of England's war dead.

Conflict	Memorial	Location
World War I	Statue of St Christopher and the Holy Child in the Garden Court	Head Office, Threadneedle Street, London
World War II	Bronze wreath with inscription	Head Office, Threadneedle Street, London
World War I	Stone panels engraved with names of the dead	Head Office, Threadneedle Street, London
World War II	Stone panels engraved with names of the dead	Head Office, Threadneedle Street, London
World War I	Stained Glass window	Bank of England Printing Department, St Luke's, London
World War I	Fund for a hospital bed with a commemorative brass plaque	St Guy's Hospital, London
World War I	Memorial Tablet	Liverpool Branch, Liverpool
World War II	Memorial Tablet	Liverpool Branch, Liverpool
World War I	Memorial Tablet	Newcastle Branch, Newcastle
World War I	Memorial Tablet	Manchester Branch, Manchester

Source: The Bank and National Events: War Memorials, December 1921–April 1949, File P661, Memorandum, July 1947. *The Old Lady of Threadneedle Street*, Vol. 1, March 1921–December 1922, pp. 34–35 and Vol. II, March 1923–December 1924, p. 113.

The Court of Directors at the Bank supported this initiative by agreeing to the remodeling of the Garden Court to form a suitable environment for the memorial.[7]

After World War I, the Birmingham, Western (London) and Plymouth branches did not erect plaques, even though members of their staff were killed in active service. The Newcastle and Liverpool branches unveiled plaques to the three members of staff from each branch who had died in the conflict, and Manchester acted likewise to remember their member of staff who had died.[8]

Inside the London headquarters, the largest memorial is the statue of St Christopher, created in honor of the Bank staff who died in World War I.[9] The base has tiers that resemble steps and leads up to a box which sits on top. This oblong box follows the examples of grave markers in Victorian cemeteries. On top, a statue of St Christopher and the Holy Child stands. Further inscriptions can be seen on the base of statue, encasing the rock. The statue is made with bronze and is life sized. Together with the box it sits on, this sculpture stands at over 10 ft and towers over individuals who might be stood directly beside it.

The bronze statue of St Christopher stands in the garden court at the Bank of England. It is visible from the Bank's entrance hall and is overlooked by bank offices, including the office of the Governor of the Bank of England. The garden court itself is at the center of the building, surrounded on all sides by offices. The statue stands at the short end of the rectangular space. The garden is not open, so viewing takes place through windows. At its base is the memorial to those staff who died in World War II, but this is at a lower level and far less prominent. The statue of St Christopher remains the focal point for those looking out into the courtyard. Given the position of the St Christopher monument, our analysis focuses primarily upon this artifact and how it relates others in the garden, in the same way that they were introduced into the garden. There are no other sculptures in the garden court.

The members of staff who discussed the statue's creation, its sculpting and introduced the piece to others, ascribed symbolic values and meaning to it. The value of nonverbal communication was its simplicity: the symbols were comprehensive even to those whose literacy was limited (Ames 1980). Indeed, this was something that those at the Bank of

England sought to capitalize on when they commissioned the figure of St Christopher. The sculptor who designed the statue, Goulden, was told that '[y]ou will appreciate the importance of introducing nothing to which exception might be taken, either by the wise or foolish'.[10] We now turn to discuss the ideas and symbols underpinned by this image.

Remembering the war dead as a collective

This section discusses the principal issue in commemorating the war dead. It engages with the core question of how a society remembered the many who died. Did the group decide to pay homage to each individual and their respective personality? Or did they see themselves as a collective? As the historian, Oliver (2012, 115) noted, '[t]ypically, the war dead before the twentieth century would have received little form of post-mortem attention after the disposal of the bodies'. ID tags were commonly used in the American Civil War and afterwards the dead could be named (Mosse 1991, 99). There were still, however, a number of dead soldiers who could not be identified. After the end of World War I, these 'unknown' soldiers were given similar epitaphs and memorials to those soldiers who were named (Wittman 2011). Unlike many of those in World War I who were buried overseas where they fell, the bodies of the unknown soldiers tended to be transported to their home country and remembered there. In these instances, these 'unknown' soldiers were commemorated not as individuals but anonymous personalities. Notable examples can be found in the Tomb of the Unknown Solider in Arlington in Washington D.C. in the United States, the Tomb of the Unknown Warrior in Westminster Abbey in London in England and the Arch de Triomphe in Paris in France. Individualization was in sharp contrast to the traditional undercurrents of memorialization in the United Kingdom.

In the United Kingdom, after World War I, individual names were recognized and recorded, where possible. The state also sought to take control over forms of commemoration. The Imperial (later Commonwealth) War Graves Commission was founded in the United Kingdom in 1917 to establish and maintain cemeteries and monuments to the dead from major conflicts in the twentieth century. The United Kingdom government did not intend to allow families to take control of memorialization as they feared that the rich, with the means to create memorials and monuments, would overshadow the commemoration of those who had fewer resources. The Imperial War Graves Commission was keen to ensure equality of treatment, with no distinction to be made between the remembrance of officers and ordinary soldiers. Individuals were thus remembered and named but as part of a state-controlled endeavor (Oliver 2012, 115, 123).

The 15 employees involved in the construction of the St Christopher statue formed a collective group that became a committee. This was by no means the first time that those at the Bank had decided to fund a memorial or to pay tribute to important individuals.[11] This was, however, notable for its democratic organization and fund as well as its egalitarian aims. Together, the money gathered to build the St Christopher memorial came from a subscription which was open, although members of staff were the main contributors in terms of capital, time and effort. The 15 members of the committee are shown in Table 2. They were helped by one of the female clerks. The Committee's chair and its formal leader was Mr Wilfred G. Bryant. Bryant was born in

Table 2. Members of the War Memorial Committee.

Department	Elected/appointed to the bank	Age	Position	Total salary
Cashiers Department, Branch Bank Office	1890	46	First-class clerk	£400
Chief Account's Department	1903	38	First-class clerk	£320
Accounts Department, India office	1893	46	First-class clerk	£365
Accountants Department, Dividend Office	1893	44	First-class clerk	£365
Accountants Department, Colonial and Corporation Stocks office	1895	44	First-class clerk	£360
Cashiers Department, Drawing office for private accounts	1895	44	Second-class clerk	£340
Cashiers Department, Drawing Office for public accounts	1897	39	Second-class clerk	£330
Cashiers Department, Securities Office	1878	59	Superintendent (nightly watch)	£430
Accountant's Department, Dividend Account Office	1887	52	Superintendent (nightly watch)	£430
Accountant's Department, Register Office	1899	37	Superintendent (nightly watch)	£385
Door Keepers, messengers and porters	1885	57	Gate porter	£180, 14s
Women's clerks	1900	39	Clerk	£180
Women's clerks	1897		Assistant to superintendent	£200
Mechanics and others employed on weekly wages, Machinists	1904	37	Foreman Com. Printing Room	£192, 8s
Women's clerks	1902	35	Assistant to superintendent	£175

Source: Bank of England Archives, E6/4, The Bank and National Events: War Memorials, A General Meeting of the Staff to consider the promotion of a memorial to our colleagues fallen in the war, 18 February 1919; E20/122, House List, 1919

1873 to John and Hope Bryant. John Bryant was a schoolmaster who was born in Barnstaple, Devon and later moved to London. In the 1891 census, Wilfred Bryant was listed as the eldest of the couple's five children. Bryant's brother, Charles, also worked in the banking industry, for the National Provincial Bank after a brief spell in the civil service.[12]

A man under the name of Wilfred G. Bryant is recorded to have joined the military, like many others, during the course of World War I.[13] It is unclear whether this was the same Wilfred G. Bryant as the one discussed here. Bryant's name does not appear on the memorial.[14] The Bank of England was meticulous in recording all its staff who served during the World War I. They were also meticulous in ensuring that if any mistakes were found to have been made on the war memorials themselves once they were unveiled, e.g. if names were omitted, these were corrected. One possible explanation for this discrepancy is that the name, although fairly unusual, was shared by another individual, who lived in the same area as this Wilfred G. Bryant. Another might be that someone joined impersonating Bryant and used his identity to enlist. Or that Wilfred G. Bryant enlisted but did not or was not able to take up the post. Indeed, the latter is possible as the entry for Wilfred G. Bryant shows that he was allocated a regiment but no location, rank or date of service.[15]

Bryant's experience of war, whatever that may have been, was perhaps a motivating factor in his endeavor to remember the Bank's war dead.[16] The remaining 14 members of the Memorial Committee comprised 11 men and 3 women. The average age was 45 and

their average annual salary was £320. All were clerks, porters, doormen or working in technical services. There were no senior managers on the committee. They had an average length of service of 24 years, with the longest serving being one superintendent on nightly watch who had joined the bank in 1878. A foreman from the printing rooms was the shortest serving member of staff at 15-years service. Therefore, the staff on the Memorial Committee were clearly long-serving and committed members of 'ordinary' Bank staff.[17]

With 15 willing to give their time to consider how to memorialize those who had lost their lives, the committee had too many people and this, at times, impeded decision-making. The Committee reversed direction or altered several decisions that it had made and changed its plans frequently. The group lacked a single authoritative voice and a clear steer. Those in management at the top of the hierarchy had the most authority yet none of the names of the directors appeared in the Committee book.[18] It may be that senior managers exerted influence silently and lobbied members of the committee in an unofficial manner. Whatever interest or influence they may have had, it was not direct.[19]

The statue of St Christopher was designed and sculpted by Richard Goulden in 1919. Wilfred Bryant, the Chairman and driving force behind the proposal, explained how Goulden came to be appointed:

> A Member of our Committee was in touch with Sir George Frampton who came and looked over the garden, and he presently introduced to us Mr Richard Goulden whom he described as a sculptor of rich and abiding promise, who had himself been all through the War and could therefore sympathetically enter into the wishes of the Committee.[20]

Frampton (1860–1929) was a leading sculptor in the British arts scene – he was not employed by the Bank of England nor was he a member of the Court of Directors. Through a personal connection and friendship with Frampton, the Committee found a suitable sculptor. It is significant here that Bryant described Goulden as having 'rich and abiding promise'.[21] The notion of the future and informing the next generation were used repeatedly in the process of designing and delivering the monuments. They are themes that we will return to in the following sections. Aside from Goulden's youth and potential, he was also considered to be a good candidate as he had served in the war. Goulden's past gave the proposal and the monument legitimacy.

Goulden produced 10 war memorials for World War I, both institutional and civic, as well as the one for the Bank of England.[22] Of these memorials, five depicted men and a child or children, in a similar theme to the Bank of England memorial. The war memorials at Crompton in Lancashire and Kingston upon Thames feature bronze statues of a man defending children by slaying a beast. In the Kingston memorial, the male figure holds a torch. The memorial at Cornhill features St Michael, holding a sword and surrounded by children. The Reigate and Redhill memorial depicts a man carrying a child in one arm and holding a torch in the other. Reference is clearly being made to the protection of future generations.

As Table 3 shows, the Bank of England could identify each of the individual employees who died in the war. It lost 71 in World War I and 65 (originally thought to be 64) during World War II.[23] The names of those who served in World War I were inscribed in stone on the walls of the entrance hall immediately, with those that died having their names marked by a cross.[24] After World War II, only the names of those that died (in battle or civilian casualties) were engraved on the stones walls in the Bank's entrance hall, opposite

Table 3. Bank of England Staff killed in two world wars.

	On active service					Civilians		
1914–1918	On National service	H.O.	Branches	St Luke's	Total	H.O.	Branches	Total
Men	414	53	13	6	72	0	0	0
1939–1945								
Men	1368	43	1	5	49	8	0	8
Women	841	2	0	0	2	4	1	5
Total	2209	45	1	5	51	12	1	13

Source: The Bank and National Events: War Memorials, December 1921–April 1949, File P661, Memorandum, July 1947.

the list from World War I.[25] When Wilfred Bryant first proposed a memorial at the Bank's head office on 18 February 1919 in a general staff meeting, he claimed that:

> One of the saddest things about the Bank … is that it possesses no traditions. Men may come and men may go but their names are writ in water …. Their names have no place on any of our walls. Ladies and Gentlemen – is this sort of thing to continue amongst us? It seems to me that now is the opportunity which will never occur again to try and establish a tradition here – based upon our comrades' deaths.[26]

While staff members at the bank wanted to remember their war dead and forge a history, there was some disagreement about how or what history should be remembered. Employees were not convinced that the sculpture was the best way forward. Other outlets, aside from the monument, were put forward. In one of the general meetings, Mr C.V. Dunstan expressed his disagreement with a memorial. He said that:

> we already had the names recorded on the wall of the Bank and that our gratitude was not to be measured by the recording of names; it would be much better, if the money were forthcoming, to send it to Guy's Hospital with the idea of starting a further endowment to complete the maintenance of the bed.[27]

As Dustan noted, the committee was initially charged with delivering a memorial cross only. When the committee returned with the design of St Christopher, this caused some upset among staff members. Mr Dunstan, again objecting, 'pointed out that the Committee had not carried out their instructions' and he brought an amendment to refer these new plans back to those who had donated so that they could agree with the scheme. Bryant, who had initiated the scheme, replied but explained that the Committee 'wished to enrich and elaborate the "Cross" idea by the addition of the local Saint'. Clegg also noted that the instructions were 'general' and 'not meant to be exactly binding'. Those at the meeting rejected the objections and the project proceeded.[28]

Bryant alluded to this internal disagreement when he spoke to all staff members at the subsequent general staff meeting. In updating his colleagues, he said:

> I do not think that it was a breach of trust on our part when we resolved that to a visible representation of the Cross should be added a suggestive and symbolic work of the sculptor's art which should be a thing of beauty and a joy for ever in the heart of the Bank and of the City of London, and which should portray in imperishable bronze the story of how our colleagues went forth from amongst us and gave themselves in humble service and willing sacrifice in the greatest of all human conflicts.[29]

As Bryant said, all of those who died in World War I were intended to be represented together by the monument. It followed the tradition in state-built memorials to remember

those as a collective group. The question of how to do this proved to be contentious. Should full names be given? Initials only? Was there space?[30]

The result was that the names of all those who lost their lives were inscribed on the plinth of the memorial itself, as well as in stone panels in the entrance hall at the Bank of England head offices in Threadneedle Street, London.[31] As this was an afterthought, the initial funding did not cover it. The committee thus resolved to raise extra subscriptions for it in a second appeal to staff.[32] The project at the Bank of England was by no means out of step with other financial institutions that also remembered their war dead in a similar fashion. As Gough (2004, 436) commented about war memorials in the financial sector, '[n]aming, and the evocation of names, was central to the cult of commemoration after the Great War'. Lloyds Bank lost 686 employees and the Prudential Insurance Company lost 789 employees who had served in the war and died. The Prudential erected a war memorial at their head offices in Waterhouse Square, London.

The bronze statue at the Prudential Insurance Company was designed by Ferdinand Blunstone. The Imperial War museum described it as:

> Two life sized winged female figures cradling a dying solder, representing a clerk of the establishment. Four half draped figures of women representing the three services and national service stand at the corner of the square pedestal. Two small bas reliefs under the top of the pedestal depict ships of war and dying solders. Plaques inscribed with the names of the fallen are mounted on the pedestal.[33]

Lloyds Bank unveiled a plaque to their war dead in 1922, which was located at their head offices in Lombard Street, London. Again, names of the dead were recorded and listed (Gough 2004, 441). Other large banks also commemorated their dead. London County Westminster and Parrs Bank (formed by merger in 1918) did not commemorate its war dead at its head office but rather at each branch where the war dead had been employed.[34] Another bank formed from a merger in 1918, National Provincial and Union Bank of England, unveiled a memorial at its London head office (Gibson Hall on Bishopsgate) in 1921, listing the 415 men who had been lost. Barclays Bank lost 645 men whose names were recorded in the board minutes, as they were lost. The full list of those who died were recorded in a stone memorial located at Barclays head offices in Lombard Street, London, and have since been moved to the current head offices in Churchill Place, London.[35] Overseas, the Bank of Montreal was the only Canadian bank to construct memorials to its staff killed in the two world wars. 'Of the Bank's 1414 enlisted men for the Great War, 230 were killed. In World War II, 1450 enlisted, with 84 killed' (Mussio 2016, 239). The sculptor James Earl Fraser designed a 9-ft tall statue of 'Victory' to remember the bank staff that had fallen in World War I, located in the main Montreal branch (Mussio 2016, 201). A memorial wall was unveiled at the Montreal Head Office in 1951 to remember the dead of both world wars (Mussio 2016, 239).

Banks and insurance companies were not the only organizations to commemorate their war dead. The Royal Mail (formerly the General Post Office and a state-owned company until 2013) has a database of war memorials online, having released 75,000 men to fight in World War I. It even had its own regiment – the Post Office Rifles – in which 12,000 men served. The Railway Heritage Trust estimates that between 20,000 and 30,000 railway workers lost their lives in World War I and they have been remembered in a series of war memorials, often in railway stations. Memorials range from the very grand at York and Derby railway stations to

the very simple memorial to a single railway worker in a church in Salehurst, East Sussex. Railways were in private ownership during both World War I and II.

In discussing the building and design of a war memorial, those on the Bank of England committee chose to represent the war dead as a collective. Individual names would appear (alphabetically) but all would be listed in history together. The committee was democratically organized and engaged in dialectic decision-making. Calls for memorialization came from the middle and bottom of the organization. The next section discusses the other visual symbolism which appeared in the memorial.

Heroic military triumph

The nature of trench warfare in World War I meant that the causalities were largely soldiers who fought on the front line. These soldiers were intended to be characterized by St Christopher as the committee thought that his story was an adept representation of theirs. The staff committee intended to combine story of St Christopher with the story of the fallen soldiers. Goulden explained that he 'tried to represent the youthful and cheerful idea of St Christopher as being most typical of our soldiers'.[36] St Christopher was used as a symbol to represent the war dead and their purpose.

In a later article in the staff magazine, workers at the Bank of England explained why they had chosen St Christopher as the symbol of their war dead. The exact details of the analogy were not made explicitly clear and readers were invited to guess the similarities between the two stories. The article explained that St Christopher 'was a man of gigantic strength and size'. The soldiers who had died were likely to have been personified by St Christopher. As the story was told, St Christopher 'vowed that he would only serve those stronger than him' and served a powerful king until he found that the king was afraid of Satan. When following Satan, St Christopher learned that Satan was afraid of Christ. After talking with a monk, the monk taught him how to serve Christ and advised St Christopher that he should act as a ferryman to help others move over nearby dangerous waters. It was then St Christopher carried Christ over waters to safety.[37] The analogy can perhaps be found in the way that the soldiers had carried and taken care of the next generation of British society. When committing this act of strength and power, they had lost their lives. St Christopher was not a common choice for use in memorials to World War 1. A search of United Kingdom war memorials online reveals that the use of an image of St Christopher is rare and more often found in stained glass windows.[38]

This idea was transmitted to staff members and those in the community through the words of Mr Goulden, the sculptor. In his view, '[o]ne could hardly find a more fitting subject than St Christopher for a Memorial to those who proved themselves to be inspired by the spirit of self-sacrifice and love nobly to serve the highest cause'.[39] He went on to explain that he had adapted the story to fit the circumstances of World War I.

> My interpretation of the beautiful legend of St Christopher is, therefore, modern and depicts Youth in full vigour joyfully bearing his precious burden onward triumphant to the end, and at the moment of exultation and realization of victory, finding his reward – the Cross of Sacrifice.[40]

The soldiers' acts were, therefore, portrayed and understood to be triumphant and their sacrifice worthwhile. Linking the two stories together and memorializing the dead in such a way demonstrated the there was a reward for the soldiers' efforts.

On seeing the preliminary outline of the St Christopher design, Mr Clegg, one of the staff members, said that 'he was glad that the proposed design would depict idealism rather than realism, by which he meant the ideal of service rather than the fact of having gone to War'.[41] It was clear that the group wanted to avoid memorializing the reality of war, death and the experiences in the trenches.[42] Symbolism expressed ideas which cloaked those who fought in the war in triumph, heroism and glory. The real experience of World War I was, therefore, nothing like the image depicted in the sculpture. Indeed, many of those who fought volunteered to do so until conscription was finally implemented. Some went into the regular army but others into the Territorial Army. In World War II, on the other hand, there was widespread conscription and men had little choice but to fight. Those who created the World War I memorial wished to pay homage to the willing sacrifice those soldiers had made. This intention can be seen in the inscription that was carefully and thoughtfully constructed. The inscription when first proposed and passed reads: to the comrades of glorious memory who passed from this house, at England's call; across the dark waters – 1914–1918 – to the further shore.[43]

In deciding how to construct it, Bryant wrote to Goulden afterwards that he was

> hesitating as to the word "Duty" – at "Duty's call" – in the Inscription so suddenly approved by my colleagues last evening, it hardly expresses the facts that were peculiar to the Bank of England at that critical period. I would prefer the word "England" in order to do homage to the spirit of patriotism which moved several of our dead heroes to ignore the claims of Duty here and throw themselves into the fight for the King and Court – at the risk of everything .[44]

After further deliberation and discussion, the committee agreed to clip the last clause of the inscription, the mention of memory, and of England. It simply read: 'to the comrades who at duty's call crossed the dark waters to the further shore'. The wording of the Bank of England's statue was by no means exceptional and bore striking resemble to others made around the same time. The Grade II listed bronze statue at the Prudential Insurance Company included an inscription: 'In memory of the glorious sacrifice offered by Prudential men who fell in the Great War 1914–1919 we are bound to give thanks always (*sic*) to God for you brethren beloved of the Lord for ye are our glory and joy'.[45] Religion was at the forefront of the staff at the Bank of England's planning. Bryant made similar remarks about God and glory in a letter to the sculptor's designer.[46] However, the importance of religion in the construction of this memorial is better understood by placing the memorial in context. The Garden Court of the bank was built on the site of the former churchyard of St Christopher-le-Stocks, which was taken down in 1781. St Christopher was patron saint of the old church and, at the unveiling ceremony, the Governor of the Bank said that 'St Christopher from his legend might well represent the sacrifice made by those who had given their lives in the First World War'.[47] The next section moves onto discuss how these memories and themes developed over time.

Evolving memories

The statue's unveiling was reported in the national press but one of the articles drew directly from the Bank's workers and the staff magazine rather than creating a new interpretation of events.[48] Through internal repetition and ritualized anniversaries, the

ideas that flowed from those tributes became embedded into a community's consciousness and its collective memory. In December 1919, *The Britannia Quarterly* reported on the memorial service and published photographs of those bank staff that had been killed during the war.[49] In a memorial supplement of the staff magazine, *The Old Lady of Threadneedle Street*, published in 1921, the Bank was already making links between World War I and the present. It noted that

> [t]he Past has been linked with the Present and an inspired artist has, in the figure of our Patron Saint, symbolized the story of The Great War and the response of our Fallen Colleagues to the cry for help across the sea.[50]

Benjamin Strong, from the Federal Reserve Bank in New York, wrote to the Bank in July 1921 having read about the memorial in *The Old Lady of Threadneedle Street*. He made a donation to the memorial, declaring that 'such a record is imperishable and will be an inspiration to those future generations who will serve the Bank and will perpetuate its fine traditions'.[51] Remembrance ceremonies continued to be held in the garden court throughout the 1920s and 1930s. The armistice on November 11 was marked by 'the Great Silence'.[52] Indeed, a minute silence and a ceremony still takes place in the Bank every year on this date.[53] Thus the memory of the First World War and those from the Bank that fought in the conflict was maintained throughout the 1920s and 1930s. Other important dates were also used to remind those of the World War I memorial and its intended story. A beautiful poem about the memorial and St Christopher was written in 1932 to mark the death of Goulden, the sculptor.[54]

World War II was perhaps unsurprisingly another occasion for widespread memorialization. The Bank had not forgotten what it had done in World War I. The decision to commission a war memorial to remember the 65 members of the Bank of England that died in World War II was made in October 1945.[55] Staff were consulted and 'the general attitude seems to be that something on a modest scale might be done but there is opposition to any further monument in stone or bronze'.[56] A committee was established to oversee the commissioning, manufacture and unveiling of the memorial in 1947 (Hennessy 1992, 365). The committee included senior staff as well as members representing the women's committee, the clerks committee, the temporary clerks committee, the Bank Notes Poster Association, the Messengers and Porters Association, and the Works and Engineering Department, including members who had services in the armed services.[57] As in 1919, this was another egalitarian process, although with a greater involvement of senior members of staff, and also funded by subscriptions from staff (Hennessy 1992, 367).[58]

The Governor pulled away a Union Jack flag to unveil the World War II memorial. In doing this, he said, 'I unveil this Memorial in remembrance of those who gave their lives so that freedom should not perish from the earth'.[59] Despite the ambiguity of the language here in this ceremony, other references made it clear that this memorial was dedicated to the 65 who died in World War II. While acknowledging the debt paid by the new group of war dead, the synergy between this event and World War I was evident. The link between the two wars was made physically as the World War II marker was placed directly in front of World War I memorial.

The War Memorial Committee sitting in 1947 was clear that it wanted a link between the two memorials when considering the inscription to be made on the World War II

monument. Views from existing staff were collated and the Committee recorded that 'It appears to be the general wish … that the spirit of the existing words should be carried forward and linked to the new memorial by the addition of such words as "And to those who followed them 1939–1945"'.[60] The two international conflicts took place only 21 years apart and it was clear that those in the Bank linked the losses of both conflicts together. The final memorial was a 3-ft, circular, bronze memorial wreath, which bore no names, commemorating those Bank staff that lost their lives in World War II. Aside from the physical closeness between the two memorials, the inscription on the new memorial also linked the two artifacts. It reads: 'In remembrance of those who crossed the same waters – 1939–1945'.[61]

The Bank noted that World War II was different and followed on from World War I, and that this impacted on the way in which the Bank commemorated the dead. At a Committee meeting, it was noted that:

> The circumstances in the 1939/45 war were quite different. In 1914/18 414 men were on National Service whereas in the last war, apart from the 2,209 men and women on National Service, practically every member of the Staff, men and women, were serving in some capacity.[62]

This statement acknowledged the impact of a war in which the civilian populations were severely affected by bombing and rationing. World War I, in contrast, had been fought by soldiers on battlefields outside of the Britain Isles. It had taken a militaristic form whereby only those involved directly in fighting had perished. These differences between the two conflicts shaped the consequent memorials at the Bank. No names were listed on the memorial wreath for World War II in the Garden Court. However, the names of those staff members lost in the war (both serving staff and civilian staff lost through air raids) were listed on stone panels in the entrance hall of the Bank's head office in Threadneedle Street. In contrast, the role of honor for World War I listed everyone who served in the conflict, with red crosses alongside the names of those who died. The names of the two branch staff killed in World War II (one from the Plymouth branch and from the Liverpool branch) were added to this list, although Liverpool also added a memorial plaque in their branch to the staff that died.[63] At the same time as the commemorative ceremony in London unveiling the memorial wreath, the war memorial in the Liverpool branch was also unveiled, with the names of the two members of staff from this branch to have lost their lives.[64] The commemorative ceremony at the Bank in London was reported in the *Financial Times*.[65] Kattago (2016, 81) explained why civic societies did not use names in memorials for World War II as profoundly as they had done in the First. He wrote that, 'World War II … marked a different kind of warfare in which civilian death, genocide and a destroyed Europe overshadowed the death of fallen soldiers'. Memorials to World War II, such as the one described here, took on a visibly distinct form which articulated a greater sense of collective loss and expression of victimhood.

The Bank of England, again, followed the generic pattern for memorialization, although there were some changes in its status, identity and organization of the memorialization process. One was in the timing of the Bank's commemorative events. After World War I, the Bank made arrangements for commemorative acts 6 months after the armistice, whereas after World War II, 2 years passed before arrangements began to

be made to commemorate bank staff that died in the war.[66] Due to the delay, no memorial service was held for those who died in the 1939–1945 conflict. Rather, a service of dedication to the new memorial was held in October 1948.[67] Once the memorial had been erected, initially there was no access to the Garden Court; it remained locked. The Women's committee asked for access to view the memorials and it was agreed that the Porter should open the door to the courtyard for 1 hour in the morning each day upon request.[68]

The context of the World War II memorialization also differed as the identity of the Bank of England changed considerably. It was nationalized in 1946 and became an official part of the state's apparatus. The organization's history and its remembrance of the war was therefore linked clearly to the official state sponsored history and the bond between the two narratives became stronger. Overall, those at Bank of England also attempted to ensure the symbolism and the messages embodied by the World War I memorial had not been forgotten. In 1948, an anonymous author wrote in Bank of England's staff magazine, reminding its readership of the World War I memorial. It said that:

> The sculptor has represented him [St Christopher] after the passage of the stream, coming up the further bank with the physical strain of crossing manifest in his limbs and panting mouth. His face is wreathed in a smile at the joy of his victory, and his eyes and lips express the awe and wonder with which he looks up to the mysterious Child upon his shoulder and realises that the reward for all his services is, after all, only a Cross – the Cross of Sacrifice, held out before him in the Infant's hand. Twenty-seven years is a considerable space of time and it may well be that to a new generation of the Staff the significance of the statue, other than that of its immediate and evident purpose of a war memorial, may not be apparent.[69]

This entry repeated the story first told in a memorial edition of the staff magazine when the statue was first unveiled after the end of World War I.[70]

Discussion

Like any other traumatic event, war and death created ruptures or flash points in a society's memory. This article has shown that organizations, like the Bank of England, functioned in the same way as local or provincial societies. It historicized and memorialized war through physical artifacts, ceremonies and public events. These monuments used symbols to signal messages and ideas to those who viewed them. They were an artifact designed to communicate symbols and messages in perpetuity. The ideas and notions captured by the Bank of England's memorial followed the design of those which appeared in other monuments in ordinary British society. The religious and moral symbolism showing the war dead as a collective and heroic military group reflected broader trends. The Bank of England was by no means a leader or out of step with the process.

In the twentieth century, the Bank of England invested heavily in physical artifacts as a purpose-built mechanism to store memories and transmit stories about its past. The process of storing memories was initiated first after the close of World War I. The proposal came from staff members and those in the middle of the organization rather than at the top. Later, memorialization and commemoration were endorsed, encouraged and maintained by those at the top of the managerial hierarchy. As the century progressed, the organization invested in oral and written transmissions to remind those of the original symbolism of the

memorials and their meanings, clarifying what had been forgotten over time. Returning to the wider pattern of commemoration, Winter argued that there was a three-part cycle to war memorialization. It started, he argued, with the first constructive phase, evident by monument building and ceremonies. This then moves to the second stage where the remembering becomes institutionalized and, finally, the third stage where the sites of memory are transformed or disappear.

Now in the third stage, the Bank of England is a central bank, a nationalized company and a symbol of England. The war memorials commissioned in 1919, when it was a private company, have become more important to the organization than before. As part of the state's official apparatus, the Bank of England has to engage with the official state-sanctioned history of the country and this includes its role in World War I and II. The Bank was instrumental in raising finance for both conflicts. The sense of duty perceived by the Bank and its employees, given their role in funding the nation at war, was higher than it is likely to have been for a private enterprise. In writing to Goulden in 1921, Bryant recognized the duty of the Bank employee to the organization but referred to those fighting in World War I as having ignored their duty to the Bank and instead served the higher duty to their country.[71]

In 2014, the Bank held a remembrance service to mark the centenary of the outbreak of the First World War. Two minutes silence continues to be observed by the Bank to recognize the end of the armistice on November 11.[72] With a 100th anniversary ceremony to be held in November 2018, the war memorials continue to be relevant to the present day and memories of a national past remain pertinent. In the latter phase, where history and memorials are remembered or forgotten, the Bank of England has chosen to remember (Winter 2001). It is aided in the act of remembering by its continuity of organizational form and continuity of physical location. The Bank of England is an institution of some longevity and its offices have remained on the same site for centuries. Unlike some retail banks, it has not had to grapple with the implication of changes in location of its offices and the consequent difficulties of preserving of war memorials.

In Gough's work (2004, 443) on the financial sector, he argued that these privately owned organizations have lost connection with their past: 'Most corporate memorials in Britain lie dormant for the better part of the calendar year, awaiting re-activation (if at all) in the approach to Armistice Day and/or Remembrance Sunday'. Why should privately owned companies remember war dead when their families, communities and co-workers are long dead? Some private companies continue to remember their war dead, for example Lloyds Bank and RBS have made their war memorials public via their web site. But other private companies do not. Most frequently, national or government entities have primarily engaged with memorials positively creating a public history. Centrally funded national campaigns to record war memorials, such as the Public Memorials and Sculptures Association, the National Inventory of War Memorials and the Local Heritage Initiative, have formed part of these efforts. The Bank of England now belongs in this category of state sponsored and publicly responsible organizations.

Conclusion

The Bank of England followed many of the processes and practices used by the state in rebuilding a national identity after World War I before it became a state-owned company. Both the state and the organization used artifacts and ceremonies as a forum to gather members of the group and discuss their collective purpose and the ties among them. Indeed, those at the Bank of England saw little difference between itself as an organization and that of other communities and societies. It used the loss of members of its staff in the conflict to address itself and reestablish its responsibility to the people that joined to create the organization and its community. The group borrowed other ideas in creating memorials and imitated the national pattern. They conceived themselves as being part of a wider phenomenon of loss and commemoration.

One key difference between the state and other organizationsorganizations was, however, the scale of the event. The Bank of England, with its small budget, could not compete with grandiose gestures. Staff members stepped into fill the void and create a permanent memento to the group's mood. The other distinction was in the democratic way that decisions were made. Lacking a centralized and empowered body, rhetoric was pushed up from those at the bottom of the organization. Those from the lower ranks were actively engaged in the decision-making process. Those working for the Bank of England designed these gestures when it was still a private company and they remain important to the Bank of England after its transition to a publicly owned company.

Notes

1. All references will refer to the Bank of England Archives unless otherwise stated. Thank you to the archivists who assisted in the writing of this paper, and to two anonymous referees for their helpful comments.
2. By the 1920s, the Bank of England managed the national debt and government accounts; operated as lender of last resort; issued currency; operated as the national gold depot; regulated the City of London financial markets and institutions; controlled foreign exchange and domestic credit; managed the national economy through interest rate controls and industrial reconstruction; facilitated international war reparations and inter-Allied debt transactions; coordinated central bank cooperation; and promoted sterling as an international currency (Abramson 2005, 234).
3. The Bank of Canada memorializes World War I through a depiction of a Canadian war memorial in France on their $20 note. The $10 Canadian bank note has a picture of a war memorial located in Canada on it. The New York Federal Reserve has memorials to those lost in war inside the bank in the form of plaques (email correspondence dated 11 May 2018). The Reserve Bank of Australia has a war memorial (http://museum.rba.gov.au/exhibitions/from-bank-to-battlefield/honor-roll.html).
4. For a full history of the Bank of England, see Clapham (1970) and Roberts and Kynaston (1995).
5. Sir Herbert worked for the Imperial War Graves Commission. His designs included the large cemetery at Tyne Cot, Belgium; the Delville Wood South African Memorial and Neuve Chapelle Indian War Memorial, both in France. He also designed the highly regarded War Memorial Cloister at Winchester College (1922–1924).
6. E6/4, The Bank and National Events: War Memorials, December 1921–April 1949, *The Old Lady of Threadneedle Street*, Vol. 1, March 1921–December 1922, 35.
7. E6/4, The Bank and National Events: War Memorials, December 1921–April 1949: A General Meeting of the Staff to consider the promotion of a memorial to our colleagues fallen in the

war, 18 February 1919 and A Meeting of the War Memorial Committee, 16 September 1919. Further correspondence revealed that a brass plaque was to be positioned near the bed to acknowledge the endowment but the bed could not be guaranteed for privileged use by Bank of England staff, as the Memorial Committee had wished.

8. E6/4, The Bank and National Events: War Memorials, December 1921–April 1949, Memorial Supplement, December 1921, 7–8, 21. The Manchester branch lost one member of staff, the Liverpool branch 3, the Newcastle branch 3, the Birmingham branch 2, the Plymouth branch 1 and the Western (London) branch 2. Memorandum, 29 December 1947.
9. This was viewed by one of the authors in January 2018.
10. M5/712, Memorial to Fallen Colleagues 1914–1918, Letter from Wilfred G. Bryant to Mr Goulden, 1 April 1920, 70.
11. See Victoria Memorial, *The Daily Telegraph* 29 March 1901, 7. King Edward Memorial, *The Daily Telegraph* 18 November 1910, 11. Lord Kitchener National Memorial, *The Daily Telegraph* 28 August 1916, 11.
12. See 1901 and 1891 census.
13. National Roll of the Great War 1914–1918, XLIII (London – South East London).
14. It listed all those who served in World War I. See footnote 25.
15. National Roll of the Great War 1914–1918, XLIII (London – South East London).
16. The only Bank of England Directors at the outbreak of World War I who had any experience of serving directly in a war were Montagu Norman, who served in the Second Boer War (Boyle 1967; 39; Clay 1978; 29–51) and Col. Lionel Henry Hanbury, who served in World War I as Lieutenant-Colonel in the 4th Battalion Royal Berkshire (http://www.ww1infantrycos.co.uk/berkshire.html). Frank Cyril Tairks served in Naval Intelligence during World War I. Thanks to Chris Corker, Simon Mollan, Philip Garnett (University of York) and Mark Billings (University of Exeter) for access to their prosopographic database of Bank of England Court Members from 1910 to 2010.
17. There is no religious affiliation listed in staff records but there were mostly Christians and a few Jews in the Court of Directors (Hennessy 1995, 201).
18. Directors in 1919 were listed in MS7/437, Directors' Annual Lists 1694–1935, 226.
19. For example, the Memorial Committee approved Goulden's first design yet it was rejected by the Directors. Goulden's second design was accepted by the Committee, the subscribers and, presumably, the Directors. M5/712, Memorial to Fallen Colleagues 1914–1918, Memorial Committee Meeting held on 16 March 1920 and General Meeting of Subscribers to 'The Memorial for Fallen Colleagues', 19 March 1920.
20. M5/712, Memorial to Fallen Colleagues 1914–1918, Private note from Mr Bryant, undated, 62–63.
21. M5/712, Memorial to Fallen Colleagues 1914–1918, *The Old Lady of Threadneedle Street*, Memorial Supplement, 1921, Memorial in the Garden, 7–8. Private note from Mr Bryant, undated, 62.
22. Goulden's war memorials were Middlesex County and Middlesex Regimental Memorial, Central London; Hornsey County School War Memorial, Hornsey, Greater London; Great Malvern War Memorial, Great Malvern, Worcestershire; St Michael Cornhill War Memorial, Cornhill, City of London; Brightlingsea War Memorial, Brightlingsea, Essex; Dover War Memorial, Dover, Kent; Gateshead War Memorial, Gateshead, Northumberland; Crompton War Memorial, Crompton, Lancashire; Kingston Upon Thames War Memorial, Kingston Upon Thames, Surrey; Reigate and Redhill War Memorial, Redhill, Surrey.
23. A member of staff (an uncovenanted clerk) had been missing when the memorial was designed. He had later been listed 'presumed dead' but the bank had not been informed. When the error was noticed at the unveiling ceremony in 1948, the list of names on the stone panels of the Bank's entrance hall was subsequently amended in 1949. E6/4, The Bank and National Events: War Memorials, Memorandum 14 October 1949.
24. From an examination of the memorial itself and the Bank's service records (M5/708, M5/709 and M5/710), the majority of bank staff serving in World War I signed up as Privates (69%) and came from occupations such as clerks. None were managerial staff. Many were rapidly

promoted to officer level, presumably due to the death toll in the war. Fewer joined as officers (approximately 27%).

25. One of the names listed after World War II is Lord Stamp who was a director of the Bank, and former Chair of the London Midland and Scottish Railway, who was killed in an air raid in 1941. The lists of names for both World Wars I and II were not differentiated by rank in the armed services or by position held in the bank, with no distinction being made between the remembrance of officers or ordinary soldiers (Oliver 2012, 115, 123).
26. M5/712, Memorial to Fallen Colleagues 1914–1918, Speech made by Mr Bryant at a General Meeting of the Staff in the Court Room of the Bank on the 8 February 1919 in presenting the Report of the Provisional Committee re: the Bank Memorial tour Colleague fallen in the War, 6.
27. M5/712, Memorial to Fallen Colleagues 1914–1918, General Meeting held in the Court Room on Thursday, 17 March 1921, 92.
28. M5/712, Memorial to Fallen Colleagues 1914–1918, General Meeting held in the Court Room on Friday, 19 March 1920, 59.
29. M5/712, Memorial to Fallen Colleagues 1914–1918, Private note from Mr Bryant, undated, 62.
30. It was ordered that 'full Christian and surnames be inscribed on three sides of the pedestal in bronze'. M5/712, Memorial to Fallen Colleagues 1914–1918, Committee meeting held on 3 March 1921, 82.
31. Site visit by author 5 January 2018 and *The Old Lady of Threadneedle Street*, Vol. 14, March–December 1948, 5–14.
32. M5/712, Memorial to Fallen Colleagues 1914–1918, letter from Bryant to Goulden, 4 March 1921, 83–84, letter from Bryant to Goulden, 11 November 1921, 121, File P661, The Bank and National Events: War Memorials, December 1921–April 1949, *The Old Lady of Threadneedle Street*, Memorial Supplement, December 1921, 7–8.
33. https://www.iwm.org.uk/memorials/item/memorial/2097.
34. https://www.rbsremembers.com/remembers/aftermath-and-legacy/our-war-memorials.html.
35. https://www.home.barclays/news/2014/July/barclays-remembers-World War I.html.
36. M5/712, Memorial to Fallen Colleagues 1914–1918, Committee Meeting held on Wednesday 3 March 1921 at 426 Fulham Road, 82.
37. E6/4, The Bank and National Events: War Memorials, December 1921–April 1949, *The Old Lady of Threadneedle Street*, Vol. 14, March–December 1948, 21. See also M5/712, Memorial to Fallen Colleagues 1914–1918, *The Old Lady of Threadneedle Street*, Memorial Supplement, December 1921, 22–24.
38. A search of the Imperial War Museum website for war memorials revealed details of 472 war memorials containing the word 'Christopher'. A further search revealed that St Christopher's image was contained in 21 stained glass windows to commemorate World War I, World War II and the Second Boer War. Two of these depicted him with a child and one with the infant Christ. There were no statues of St Christopher found in our search. The closest found was a wall-mounted carved relief of the figure of St Christopher, with associated rectangular plaque, commemorating WWI. It was located on Brownsea Island, Dorest, but is now lost.
39. E6/4, The Bank and National Events: War Memorials, December 1921–April 1949, *The Old Lady of Threadneedle Street*, Vol. 14, March–December 1948, 21.
40. E6/4, The Bank and National Events: War Memorials, December 1921–April 1949, *The Old Lady of Threadneedle Street*, Vol. 14, March–December 1948, 23.
41. M5/712, Memorial to Fallen Colleagues 1914–1918, General Meeting held in the Court room on Friday 19 March 1912, 59.
42. There are a large number of diaries which detail the experience of war, see: Niepage (1916); Price (1918); Clark (1918); Hopkins (1919); Vaughan (1981); Jünger (2016); Stanley (2007) See also the National Archives project to digitalize its war diaries at: https://www.operationwardiary.org/#/diaries. The Library of Congress has engaged in similar project to capture the voices of veterans. See http://www.loc.gov/vets/.

43. M5/712, Memorial to Fallen Colleagues 1914–1918, Letter from Wilfred G. Bryant to Mr Goulden, November 1920, 79.
44. M5/712, Memorial to Fallen Colleagues 1914–1918, Letter from Bryant to Goulden, 4 March 1921, 83–84.
45. The men from the Prudential who were lost were remembered again in 2014, 100 years after the outbreak of World War I.
46. Bryant said in a letter that the design was 'Christian to the uttermost'. M5/712, Memorial to Fallen Colleagues 1914–1918, Letter from Bryant to Goulden, 11 November 1920, 79.
47. E6/4, The Bank and National Events: War Memorials, December 1921–April 1949. *The Old Lady of Threadneedle Street*, Memorial Supplement, December 1921, 8.
48. *The Daily Telegraph* 24 December 1921, 9.
49. PW1/1, *The Britannia Quarterly*, Vol. 1, No. 3, December 1919.
50. E6/4, The Bank and National Events: War Memorials, December 1921–April 1949. *The Old Lady of Threadneedle Street*, Memorial Supplement, December 1921, 7–8.
51. E6/4, E6/4, The Bank and National Events: War Memorials, December 1921–April 1949, letter form Benjamin String dated 21 July 1921. Strong referred to himself as 'an American friend'.
52. E6/4, The Bank and National Events: War Memorials, December 1921–April 1949, Letter to Mr Goulden from Mr Bryant, 15 August 1921.
53. Interview with Bank of England Archivist, Mike Anson, 5 January 2018.
54. E6/4, E6/4, The Bank and National Events: War Memorials, December 1921–April 1949, *The Old Lady of Threadneedle Street*, Vol. 8, March–December 1932, 203.
55. E6/4, The Bank and National Events: War Memorials, December 1921–April 1949. Memorandum from Heads of Department Meeting, Monday 7 October 1946.
56. E6/4, The Bank and National Events: War Memorials, December 1921–April 1949. Memorandum, 1 January 1947.
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63. E6/4, The Bank and National Events: War Memorials, December 1921–April 1949, Memo, 29 December 1947 and 8 January 1948.
64. E6/4, The Bank and National Events: War Memorials, December 1921–April 1949, *The Old Lady of Threadneedle Street*, Vol. 14, March–December 1948, 215.
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69. E6/4, The Bank and National Events: War Memorials, December 1921–April 1949, *The Old Lady of Threadneedle Street*, Vol. 14, March–December 1948, 21.
70. M5/712, Memorial to Fallen Colleagues 1914–1918, *The Old Lady of Threadneedle Street*, Memorial Supplement, December 1921, Description of the Statue, 21.

71. M5/712, Memorial to Fallen Colleagues 1914–1918, Letter from Bryant to Goulden, 4 March 1921, 83–84.
72. Interview with Bank of England Archivist, Mike Anson, 5 January 2018.

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Notes on contributors

Victoria Barnes is Senior Research Fellow at the Max Planck Institute for European Legal History.

Lucy Newton is Associate Professor in Business History at Henley Business School.

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