# FROM THE FRONT



### Issue 4 A World Remembers - a special extended edition for Winter 2010

## The Newsletter of the Dover War Memorial Project

## DAME VERA LYNN, DBE, LL.D, M.Mus PATRON OF THE DOVER WAR MEMORIAL PROJECT

We are absolutely delighted that on 16<sup>th</sup> November 2010 Dame Vera Lynn most kindly became Patron of The Dover War Memorial Project.

Known as "The Forces Sweetheart" for her uplifting and morale-boosting songs, concerts, and broadcasts during the Second World War, Dame Vera has enjoyed a long and successful career. She began at the age of seven, in 1924 – the year our Town Memorial in Dover was unveiled – and in 2009 she became the oldest living artist to have an album in the top twenty.

Dame Vera has toured the world during her career, during the war years often under personal risk and discomfort. Internationally renowned, she is a Freeman of London, Winnipeg, Nashville, Melbourne, and Cornerbrook, Newfoundland. She gained a Spirit of the Century award in 2000

Forever associated with Dover through her legendary song "(There'll be Bluebirds Over) The White Cliffs of Dover", Dame Vera stated that during the war her songs reminded the troops of home, and the personal and precious things they were fighting for. By graciously becoming our Patron, Dame Vera Lynn has continued her work, bringing a unique part of their home back to our Fallen Dovorians, who never saw the White Cliffs again.



Dame Vera Lynn: photo Ian Lillford



## THE 90<sup>TH</sup> ANNIVERSARY OF THE UNKNOWN WARRIOR



The Unknown Warrior is borne along the Admiralty Pier: courtesy Dover Museum

On 10<sup>th</sup> November 1920, Dovorians filled the streets, thronged the sea-front, crowded onto the Prince of Wales Pier, and lined the cliff-tops as the Unknown Warrior was brought home through Dover en route to his final resting place at Westminster Abbey.

But who was that soldier? We will never know. He was chosen at midnight in a chapel at St. Pol, France, from identical coffins laid out there. Each coffin contained the body of an unidentifiable serviceman, exhumed from major battlefields along the Western Front. Unknown and unknowable, the Warrior stands for everyone who Fell, a focus for grief and a thank you for sacrifice.



The Dover War Memorial Project was very pleased to be awarded a Heritage Lottery Fund Grant to mark the 90<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the

Unknown Warrior's homecoming. It was superb to be working again with The City of Westminster Archives and Westminster Abbey, following on from the successful Walter Tull and "Not Forgotten" projects, and to welcome Medway Archives, "Firepower" the Royal Artillery Museum, and Chelsea Football Club.

The Unknown Warrior's last journey was by rail from Dover to Victoria, London, where he lay overnight at platform 8, and then by gun-carriage to Westminster Abbey. To commemorate this route, young people from Kent and London

studied local casualties of the Great War. All bar one casualty now lie in graves unknown.



Tommy Eaves at Scout Camp 1910: courtesy St Martin's Primary School

Tommy Eaves was a much-loved master at St Martin's Primary School, Dover. An old pupil of the

County School, now the Boys' Grammar, he also founded the 3<sup>rd</sup> Dover

Scout troop. They meet in Dover in Eaves Hall, Eaves Road, both of which were named in his honour. Lieutenant and Acting Captain Tommy Eaves, of the Queen's Royal West Surrey regiment was killed by a shell in 1916.

Then died too Cecil Bromley, once a solicitor's clerk. Inspired by early experiments at Dover and by the recordmaking cross channel flights of Louis Blériot, Charles



Stewart Rolls, and Harriet Cecil Bromley: courtesy Royal Aero Club Trust

Quimby, Cecil became a Royal Aero Cub Trust mechanic and then a Pilot Sergeant in the Royal Flying Corps.

From a family of bargemen, Monty Daniel of Gillingham was a shipwright. He was killed in October 1916, just six days after arriving at the Front. Though Monty had died wearing his territorial Sergeant's stripes, his widow received only a Private's pension.

Marine James Brill's wife was just 16, and expecting their first child, when he died from wounds in 1915, after serving at the Dardanelles. For the next 60 years until she herself died, James' widow, Florence, carried in her purse the label returned with James' effects.



Detail from stained-glass window panel for "Pom Pom" Whiting, featuring also another famed footballer casualty, Walter Tull, whose family came from Dover

Chelsea footballer Bob "Pom Pom" Whiting was so nicknamed by fans because the speed of his kicking reminded them of the quicknaval firing He gun. enlisted in the Football Battalion, and was killed in 1917, leaving his wife with their new baby.

Dickie Seaby, the second son from a family of Irish street traders, also lost his life in 1917.

Dickie's brother Arthur, a former territorial, was one of the first cavalrymen sent overseas. He had been killed in November 1914. Their mother brought up Dickie's son, named Richard Arthur in memory of his father and uncle.



Artist Jonathan Boast with some of the Scouts and Brownies designing the background of the stained-glass window

In learning more about the casualties and the significance of Remembrance, young people took part in a variety of activities. Tommy Eaves' Scouts, with 8th Dover Brownies, worked with professional artist Jonathan Boast to produce a stained-glass window for a commemorate the 90<sup>th</sup> Anniversary. Two panes depict the Unknown Warrior; the other six are dedicated to each serviceman. Their stories shine through an image of a soldier watching from the White Cliffs as HMS Verdun, bearing the Unknown Warrior's coffin, steams in to dock at the Admiralty Pier, Dover.

The window and the accompanying six-panel exhibition were on display at Westminster Abbey throughout Remembrance and are now on tour to museums and galleries, including Dover. Check "Latest News" on the DWMP website for the current location.



The exhibition and window in the gallery at Dover library: photo Joyce and Brian Banks. St Martin's School work is also on display

Meanwhile, St. Martin's Primary School in Dover studied Tommy and Cecil, and other schools learnt about their local casualties/ Classroom sessions were led by Peter Daniel with Kimi Gilbert, and assisted by Susannah Stephenson-Knight at St Martin's.



In a replica uniform: photo Mark Cornell

Handling artefacts from the Great War and poring over original sources birth certificates, service records. newspaper cuttings, and photographs - pupils discovered the men whose names are on local memorials. As they tried on replica uniforms, No Man's Land became no longer the space between tables and teacher's desk, but the desolate area between trenches. Dry clean

socks became an essential to ward off the dreaded trenchfoot, and very few pupils wanted to "chat" when they learnt the grisly Great War meaning of the word - burning off lice and their eggs infesting the seams of uniforms!

On their trips to Westminster, pupils experienced more of military life with theatre group MOD Productions. Their play was based on "The Mothers of Britain", first published on the eve of



the interment at Westminster Abbey. The story featured women travelling to Westminster, each remembering her loved one - and believing that perhaps he could be the Unknown Warrior.

There was plenty of audience participation in the play! Young people joined in and cheered their soldiers on as they waved goodbye. Pupils could then join up themselves to man the "trenches", and

get fit army-style (complete with disciplinarian Sergeant Major!). There was even the well-known Christmas truce of 1914, with every goal in the football match declared "in!" by pupil-players and their audience of referees!

Visits to Westminster were packed days. Guided by a costumed interpreter, young people learnt about war-time poets and visited their and other memorials in the Abbey. They saw the Padré's flag, used as an altar cloth at Ypres, which covered the coffin as it was brought home – and some couldn't resist a little ding of the bell of HMS Verdun! Several groups saw part of the route taken by the cortège, including Whitehall, where the Cenotaph, was unveiled as the Unknown Warrior's coffin paused there at 11am on 11<sup>th</sup> November 1920. The Scouts were even permitted to enter Downing Street and stand right outside that famous door at number 10!



"You, You, and You!" – volunteers for the Army during the MOD Productions play at Westminster Abbey

A short service of Remembrance at the Unknown Warrior's tomb finished the day, when young people laid crosses and window-epitaphs in memory of the casualty they had been studying.



The Act of Remembrance at the Tomb of the Unknown Warrior, Westminster Abbey, led by Canon Jane Hedges Left – one of the window-epitaphs designed by St Martin's pupils

The commemorations of the 90<sup>th</sup> Anniversary took place over seven weeks; the culmination was the musical performance at St. Martin's Primary School, held on the exact 90<sup>th</sup> anniversary. Specially-composed by Russell Hepplewhite, with words by Helen Eastman, the musical told in song the story of the Unknown Warrior.



Maciek as David Railton, with St Martin's pupils

Reverend David Railton conceived the idea of the Unknown Warrior while serving on the Western Front. The suggestion was originally opposed by King George V, who feared it would re-open the anguish of the war. He was overwhelmed by popular support.

"Bring him home! A Grave Amongst the Kings!" sang St. Martin's pupils, in a swelling and insistent chorus. It was introduced by baritone Maciek O'Shea, playing Reverend Railton, who asked, "A hastily-scrawled epitaph "Unknown" on a wooden cross – is this all the ceremony we can show our war dead?"

Accompanied by Russell Hepplewhite on the piano, and acclaimed 'cellist Rebecca Hewes, St.

Martin's Primary School pupils sang of the homecoming. "Dover bids you welcome back to Britain – Dover opens her heart, her arms, for all you have given." With songs ranging from the lively "Thundering down the Track" as the coffin was transported to London through to the lullaby "Your final sleep, My heart weeps", the Warrior was reverently laid to rest at Westminster Abbey.

"I'm very proud that you have represented the town," said The Right Worshipful, The Mayor of Dover, Councillor Sue Jones to the St Martin's pupils after the afternoon performance. The Deputy Mayor, Councillor David Hannent, who attended the evening performance, continued the praise, "I was humbled and enthused over the quality and impact of the pupils' performance." Each performer was given a poppy lapel pin and a wristband, kindly presented by Diana Abrahams and Sally Kay Moat of the British Legion.

In the haunting song, "He could be anyone – any mother's son. A brother – a friend – Anyone …" the pupils underlined the significance of the Unknown Warrior and the meaning of Remembrance.

Our own future, the young people are themselves The Unknown – unknown by the many who died in the two World Wars. It has been a joy to work with them during Remembrance.

With the enthusiasm, solemnity, passion, and understanding with which they marked the 90<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the Unknown Warrior, our future will be safe in their hands.



St Martin's pupils with their teachers, the musicians, and the Mayor and Mayoress of Dover, after their performance

#### **AFTERMATH**

Although the activities with young people to commemorate the 90<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the Unknown Warrior are now completed, the work hasn't ended! In the New Year educational resources will be produced, in limited edition booklets and freely available online.

Recent new building at St Martin's Primary School includes a new conference room. This room is to be named "The Eaves Room" in honour of Tommy Eaves. Part of the collection raised at the two performances of The Unknown Warrior musical will be used by the school towards a commemorative plaque, to be placed on the wall of the new room.

The remainder of the collection was divided between The Dover War Memorial Project and 3<sup>rd</sup> (St Martin's) Dover Scouts. The Scouts are currently fund-raising to restore and refurbish Eaves Hall, opened in 1934



Eaves Hall, in Eaves Road, Dover

It's no mean task – the hall needs a new roof and floor, replacement windows, re-wiring, and modernisation of the kitchen and toilets. Details and plans are on the Scout website at www.3rddoverscouts.co.uk. Without urgent work now, the Hall will be lost to the community forever, taking with it a unique memorial to Tommy Eaves, respected and affectionately remembered casualty of the Great War.

The 90<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the Unknown Warrior project created substantial media interest. We are grateful to the Dover Express, Dover Mercury, and Your Dover for their extensive reports throughout the duration of the activities. including several front page and special features. The events were also reported online, via media websites



Kent Regional

uding KosMedia, Maggie S-K interviewed by BBC's Jo Byrne

News, the Kent Messenger group, Dover Forum, Chelsea Football Club, and the BBC Online. The BBC TV in London and the South also covered the events, as did Meridian TV, and BBCs Radio Kent and Suffolk.

#### MORE COMMEMORATIONS

The 90<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the Unknown Warrior's homecoming was commemorated elsewhere too.

#### St Mary's Bells

At St Mary the Virgin, Cannon Street, Dover, on 10<sup>th</sup> November a band of ringers successfully completed a peal of 5040 Grandsire Triples in three hours and six minutes.

Congratulations to the ringers! They were:

Treble Peter T Dale (Dover ringer)

- Jacqueline M Barlow (Maidstone)
- 3 Brenda M Davies (Lydd)
- 4 Elizabeth A Barnes (Wrotham)
- 5 Robert B Powell-Williams (Dover)
- 6 Andrew J Corby (Canterbury Cathedral)
- Alan R Baldock (Hailsham)

Tenor A James Phillips (St Paul's Cathedral)



The peal, half-muffled bells, was rung through the Untimes the known Warrior arrived at Dover

and de-parted on the St Mary's Church, during the ringing train for London. It

was conducted by Alan R Baldock, who achieved his 600<sup>th</sup> peal as conductor.

#### Passenger Luggage Van No 132

The year before the Unknown Warrior came home, St Mary's ringers also rang a peal, commemorated by a plaque in the bell-tower. The bells were deeply-muffled in honour of Nurse Edith Cavell.

Nurse Cavell was executed on 12<sup>th</sup> November 1915, after helping some 200 soldiers escape through occupied Belgium. On 14<sup>th</sup> July 1919, her body was brought home through Dover, resting in the town overnight. She received a state funeral at Westminster Abbey, before being buried at Norwich on 19<sup>th</sup> May.



Cavell Van – No 132, at the KESR. The roof was painted white so the carriage could be distinguished when travelling through the countryside at night by those wishing to pay their respects



The interior of the van, with interpretation of the scene when the Unknown Warrior's body was carried to London on 10<sup>th</sup> November

Her coffin was carried in passenger luggage van, the style of which, from that day, was known as a Cavell van. No 132 carried not only Edith Cavell, but Captain Charles Fryatt, also 27<sup>th</sup> executed, on 1916, July attempting to ram a

U-boat. He was brought home to Dover on 7<sup>th</sup> July 1919, and after a

funeral service at St Paul's Cathedral, he was buried at Dovercourt.

The Kent and East Sussex Railway now own the van that transported Nurse Cavell, Captain Fryatt, and the Unknown Warrior, and restored it for the 90<sup>th</sup> Anniversary

#### REMEMBRANCE FOREVER

There are several times in the year where there's still a sense of community. Remembrance is one of them, when millions across the world pause to remember those who lost their lives in conflict.



The Field of Remembrance by Dover Town Memorial

In Dover on Remembrance Sunday is the ceremony by the Town Memorial in Biggin Street, organised by the Town Council. The Field of

Remembrance is laid out each year, gradually filling with poppy crosses in memory of lost loved ones.

It's catching! Here's our Mayor, Councilor Sue Jones, with her Mayoress, Councillor Ronnie Philpott, and Town Sergeant, by the area designated for all those who Fell Unknown.



#### **Cruise Terminal**

Another well-attended service in Dover is held at the former Marine Station, now the Cruise Terminal, at the Western Docks. Here is the large memorial to the former employees of the South Eastern and Chatham Railway, a tablet bearing their names is at the other end of the line, Victoria Station. The SECR was the company that carried the Unknown Warrior to London from Dover.



The SECR Memorial during the service, with British Torch of Remembrance behind

Since 1966, bearers of the British Torch of Remembrance have attended this service, before crossing the channel to Belgium. With its scent pervading the air, the Torch adds a unique dimension to this service of Remembrance.



Duke of York's Royal Military School Guard of Honour at the Tomb of the Unknown Warrior, Westminster Abbey. The two greyuniformed students are from the DOYRMS exchange school in the USA, Valley Forge Military Academy and College. Photo courtesy of Steven Saunderson, DOYRMS

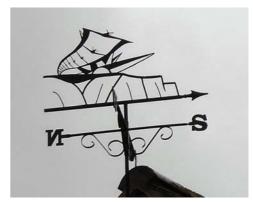
The Torch is lit each year at the Tomb of the Unknown Warrior at Westminster Abbey, with pupils from the Duke of York's Royal Military School forming a Guard of Honour. The school were part of the Guard of Honour on the Admiralty Pier, Dover, when the Unknown Warrior came home.

Now, each November, they stand beside the commemorative plaque for the Unknown Warrior at the Cruise Terminal (right), close to where his body landed, when the Chairman of the Dover Society lays a wreath in Remembrance.



#### Battle of Britain Weather-Vane - Dover Grammar School for Boys

It was a wild and windy day on 11<sup>th</sup> November this year in Dover.
Perhaps the gales were an appro-



priate tribute, The weather-vane features aircraft flying for on this out over the White Cliffs of Dover

Anniversary of Armistice Day a new weather-vane was unveiled in honour of the airmen who were former pupils of the school. The weather vane was designed by pupil Harry Platts and dedicated by the Reverend Andy Bawtree during a Service of Remembrance held in the school hall.

The School use the DWMP Virtual Memorial and research as resources during lessons. Supervolunteers Joyce and Brian Banks, and Maggie and Simon, were honoured to be invited to the Service of Remembrance in the School Hall.

Amongst those present was a great-nephew of former pupil Keith Gillman, the iconic Face of The

After the ceremony; Harry Platts is third from right



Few, who lost his life over the channel on 25<sup>th</sup> August 1940. Another of The Few, and an Old Pharosian was David Kirton. A wreath was laid in his memory, and in memory of Roy Sutton, by his brother Terry.

Nearly half of the Old Pharosians killed during World War II were serving in the RAF. Early aviators too were Old Pharosians. Pilot Bernard Fitzsimon was killed in 1917, testing an aircraft. Other casualties were Gordon Keightley, serving with the RNAS, Robert Reeder with the RFC, and Albert Hadlow, who died in October 1918, while serving in the newly-formed RAF.

"We shall honour their memory and treasure their association with us as long as there is a "School on the Hill". – School magazine, May 1945.

#### **Brunssum, The Netherlands**

Brunssem was freed from occupation in September 1944. Amongst the 300 British casualties from subsequent operations who now lie in Brunssum War Cemetery are two from Dover.

Daniel Clarke from Wyndham Road was 19 when he died of wounds on 25<sup>th</sup> January 1945. Reginald Potter was 34 when he died on 19<sup>th</sup> November, 1944, leaving a widow, Lillian.



11th November at Brunssum War Cemetery: photo Ruud Scholten

National Remembrance Day is 14<sup>th</sup> May. But every year on 11<sup>th</sup> November a special Remembrance ceremony is held in the cemetery, with British soldiers from the Nato HQ at Brunssum attending.

#### Brantford, Ontario, Canada

Many Dovorians emigrated to Canada before the Great War. They returned to fight, serving in Canadian troops. We have some fourteen commemorated on our Town Memorial. Others from both World Wars can be found on our Virtual Memorial - www.doverwarmemorialproject.org.uk



Remembrance Day at Brantford, Ontario: photo Bill Bowman

Edward King, on our Town Memorial is commemorated also on the Brantford, Ontario, Memorial. He was killed by a shell on 2<sup>nd</sup> November 1917. His wife eventually returned to Dover. Also commemorated in Dover and at Brantford is Thomas Claringbould. He is buried at Brantford, having died on Christmas Eve 1919 from an illness indirectly caused by his war wounds.



Brantford War Memorial, Ontario: photo Bill Bowman

#### The Father She Never Knew

Remembrance is both public and private. In the heart of each one of us Remembrance has a unique, personal meaning.



Harry Brooks, his wife Winnie, and their daughter Pamela: courtesy Pamela Tickner

Pamela was just 17 months old when her father. Charles ("Harry") Brooks, a wireless operator in the RAF, was killed at the age of 27. Five days before 20<sup>th</sup> Christmas, December. 1942. his Lancaster collided in the air with another. The planes crashed on

Bracebridge Heath, Lincolnshire. All fourteen airmen,

including Dovorian Edward Gardiner, were killed.

Pamela's mother died in May, leaving some letters from her husband. Wishing to understand more about the circumstances of her father's death, Pamela was surfing the internet when she spotted her father's name on the DWMP website, and 'phoned us. What more could the DWMP discover about her father's last flight – and was there a memorial where she could honour his memory?

After some research we were able to make suggestions for further avenues to try, and meanwhile we contacted some friends. Thanks to sterling work by Dean Sumner, of The Shoreham Aircraft Museum, and Andrew Dawrant, of the Royal Aero Club Trust, Pamela was able to learn exactly what happened on the crash night, where her father had been based, and even the pub he and his comrades would probably have visited in off-duty hours.

"It was divine intervention that led me to you," wrote Pamela in an email to the DWMP. "I had tried for months, day after day, and each time it came back blank, and then one day, dear Maggie, was you. I made that phone call and it all began."



Pamela today, laying her wreath at the IX Squadron Memiorial. The Memorial is made from Norwegian stone and the blades of a Lancaster. Courtesy Pamela Tickner

Pamela was able to lay a wreath bearing the names of all fourteen crew at the IX Squadron Memorial at Bardney on 11<sup>th</sup> November, and was invited to lunch afterwards. "It has been such an emotional journey," she wrote to us afterwards. "It was wonderful. We were made so welcome by IX Squadron. Everyone was so friendly. We hope to go next year with our four children and eight grandchildren."

A family can now remember forever their Fallen loved one.

#### AT HOME IN THE ANDERSON



Anderson shelter at Dover Transport

Thank you very much to Dover Town Council, who awarded the DWMP a cheque for £100 to help purchase a portable hard drive and a CD/DVD

reader/writer to assist with

archiving for the future all the material we have accumulated and so kindly been given.



The Right Worshipful The Mayor of Dover, Cllr Sue Jones, with her Mayoress, Cllr Ronnie Philpott, presenting a cheque to Maggie S-K

We offer grateful thanks also to a tireless Ontario supporter, for continuing extensive help in finding information connecting our "little towns", and for a donation for the essential voice recorder.

#### And finally ...

We at the DWMP 're great ones for good tradition and mourn the passing of familiar childhood games – so when Simon had the opportunity to enter the world conker championships, he rushed to apply.

Training was a serious business. Last Christmas (2009), he became family champion as he smashed his way through the conkers (and sometimes the knuckles) of anyone bold enough to oppose him.

Later in the year, with a huge new bag of nuts carefully collected by youngest daughter and her student friends, Simon left the shattered shells in the back garden conker graveyard and sought new opponents to conker(!). Even the Town Clerk of Dover, renowned for being a tough nut to crack, was overwhelmed by the strength of Simon's swipe (though the fact that Vstolr, the Town Clerk's wife, was a fearsome opponent and they eventually had to institute the five-minute rule, must indicate a moral in the story somewhere!).

Came the Grand Day, at Ashton, Northamptonshire. Highly-trained, girded with his entrance vest, and supported by fans, Simon was poised to begin the tournament. Would be become the 2010 Champion – King Conker himself?

Well, no. But we are very pleased to announce that Simon did set a new world record in the Conker Championships.



World Conker Championships: Victory – and defeat: photo Sarah Wilkinson

Sadly, the luck of the draw meant a puny conker – and with one fell smash, Simon shattered his own nut, leaving his opponent victorious without a swipe. It took all of three seconds. It's the world

record for the fastest ever exit from the Championships!

Well, we all have to be good at something, don't we!

The World Conker Championships: Simon - What might have been ... But a World Champion nevertheless!: photo Sarah Wilkinson



#### **HAPPY NEW YEAR!**



Speaking of community and tradition. another customary commemoration is Christmas, where many of us enjoy the traditional rituals of decorations, carols, a special meal (or two!), and presents. While we may not enjoy it so much, most of us also join in the rush of ransacking the shelves in the shops too!

left: Sinter Klaas – Saint Nicholas – at Brunssem, The Netherlands: photo Ruud Scholten



In Santa's Grotto (behind the bar): photo Wendy Furneaux

Christmas is now over, but we leave you with this seasonal thought. In honour of Dame Vera Lynn becoming our Patron, its set to the tune of the chorus of "There'll Always be an England".

There'll always be a Christmas While there's a family Unpacking tinselled garlandings To decorate a tree.

There'll always be a Christmas While there's a stocking hung. Or village church all candlelit, And joyous carol sung.



"Mary and Joseph" with donkey seeking room at an inn, Newport Pagnell, Buckinghamshire and (right)A warm welcome, Newport Pagnell, Buckinghamshire

There's always been a Christmas While even times were grave, With football games in Flanders fields, Or parties in a cave.

There'll always be a Christmas While there's a cheery smile, And warm-hearted companionship, Goodwill to all meanwhile.

We wish you "Merry Christmas", With all that's dear to you, A time of peace and harmony And Happy New Year too!



This newsletter was created by Marilyn Stephenson-Knight. All photos, except where otherwise stated, are by Simon John Chambers

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Dover's Virtual Memorial www.doverwarmemorialproject.org.uk

contact phone: 07876 240701

The Dover War Memorial Project remembers all those from our front-line town, Dover, Kent, England, who fell in the two World Wars. Work on the Project is entirely voluntary, and the Project itself is totally dependent on donations to survive. If we have helped you, please consider making a donation via PayPal or by cheque payable to The Dover War Memorial Project. Please help us remember those who gave all they could.