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UNIVERSITY OF STRATHCLYDE

MONUMENTS TO THE FALLEN
SCOTTISH WAR MEMORIALS OF
THE GREAT WAR

GILBERT TORRANCE BELL

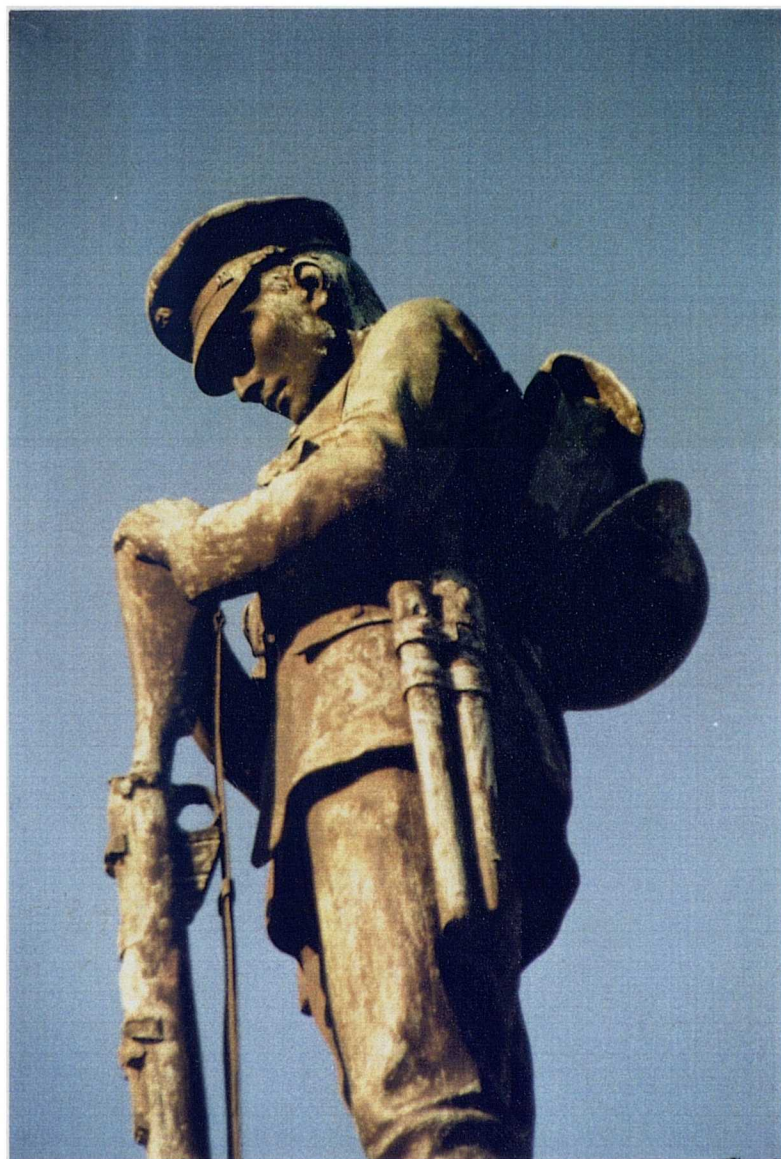
DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

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Frontispiece.



Newmains War Memorial (detail).

This book is not about heroes. English poetry is not yet fit to speak of them.

Nor is it about deeds, or lands, nor anything about glory, honour, might, majesty, dominion, or power, except War.

Above all I am not concerned with Poetry.

My subject is War, and the pity of War.

The Poetry is in the pity.

Wilfred Owen,
from 'Preface' (1918).¹

Whenever war is spoken of
I find
The War that was called Great invades the mind.

Vernon Scammell²

1. Jon Stallworthy, (Ed.), The Poems of Wilfred Owen, (London: Hogarth Press, 1985), p.192.
2. Paul Fussell, The Great War and Modern Memory, (London: Oxford University Press, 1977), p.319.

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One supposes, however, that one cannot end this item of acknowledgement without stating the self evident - had there not been the tragic sacrifice of the 100,000,¹ whose names are carved on the monuments, there would not have been this abundance of

memorials and therefore no topic such as this to write about. A great debt of honour is due to all those who were 'The Glorious Dead' of the Great War. They are the unsung heroes of this study - they are the 'raison d'etre' of the war memorial industry - even if the real heroes of this piece are all those who actually designed and created the war memorials.

1. Christopher Harvie - No Gods & Precious Few Heroes,
(London: Edward Arnold, 1981). p.24

ABSTRACT

This study attempts to place the war memorials of the Great War within, not only a Scottish, but an international and historical context. Monuments reflect power and prestige as well as demonstrate artistic skill. They are symbols with meanings and expressions of values but while they last the values which they represent change. Their evolution also mirrors changing attitudes to life and death. Monuments to victories and the victorious have given way to those which more democratically commemorate all the Fallen. Cenotaphs have come to be erected at home in memory of those buried elsewhere. Glasgow provides ample illustration of how commemorative art has evolved - from memorials in the Cathedral and its Burial Ground to those in the city itself, from private memorials in the Necropolis to public monuments in public places and from monuments to individuals to memorials to many.

The memorials erected in the aftermath of the Great War are monuments of their age. Intended to express enduring values, with death for 'King and Country' seen as sacrifice, they were a focus for collective grief as well as community pride. The inscriptions which transform monuments into memorials are value-laden statements - even if we no longer accept these values. The events of their unveiling days reveal many of the hopes and fears of their creators for they allowed an orgy of patriotism to coalesce with the needs of bereavement. Over and above their social and socialising role memorials had an economic consequence and artistic result. In their day they mattered even if we do not now "remember".

Memorials now lack care and cease to have meaning due to changed values. Memorials of a new genre - peace monuments - are a response to new needs. Commemorative art is a continuing process even if the actual art of monument making changes little and old monuments need new respect if they are to survive in a new world.

INTRODUCTION

Hing it up aside the chumley-cheek, the aul' glen's Muster
Roll,

A' names we ken fae hut an' ha', fae Penang to the Pole,
An' speir na gin I'm prood o't - Losh I coont them line by
line

Near haun' a hunner fechtin' men, an' they a' were Loons o'
Mine.

....

For every lauchin' loon I kent I see a hell-scarred man
Not mine but yours to question now! You lift unhappy eyes -
'Ah, Maister, tell's fat a' this means.' And I, ye thocht sae
wise,

Mawn answer wi' the bairn words ye said to me lang-syne,
'I dinna ken, I dinna ken,' Fa does, oh, Loons o' Mine?

Mary Symon,
from 'The Glen's Muster Roll:
The Dominie Loquitur.'

This is a study about war memorials and chiefly of those erected to commemorate those who lost their lives in the Great War. There are many monuments to earlier wars but when one thinks of War Memorials it is those erected in the aftermath of the 1914-18 war which spring to mind for they are abundant and everywhere.

The Great War led to near countless war memorials being set within buildings - in schools and colleges, in churches and chapels, in public buildings - but it also led to many hundreds being erected in the open air and in public places. It is the aim here to focus on those memorials which are truly public, i.e. outdoor rather than indoor.

The Scottish sculptor George Wylie has coined the word 'Scul?ture' to describe his work and his explanation for this was that whereas the question mark was usually at the end of things he believed it should be at the centre of things.¹ Wylie has also given his definition of public art as being "art that the public cannot avoid".² Both these statements seem to have much relevance as to what war memorials are about. Not only were they erected at the centre of things but in public places which the public could not avoid and, indeed, in places that they had no wish to avoid. There are some questions which are also central to the whole concept of war memorials and their creation: the intention in this study is to examine some of issues concerning war memorials in an attempt to explain not only why they were erected but to assess some of the impact of these memorials on society.

The TV programme which aimed to tell a little about Wylie's life and work was intriguingly entitled "The Why's Man". There can be no doubt that Wylie is a wise and often wry observer of Scottish life and the contemporary scene whose work has indeed prompted many questions as to "Why is...?" This study too has sought to answer some questions - the "Why are...?"'s about Scottish War Memorials.

All monuments of every age are value-laden. They express the values of those who created them and many reflect some of the values of their age. They may not reflect real or even supposed values but they certainly reflect imposed values. Monuments are often symbols of prestige, power and authority as well as revealing much skill, craftsmanship and beauty. As they were for the most part designed to be lasting they have meanings which their creators wished to communicate to future generations as well as the present. They have a public statement to make even if they have no inscription. They are "sermons in stone" for they communicate even if the messages are not always understood or we choose not to interpret them.

Neat has stated "most great art since the earliest times has been memorial art and by its very nature memorial art is public art".³ War Memorials are part of this long monumental tradition. Some of the earliest monuments are to those lost in battle and some of the most recent and best known pieces of modern sculpture and public art are part of that ongoing tradition. War Memorials have a past, a present and a future. In the post 1914-18 era they were truly at the centre of things and in this study too they are centre stage.

Throughout Scotland, in almost every village and certainly in every town, one of these monuments was set up. Even if today they are largely ignored they are, nonetheless, often major landmarks in the countryside and conspicuous features of the urban scene. Some are works of art revealing the ample skill of the architect, sculptor or monumental mason. In a different age and in different circumstances their impact was more than merely visual.

War memorials were erected with pride as well as sadness and at great cost. Not only do they represent much sacrifice on a grand scale but they amount to the greatest single outpouring of monumental art in our history and which also cost a substantial sum of money. They were erected at the heart of communities for communities had suffered real loss. They are pieces of local history which in sum are part of the national story.

Those who have chronicled the history of the Inter-War Years have for the most part ignored the existence of war memorials. The few historians who do mention them give them scant attention. Taylor, one of the most eminently readable of modern historians, deals with them briefly ⁴:

"The war was, of course, not forgotten. There were war memorials in every town and village; the grave of the Unknown Soldier in Westminster Abbey, and the Cenotaph, to which passers-by doffed their hats, in Whitehall".

Stevenson, one of the ablest of the Inter-War historians and certainly its major social historian, adds little ⁵:

"By 1950, war memorials in almost every town and village in the country bore witness to two world wars whose economic and social repercussions must rank as some of the most important influences on the development of Britain in the twentieth century".

Not exactly a mine of information! At least Stevenson recognised their existence: historians of the Scottish scene seem to have overlooked them or dismissed them entirely. In countless local histories, if mentioned at all, memorials rate little more than the briefest of reference.

War memorials have not been entirely neglected. W.J.Reader's 'At Duty's Call' A Study in Obsolete Patriotism (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988) while dealing largely with the voluntary enlistment of two and a half million men into the British army in the first sixteen months of the war also looked at the sacrifice and commemoration of those who fell. It is about absolute, as much as obsolete, patriotism. A few books on war memorials as a special subject in their own right have also appeared. These are Derek Boorman's At the Going Down of the Sun (York: Wm. Sessions, 1988), Colin McIntyre's Monuments to War (London: Robert Hale, 1990) and

Alan Borg's War Memorials (London: Leo Cooper, 1991). There has also been a sprinkling of articles in the Imperial War Museum's Review and that museum has begun to co-ordinate a project designed to develop into a national inventory on war memorials. None of these deal specifically with Scottish War Memorials and the inventory is an ongoing project and therefore this thesis remains the first comprehensive study of Scottish War Memorials. On points where there was possible overlap between this and the other studies there is a difference in both emphasis and interpretation. The subject of war memorials is vast and there is ample scope for further study.

It is perhaps worth stating that when work began on this project the Council for British Archaeology believed it to be a "pioneer" in the study of war memorials.⁶

If, until recently, modern historians largely deemed the memorials as irrelevant to their story one can almost search in vain for them in the work of those with a more limited perspective. The War Artists [M. & S. Harries, (London: Michael Joseph, 1983)], and The Arts in Britain in World War 1 [John Ferguson, (London: Stainer & Bell, 1980)] are two such works: the latter deals with the arts in wartime and not after the war; the former, more or less, confines its memorial interest to the 'Hall of Remembrance' which in effect became the art gallery part of the Imperial War Museum, the nation's principal war memorial museum.

Only in a few architectural monographs do memorials figure and in the very few biographies or autobiographies of sculptors which have been written they rate no more than a passing mention. The historian of the Aberdeen granite industry ⁷ chose to ignore them and McLaren's Sixty Years in an Aberdeen Granite Yard records the history of his firm as well as of the sad decline of his industry but Mr. McLaren was too young to have been involved in war memorial making and thus his book has sadly thrown little light on the subject.⁸

The artist Stanley Spencer worked as an official war artist in the Second World War and based in Port Glasgow he produced magnificent murals on Shipbuilding. He had also, in the years after the First World War, created the great murals for the Sandham Memorial Chapel at Burghclere. It was to be one of the truly high points in English 20th Century Art and a war memorial of the highest calibre. One of Spencer's other works, a painting of 'The Unveiling of Cookham War Memorial' captures some of the atmosphere of that day of much importance to his beloved village, for Cookham was the centre for so much of his life and scene of his religious paintings. Few Scottish artists seem to have depicted war memorials. Spencer's Cookham War Memorial painting, although on display in the Royal Academy of Art's major 'Stanley Spencer RA' exhibition of 1980, rarely gets a public viewing and is in a private collection. Visits to most art galleries and to almost every country house open to the public has resulted in the inspection of most important public as well as private collections and leads one to conclude that war memorials have been a subject virtually ignored by painters.

Memorials take many forms and paintings especially have frequently been used as a means of commemoration whether by design, tradition or simply by circumstance. On a visit to any stately home one sees walls lined with portraits which apart from displaying the noble lines of succession are also memorials to the ancestors of the present noble occupants. Indeed, in many ordinary homes photographs of relations grace the sideboard or mantel shelf and many of these were placed there with memorial intent or have become memorials due to the passage of time and the fate of the photographee.

One example may suffice to show how the role of a work of art, be it photograph or painting, may change over time. In the Mappin Art Gallery, Sheffield there is a large work by Francis Wheatley - 'The Return from Shooting' of 1788 - and it, as its title suggests, depicts a shooting party returning home in the evening. The group is seen in the foreground with a great country seat set in the background. Although a painting of a group it is nevertheless

essentially a portrait of one man: he sits astride his horse in the centre of the canvas and his are the only eyes that look straight towards the viewer. He is the Duke of Newcastle and the other figures are subservient or at least secondary; they merely shed light on his world for the painting is a statement about his position. It was commissioned by the Duke and was hung with great pride in the entrance hall of his home, Clumber Park. Both the Duke and the house, however, have long gone but the portrait remains - a memorial to both the Duke and his world.

One painting in particular which seems to have a truly war memorial function, even if not entirely designed to be so, is the large canvas on the staircase of York City Art Gallery. Painted in 1916 by Richard Jack, a local artist who gifted it to the city, it is entitled 'The Return to the Front: Victoria Railway Station' and it depicts a crowded platform of soldiers waiting to board their train and of others bidding farewell to their relations. It is a poignant scene for the men are off to the battlefield and many of them will not make another return journey home. Not only is the painting making a significant historical statement it is a memorial of those men and of that event. The fact that it has been given such a prominent location suggests too that it is in fact been treated as a memorial. The actual war memorial tablets with the long lists of names of the fallen carved on their face which is Preston's war memorial are actually set on the walls of the staircase of the town's Harris Museum and Art Gallery.

In Leeds City Art Gallery, a painting by George W. Joy is in every respect a memorial. 'General Gordon's Last Stand' depicts the heroic and unarmed Gordon of Khartoum on the stair of his Governor-General's palace bravely facing the hordes of dervishes who have stormed the gates and would soon lay him low. The painting was also gifted to the art gallery in 1920 "in remembrance of Capt. Alec M.D. Gordon MC who fell at Passchendaele 6th November 1917". The painting thus commemorates General Gordon as well as a being a memorial to Captain Gordon.

In the National Portrait Gallery hangs the famous 'Unton Memorial' of 1596 which incorporates a portrait of Sir Henry Unton but also depicts aspects of his life, his dying and his death. The painting also shows the handsome monument erected to his memory in Faringdon Church for Unton was to be well remembered. His chaplain published a book of commemorative poems while his widow, who doubtless commissioned both the portrait memorial and the church monument, was also the patron of John Dowland, the leading lutenist of the time, who composed a sombre pavan entitled 'Sir Henry Umpton's (sic) Funeral'. As Llewellyn has remarked "the music was simply another form of memorial".⁹

Much music is commemorative of people and of events. A few examples will suffice simply to demonstrate that wealth. Beethoven composed his 3rd Symphony, the 'Symphony Eroica', as a tribute to Napoleon's successes and it was described in 1806 as having been composed "to celebrate the memory of a great man".¹⁰ Handel not only composed his 'Utrecht Te Deum' to celebrate the Peace of Utrecht but it was followed by the 'Dettingen Te Deum' to mark victory by the British and Austrian armies over the French in the battle of 1743 and it, like all anthems, has been used on many occasions for thanksgiving, celebration and commemoration. Tchaikovsky's '1812' overture captures much of the excitement of that momentous year. Shostakovich dedicated his 'Leningrad' Symphony of 1942 "to the ordinary Soviet citizens who have become the heroes of the present war".¹¹ Britten's 'War Requiem' with its use of Owen's poems was timed for the commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary of the outbreak of the Great War but it was also "dedicated to the memory of four of Britten's friends who had been killed in the Second World War".¹²

Sculpture, however, has always seemed to be the true medium for commemoration. Most town halls have portraits of civic leaders on the walls of the council chamber and Inverness Town House is no exception. It is a splendid piece of Victoriana and within its hall and council chamber there is an impressive array of paintings of

notable Highland figures and not just a medley of provosts. It is the sombre marble busts of long forgotten provosts and local dignitaries that are the real memorials for the paintings remain only pictures but the busts are little monuments. They have transformed the Town House into something more akin to a mausoleum rather than simply another art gallery. Its stained glass windows merely add to and accentuate its shrine-like qualities.

Many museums and art galleries are not only memorials in their own right but contain memorials and as many sculptors made maquettes for the war memorials they were to erect a few of these models are to be seen in galleries. G.H. Paulin's maquette for his Kirkcudbright War Memorial is on display in Broughton House, the one-time Kirkcudbright home of the artist A.E Hornel. The one for Glasgow's Cameronian Memorial (the work of Philip Lindsay Clark) has pride of place in the Regimental Museum at Hamilton. Amid all the relics of David Livingstone at his memorial at Blantyre is a display containing some of the tools of the sculptor C. d'O Pilkington Jackson who, apart from creating many of the commemorative features of the museum, also created many fine war memorials. One of the rooms at Old Gala House in Galashiels has now been given over to display material on the Border sculptor Thomas Clapperton and thus some items relate to his war memorial work. Given the many hundreds of memorials, however, very few art galleries and historical museums have sought to display and narrate the local war memorial story.

Much literature has a memorial aspect and this is especially true of poetry. Charles Wolfe's poem 'The Burial of Sir John Moore', for much of the Victorian and Edwardian eras, was better known than the Hero of Corunna although one suspects it is now all but forgotten. Moore's biographer claimed that the elegy was "a fitting memorial for Sir John Moore".¹³ Apart from his 'Ode on the Death of the Duke of Wellington' in which he exhorted us to "Bury the Great Duke/ With an empire's lamentation" Alfred, Lord Tennyson composed the remarkable 'In Memoriam' inspired by the death of his friend Arthur

Hallam. One of the truly abiding memorials of the Great War are the works of the 'War Poets' such as Wilfred Owen, Siegfried Sassoon and Edmund Blunden. The deaths of so many of these young men - Brooke, Grenfell, Mackintosh, Owen, Rosenberg, Sorley et al - merely added to the poignancy of their poetry. The work of the novelists of the time, good though much of it is and one thinks especially of Frederic Manning's The Middle Parts of Fortune, lacks the commemorative quality that the best of the verse has supplied.

Apart from the literature about the war itself some writers and poets had, in the years immediately after 1914-18, given the subject of war memorials some serious treatment. Lewis Grassie Gibbon (Sunset Song), Christopher Isherwood (The Memorial), R.H. Mottram (Spanish Farm Trilogy) and Charlotte Mews' "Cenotaph" all deal with memorials while Sassoon's "Aftermath" deals with remembering and Philip Johnstone's "High Wood" with forgetting. In such travelogues as J.B. Priestley's English Journey and H. V. Morton's In Scotland Again war memorials figure prominently while Graves and Hodge's Long Weekend and Blyth's Age of Illusion did not overlook Whitehall's national Cenotaph even if they gave scant attention to the lesser local ones. In the past, most war memorials were also the proud subjects of postcards and every local newsagent seemed at one time to stock a view of the local war memorial among their assortment of picture postcards.

Perhaps because war memorials were common they have been dismissed as commonplace and, though ignored by almost everyone, they have also, by and large, been "apparently contemptuously scorned by art historians".¹⁴ Few have considered them worthy of attention. In many places war memorials are the only piece of public or civic sculpture to be provided even if few could truly regard them as milestones in art history. They are nonetheless part of art history and architectural history as well as local social history.

War memorials have not always been so shamefully ignored. When they were first erected the local press lavished attention on them. National and local newspapers reported on many unveiling ceremonies. This interest was to be of short duration and after a brief flutter of interest again after 1945 few people have since given them much consideration. Those who lost a loved one no doubt for long after held a special affection for a particular monument but the passage of time has weakened the memorial aspect as, ever increasingly, few of us have anyone we ever knew named on them - they have become simply a list of unknown names. In Adrian Mitchell's apt words each has become "a marble phone book".¹⁵ Today we may, more accurately even if rather ashamedly, regard war memorials as merely public art with a memorial aspect rather than as purely memorials.

As the years have passed and not only the Great War but World War II have receded further into the past to be the muddled recollections in old men's memories and to be the subjects of school history lessons the prime interest in them as memorials has gradually waned. They alas, have also become a "forgotten legacy"¹⁶ as far as art was concerned.

The purpose here is to focus on various aspects which seemed to make them important in their day and to look at their historical precedents and their subsequent history as well as to see how memorials as a genre have developed since the Great War.

War memorials have ever been products of their time. They were responses to needs as well as reflections of values. Their change over time and peoples' changing attitudes to them are symbolic of these times.

War memorials of the Great War are symbols of their age and yet they are the ever-present reminder of that war. Few places do not have what is known as 'The War Memorial' to recall the sacrifice of 1914-1918. Even though the war ended 75 years ago the cairn or cross at the road junction in countless villages remind us, or ought to

remind us, that we owe a great debt to past generations for monuments to the fallen as well as to the fallen themselves. The Great War has left us a wealth of memorials but it is an inheritance we have not always appreciated and now do not know how to handle. Legacies often create more problems than they solve.

It is not the intention here to provide a definitive list of all war memorials in Scotland. Very many excursions have been made and to some of the most remote and distant parts of Scotland to examine war memorials. They have been photographed, their inscriptions recorded and a note taken of the numbers of men (and women) commemorated. Much research has been carried out into the artists, designers and craftsmen involved in this work. The definitive list may, perhaps, be not all that far away even if it is not here.

The aim of the study was in more general terms. It was to ascertain some of the reasons "Why?". To attempt to find out why they were erected, where and how they were erected, and who paid for them as well as who benefited from their erection in an economic sense as well as those who were comforted or placated by them. Like all monuments they reflect values and here we shall consider whose values and what values were to be communicated. Other aspects which were examined were the architectural, sculptural and monumental skill and craftsmanship which went into their erection and the inscription selected to be carved on the memorial face. In short, therefore, the aim was to introduce the subject of Scottish war memorials, a subject which seemed to warrant attention as an aspect of social history as much as a part of art and architectural history.

One of Glasgow's historians, a writer of a regular series of articles for the city's Evening Citizen under the pseudonym of Peter Prowler, said of his work that "it seemed as if (he) had opened a treasure chest belonging to Glasgow, and brought to light things which should interest all its citizens".¹⁷ War memorials are part

of Scotland's "treasure chest" and perhaps they too should be brought to light and be of interest to all its citizens.

The study falls naturally into three distinct parts - Part One being a brief examination of the historical development of war memorials from antiquity to the eve of the Great War.

Part Two, the main body of the work, consists of a more detailed study of the war memorials erected in the aftermath of the Great War in an attempt to ascertain not only why they were made and why the memorials have taken the forms that they have done. An examination is made of a range of other related issues concerning their creation.

Part Three is simply an attempt to bring the war memorial story up to date, to examine later monuments and to see how we, as a nation, have cared for the ones erected after the Great War.

Making war memorials may not have been a great industry in itself; it was purely a small but significant part of the monumental industry but few monuments before or since have had such pride of place at the heart of communities. Today they may not be public art that the public much appreciates but in their day they reflected much public and not a little private grief. They are as much part of Scotland's story as they are part of art history.

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SECTION ONE

SETTING THE SCENE

"The whole earth is the tomb of heroic men and their story is not graven on stone over their clay but abides everywhere, without visible symbol, woven into the stuff of other men's lives".

Thucydides, c471-c400 B.C. ¹

"Objects - tangible, external, enduring objects - can embody a freight of emotional significance".

Susan Pearce. ²

1. Quoted on the memorial to the Royal Scots Fusiliers in the Scottish National War Memorial, Edinburgh Castle.
2. Susan Pearce, 'Thinking about things' in Museums Journal, Vol 85, No 4, 1986. p.198.

CHAPTER ONE

AN IMMORTAL TRADITION

i. Brief Lives and Lasting Values.

ii. From Great Men to Great Many.

"Their names shall remain for ever and their glory shall not be blotted out; their bodies are buried in peace but their name liveth for evermore; the people will tell of their wisdom, and the congregation will show forth their praise".

Apocrypha, Ecclesiasticus, xliv.

CHAPTER ONE - PART ONE

BRIEF LIVES & LASTING VALUES

"When we build, let us think that we build for ever".

John Ruskin,
in 'The Lamp of Memory'.

Prior to any examination of the reasons for, and the results of, the plethora of monument-making in the years following the First World War it is necessary to put these monuments into a historical context. By having a backward look at earlier examples of commemorating the dead we may better understand how war memorials themselves have developed. War memorials are but one branch of commemorative art.

The aftermath of the Great War was but a hey-day for the art of war memorial design and construction. They were not a 'new idea' of the post 1914-1918 era nor indeed were they unique to Britain. War memorials have a long history; a history almost as long as the history of the human race. They are also truly spread world wide. Almost every nation has sought to commemorate battles and those who died in them and especially victories and those who achieved them. Celebration has often gone hand in hand with commemoration. All monuments reflect the values of their creators and almost all are symbols of power and prestige.

Commemorating the dead was one of the earliest of the creative outlets to display people's artistic temperament and among the oldest constructions in the world are monuments to the departed. Commemoration seems to be the lasting version of mourning; a desire to create as a product of a sense of loss. They are attempts to come to terms with death and loss. Memorials reflect the changing attitudes to death and the differing concepts of the after-life.

Throughout Western Europe great tombs remain as the surviving examples of early building skills. Dolmen and cromlechs, shorn of their earthen cover, still stand proudly and picturesquely in the countryside while man-made mounds or long barrows remain a feature of the landscape today just as they have done for three thousand years. All of these lasting memorials to the long forgotten dead are also monument's to building expertise of the past for they were constructed entirely of stone and without mortar. As many of the stones used in their construction were immense the term 'megalithic'

has been used to describe them and these tombs were also set on conspicuous positions in the environment where their size and scale were intended to impress.

Stone Age people in Orkney have left a legacy of great chambered tombs or cairns of which the finest example is that at Maes Howe. There a principal chamber has attendant side chambers or cells opening off of it and all are within a great artificial mound. It was possibly a family burial place or mausoleum and dates from around 2500 B.C. The tomb at Maes Howe was in many ways merely a simpler version of the range of chambered dwellings which comprise Skara Brae and perhaps reflect that houses for the dead were considered to be almost as important as homes for the living. It is certainly ironic that when nature, in the guise of all-embracing sand, buried the settlement its last use was as a burial place with two rough stone coffins set into the sand. Childe has noted with that act "the story of human occupation of Skara Brae ends".¹

Primitive people in the more recent past has also sought to build monumental structures to commemorate the dead. The Berewan of Borneo, a society originally based on the military unit of the longhouse but now peasant farmers, reside in longhouses under a elected charismatic leader. Each longhouse serves as "a monument to the authority of its leader"² and to legitimise and secure his position each chief must demonstrate leadership and foster community solidarity. Anthropologists inform us that "the building of a mausoleum provides an opportunity for such a demonstration"³ and a graveyard with mausoleum was located near each longhouse.

Though carved of timber and with much ornate decoration these mausolea are themselves mortal for soon "jungle creepers engulf and finally topple these structures",⁴ nevertheless not only did much skill and craftsmanship go into their creation but they were "always built on the riverbank so that passersby can admire them and wonder at the power of their architects".⁵

No matter the durability of the materials used in the construction of monuments one abiding notion seems to be that other people should be impressed by them, by their craftsmanship and design and by their size. Monuments reflect the status of their creators or of those who are commemorated.

One of the great civilisations which has left its mark in art and architecture has been the Egyptian and it is from Egypt that some of the abiding ideas and forms of commemorative art emerge. There seems to be a thread of continuity from ancient times to the recent past as to how the dead have been commemorated and that only the scale, lavishness and emphasis have changed over time. The ancient Egyptians first built tombs, which we know as Mastabas, and in these, within a chamber known as the offering room, was placed a 'stele'- an "upright stone slab inscribed with the name of the deceased, funerary texts and relief carvings".⁶ It seems a near perfect description of any stone to be found in any country churchyard or city cemetery.

Egyptian culture placed great emphasis on the care and protection of the dead and they built massive tombs to house not only the body but treasures required for the eternal enjoyment of the deceased. In so doing the Egyptians, as Curl has stated, have "left the most extensive and famous tombs of all time (for) the Pyramids of Egypt are celebrations of death on a powerful scale".⁷ The Step Pyramid of Zoser at Sakkara rose to a height of 200 feet and dates from around 3000 B.C. and it was reputed to be "the world's first large scale monument in stone".⁸ The mighty Great Pyramid of Cheops near Cairo soared to 480 feet in height. (To put these monuments into perspective it is worth noting that the height of St. Peter's in Rome, from the pavement to the top of its dome, is 452 feet and the Statue of Liberty on her pedestal is a mere 305 feet high in total).

The ancient Egyptians have also left us the colossal Great Sphinx - a piece of sculpture 240 feet long and of 66 feet maximum height and

carved out of a natural rock out-crop. Being part of the landscape ensured that at least the Sphinx remained in Egypt: obelisks were not so fortunate. Many of them were so admired by Roman Emperors that they had them removed to adorn their city. The one in the Piazza of S. Giovanni in Laterano is a red granite monolith and is the tallest ever known being 105 feet in height excluding its pedestal. It became the mark of all truly great cities to have an Egyptian obelisk. New York has one in Central Park while the Place de la Concorde in Paris is enhanced with an obelisk from Luxor whose hieroglyphics commemorate the death of Ramesis II. Its companion piece, for they were normally erected in pairs, stands on the Thames Embankment in London where it is known as 'Cleopatra's Needle'.

Its story is worth relating for it tells much about the almost eternal desire to have monuments. After the defeat of the French in Egypt in 1801 the British troops believed that the obelisk would be a fitting war trophy and Sir David Baird, the victorious British general, supposedly sent one thousand men to uproot it but as it weighed 186 tons he failed to get it on board his ship. It was not until 1819 that the Viceroy of Egypt presented it to Britain and not until 1878 that the monument finally made its journey from Egypt. By 1878 Britain had acquired the Suez Canal shares "in the interest of imperial greatness"⁹ and to secure a sea route to India, and the Queen had recently aspired to the recent creation of 'Empress'. The Needle, therefore, became as much a monument to the British Empire as a memorial to a long forgotten Pharaoh. It had become an imperial symbol to be placed in the capital city of the Empire.

As for General Baird, when he died his widow erected a memorial to him in 1832 and, not surprisingly, it was an eighty-two feet tall granite replica of Cleopatra's Needle. It was placed on top of Tomachastel Hill, on part of his estates, a few miles from Crieff.

In ancient times graves were marked by an upright stone or 'stelai' which was either plain or ornate and the Greeks also erected cenotaphs to those whose bodies could not be found but whom they nevertheless desired to commemorate. After battle, the Greeks

usually buried their dead on the spot and they were commemorated by a mound on which stelai with inscriptions were set up. Curl has informed us that Athenians often "brought the bodies or bones of heroes back to Athens for burial (and) a seated lion marks the communal grave of the victims of the battle of Chaeronea of 338 B.C".¹⁰ and, it is also worth noting, the bones were neatly laid to rest in rows in an enclosure, an early example of the military cemetery. At Halicarnassos the monument erected to commemorate King Mausolos has left as a legacy the word 'mausoleum' which has come to be used to describe any monumental tomb.

The ancients have, however, not only given us the vocabulary in both language and technique in commemorating the dead they were also the pioneers in the development of what might be considered to be war memorials, as distinct from gravestones, for those who had died in war and erected at the place of burial. There is much blurring as to purpose of early memorials for they are often as much memorials of war as they are commemorative of those who died in war. For while Whittick could claim that the "whole Acropolis, which includes a temple dedicated to Nike, the Greek goddess of Victory, must be regarded as the great Athenian War Memorial",¹¹ he also believed that many Grecian temples were in part war memorials "expressing thanksgiving to the deity for victory and deliverance".¹² Neat has assessed the frieze of the Parthenon as being ¹³:

"an extraordinary memorial to those Athenians who gave their lives at the battle of Marathon. The 192 horsemen in the frieze are the 192 Athenians killed at Marathon - they rode triumphant in the procession to be presented at the high table of the Gods and the procession sees them elevated (as riders) to heroic status - half men, half Gods. The Parthenon is thus not just a temple to Athene - but also like the Mound of Marathon, a war memorial".

The Romans erected altars as thanksgiving for victories and one of these, known as the alter of peace, commemorated the victories of

Augustus in Gaul and dates from 3 B.C. Curl has stated "the power of Rome was often suggested by the mighty monuments of her triumphs, victories and memorials".¹⁴ Examples of these are the great triumphal arches (of which one of the finest is the Arch of Constantine to commemorate his victory over Maxentius), the memorial columns (the 124 feet tall Trajan's column which is decorated with a spiral band of reliefs depicting Trajan's campaigns) and equestrian statues. The bronze equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius in Rome is the earliest example of that genre and when Michaelangelo was designing the Capitol with its palaces and piazza he designed a pedestal for the statue and thus gave this 2nd Century figure pride of place in the centre of the square and at the heights of the Renaissance.

Curl has noted that equestrian statues "have given the world great civic ornaments that also function as memorials".¹⁵ Nowhere is that more evident than in the splendid equestrian 'Physical Energy' which stands, or rather rears up, in front of the elegant temple which is the Cecil Rhodes Memorial on the slopes of Table Mountain, Cape Town. The sculptor G.F. Watt's statue and the temple hark back to their classical ancestry for in a sense there has been little that has been added to the forms of monumental art down through the ages.

The war memorials of antiquity were generally erected to commemorate great leaders and great victories and were either set up in the main city square or at the theatre of war. They were, with few exceptions, battle monuments celebrating victory in the field rather than commemorating the victims of war. Throughout the ages that has indeed been the form memorials have taken. Victorious generals have sat astride their chargers in the squares of great cities (e.g. Donatello's Gattamaleta in Padua) and magnificent monuments have recorded epic events (e.g. the Victory column in Berlin) or national leaders (e.g. the 555 feet tall obelisk to George Washington in Washington D.C.). All are impressive memorials. They are symbols of power as well as taste.

Most societies have learned from the past and from travel and as Richardson has noted "as early as the 16th century, in response to the appeal occasioned by the Renaissance it was quite usual for Englishmen to go to Italy in pursuit of higher culture".¹⁶ This interest was to develop in many ways, not the least of which was architecturally ¹⁷:

"The first quarter of the 17th century witnessed a change in attitude of Englishmen towards architecture; in place of dumb acceptance of any architectural novelty there arose a desire among civilised men to inquire closely into the architecture of Italy in situ. At first the movement was scarcely perceptible but it gradually gained ground".

From the early 18th century from England, and indeed from Scotland, it became the custom for those of wealth and taste to take a 'Grand Tour' to see the classical antiquities. Richardson has stated¹⁸:

"...it came to be realised that a Grand Tour through the continental countries ... was a necessary complement to the education of a gentleman and that artistic taste was an essential element".

It also became the custom for architects who either hoped to acquire the patronage of those of wealth and taste or who had already acquired such patronage to follow their social superiors on these 'grand tours'. Robert Adam was able to accompany the Hon. Charles Hope, younger brother of the Earl of Hopetoun, on a tour to Italy and as Maclean has observed "for Hope, the tour was little more than a pleasure trip, but for Robert it was an investment towards the future success of the Adam Brothers".¹⁹

Adam liked Rome, for him it was "the most glorious place in the universal world",²⁰ and while there he studied and sketched the antiquities. The triumphal arch theme in particular was to be used by Adam in many of his buildings; internally at Syon House,

externally at Keddleston. The McLennan Arch on Glasgow Green, a remnant of the Assembly Rooms, had been the centrepiece of the facade of one of the few Adam buildings in Glasgow and it was obviously deemed to be so suitable for a monument that the triumphal arch was saved and re-erected. It has recently been re-erected once more so that it has a more monumental and eye-catching location.

The young architectural student James Gibbs, the first Scots architect to train abroad professionally, went to Rome which he too thought "surpassed all the rest in magnificence and grandeur".²¹ The Arch of Septimus Severus, he considered "very grand and noble ...the finest of its kind".²² He was later to design a triumphal arch based on it for Ditchley Park, Oxfordshire. He also greatly admired the works of Palladio and country houses and churches (such as the West Church of St. Nicholas, Aberdeen) which Gibbs designed were based on Palladian examples.

Other Scottish architects, William Adam for example, visited England where they learned from those who were already acquainted with classical architecture. Others, who did not go on any tour themselves studied the details and measured drawings produced by architects such as 'Athenian' Stuart. The publication of such drawings was influential, Watkin has stated ²³:

"measured drawings of buildings which had been unaccountably ignored for centuries was eventually to flower in the architectural products of the Greek Revival from Edinburgh to Corfu, from Moscow to Savannah".

Gibbs' A Book of Architecture became one of the most influential of English architectural pattern books while Gibbs himself had been inspired by Fisher Von Erlach's History of Architecture of 1721. He used the reconstruction of the Mausoleum at Halicarnassos of Fisher's book as the model for his Turner Mausoleum at Kirkleathan, Yorkshire in 1740.

A grateful monarch and government gave the landed estate of Woodstock and much of the money to enable John, 1st Duke of Marlborough to create Blenheim Palace as a reward for his victory at Blenheim in 1704. Sir John Vanbrugh, the foremost architect of his day, designed this grand classical palatial home for the hero and gave for its entrance gates a triumphal arch and within the grounds set a 134 feet tall Column of Victory topped with a lead statue of the duke. At Vanbrugh's other great house, and incidentally his first exercise in building, Castle Howard, he provided an 100 feet high obelisk, which in part also commemorated Marlborough's victory, as well as arched gateways with pyrimid-like decorative details. The finest building of that estate, however, is the Mausoleum designed by Nicholas Hawksmoor which has been assessed as "the noblest invention of them all".²⁴ Curl believed it to be ²⁵:

"...as fine as any comparable building in the world, and must be regarded as one of the greatest of all examples of buildings of this genre, and probably the finest great solitary free standing tomb built in Western Europe since antiquity".

Built between 1731 and 1742 it comprises of a splendid domed drum surrounded by a peristyle of tall columns. Later James Wyatt was to design the neo-classical Pelham Mausoleum at Brocklesby Park, an elegant domed drum surrounded by a Roman Doric colonnade, and erected by an heartbroken Earl of Yarborough to commemorate the death of his young wife. Set in a delightful country park and built between 1787-94 it is still one of the most beautiful of our mausolea; a monument to a loved one but also a monument to wealth and taste. In Scotland the finest of them is the magnificent Hamilton Mausoleum of 1848-52 based on the Tomb of Caecilia Matella (c20 B.C.) in Rome. It is a 120 feet tall domed cylindrical building set on a terrace with a pair of colossal stone lions crouching sleepily and sentinally over the entrance to its crypt. Two great bronze doors executed by Sir John Steele formerly provided access to the chapels and they were based on Ghiberti's doors on the

Baptistry at Florence which Michaelangelo had called the "doors to Paradise". (Due to structural problems, caused by subsidence following mine workings, the original doors have now been placed inside the building where they are safely beyond the reach of the vandals who have made their mark elsewhere on the Mausoleum).

Hamilton Mausoleum was designed by David Bryce as the resting place of the 10th Duke known as 'El Magnifico' and when he was interred there one report considered the mausoleum "to be the most costly and magnificent temple for the reception of the dead anywhere in the world with the exception of the Pyramids".²⁶ It has also been remarked that this mausoleum "was an outstanding example of the lengths to which some of the vastly-rich nobility would go to perpetuate their memory".²⁷ It has, of course, become a monumental folly: its famous echo prevented it being used as a chapel and the family's desire to obtain wealth from coal extraction led to mining subsidence and later prevented its use as a mausoleum. The bodies of the Hamiltons were removed to Bent Cemetery, the local public cemetery in the town of Hamilton, in the 1920's and with the demolition of the Palace the Mausoleum was left isolated - a monument to be vandalised rather than venerated. Nonetheless the Hamilton Mausoleum remains an impressive monumental structure which has been aptly described as "an extraordinary work of architectural sculpture rather than a building".²⁸

The great cost of building the mausoleum seriously depleted the family fortune, huge though it was, and led to the building being nicknamed "The Duke's Folly"²⁹ even before it was found to be wanting as both chapel and resting place. If it was the mark of a true folly that it be "erected simply to satisfy and give pleasure to its builder and ... to greatly surprise the stranger"³⁰ then the Mausoleum was unsuccessful but if the normal definition of "a useless building erected for ornament on a gentleman's estate"³¹ is applied then the building has certainly succeeded in becoming a folly. Jones has stated "follies come from money and serenity and peace; poor men rarely build them".³² Follies come in all shapes

and sizes and largely date from the 18th century - sham castles and towers as well as obelisks, arches and temples. Follies like all monuments mirror the taste of their creators. They are displays of wealth and status as well as individualism.

The 1890's gave Scotland its most impressive folly, namely the tower on Oban's Battery Hill, built by the banker John Stuart McCaig. One of the aims in building the structure had been to provide employment during a time of depression but McCaig's money ran out before the Colosseum-like circular drum could be completed. It is a sort of 'Gothick' version of the monument in Rome but what it lacks in the originality of the genuine article is more than compensated for by its novelty of purpose and siting. It was in part conceived as a family memorial but as its only inscription commemorates "John Stuart MacCaig, Art Critic, Philosophical Eassayist and Banker, Oban" it was and remains a memorial to one man, the idiosyncratic Mr McCaig. Its breathtaking outlook, its monumental scale and its superb location have made a visit to it an unforgettable experience. It is one of Scotland's finest memorials.

People may have always learned from the past but they have not slavishly copied; instead they have adapted old ways to suit new needs. The McCaig Tower seems to aptly encapsulate this tradition. In the Classical Revival of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries architects and artists borrowed the ideas and techniques from classical antiquity. In the nineteenth century with the Victorian Revival they not only borrowed from all earlier architectural styles but made it particularly a time of Gothic Revival. McCaig borrowed from the classical past with his idea of a modern Colosseum but as a Victorian he gave it a Gothic Revival skin. McCaig used and re-shaped the past to enhance the present. The creating of ancient monuments had provided lasting lessons in monument making and for all time and each age has sought to build its own memorials using the language of the past.

CHAPTER ONE - PART TWO

FROM GREAT MEN TO GREAT MANY

"Farewell, dear friend, dead hero! The great life
Is ended, the great perils, the great joys;
And he to whom adventures were as toys,
Who seemed to bear a charm 'gainst spear or knife
Or bullet, now lies silent from all strife".

from the Memorial to J.H. McCarthy,
St Mary Magdalene Cemetery, London. ¹

1. Judi Culbertson & Tom Randall, Permanent Londoners,
(London: Robson, 1991), p. 288.

Military leaders and other great men have almost always had memorials built to commemorate them. Generally such monuments were built by others but some desiring to secure a more fitting memorial decided to build one for themselves. Hamilton Mausoleum and McCaig's Tower are simply two of finest examples of such monuments. Often victorious generals also had monuments erected to celebrate them and their victories but these were generally erected and paid for by others: self praise frequently deemed no praise at all. Sometimes, however the generals, perhaps fearing that they might be overlooked in the commemoration stakes, opted to build their own monuments.

Near Evanton in Easter Ross stands the eyecatching Fyrish Monument (Plate No.1) built by Sir Hector Munro of Novar, and ostensibly built to relieve local distressing unemployment, the Monument was reputedly based on the gates of Negapatam, the scene of one of Munro's great Indian victories. The stones for the monument had to be carried 1500 feet up to the hill-top site and few monuments have such a superb location. Jones has described the monument thus ¹:

"What he built ... is a boldly castellated wall rising in the centre over a big pointed arch which is flanked by two smaller ones. There is a stone something else beside it, defying analysis".

While it all might defy analysis and be a picturesque folly the monument may be considered a sort of proto war memorial even if it was intended to recall a famous victory rather than those who had sacrificed life to gain the victory. Without an inscription one has to guess its intention and it seems more of a monument to Sir Hector than it does to anything else or to anyone else.

Reader has told of the memorial at Clifton, Bristol, which Lt.Gen. Sir William Draper erected in his own garden (the monument has since been moved to another site) which commemorated the "departed Warriors of the seventy-ninth regiment"² who had fought during the

Seven Years War. The memorial also records "their generous treatment of a vanquish'd Enemy" but the inscription concludes by stating the aim of the memorial - that their "illustrious Example" was -

"worthy of being transmitted
To latest of Posterity
that future Generations may know
HUMANITY is the characteristic
of BRITISH CONQUERORS ".

Draper had raised the regiment and although his later military career became obscure the monument was, as Reader has shrewdly observed, erected because "he did not intend his early glories to be forgotten".³ In praising his men he was indulging himself.

Not all memorials to the distinguished dead have been quite as strange as Fyrish or quite as grand as Hamilton or even quite as noble as Draper's and not all were erected outdoors. Commemorating the dead was long as much an indoor activity as an outdoor one. Many families, rather than build mausolea, if they were sufficiently affluent and could afford the privilege of being interred within abbeys and churches erected handsome monuments.

Before moving indoors, however, let us briefly examine one form of monument which is almost a Scottish home-grown model although its origins, like that of the Scots themselves, were in Ireland. Some of the Irish monuments, that at Monasterboice in County Louth for example, are in fact memorials to individuals but most so-called High Crosses mark preaching places or sacred spots. The finest of the ornately carved Celtic High Crosses to be found in Scotland are those at Kildalton on Islay and St. Martin's Cross at Iona, both of which are likely to be of 8th century origin. A related form of cross are those known as Northumbrian of which the best known is that at Bewcastle although the finest is possibly that which is now inside the church at Ruthwell in Dumfries-shire. It is believed to

date from around 750 A.D. and it too was a 'preaching cross' rather than a memorial. Crosses based on both the Celtic and Northumbrian forms were to become extremely popular and impressive gravestone monuments when the age of great cemetery building got underway in the 19th century. They were also to prove popular as war memorials indeed the earliest fully-fledged Scottish war memorial is a replica Celtic Cross. One of Glasgow's first war memorials was a Celtic Cross set within the Cathedral to commemorate officers and men of the Highland Light Infantry.

As far as memorials within church buildings are concerned it would seem likely that it would go hand in hand with the first internments within churches and the custom seems to have originated in the 12th century. Celebrated clerics were the first individuals to be buried in churches and chapels before the habit was extended to laymen however noble. Simple carved stones on the floor of the sanctuary soon gave way to memorial brasses of which the first was probably that at Stoke D'Abernon Church in Surrey which dates from 1277.

Among the finest of the earliest of these great tombs was that of Henry III in Westminster Abbey which dates from 1280. Its mosaic work was by an Italian craftsman while its bronze recumbant effigy was added in 1291 by a London goldsmith. There are also many exquisite examples of wall tablets as well as ornately carved tombs of the Renaissance - Michaelangelo's Tomb of Julius II was a high water mark while Italian craftsmen have been credited with importing the Renaissance to England with the great chest tombs of King Henry VII and his mother in Westminster Abbey.

With the Reformation the emphasis appeared to change and instead of a monument over the place of burial, and although the deceased might still be laid to rest below the church floor, their memorial was to be placed on the nearby wall of the church. Memorials and burial places were thus separate entities. There are many extremely fine wall tablets in many churches but soon some church walls, like that at Bath Abbey, became a veritable clutter of memorials. Hatchments,

painted boards generally depicting armorial bearings, were to become another form of wall memorial. Having been displayed at the home of the deceased for some months they were then permanently mounted on the wall of the church and they are a product of the late 17th century.

Scotland must not be forgotten for there are not only Celtic or Pictish 10th century sarcophagi at Govan but many fine examples of mediaeval sculptural tombs to be found in what remains of the religious houses. The impressive Montgomery Monument in Skelmorlie Aisle at Largs has demonstrated that even in a small relatively backward country like Scotland an extraordinary richness of monumental art was achieved in the early 17th century. The Queensberry Monument, dating from around 1711, in Durisdeer Church is splendid by any standards and although the design and the skill may be from abroad the taste and discernment which desired it was native.

From the exuberant Baroque to the chaste elegance of the Georgian era memorial art flourished and with examples still to be seen in many churches. It was, not surprisingly, within churches that the beginnings of war memorials per se are to be found. One of the earliest, if not in fact the earliest, stands within Westminster Abbey.

Following the loss of the American colonies a naval victory against the French in the Caribbean was seen as a cause for national rejoicing. One of the lasting results of the celebration was the erection of a cenotaph-type memorial to commemorate the three naval captains who had lost their lives in the engagement. Having already separated monuments and burial places within churches it was but another step to commemorate in the church those buried elsewhere. The sculptor of the handsome, even if somewhat symbolically cluttered, memorial was Joseph Nollekens and it was erected at public expense (i.e. the Treasury paid for it and the government commissioned it). Many churches were to acquire tablets to

individual soldiers and sailors who were buried far from home. That memorial was unique in that it commemorated three men.

Throughout the 19th century the walls of churches both great and small were to receive varying quantities of memorials. Monuments were also to be of varying quality. Within the Albert Memorial Chapel at Windsor was placed the art nouveau Clarence Memorial revealing that in Victorian times the art merely reached new heights and with many major monuments in countless church buildings. The Victorians did not simply clutter churches with their memorials they also crowded and transformed churchyards and cemeteries. Like no other age the Victorian one was a time of monument making on a grand scale.

The Princess Sophia monumental sarcophagus on top of its podium in Kensall Green Cemetery dates from 1850 but it has merely, if impressively, shown that in cemeteries and churchyards a legacy of monumental art, some of it of high calibre, had long flourished. Even the simplest of country churchyards abounds in stones of simple dignity. Stones only became more mawkish and the churchyards more cluttered as the 19th century progressed and as the mass produced granite memorials spread as thick as the chickweed, in the churchyard.

Kensall Green was just one of the great cemeteries to develop on ornamental garden lines during the 19th century with Pere la Chaise in Paris being the model which other cities copied. The fact that the Royal Family chose to bury two of its members at Kensall Green gave a seal of approval to it and led to it becoming fashionable as a place of internment. Almost all major cities set out to develop their own vast "cities of the dead". Edinburgh acquired Warriston, Dean, Rosebank and Grange and all of them were run and developed by private companies. For a time, fine cemeteries encouraged fine memorials and most of these garden cemeteries have a wealth of examples of Victorian memorial art at its richest. Cemeteries and churchyards were also to become convenient locations

for siting war memorials just as they had come to be regarded as suitable locations for cenotaph-type memorials for those buried somewhere else. One example will suffice. In 1889 Glasgow's Craigton Cemetery acquired a very handsome monument (since lost) with much bronze statuary to commemorate the well-known and much respected Clyde ship-builder Sir William Pearce although he was buried in his family lair in Gillingham in Kent.

Although cemeteries have fine monuments it is, however, in more accessible public places that much of the best monuments can be found and this is especially so in the realm of statuary.

In most countries monarchs have been the most prominent subjects for monumental art. London, being the capital, has Britain's finest collection of statues of all dates and styles but one of the finest of these is the splendid cast bronze equestrian statue of Charles I by Hubert le Soeur, which dates from 1633. In this work the king is clothed in dress of the period whereas by the end of the 17th century, in the midst of the Neo-Classical era, Grinling Gibbons sculpted two bronze pedestrian statues of James II and Charles II and had both clad in Roman togas. In the past kings were also military leaders and thus London's Golden Square has a lead statue of a Roman uniformed George II. On Snow Hill, in Windsor Great Park, George III, in the guise of a Roman Emperor, rides and points towards his beloved castle. Westmacott's equestrian bronze, affectionately known as the 'Copper Horse', on its stone blockwork base has an affinity with Falconet's celebrated portrait of Peter the Great at St. Petersburg (Leningrad) but where George III is a victorious emperor the Czar has no kingly or martial paraphernalia and is depicted simply as a heroic yet peaceful benefactor. The Copper Horse is set at the end of a perfect vista for the great tree-lined three mile long avenue, the Long Walk, leads from Windsor Castle to the statue. The views from the statue are almost as impressive as the views to it - it is quite simply one of the most splendidly sited memorials in the land, commanding yet contributing so much to the visual scene.

As George II had fought at the Battle of Dettingen (1743), the last battle in which a British King personally led his troops on the field, it was perhaps not surprising that there would be a desire to have him captured for all time as a great leader in the mould of Roman Emperors of old. Thus just as Roman Forums were enhanced with bronze Caesars, London Squares and Courts were graced with 'Roman' kings. Edinburgh's Parliament Square has a lead equestrian statue of Charles II dating from 1685 and he too is depicted "in the Roman manner, like one of the Caesars almost naked and so without spurs and stirrups".⁴

In the early 19th century it had also become fashionable to depict statesmen in Roman attire. William Huskisson, one-time Home Secretary and the first person to be killed in a railway accident, has been sculpted standing in his toga and the sculptor, John Gibson, has offered his views on modern dress - "the human figure concealed under a frock coat and trousers is not a fit subject for a sculptor".⁵ George Canning and Charles James Fox were other leading British politicians who have been captured in bronze dressed as Roman senators. The sculptor of both these works, Richard Westmacott, also created the giant bronze figure of Achilles to commemorate the victories of Wellington and his troops and which was cast from French guns taken in various Napoleonic battles. It was hailed as "the largest bronze cast for 1,800 years".⁶ and that work too has classical ancestry for it was based on the Horse - Tamers of the Dioscuri on Monte Cavallo (now Piazza del Quirinale in Rome).

In the reliefs of the gallery surrounding Napoleon's tomb, in Des Invalides, the Emperor is depicted in Roman costume and on the Arc de Triomphe, Victory lays a laurel wreath on the toga-clad Napoleon. He may have regarded himself as a worthy successor to the Caesars and therefore he and his admirers and advisors looked to Rome for the models and the inspiration when they wished to adorn Paris with memorials. In Place Vendome a splendid column, topped with a

statue of Napoleon himself, is clad in a bronze spiral relief depicting his military successes and it was made from 1200 cannons captured in the Battle of Austerlitz. In Holland another monument, known as the 'Pyramid' for it is an artificial mound with a tower on top, commemorates that battle and, of course, there is a monument on the battlefield itself at Slavkov, in what was to become Czechoslovakia.

However, let us for the moment concentrate on Paris. In Place du Chatelet stands the Victory Fountain erected to commemorate the victories of Napoleon while the triumphal arch of Carrousel celebrated his victories in the 1805 campaign, but the monument which is of paramount interest is the Arc de Triomphe. Not only is it an architectural masterpiece created to celebrate Napoleon's triumphant "Grande-Arme" but it is likely to have been the first truly public monument which we might possibly consider to be a war memorial. This is due to the fact that incised on its walls are the names of officers who fought in the campaign. Six hundred and sixty high ranking officers have their names engraved beneath the smaller arches of the monument and those who fell in the field have their names underlined. No common soldiers were commemorated and even some officers were overlooked. Victor Hugo had searched for the name of his father General Hugo and was to write "The only regret I have when faced with your sublime wall is that Phidias is absent and my father has been forgotten".⁷

The monument may not be all embracing in those whom it sought to commemorate but it at least marked the start of a process by commemorating not just the victorious commander but other officers. The gradual democratisation process has also led to the gradual democratising of war memorials and would lead to the gradual desire to commemorate all those who fell in war, irrespective of rank and to cut in stone all the names of those who had died in the field whether or not it was a famous victory.

At the outset it was stated that war memorials were not unique to Britain and this historical introduction has demonstrated that fact. After the Great War almost all of the belligerent nations were also to build memorials galore.

Aries has written on French memorials ⁸:

"World War I gave the civic cult of the dead 'of our memorable conflicts' a popularity and prestige that it had never known before....

"And in each commune of France, in each arrondissement of Paris, a tomb was erected to the slain soldiers. An empty tomb, the 'monument to the dead', was generally located opposite the Town Hall. It was an emotional centre of the town comparable only to the Church".

In the USA monuments were erected in many towns to commemorate the dead of the Civil War. Many more towns have Great War memorials. Bryson has described a typical midwest town of the USA thus ⁹:

"A handsome built court house with a Civil War cannon and a monument to the dead of at least two wars will stand on one side of the square and on the other sides will be a five and dime, a luncheonette, two banks, a hardware store, a Christian bookstore, a bakers, a couple of hairdressers and a place selling the sort of men's clothing that only someone from a small town would wear".

There is probably no country that has more war memorials in its towns and villages than South Africa for there one will find memorials to the Anglo-Boer War. The important point, however, is that there are frequently two memorials - one commemorating those who fought on the side of the Boers and another to those who had fought on the British side. Both sides were to stand together in the Great War and thus another monument stands nearby commemorating

all those who fell in 1914-1918. The other self-governing Commonwealth countries such as Australia, New Zealand and Canada all have an abundance of war memorials which were erected in the aftermath of the Great War.

The countries of Eastern Europe have also erected many memorials although most of them date since the Second World War. Two of the world's largest and most powerful pieces of monumental art are the giant 'Mother Russia' figures at Volgograd and Kiev. They are war memorials on a grand scale.

Commemorating the dead had been one of the earliest of human activities and those who died in battle have long been held in special regard by those who desired to commemorate with monuments. War Memorials therefore have an extensive history and the nations of the world have long sought to commemorate principally their great victories but increasingly and latterly all those who have fallen in the nations fight. War memorials have, over time, moved from being purely triumphant to being largely memorial, built out of grief rather than glory.

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CHAPTER TWO

A NATION AND ITS MONUMENTS

- i. The Old Order - Memorials To War
- ii. The New Age - Memorials to the Fallen
- iii. New Aggresiveness - More Memorials

Man's inhumanity to man
Makes countless thousands mourn!

Robert Burns,
from 'Man Was Made to Mourn'.

CHAPTER TWO - PART ONE

THE OLD ORDER - MEMORIALS TO WAR

"Nothing except a battle lost can be half as melancholy as a battle won".

The Duke of Wellington,
Dispatch at Waterloo.

Having set the scene nationally and internationally it is now necessary to trace the development of war memorials in Scotland. While some Pictish stones with their intriguing carved decoration of military subjects and battle scenes may well be war memorials that can be, and is likely to remain, pure speculation and if Scotland did have a tradition in making war memorials in Pictish times it was certainly a skill that seems to have disappeared with the demise of the Picts. One might reasonably assume that no such tradition had ever existed and, though Scotland has a long and stirring history, it is only in the comparatively recent and relatively more affluent times that she has sought to commemorate the major events of that history. Scotland today may well be a land rich in monuments but they have, without exception, all been erected in the past 200 years.

The earliest historical monument to be erected was the one at Glenfinnan, built at or near the spot where the Standard was raised to proclaim the commencement of the 45' Jacobite Rising. It was not erected until 1815, some sixty years after the event and long after any likelihood of another major threat arising and when Bonnie Prince Charlie had become a romantic hero rather than a pretender to the throne. Many monuments were constructed in Victorian times and to mark some of the most significant historical landmarks - examples being the impressive tower overlooking the scene of William Wallace's great victory of 1298 at Stirling and the elegant column at Langside to mark a Mary, Queen of Scots battle of 1568. The Great Cairn at Culloden, on the site of the last battle fought on British soil in 1746, was not erected until 1881. The erection of these monuments coincided with similar initiatives and actions in many countries reflecting the general growing national consciousness in these countries and by it being expressed through historicist public art and by monuments.

Battlefield sites such as Largs, Flodden, Harlaw and Falkirk (1298) acquired their memorials in the years preceding the Great War. Sheriffmuir only received its memorial, to commemorate the battle of

1715, in late 1915 while battle was raging on the Western Front and Gallipoli. It was not until 1927 that Falkirk's 1745 battlefield was graced by a column and not until 1932 that Prestonpans was given its little monument. Many others have obtained their monuments even more recently - the equestrian of Bruce at Bannockburn was placed there in 1964, the 650th anniversary of the battle although a cairn had been erected on the site in 1957 and a stone known as the 'Borestone' had been supposedly placed there in mediaeval times. The massive boulder at Glen Trool to commemorate a Bruce victory of 1306 was placed there in 1929 while a monument at the scene of another of Bruce's victories - at the Pass of Brander - was only placed there in 1990.

The monolithic standing stones erected at both Corrichie and Culblean were perhaps typical of what a small impoverished country might have been expected to erect to commemorate its battles but even they were not erected until the mid 20th century (in 1952 and 1956 to be precise) and yet commemorate battles of 1562 and 1335. Their simple dignity may impress us today but their style reflects prehistory rather than history in the development of memorials as an art form. Standing stones are among the most ancient of Scottish structures.

As there were no monuments set up to recall the victories in the years immediately following these victories and no memorials to those who had led Scots to victory it is not surprising that no monuments were raised to commemorate those who had simply fought and fell in battle, whether victorious or not. Scottish war memorials are thus a fairly recent phenomenon.

The earliest 'war memorials' to be erected in Scotland, and to be set up soon after the events they were destined to commemorate, were those erected after the Napoleonic Wars and to commemorate the victories of Nelson at Wellington. They like the monuments of classical antiquity were triumphant.

It is perhaps not without significance that it was the war with France that should be the first to be commemorated by monuments. Initially many were sympathetic to the French Revolution and it demonstrated, as Smout has written, "the enormous potential of the mob as an instrument of popular action".¹ He has, however, added ²:

"The history of the years 1790 to 1820 in Britain is in some ways dominated by the fear that the mob might be used to effect a minor revolution for radical democracy in this country. England in these years, had many anxious moments Scotland in this period, though not without some street demonstrations, was remarkably unviolent".

There was much anti-establishment pamphleteering at that time but the authorities were quick to dampen down any hint of trouble lest it lead to insurrection. One of the chief aspects of opposition which the Government had to face was over the Militia Act and it led to unrest in several towns. In Tranent, for example, the crowd wished to show their resistance to enlistment in the militia force but troops were sent to disperse them and in the wake of the cavalry charge eleven people were killed.³

Fear of French invasion which was greatly fostered by nationalistic publicity and press propaganda encouraged a change in attitude. Lord Cockburn observed ⁴: -

"Napoleon's obvious progress towards military despotism opened the eyes of those who used to see nothing but liberty in the French Revolution; and the threat of invasion, while it combined all parties in the defence of the country, raised the confidence of the people in those who trusted them with arms, and gave them the pleasure of playing at soldiers. Instead of Jacobinism, Invasion became the word".

Even the hostile reaction to the Militia Act thawed and men saw it as their patriotic duty to enlist. John Galt's Annals related how

"all the country saw that there was danger"⁵ and thus there was an urgent need for the "involvement of all willing in the parish to serve as volunteers in defence of their King and country".⁶ The response was overwhelming. In Galt's parish, we are told ⁷:

"...the weavers, and spinners, and farming lads vied with one another (as to) who should be first on the list The number of valiant men which at that time placed themselves around the banners of their country was so great, that the Government would not accept all who offered, so like in other parishes, we were obligated to make a selection".

The war affected peoples lives in many ways. The wars with France were lengthy and, therefore, costly and in order to pay for them new taxes were introduced with income tax being one such new measure. Trade restrictions had raised food prices to near famine pitch and had resulted in food riots in many quarters and thus British naval victories which might be perceived as supposedly helping relieve such problems were given much establishment publicity and propaganda. In the ports especially there had been much and increasing effort diverted from peacetime to wartime needs for it was a major war and perhaps for the first time ordinary people felt involved. Government-fuelled publicity encouraged this involvement and feeling of involvement. It is easier to wage war when there is peace and tranquility at home and when everyone is supportive of the war effort.

For a number of reasons, therefore, people felt the need to commemorate British success against France and Napoleon. There may have been an element of social control, a desire to show loyalty and patriotism, or simply a time when the cult of the 'great man' fused with the 'cult of the dead' but it resulted in much commemoration. It was becoming the norm to name ships and streets after noted figures especially victorious commanders and their victories. Places such as Glasgow, which had in the past named streets after kings, regents and entrepreneurs, now looked to success in the field or a

heroic death; Glasgow acquired Moore Place and Nelson Street, and both Wellington and Waterloo Street as well as St. Vincent, Trafalgar and West Nile Streets (all famous naval victories).

One of the first of the Nelson monuments and paid for by public subscription was the tower erected on Cluny Hill, Forres (Plate No.2.). It is a handsome octoganal battlemented tower some 70 feet high with a commemorative tablet which records and celebrates victory at the Battle of Trafalgar but it has over the door another tablet which states "In memory of Admiral Lord Nelson". It is thus not simply a monument to a great victory but also to a great admiral.

There was, however, an interesting spontaneity about the memorial at Taymuilt in Argyll. There the Clach na Carragh, a monolithic standing stone, was transferred to a prominent hilltop site by workmen, from the nearby early ironworks of Lorn Furnace, as soon as they heard the news of Trafalgar. Re-using old monuments has ever been a feature of memorial making. The furnace had been engaged in making cannonballs thus it had a vested interest in Nelson's achievements and its workforce perhaps a sense of personal involvement in his victories. There seems to be no good reason, on the otherhand, why at Tayport in Fife the Waterloo Tower should recall the great victory of 1815. At Alvie near Aviemore on a hilltop site a cairn was erected to commemorate the officers of the 42nd and 92nd who were slain at Waterloo but cairns had long been both a Scottish and a comparatively inexpensive way of commemoration. The 92nd had been raised in Strathspey in 1794 and the monument was erected on the estate of the Duke of Gordon whose wife had been instrumental in raising that regiment and which was to later to gain renown as the Gordon Highlanders.

The nineteenth century became a great age for the erection of statues of great figures for whom the nation, or at least those who spoke for the nation, considered worthy of commemoration. The idea of public sculpture took off with Wellington, the first of these

figures, although he was soon to be overshadowed by those to Sir Robert Peel who was to get 24 statues throughout Britain - he was a popular figure and it was popular art. In Scotland, Robert Burns, closely followed by Sir Walter Scott were to be chiefly immortalised in stone and bronze. The commemorative craze which we might call 'statuemia' seemed to grip the nation with the death of the Prince Consort and it was to reach unimaginable heights with the death of Victoria herself. The major memorials of the great Victorian Gothic Revival phase were to be the memorials to Scott in Edinburgh and the Albert Memorials of Manchester and London. It was, however, the death of the great hero the Duke of Wellington which seemed to first kindle this spirit of and desire to commemorate and celebrate.

There are a few statues of Wellington sprinkled across Scotland - the most famous being 'The Iron Duke in Bronze by Steele' in front of Register House, Edinburgh (Sir John Steele being the sculptor of this magnificent equestrian bronze statue). Glasgow has also got a fine bronze of the Duke on horseback and it was erected in front of the Royal Exchange (now the Stirling's Library) in 1844. Falkirk has a sandstone Wellington standing beside his horse and which was executed by the Scottish sculptor Robert Forrest.

One of the most interesting memorials of this period was located far from Scotland - in Devon - where the Ladies of Torrington displayed their pleasure in the victory. The Waterloo Tower which they erected in 1816 bears the inscription 'Peace to the souls of heroes' which makes it ~~rather~~ unique for it commemorates, even if not by name, all the participants in the victory and must surely be the first military monument to use the word 'peace' in any context. It is perhaps especially unique in being erected by ladies.

Although Wellington and his battle were chiefly remembered other military leaders were not to be forgotten. At Langholm stands a marble statue of Admiral Sir Pultenay Malcolm who had been Governor of St. Helena during Napoleon's term in exile there. General Sir David Baird who fought at Corunna, captured the Cape of Good Hope,

stormed Seringapatam and, as we have already noted, figured in the Cleopatra's Needle story had a tall granite obelisk erected to his memory at Monzievaird, near Crieff. On a hilltop near Perth a grey stone obelisk was erected to commemorate General Sir Thomas Graham who not only served at Corunna but was victorious at Barossa and Vittoria.

Sir John Moore, the hero of Corunna has a statue in Glasgow's George Square, while his second in command, the Earl of Hopetoun, has not only chimney-like monuments on hillsides at Cupar and Haddington but a statue in Edinburgh to commemorate him. Thomas Campbell's work is of interest for several reasons - it depicts Hopetoun standing beside his horse and dressed in Roman toga rather than contemporary dress, it was the first bronze statue by a native Scottish artist, but principally because of the problems over its execution. The Committee appointed to gather funds and erect the memorial commissioned Campbell in 1824. Although the statue was reported to be ready in 1829 the Secretary of the Committee had to write sternly to Campbell in November 1831 stating "there is a great outcry against you for delay in finishing the monument".⁸ The delay however continued.

Gibson Craig, the Secretary, in September 1832 again wrote to Campbell ⁹:

"Sir Walter Scott died yesterday. A meeting is proposed ... to consider erecting a monument to his Memory You might have had a chance of being employed - but your extreme dilatoriness in the Hopetoun Monument VERY GREATLY lessens it. If you mean at all to redeem your character you should make some public announcement, when the Hopetoun Monument will, to a certainty, be put up".

The monument was eventually to be completed and it was unveiled on 13 September 1834.

All the memorials of the Napoleonic era commemorated great figures or great victories and some, like the Hopetoun Monument, had a colourful history of their own. The National Monument was another interesting case.

On Calton Hill, Edinburgh there stands the great and as yet unfinished Scottish National Monument to commemorate victory over Napoleon and those who had died in the war. It was to be a replica of the Parthenon and with the adjacent monuments to Playfair and Burns and together with the Old Royal High School nearby were the key elements which had led to Edinburgh becoming more 'the Athens of the North' than 'Auld Reekie'. Thomas Hamilton, the architect of both the Burns Monument and the Old Royal High, had also designed the Burns Monument at Alloway and both his monuments were modelled on the Monument to Lysicrates in Athens. As Napoleonic France looked to Rome for inspiration and for models for columns and triumphal arches so Scotland's capital looked to Classical Athens and its temples and porticos. The Scottish National Monument was to be simply the most Athenian.

It was no mere accident that Edinburgh was to be so transformed.

In the eighteenth century Scotland, following the Act of Union and with the demise of Jacobitism, began to be on the intellectual, artistic and economic ascendancy. Local government reform and agricultural improvement had led to ambitious town planning schemes in the developing urban areas and to 'planned villages' becoming the mark of enlightened estate management in the countryside. Edinburgh, from being a small town of tall tenements huddled around the High Street and crowded into the Grassmarket and the unimpressive capital of a comparatively poor country, grew into an elegant showpiece which the ready adoption of neo-classical architecture changed beyond measure.

In an age which has been given fine labels like 'reason', 'enlightenment' and 'improvement' men had dreams of

perfecting society and the intellectual leaders looked to the Classical world in general and to Greece in particular for inspiration and ideas since it was regarded as being the very cradle of civilised culture. The aim had been to make Edinburgh worthy of its status as capital. The New Town which they built was a product of its time and may be regarded as much as a monument to the Scottish Enlightenment as much as to anything else.

An Edinburgh lawyer, Sir Gilbert Elliot, and George Drummond, on six occasions the city's Lord Provost, were the co-authors of 'Proposals' which in 1752 outlined their aim "to enlarge and improve this city, to adorn it with public buildings, which may be a national benefit".¹⁰ It was their hope that Edinburgh would become "the centre of trade and commerce, of learning and the arts, of politeness, and of refinement of every kind"¹¹ and they desired that the city should rival the best of the other great cities like London, Turin and Berlin. Youngson has well summed up their achievement¹²:

"To some extent in what they did they were following the fashion; their ideas were nor original. To some extent they were trying to escape from the past. But they knew that life was good and that a golden age was not far off. So they stepped forward to build a setting for life, orderly spacious and dignified".

The monuments on Calton Hill were simply part of the great scheme and the National Monument marked its apogee. Indeed it is the monument which perhaps marked the end of the Age of Reason.

First proposed as early as 1817 it was not until January 1822 that an appeal was launched for the £42,000 required to erect it and amid much pomp the foundation stone was laid on 27 August 1822 by King George IV. Sadly, sixteen months after the launch only £16,000 had been subscribed. Designed by an Englishman C.R. Cockerell with W.H. Playfair of Edinburgh as the resident architect to superintend

the works, work had initially progressed well. Funding, however, increasingly became a problem and indeed "less than half was ever subscribed",¹³ and when the money ran out in 1829 work came to a "dead halt".¹⁴ To this day the project remains incomplete and thus gives simply a taste of what might have been. Twelve tall Doric columns stand in silhouette on the hilltop and as Playfair remarked to Cockerell "when the sun shines and there is a pure blue sky behind [the pillars] (a rare moment you may say) they look beautiful, but surprisingly small".¹⁵

It was perhaps a vain effort to salve disappointment but perhaps Youngson was right when he assessed it thus - "what had been accomplished was only a fraction of what had been planned, but it looks well, better perhaps than if it had been finished".¹⁶

Unfinished, it remains a monument to parsimony - an unintended Folly perhaps, but monumental nonetheless.

One of the other monuments on Calton Hill was built to commemorate Viscount Nelson. Designed to resemble an upturned telescope - no doubt regarded as a fittingly symbolic design for a great seaman - its design and its site were selected to satisfy the demand that it be both useful and ornamental. It was to serve as a signal tower to be seen by shipping in the Leith Roads stretch of the Forth as well as a memorial. Its design was not universally appreciated; some thought that it looked "like a pile of cotton reels"¹⁷ while others thought it resembled "butter churns".¹⁸ Some have considered the monument to be of "such doubtful taste that its demolition has been recommended many times"¹⁹ and even today it is regarded as not only of "dubious architectural merit"²⁰ but "one of Edinburgh's odder things".²¹

At Penielheugh, near Jedburgh, what began as the 'Wellington Pillar', erected by the Marquis of Lothian to commemorate his cousin the great general, became a tower erected to celebrate victory at Waterloo. Designed by the noted architect William Burn (whose

father had been author of the Nelson Monument on Calton Hill) this tower collapsed "with a tremendous crash"²² and was reduced to "a pile of rubble". "Yon muckle stane has tumbled"²³ was how Lord Lothian heard the news of his tower only one year after work had commenced. It had to be rebuilt but this time a different architect was in put in charge of the project and Archibald Elliot's tower still graces the Border scene.

Nelson Monument on Glasgow Green, a 113 feet tall obelisk, was struck by lightning four years after its erection. The top twenty foot of masonry collapsed and "the remainder was in such danger that a military guard had to be placed around it to keep the public within a safe distance".²⁴ The Glasgow artist John Knox captured for all time the sight of the damaged monument in his well known painting which can be seen in the nearby People's Palace. It was a handsome monument and was reputedly the first monument to Nelson to be erected in Britain. Be that as it may, it was no doubt the first to be struck by lightning. Certainly when both it and Penielheugh's tower were rebuilt lightning conductors or 'thunder-rods' were incorporated into their structures.

Few of the memorials of the post 1918 era were to be the subject of famous paintings but delays over construction like the Hopetown Monument, criticisms over designs such as Calton Hill's Nelson Monument, the financial problems which beset the National Monument and the ravages of the Scottish climate were vicissitudes which were to befall the war memorials erected in the aftermath of the Great War. It is not known whether the Penielheugh Monument's collapse was due to faulty construction or an imperfect design but these might well be criticisms levelled at some examples of the later monument making. We do know that the construction of the monument had begun shortly after Waterloo and yet its completion was not celebrated until 22 August 1867 with "beer, bread and a bonfire"²⁵ and then only because of a Royal Visit. Queen Victoria was making her first visit to the Borders and the bonfire was as much part of that celebration as it was for the tower's completion. Fortunately

most of the memorials of the Great War were built at a less leisurely pace and had a seemingly more solemn ceremony for their unveiling even if some were to have a colourful history of their own.

If the problems which beset monument makers were to remain constant the monuments themselves were to change over time. An examination of some of these changes and reasons for these changes will help put the memorials of the Great War into perspective.

With the end of the Napoleonic Wars Britain found herself in an unrivalled imperial position and with naval supremacy which allowed British trade and finance to flourish and the so-called "unofficial empire" expanded in an era of Pax Britannica. Not that there was ever a time of peace, indeed Farwell has stated "there was not a single year in Queen Victoria's long reign in which somewhere in the world her soldiers were not fighting for her and her empire".²⁶ In the first half of the century there were wars in Afghanistan, China and India and there was trouble in Canada and New Zealand as well as unrest and Chartism at home.

As far as Scotland was concerned there were to be no public outdoor monuments to soldiers who had died in these far flung conflicts (although, as will be discussed later, there were to be some memorials set up indoors within church buildings). During the period monumental art was not allowed to lie fallow. There was, for instance, a tall stone obelisk placed in a little grassy square in front of cottages, at Lunan Bay north of Arbroath which commemorated Lt. Col. James Blair of the Bengal Army who died and was buried at sea in 1847. Nearby Lunan House had been his family home and thus he was remembered perhaps as much as a friend and neighbour or even as landlord rather than he was as a soldier. He did not die in battle nor was he in the British Army but he was remembered as a 'person' in his own home. Though it was not a war memorial, the obelisk makes an important step towards their development for it is a cenotaph on the village green.

It was also during this period that Scotland, or more specifically Aberdeen, secured a key position in the subsequent development of the monumental industry.

A handsome statue of the 5th and last Duke of Gordon, the First Colonel of the 92nd Gordon Highlanders, was erected in the Castle Gate Aberdeen in 1842 (it has since been moved, in 1952, to the delightfully named Golden Square where it is its crowning glory). It is a monument of major importance for not only was it a memorial to an important military figure - "The Cock of the North", founder of the Gordon Highlanders regiment - but it is also a monument of much significance in the history of the granite industry. According to Lawrence it was "one of the first statues cut in granite since the time of the Egyptians"²⁷ while MacLaren believed that the men who erected it were "reviving the art of portrait statuary in granite, an art lost since the days of the Ptolemies".²⁸ Designed by Thomas Campbell the statue was cut from a sixteen ton block of granite from Dancing Cairns Quarry in the Aberdeen yard of Alexander MacDonald. According to Smith "all in all the statue of a Fifth Duke demonstrated what might be achieved in granite".²⁹

Not only had MacDonald shown the artistic possibilities of granite he was also a pioneer in harnessing steam power to the granite polishing process. Kerney has suggested "the Victorian polished granite industry began at this point"³⁰ and it was to have a major impact on Aberdeen. Donnelly believed the demand for granite can be dated from 1832 when MacDonald "perfected his method of polishing granite by machine, heralding the rise of granite manufacturing in the City with its emphasis on architectural, building and monumental masonry".³¹

It was this latter aspect especially that made his business flourish and Kensall Green Cemetery in London has many of his granite monuments. According to Diack, MacDonald's firm "supplied the first polished granite monument erected in an English Cemetery"³² and the firm was later to supply the great double sarcophagus for

the Royal Mausoleum at Frogmore "made in 1862 from a 30 ton block of Cairngall granite".³³

The use of granite heralded in a new age of memorials and monumental opportunities. The Victorians provided a mass market for monuments and the granite industry was well placed to supply the demand.

The Victorians also perfected, or at least endeavoured to perfect, a method of securing the best possible designs for their buildings and monuments. The Victorian era can with much justification be called "the age of the committee"³⁴ with committees to organise and examine all manner of social ills and civic improvements. It was therefore almost a natural progression for committees to organise architectural competitions to get designs for their buildings. These committees, according to Harper, consisted of ³⁵:

" a small group of parishioners or a larger group of prosperous townsmen, anxious to advance the image of their organisation through the prestige of a new and imposing edifice".

Even if the rewards were few - "the amounts offered were usually a pittance"³⁶ - it was a chance for designers to make a name for themselves. The first prize or premium was generally regarded as the first instalment of the fee for the project although committees were not bound to having to use the winner's design for the actual building.

It was also a time of growing professionalism generally, but among architects especially. In 1838 the recently formed Institute of British Architects formed a committee to look into the management of architectural competitions. By 1880 the Institute had very tight control over the conditions and running of competitions. Professional assessors, appointed by the Institute, had to adjudicate in them and later it was established that architects could only enter competitions in which the rules had been

approved by the Institute's Competitions Committee.³⁷ It had indeed become the age of the committee.

The Builder in 1872 published verse outlining "The Story of a Competition" in which the poet had set some of the problems of designer and committee³⁸;

Now, whether the embryo rival to Wren
Carried out his first plan - and if so how, and when,-
Or whether they found when they wish'd to proceed,
The cost twice as high as the figure agreed,
And so let him make them a second design,
Just about half the size and not nearly so fine.

No matter the problems, competitions were held in abundance and for a very diverse projects. Several Scottish monuments were the result of competitions and these included the Royal Arch in Dundee, Stirling's Wallace Monument, the statue of Flora MacDonald in Inverness and the fountains in both Glasgow's Kelvingrove and Alexandra Parks.³⁹ Glasgow clearly liked competitions: she was to hold two for her Municipal Buildings and one for her Art Galleries as well as for numerous lesser buildings.

CHAPTER TWO - PART TWO

THE NEW AGE - MEMORIALS TO THE FALLEN

Someone had blundered:
Theirs not to make reply,
Theirs not to reason why,
Theirs but to do and die.

Alfred, Lord Tennyson,
from 'The Charge of the Light Brigade'.

The first theatre of war which resulted in memorials of reasonable quantity was to be the Crimea and though Britain was to be on the side of the more or less victorious allies the war had revealed the weaknesses of the army rather than its strengths. Barnett has stated "the British army of the Crimea was simply the Peninsular Army brought out of the cupboard and dusted down...the tactics were unchanged".¹

It is little wonder that the Crimea should be commemorated with memorials for it was not only a colourful campaign but one that gained massive media attention. It was the first war on which press correspondents reported and perhaps the only one when they did so without restriction or censorship. Pemberton has remarked ²:

"...that novel intruder, the war correspondent, was able to send back the most elaborate accounts, complete with revealing details and outspoken comment all without any official impediment whatsoever".

William Russell of The Times was merely the best known and most outspoken of the species. War artists, such as William Simpson who earned the sobriquet 'Crimea' Simpson, sketched the battles and it was the first war that was recorded by a new invention known as the camera. Florence Nightingale became a household name.

In the realms of art there was also a shift in emphasis in the depiction of battle. In the past war paintings had depicted a vast panorama of the entire battlefield or had been simply, as the concept of the 'great man' held sway, a depiction of a heroic and sacrificial death of one of these great figures. Benjamin West's "The Death Of General Wolfe" was perhaps the best known of the genre. It became the norm to depict in romantic realism a specific incident and an example of heroic action. It was to be an age when "The Last Stand --" became popular. One such painting was Robert Gibb's famous 'The Thin Red Line' which became one of the most lauded of Victorian pictures and one which depicted the heroic scene

of gallant Highlanders standing firm against the onslaught of Russian cavalry. His "The Alma - Forward the 42nd" depicts the Black Watch at the Battle of Alma on 20 September 1854 and the painting today graces the stair of Kelvingrove Art Gallery where it is barely noticed: in its day it was a crowd puller. Lady Butler's 'The Roll Call' with its scene of exhausted Grenadiers standing in the snow of a Crimean winter fairly "captured the imagination of the general public and London Society alike, immediately becoming 'the hit of the season'"³ when first shown. Alfred, Lord Tennyson's epic 'The Charge of the Light Brigade' painted in verse a graphic picture of one of the most celebrated of the Crimea's disasters.

The Crimea was also a war in which letters home were permitted and without any form of censorship over their contents. Though they were charged at full postal rates and the fact that postal services themselves were still a comparative novelty did not seem to deter letter writing. It only took a few weeks for letters from the Crimea to reach home and one family in particular were pleased that mail "only took three or four weeks to reach Turriff".⁴

Men had volunteered for service out of patriotic fervour as well as economic necessity. Adair has told of George Conn, a seventeen year old Aberdeenshire lad, who due to a severe winter and shortage of work in the rural North-East volunteered. He, and others, did so for good reason ⁵:

"The Army was offering generous bounties to recruits. The 79th Cameron Highlanders Depot was at Aberdeen Barracks ... and every day thirty or forty recruits from all parts of Scotland arrived A hundred recruits at a time were drilled amidst the towering piles of snow then after only six or eight weeks training they were shipped abroad to the Crimea".

In July 1855, from Sebastopol, Private Conn wrote home stating that they were always under enemy fire and "how he had a very narrow

escape" but he also complained of the expense of items compared to the low pay - "we just clear 2d a day here or 5/- a month which is very easy spent when you go to buy any necessaries".⁶ Other letters told of the Highland Brigade "always having a bit of a squabble now and then with the Russians" and how on one night they "had a pretty severe struggle but we came off with the best of it".⁷ It was not all news from the Front, Conn wanted to hear home news. He asked his uncle to send newspapers saying ⁷:

"...if you have any old Aberdeen or Banff Journals you might send them out. You have to put two stamps and address via Marseilles for we get no paper but our friends' and when one man in a company gets a paper everyone was crying 'Give us a look after you'".

Writing from the "Heights Before Sebastopol", however, Conn's mind was fully occupied. He rebuked his sister ⁸:

"I wish you would put your address on your letters as that is the way they will let you know if I was hurt or killed for our lives are not insured here nor we don't know the minute we may get the head knocked off".

As Adair has remarked "not all the gallant kilted lads came back" ⁹ and the Cameron Highlanders suffered a heavy toll. George Conn was under nineteen years of age when he fell "killed on the spot by the fragments of a shell bursting in one of the trenches".¹⁰

His Corporal wrote to his sister giving her "the sad tidings of the death of your Dear Brother" ¹¹ and one year later the War Department sent his medal to his uncle "in commendation of his gallant conduct in the Crimean Campaign at Sebastopol".¹² Gallantry in battle had always been highly valued. Poor Conn had not lived to see Sebastopol fall. Barnett has written "Sebastopol eventually fell in September 1855 the Treaty of Paris was a compromise

settlement of the kind that was already in the air when the nations stumbled into war".¹³

Like all wars, however, lessons were to there be learned. Farwell reckoned it "marked the end of an era in British military history ... Its generals were now obsolete" -for they had made "a hash of the battles".¹⁴ The war also gave birth to a new medal for there had been much heroism in spite of the incompetent leadership and the Victoria Cross "For Valour" became the nation's highest accolade for bravery.

The Crimean Campaign also resulted in a few memorials. The only one of any real artistic merit, apart from a few impressive ones to individual officers was the Guards Memorial in London's Waterloo Place. Designed by John Bell, it had also received a fair bit of adverse comment. One of its detractors, Lord Gleichen, believed that it "looks best in the fog"¹⁵ while the London Review thought it "the ugliest thing in London".¹⁶ It depicts a figure of Honour holding a laurel wreath in each hand and with three guardsmen at her feet - a Grenadier, a Scots Fusilier and a Coldstreamer, all in caped great coats. Built of grey Aberdeenshire granite it incorporates a trophy of guns actually captured at Sebastopol while the figures themselves were cast from the bronze from Russian guns. As disease was one of the real enemies in the war Punch suggested that "instead of the battle names of Alma, Sebastopol and Inkerman the inscription should read 'Fever, Dysentery and Cholera".¹⁷ In the 19th century disease probably killed more British soldiers than enemy gunfire.

It is not surprising therefore that many of the memorials erected were to commemorate those who had tended the sick and the wounded. London has its bronze Florence Nightingale while in Prestonpans Thomas Alexander, the Director General of the Medical Department of the British Army in the Crimea, had a stone statue erected to his memory. The inscription has recalled for us "his indefatigable

efforts... to alleviate the sufferings of the troops were of inestimable value in stimulating others to follow his example".¹⁸

Not only has the town of Forres got its early memorial tower to Nelson dating from 1806 but it has also an tall obelisk which commemorates James Thomson, an assistant surgeon, who died while tending the wounded during the Crimea. The natives of Cromarty had raised the money for the memorial but the landowner refused permission to allow it to be erected on Gallowhill, due to an old dispute with Thomson's father. Sir James Macgregor, a former head of the medical services who greatly admired Thomson's efforts arranged for the monument to be erected at Forres. Thomson with care and devotion not only tended the British but volunteered to remain behind to nurse wounded Russians, many of whom he restored to health until he himself "died from the effects of excessive hardship and privation". It is little wonder the inscription concluded that the monument was erected "as a tribute of respect for the virtues of an officer whose life was useful and whose death glorious".¹⁹

In Edinburgh's Dean Cemetery was erected what may be regarded as a pioneer example of a war memorial for it has a list of names of those who died although having listed all the officers by name the inscription stated ²⁰:

Also
369 Non Commissioned Officers and Men
of the 79th Highlanders
who died in Bulgaria and the Crimea
or fell in action during the Campaign
of 1854-55.

On the step on which the obelisk rests are incised the names of the battlefields of Alma and Sevastopol and the lowest step bears the name of the mason who carved the monument - J. Howie. The face of the obelisk bears the crest of the Cameron Highlanders and a sphinx while on the back of the monument, in similar fashion, those who

died in the 'East Indies' between 1857-1871 are commemorated and the name 'Lucknow' has been cut into the step.

This was the first Scottish memorial to commemorate two different wars on the same monument. It was to become increasingly a habit to make one monument serve as a memorial to those who fell in various wars by adding to it or adapting it to incorporate details of later campaigns or simply erecting it when two or more wars could be commemorated on one monument, as seems to have been the case with Mr Howie's memorial in Dean Cemetery for the Cameron Highlanders.

India, and more especially the Indian Mutiny, was to be the next significant event resulting in the erection of war memorials and it was to provide the earliest monument which we could truly classify as a war memorial due to the fact that it bears a long list of all those who had fallen in the field of battle. Situated on the Esplanade of Edinburgh Castle, this tall ornately carved stone cross recalls those officers and men of the 78th Highland Regiment who had fallen in the suppression of the Indian Mutiny - eight officers, 32 non-commissioned officers and 214 men have their names carved on its stone base. Also of interest is the fact that both the carver and the builder of the monument also have their names carved on the front - the monument therefore also in a sense serves as a memorial to their skill and craftsmanship. The architect - R. Rowand Anderson ²¹ - however did not have his name carved on the base but it is nonetheless as much a monument to his ability as it was to the contractors who erected the memorial in 1861.

Although all those who fell have been commemorated there was little equality - the front of the base bears the names of the eight officers in descending order of rank followed by the N.C.O.'s while the two sides each bear the names of its private soldiers.

The Indian Mutiny followed hard on the heels of the Crimea but it was scarcely a success story. Britain had long fought in India and indeed would long continue to fight there. India had never happily

accepted East India Company rule (just as she was never to appreciate British rule) and there had been many riots, rebellions and mutinies in the past but the events of 1857/58 were to prove crucial. Farwell has stated that in the first few months that "there was a very real danger (that) Britain might lose not only the war but all of India".²² Britain's first priority was to hold on to India and "injured national pride demanded it"²³ for the mutiny was not only a shock to British rule in India but it captured the British imagination for the British public were fed on stories of gruesome atrocities which had to be revenged. Eldridge had told us "British vengeance was also terrible. Fates worse than death were devised".²⁴

The mutiny had not been a national revolution even if in many areas it was a popular insurrection but it did reveal that much racial hatred existed and not simply between the British and the Indians but between the peoples of the sub-continent. One historian has assessed it thus ²⁵:

The disciplined fury of the British troops and of their Punjab and Gurkha allies had routed forces which had greatly outnumbered them ...the mutiny had demonstrated what might have been expected, that the Muslims loathed the Hindus more than they did the British, that the Sikhs, Punjab Muslims and Gurkhas were now the decisive force in the British armies and that the Hindus, rulers and mercenaries, were in no condition to create an alternate raj for a sub-continent".

The mutiny over, British rule took over from that of Company rule. Britain consolidated her hold on India and the British public could in turn celebrate the victory, commemorate the victorious and remember the atrocities .

Though born in Glasgow, Colin Campbell, who had commanded the Thin Red Line at Balaclava, had also suppressed the Mutiny. Created Lord Clyde and raised to the rank of Field Marshall, he was laid to rest

in Westminster Abbey and a statue erected in Waterloo Place, London by the renowned Count Marochetti. His native city also erected a fine portrait bronze of him in George Square. It was the work of Dublin born sculptor J.H. Foley and he erected many monuments and statues including ones for Bombay and Calcutta. His equestrian statue of the Governor-General Viscount Hardinge, erected in Calcutta, was especially praised. The Art Journal of 1859 reckoned it "a masterpiece of art, one that for grandeur of design, for truth of action and for power and beauty of its execution, has scarcely, if at all, a parallel in the world".²⁶ That statue, alas, was dismantled and shipped back to England - a fittingly symbolic gesture to mark the end of British rule in India. For many years India mattered to Britain and it was with much reluctance that Britain finally left and it was then that native racial animosity truly surfaced and has largely continued unabated to this day.

Apart from the two Indian war memorials in Edinburgh there was also erected a cross on the esplanade of Stirling Castle to commemorate those of the 75th Stirlingshire Regiment who had been slain while serving in India. The inscription on this floriated red granite cross, having commemorated by name, the Colonel, two Captains, 6 Lieutenants and a Surgeon, concludes rather starkly "and of 13 sergeants, 9 corporals, 3 drummers and 216 private soldiers".

As in the Dean monument the sculptor was also mentioned by name on the monument. No attempt had been made at equality of treatment for those who had died and were to be commemorated - the private soldiers quite simply did not count for much either in life or death. Officers mattered and those of high rank mattered most.

In the garden in the centre of Wellington Square, Ayr stands a bronze figure of Brigadier General Smith Neill who had been born in one of the elegant Georgian houses of the Square. He fell at the Relief of Lucknow and the inscription on the base tells that he was "a brave resolute self-reliant soldier universally acclaimed as the first who stemmed the torrent of rebellion in Bengal".²⁷ On a

hilltop site near Linlithgow stands a handsome memorial to Brigadier General Adrian Hope who was also killed during the Mutiny. The monument is a conspicuous landmark feature and was erected only one year after his early death to commemorate "his bravery and high promise" and to recall his "kindliness and devotion" which had made him so "endeared to the hearts of his men, his comrades and his friends". 28

Whether the monument be to a distinguished soldier or a monument to officers and men of a particular regiment all were reminders in Scotland of those who had fallen and were buried far from home on the Indian Sub-Continent. India had become the jewel in the crown of the British Empire and had become the cornerstone upon which about the whole superstructure of the Empire depended. India became the cause and the consequence of so much Imperial expansion.

At both the North and South ends of the African continent Britain endeavoured to consolidate her holding which had largely been begun to protect sea routes to India. Britain was also involved in action to protect the sub continent itself, as well as action merely to expand the frontiers of Empire. A granite obelisk, also on the Castle Esplanade at Edinburgh, recalls the 102 officers and men of the 72nd Highlanders who had fallen during the Campaign in Afghanistan 1878 - 1880. These had been battles to protect India as much as battles to extend the boundaries of the Indian Empire northwards and battles fought to ensure that the Russian bear would be kept at bay, far away from the prized jewel for which Britain believed that Russia yearned. Britain, of course, was never able to incorporate Afghanistan into her Empire and only recently the former Soviet Union (Russia writ large) had to come to terms with the fact that the Afghans were a difficult people to subjugate and had to pull out leaving rebel tribesmen to continue to harass the government in violent and prolonged civil war.

In the 20th Century "imperialism" has become "a term of abuse"²⁹ and, according to Eldridge, a term with "rather unpleasant

connotations" but in the Victorian era it meant prestige and power. It was not a concept unique to Britain - as Mackenzie has noted ³⁰:

"Imperialism was more than a set of economic, political, and military phenomena. It was a habit of mind, a dominant idea in the era of European world supremacy which had widespread intellectual, cultural and technical expressions".

It was, however, an idea which Britain took close to her heart and especially in the latter part of the 19th Century Imperialism increasingly figured in the British psyche. Even if the British knew little about colonial territories and cared even less about the theories of Imperialism they derived some pride in the British Empire. "Imperial status set them apart".³¹

In the late Victorian era there was a discernible ideological cluster which not only coloured but transformed almost every aspect of British life. It fostered not only fervent patriotism but stimulated a perception that Britain had a unique civilising imperial mission. The strands which coalesced to form the imperialism of the age were clearly discernable ³²:

"...a renewed militarism, a devotion to royalty, an identification and worship of national heroes together with a contemporary cult of personality and racial ideas associated with Social Darwinism".

The 'survival of the fittest' philosophy appeared to have made Britain and the British not only survive but thrive. The idea appealed. Britain had truly become "great" and was possessed with the power to regenerate the 'backward' world under its care.

Official imperial propaganda was largely unnecessary because so many agencies adopted imperialism with all the fervour of a crusade. Not only the churches and missionary societies but youth organisations, the educational system and the armed forces were all

strongly influenced by imperial propaganda. Many major companies used advertising and marketing which had a strongly imperial bias while the entertainment industry especially the music hall, much juvenile and adult literature, and the popular press were willing propagandists for this new imperial nationalism with its love for ritual and ceremony, pomp and circumstance. A middle class, basically public school, ethos was easily disseminated and it permeated into the lives and lifestyles of the other social classes largely due to effective publicity. Mackenzie noted ³³:

"...the rapidly expanding paper, printing, photographic, display, and advertising industries were well placed to serve the ideological convergence of the day by creating for the establishment what was in effect the first embryonic mass media".

Bric-a-brac commemorating royal events and colonial adventures adorned countless homes for not only were monarchism and imperialism popular they could also be highly profitable. Catering for national vanity was a valuable voluminous source of income for a host of enterprises from shipbuilders equipping a great navy to trinket makers serving an avid public.

The Crimea had shown that the army needed reforming if it was to fulfil its role in defending this great empire and thus not surprisingly one of the key elements in the late Victorian nationalistic imperialistic age was the army. It did undergo reform albeit somewhat belatedly. The great administrator Thomas Cardwell, Secretary of State for War, was the means by which the long overdue army reforms were carried out. The 'Cardwell System' was introduced in 1881 and have been described as his greatest achievement.³⁴ The old single battalion infantry regiments were grouped together in pairs to form the 1st and 2nd Battalions of a single regiment. The main point of the system was that one regular battalion "could be stationed at home and provide reinforcements

for the other which could be based overseas and that ensured that at least one battalion was up to strength".³⁵

In place of their old numbers the new regiments were also given a territorial title which not only, as Barnes has stated, gave them "a regimental district for recruiting purposes"³⁶ but meant that within the national army there were "representatives of particular cities, counties and districts of the British Isles".³⁷ The loss of the old cherished numbers, Booth stated, "naturally caused considerable heart burning but the amalgamations were carried out with considerable tact and consideration for the past".³⁸ The following few Scottish examples give an indication of these new arrangements -

The Black Watch, formerly the 42nd and 73rd Foot
Seaforth Highlanders, formerly the 72nd and 78th Foot
Gordon Highlanders, formerly the 75th and 78th Foot
The Cameronians (Scottish Rifles), formerly the 26th and
90th Foot
Argyll & Sutherland Highlanders, formerly the 91st and 93rd
Foot.

Not all regiments required amalgamation some simply gained a territorial title in place of the old number ³⁹⁻

Royal Scots, formerly the 1st Foot
Queens Own Cameron Highlanders, formerly the 79th
Foot
Kings Own Scottish Borderers, formerly the 25th Foot.

The status of the soldier had been low at the beginning of the century and the set-backs of the Crimea and the Mutiny had done nothing to enhance it. With the army's increasing global commitments and recurring fear of invasion from France not only was reform of the existing force necessary but a new force required to supplement it.

According to Barnett "thanks to the Cardwell reforms and the prevailing mood of Imperialism the soldier had at last ceased to be a figure of national suspicion and contempt".⁴⁰ As the army and its personnel rose in the public's esteem the new regiments became, as Mackenzie has noted "a source of local and civic pride, a vital part of national and local ceremonial and pageantry, particularly after the expansion in numbers of army bands took place".⁴¹

Instead of reviving the old Militia the government opted to revive the volunteer corps which had first seen the light of day during threats of invasion from Napoleonic France. The Volunteer Force was to become one of the key elements in the changed perception of the soldier. General Sir Garnet Wolseley reckoned the creation of that force ⁴²:

"...first gave the British soldier any good and permanent social position. That force so well represents all classes that its respect for the army of which it was modelled, and by whose members it was drilled and trained, has caused the soldier to be now regarded everywhere with general interest".

Whereas the old Militia had been a multi-class force under a squirearchical leadership the revived Volunteer Movement "was almost exclusively middle class ... and represented a challenge to upper-class and aristocratic domination".⁴³ The Volunteer Force may be regarded as another democratising step in British society, even if gingerly taken, and reflected the reality of the middle-class gaining confidence and the political will. As the force developed, its officers were to be essentially middle-class with the working class supplying the men: thus it differed little from the regular army. Even if the Volunteers were to remain largely ceremonial, for the army was strongly opposed to any extension of its powers, it gave a taste of military life and helped develop, and was part of, the overall militaristic and patriotic mood of the time.

With regiments having a territorial base it is not without significance that the early war memorials were regimental ones and that they should be erected at Edinburgh and Stirling Castles, both of which had long been used as regimental headquarters and barracks. There also began to develop a desire by regiments to publicly and proudly parade their remembrance of the sacrifice fallen comrades had made and where better than on the esplanade of a famous castle where all could see it.

For years tablets had been placed in churches. Violet Jacob has told us how she "could never resist memorial tablets" and that many commemorated "soldiers fallen in half forgotten campaigns"⁴⁴ while Farwell has noted ⁴⁵:

"Britain is littered with monuments to regiments and to battles long forgotten by all but the members of the regiments who fought in them, and many a village church has its plaques and commemorative windows to those soldiers who died in remote parts of the Empire for the honour of their regiments".

Frequently tablets were placed in churches which had long had associations with regiments and where their colours would be laid up. Edinburgh's St. Giles and Glasgow Cathedral have not only the standards but the war memorial tablets of various regiments. St. Mary's Haddington has the standards of the Haddington Militia, St. Michaels' Linlithgow has those of the Linlithgowshire Militia and the Royal Scots while the battle honours of the Royal Highlanders who had served in both the Crimea and Indian Mutiny were laid up in Dunkeld Cathedral. Regiments were proud of their achievements and localities were proud of their regiments.

For most of the 19th century memorials commemorated professional soldiers principally the officers but latterly the men. As Reader has pointed out these memorials ⁴⁶:

"...remind us that soldiering was not a trade which many men willingly took up, and that although history is so largely made up of war, the actual waging of it - the bloody end of the business - was in Britain... the concern of comparatively few people, chiefly the men of regular regiments and 'Army' families".

As the century had progressed individual tablets had increasingly become no longer a sufficient method of commemoration. Although, as Reader states "our unsentimental ancestors were not unduly concerned with the fate of 'common soldiers'" ⁴⁷ regiments now required community support. In the past regiments had recruited far and wide but now that they were clearly identified with a specific territory recruits were from that specific locality. Those who served and those who fell therefore were not simply isolated individuals from one village, where they might continue to be commemorated, but were also now destined to be remembered in stone alongside all their fallen comrades on a central monument in a conspicuous public location where the regiment had its headquarters. As the men could not be buried with their families in their local churchyard but would instead be buried far from home in a distant part of the Empire it seemed appropriate to erect a substitute and surrogate memorial for all the men and thereby declaring the regiment's and therefore the locality's total loss in upholding and defending the Empire.

The Egyptian Campaign and war in the Sudan resulted in a few Scottish memorials. A handsome granite celtic cross in Duthie Park Aberdeen was erected to commemorate those Gordon Highlanders who fell. A massive white stone kilted soldier stands proudly in front of the railway station in Inverness. The work of the sculptor G.E. Wade, this heroic figure was erected to commemorate all the officers and men of the Queen's Own Cameron Highlanders who were killed or who died of wounds or sickness in North African Campaigns. Both these monuments are important in the overall war memorial story for both were erected in public places - a public park and a public

square - and not in the regimental backyard or local cemetery. Regimental pride had indeed become civic pride and local pride even if the memorials themselves were erected by the regiment "in memory of their comrades".⁴⁸

The finest monuments were reserved for heroic figures and especially if they too had met a heroic death. The Victorians worshipped heroes and the Sudan provided one of the greatest of these much admired figures. Mackenzie has stated "the cult of the Christian military hero received its apotheosis in General Gordon".⁴⁹ Once renowned as 'Chinese' Gordon he will, however, ever be recalled as 'Gordon of Khartoum' for his actions and death truly caught the imagination of the Victorians. The painting at Leeds to this day reminds us of his heroic death. It is little wonder that in front of Robert Gordon's College in Aberdeen a splendid bronze statue of General Gordon was erected reminding us of the fact that he "fell in his country's service at Khartoum" and with a suitable quote from the great man - "I have done my best for the honour of our country".⁵⁰

The Victorians also liked other men's heroes and thus in Old Calton Burial Ground, Edinburgh there is a fine bronze statue of the much admired assassinated U.S. President Abraham Lincoln with a freed slave at his feet. The monument not only celebrated the work of Lincoln but was "In memory of Scottish American Soldiers" ⁵¹ who had fought in the American Civil War 1861-5.

'War Memorials', having originally been monuments erected to commemorate famous victories and victorious generals had developed into War Memorials which now commemorated all the men of a particular group and of the regiment who had fallen in the battlefield.

CHAPTER TWO - PART THREE

NEW AGGRESSIVENESS - MORE MONUMENTS

"How many such gallant British soldiers lie thus buried all over the world, marking the routes of the armies that have made our Empire what it is. These men die that England should be great and they die without a murmur and it is their valour and their self-sacrifice that enables trades-men to make fortunes...".

General Sir Garnet Wolseley. ¹

1. J.W.M.Hichberger, Images of the Army, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988), p.79.

It was the popular British view that Britain, unlike France, was a pacific nation and that even the term 'jingoism' reflected this attitude with its implication that "we don't want to fight" but if forced to Britain would take up arms in a just cause. Even although the British army was involved in war almost unceasingly throughout the entire 19th century this activity was, as Hichberger has suggested ¹;

"...constructed not as resulting from a warlike spirit but as the exercise of a God-given role as arbiter of international justice, and in the empire as the taking up of the 'whiteman's burden".

In spite of a myth of anti-militarism almost all sectors of Victorian society adopted a fiercely patriotic stance and the churches too stirred into action. Among the most popular hymns were those which had a militaristic or at least an air of pretty aggressive missionary zeal to them. Hymns exhorted people to be "Christian soldiers, marching as to war"² and to "be right loyal, noble, true and bold"³ as they went "forward into battle"⁴ for "mighty are your enemies, hard the battle you must fight".⁵ They were assured, however, that "the strife will not be long" and "every foe is vanquished".⁶ Written to stimulate civilising missionary endeavour they nonetheless reflect Victorian conceit and a belligerent attitude towards those who must be converted and subjugated.

Africa remained the one continent which was ripe for exercising this civilising mission but other European powers too yearned for colonies. There developed a wholesale 'Scramble for Africa'. Other countries desirous of expanding their own empires and controlling the native inhabitants of desired colonial territories were prepared to thwart British attempts to colour the entire map a pleasant pinky red colour. Africa provided the swansong of the aggressive "New Imperialism".

The pleasant and peaceful little Morayshire town of Fochabers seems a far cry from the blood-letting but it was caught up in the imperial saga. A handsome little granite drinking fountain at the edge of the town recalls another Scot who fought and died far from home. Major Allan Wilson had led a small force in Matabeleland (now Zimbabwe but which in those days men like Wilson were endeavouring to turn into Southern Rhodesia) but he and his 34 men became trapped on a bank of the Shangani River. They made another celebrated last stand - against several hundred men of the King of the Matabeles forces, and all were killed in the heroic episode.

The tale has lost nothing in the telling. It has been rather embroidered and mythologised but Morris especially has told the tale well - "when they ran out of ammunition ... the survivors shook hands with each other and sang 'God Save the Queen' before being speared or shot to a man".⁷ According to one report a Matabele warrior had described the final scene ⁸:

"At last there was but one (Wilson). He fought on, a grim smile on his face, and the fire of the devil in his eyes. He took guns and bullets from his fallen brothers, and fought on to the end. After his cartridges were finished and he could find no more, he stood - silent and alone - waiting for us to make the final thrust".

It was also recorded that the patrol had inflicted much damage on the enemy; killing 450 Matabele warriors.⁹ One of the officers who had previously served under Wilson has written ¹⁰:

"Poor old Wilson, it is terribly sad to think that he, who had trained his little band of followers, led them to fight, and endeared himself to every single man in the Column, should not have lived to enjoy the benefit of his energy, pluck and devotion. I have heard men say, and I mention it to show how much they thought of him as a leader, "I'd follow Wilson to

hell, whereas I might think twice before following another man if he was leading men to the other place'".

It is little wonder therefore that Fochabers was "proud to number among her sons this much praised and dauntless 'Moray loon'"¹¹ and that the town should wish to commemorate his heroic deeds. As early as February 1894 it was proposed to erect a memorial and subscriptions were invited. By the end of August it had been decided to erect a drinking fountain and designs were sought. Twenty-six designs were submitted and "some of them by well known architects",¹² reported The Banffshire Advertiser, but the design chosen was that by Mr T.C. Cutlar, a civil engineer, originally from Forres but who was at that time home from South Africa.

While there had been in Fochabers "a strong feeling that something should be done to commemorate the hero's death. The idea that a memorial of some kind ought to be erected emanated first, however, from Mr. Webster (Mills & Glyn's Bank), London".¹³ Committees were formed in both London and Fochabers and subscriptions were received "from all parts of the world" but sadly, though the monument cost £280, only £200 had in fact been subscribed at the time of its erection. Securing sufficient funds for building memorials seems to have ever been a problem.

The local secretary and treasurer of the funds, Mr. Charles Gray, was also the manager of the bank in Fochabers in which Wilson had worked before going to Southern Africa for more excitement than life in his home town could offer. His former headmaster also served on the local committee.

The Duke of Richmond and Gordon gifted the site, and Mr. Wedderburn, Commissioner to the Duke, became chairman of the local Committee. Not too surprising, therefore, the Duke was to have a major role in the decision making process and "the committee ... selected half a dozen (designs) for his grace to choose from".¹⁴ The London Committee had apparently previously approved one particular design

and the Fochabers committee "unanimously fell in with the selection".¹⁵ The Duke's architect, Mr. A.F. Thomson, supervised the erection of the memorial fountain which had been made of granite from Aberdeen and Peterhead and supplied from the Aberdeen yard of Messrs. Whitehead & Sons. Whiteheads also had a London branch and supplied many granite memorials in the capital.

The Duke of Richmond did not hog the limelight when unveiling day came round. The Earl of March performed the ceremony but this was easily explained. Lord March declared ¹⁶:

"I have much pleasure in coming here today to declare this fountain open. It was originally intended that that should be done by the Duke of Richmond and Gordon, but, owing to his indisposition, he is unable to come today, and I therefore appear in his place".

Lord March briefly outlined the Wilson story, declaring that he regarded it as "one of the most gallant acts a man can do",¹⁷ and went on to state the propagandising aim of the memorial ¹⁸:

"I think we should all remember that this memorial is put up not only to perpetuate the memory of a gallant man, but also to act as an incentive to those young people who have yet to make their way in the world, that they may see that as long as they obey the call of duty, no matter against what odds, they earn some of the esteem and appreciation of their countrymen".

The fountain was then declared open and the Convenor of the Committee thanked Lord March for his work and his Grace for the site - "the finest and most fitting in and about Fochabers" - but asked the crowd to offer "three hearty cheers to the Duke of Richmond" and this was apparently "enthusiastically accorded".¹⁹ It had been not only Wilson's day but also the Duke's, even if neither could be present to bask in the limelight.

A "large and representative" crowd had been present and the ceremony had been "conducted in a quiet and unostentatious manner, it being deemed unnecessary ... to make any elaborate display that would in any way partake of the nature of rejoicing".²⁰

The inscription of the fountain states ²¹:

Erected by
Natives of Fochabers and others
to commemorate the heroic stand made
against the forces of the King of Matabeleland
by
Major Allan Wilson
of this town
who with a small band of gallant comrades
fell bravely fighting against overwhelming odds
near the Shangani River in South Africa
on the 4th of December 1893.

The people of Fochabers were proud of their 'local hero' as were the people of Southern Rhodesia. The story was made famous by Allan Stewart's celebrated painting 'There was No Survivor' which depicted the small force shrouded in gunsmoke, surrounded by a barricade of dead horses, and a bareheaded Wilson in front of his men. It was certainly the stuff of heroism - a heroic 'last stand'. Southern Rhodesia admired the painting and gave it pride of place on the stairway of the Council Offices in Bulawayo. Since Zimbabwean Independence it has sadly languished in a store-room of the Art Gallery. Over the entrance door of the Council Offices a bronze relief panel, based on Stewart's picture, was placed but it has since been boarded over with white painted panels so that it can no longer be seen. In a post-imperial age there is obviously no place for Imperial or Colonial monumental art and yet fortunately, and rather surprisingly, a major monument has been allowed to remain intact. A handsome memorial to the Wilson patrol was erected in 1904 in the Matapos Hills, close to Rhodes' Grave, and it bears the

simple legend "To Brave Men". These had supposedly been the words carved on a tree near the spot where the patrol had been first interred. It seemed a most fitting epitaph: finding the right words for inscriptions was ever a problem for makers of monuments.

The memorial to Wilson was without doubt a pioneer war memorial in Scotland - erected in a local place to recall a local man even if he was a heroic figure by all definitions. It also involved a local committee to gather funds and organise not only its construction but its unveiling and therefore contained all the precedures that would become commonplace when war memorials themselves became commonplace.

Continuing war on the Nile led to the great kilted stone soldier, in Station Square, Inverness, erected in 1892, having its inscription on his pedestal adapted to incorporate the Battle of Atbara of 1898 and its victims. Adding inscriptions to war memorials would also become a routine procedure.

The war in Egypt and the Sudan again seemed to capture the imagination of the British public, indeed the Labour Leader lamented that "the working class were more interested in celebrating Omdurman than in supporting the Welsh coal strike".²²

One of the men killed in North Africa, Piper Peter Stewart was commemorated by a little memorial cross, erected solely to his memory, in front of the church at Kincaig, near Aviemore. Had he died at home he might have been buried in the churchyard, instead this cross is his cenotaph. Stewart and "his brave comrades ... for Queen and Country fell in the Battle of Atbara on the Nile".²³ Not only was that memorial somewhat unique in so far as it commemorates a private soldier rather than officer but that it was erected in his home village and in the local churchyard - it was perhaps the first ever real village war memorial.

The importance of all these monuments lies in the fact that not only do they commemorate men who had fallen in far off theatres of war

but that they also fell in the cause of the Empire. The most aggressively imperialistic of all Britain's wars was fought in South Africa 1899-1902 against the two Boer republics. Having already trekked from their originally colonised territory to avoid British rule the Boers were prepared to stand and fight. The war was to lead to a great surge in monument making throughout Britain as almost all large towns and city desired to commemorate those local men who had died during the war's progress. Britain was to emerge victorious but it was not 'to be over by Christmas' as was first believed and there was much contemporary soul searching as to why Britain was faring so badly against what seemed to many to be a vastly inferior foe: two republics whose combined population, in Lloyd George's memorable words, "did not exceed that the Flintshire and Denbighshire". Eldridge has noted 'the British Empire with its huge resources, including manpower and a mighty navy was at war with and apparently unable to defeat (the) two republics'.²⁴

In the end, as Eldridge has stated, "the British had nearly 450,000 men in the field including detachments from Canada, Australia, New Zealand and India. The Boers at no time numbered more than 50 - 60,000".²⁵ The Pax Britannica mantle had indeed slipped and had revealed not only a mailed fist but a pretty lethal Thomson gun: this so called New Imperialism was perhaps just a more ruthless version of the old.

The Anglo-Boer War was the first that had required volunteer recruitment on a vast scale. Price believed that it was "an appropriate climax to the race for African colonies" and was accompanied by "an orgy of patriotism" in which "men really did flock to the colours to show their involvement in the dream of empire".²⁶ Volunteering for service in South Africa was seen as the ultimate sacrifice and implied "a preparedness to lay down ones life for the Cause of Empire".²⁷ The wild rejoicing at the news of the Relief of Mafeking had revealed how jingoistic the crowd could be, but it is also worth noting that not everyone revelled - there had been a Stop-the-War Campaign and there had been Pro-Boer

politicians. Price has shown that these displays of imperialism and patriotism "had little impact on the working class"²⁸ who had seen it all as largely irrelevant. He has stressed that the reaction was not "in terms of opposition to the war but in terms of indifference".²⁹ They were not against the war or against the Empire but simply they did not identify with it. Only those with a sort of middle class pretentiousness identified themselves with imperialism and volunteered.

In Glasgow, the Times correspondent found "Glaswegians had been notoriously less excited than most other large communities by the Boer War"³⁰ but, be that as it may, many city churches have tablets to those who lost their lives in South Africa and a stone trooper sits in Kelvingrove Park. Men from Glasgow did go and did fight and many were killed for the Imperial dream in a game which had almost gone wrong.

In spite of all the 'indifference' to the 'little war' there were to be some rather large statistics. It cost the British taxpayer £200 million³¹ and at a time when movement was truly rated in horsepower the lives of 400,000 horses and mules were 'expended' in the war. Perhaps 7,000 Boers died in the fighting and perhaps as many as 28,000 died in the concentration camps. The lines of carefully tended white crosses at Blomfontein, however, are a stark reminder that victory cost many a British life. Twenty-two thousand soldiers lie under the South African sun. Conan Doyle assessed the war thus "We beat the Boers because we had a great preponderance of numbers which enabled us to outflank them and much better artillery. Otherwise we could never have conquered their country".³²

Even if a conclusion other than British victory had been inconceivable the war was costly and even though the British were beneficent victors the war "left a poisonous bitterness behind it".³³ Barnett has stated "the result of the generous political settlement made by Britain in 1907 was that 54 years later the whole region became a Boer Republic".³⁴ That, however, is another story

and with hindsight any path seems surefooted when in reality nothing is or was certain.

The Boer War did capture the British imagination even if not everyone was caught up in the excitement or the agony of it. The war touched many lives. Few regiments did not have men in the field and, therefore, with regiments having a territorial base few areas did not have local men in action in South Africa. Few areas thus escaped the sad cost in flesh and blood and few areas do not have a memorial to the South African War.

The patriotic sacrifice of those who fell was to be commemorated in the many war memorials, largely regimental ones, which were set up in the major towns and in the cities throughout the United Kingdom. Scotland was no exception and in all the places associated with Scottish regiments there stands The South African War Memorial. To this day, a defiant Scottish soldier in bronze, points a dangerous bayonet at passers-by. Below him, fixed to the granite pedestal is a bronze panel with, in strict order of rank, a list of those who were killed in action or died of disease or accident in the Campaign.

The sad roll-call of honour on the Black Watch memorial, on Edinburgh's Mound, is headed by Major-General Andrew Wauchope who had led the Highland Brigade at Magersfontein. He has monuments all to himself at Niddrie and Yetholm (both places where his family had estate connections). The Black Watch memorial was rather typical reflecting that as in life there had been little equality, the inequality should thus be in perpetuity: the lettering therefore actually gets smaller as one descends through the ranks from officers, warrant officers, non-commissioned officers, drummers and shoeing smiths to mere troopers - but at least everyone gets a mention by name unlike the Stirling Castle and Dean Cemetery monuments to the Indian Mutiny where a total number of the ordinary soldiers who had died is deemed to be sufficient. The Scottish Horse Monument on the Castle Esplanade includes four Zulu Scouts

among the victims but their names appear even after the Scottish Troopers. Imperialism had always an ugly racial dimension even when the races were on the British side. In an age that was far from democratic it was not likely that prejudice would have caused any anxiety.

The heroic and colossal bronze figures of these memorials seem to proclaim their pride in Empire and thirst for action rather than reveal any remorse for lives lost or any gratitude that peace had broken out. Yet the tablet below the hero tells us the cost in human lives in a less remote way than the war graves on the Veldt, even if the impact of bronze letters is less dramatic than a sea of white crosses.

At the unveiling of the Falkirk memorial to those who had fallen, Field Marshall Earl Roberts of Kandahar, one of the great heroes of the South African War and one of the major imperial giants, gained the freedom of the town on 19 October 1906. He said "Falkirk was the most westerly point of the Roman Empire and was now part of the more extensive Empire than the Roman ever became"³⁵ and he went on, however, to state that there was a need now to prepare for war and that it was a good thing to die for one's country. (Presumably good for the country that is, and not for those who do the dying). This idea of sacrifice was also illustrated by the tall celtic cross which until recently stood in the Winter Gardens of the People's Palace, Glasgow Green, - a replica of the monument at Magersfontein -and which declared 'Scotland is poorer in men but richer in heroes'.

In 1901 the National Service League had been formed to secure, if not conscription, at least 'national service' whereby all able-bodied young would undergo compulsory military training. Lord Roberts led the campaign and by 1909 it had mustered 35,000 members and produced vast quantities of propaganda-like literature. Roberts had defined its role as being ³⁶: -

"...to hammer away on the anvil of the electorate until we have shaped the sword of public opinion so strong and so sharp, and of such finely tempered steel, that it will carry us to victory".

It was his view that "the nation must identify with, and take a practical interest in, the Army"³⁷ but the government believed the security of Britain was best served by a strong fleet. The advocates of national service, however, felt that a strong home defence would be vital should the navy be defeated. Lord Milner, another Imperial titan, declared ³⁸:

"...to leave the bulk of the manhood of this country without military training at all, to rely solely upon the Navy, is not to use the immense advantage of our insular position but to abuse it - to presume upon it".

Milner believed military training would be of physical good for the nation's youth and although "war is an evil, and a tremendous evil,... military training is not".³⁹

Despite all the league's efforts the vast majority of the people refused to heed the calls for the adoption of compulsory military service. The nearest they came to accepting training was within the Boy Scout movement which General Baden-Powell, hero of the siege of Mafeking, had formed in 1908. He and his sister Agnes also formed the Girl Guides in 1910. Within two years over 100,000 boys had been attracted to the Scouts. The motto of the movement was 'Be prepared' and it was modelled very much on the lines envisaged by Lord Roberts although aimed at a younger age group. Roberts had been B-P's commander in chief in South Africa and doubtlessly shared the same imperial vision. Baden Powell reckoned part of the Britain's problem was that it was "suffering from the growth of 'shirkers' in every class of the community - men who shirk their duties and responsibilities to the State and to others".⁴⁰ Scouts,

therefore, were to be trained in outdoor pursuits and in what was delightfully referred to as "energetic patriotism".⁴¹

Read has pointed out that a survey, conducted in 1966, revealed that 34% of men born between 1901-1920 had belonged to the Boy Scouts and therefore he was able to claim that the movement "probably did make a contribution to the development of Edwardian patriotism, crudely conceived, helping to prepare the British people for the 1914-18 war".⁴²

The other uniformed youth organisation, the Boys Brigade had been founded in 1883. It was formed on a strict Christian code and a monument to its founder, Sir William A. Smith, is in the nave of Glasgow Cathedral. Not only did the Boys Brigade involve drilling and training as well as church parades and inspections but its objects included 'obedience, reverence, discipline' and perhaps because its members drilled with rifles B-P criticised its "rigid reliance on martial exercises".⁴³ Much of the nation's youth was caught up in the general wave of imperialism, patriotism and the attendant militarism which had long been nurtured and developed and now seemed to engulf the nation in the first decade of the century,

The Anglo-Boer War was the last of the truly Imperial wars fought in a theatre of war far from home and simply to secure another chunk of the globe. As the Twentieth Century moved on the perceived danger of Germany was ever the dark shadow and the press fuelled the fear and the resentments. MacMillan stated "year in, year out from 1908, British readers were regaled with the stories of the rising might of Germany, on land, at sea and in the air".⁴⁴ War itself was kept at bay - early in 1914 Sir Edward Grey the Foreign Secretary declared "1914 was the year of rejoicing for peace".⁴⁵ On 1 January 1914 the Chancellor of the Exchequer David Lloyd George stated "Never have the prospects for world peace been so bright. Never has the sky been more perfectly blue".⁴⁶ In a changeable climate like Britain's even the bluest of skies can quickly cloud over. On the 28 June a grey cloud appeared on the horizon in

distant Bosnia. Shots were fired. Archduke Franz Ferdinand, heir to the Austrian Imperial throne, and his wife were assassinated.

The murder of the Archduke at Sarajevo was tinder enough to set all Europe ablaze. It may have been a spark which could have been put out for war had been a possibility in almost any year but earlier sparks had always been extinguished. The men of 1914 chose war. The nations of Europe, in Lloyd George's memorable phrase, "slithered over the bank into the boiling caldron of war".⁴⁷ Nations, it seemed were drawn against their will into what would become a real Armageddon.

The war may have not have quite come out of the blue because nations had long planned and schemed but it had an element of surprise and no-one knew quite what to expect. Taylor has pointed out ⁴⁸:

"... there had been no war between the Great Powers since 1871. No man in the prime of life knew what war was like. All imagined that it would be an affair of great marches and great battles, quickly decided".

Certainly the "war that was fought was not the war that planned".⁴⁹ Instead of 'blitzkreig' lofty ambitious war aims got stuck in Flanders mud. When it began no one knew how long it would last. It had been hoped it would have been over in a few months although some may have suspected that it would be a long drawn out affair. As early as October 1914 Captain G.B. Pollard had perceptively written home ⁵⁰:

"It's absolutely certainly a war of 'attrition', as somebody said here the other day, and we have got to stick it longer than the other side and go on producing men, money, and material until they cry quits, and that's all about it".

Lord Kitchener also believed that would not be speedily resolved and by the end of October had called for 300,000 volunteers.

Fussell has shrewdly observed "every war is ironic because every war is worse than expected".⁵¹ This was from the outset called 'Great' for it was in scale and intensity unlike those of the past and it involved not only those at the 'front' but those at home. It was a 'total' war which affected everyone and the number of volunteers, two and a half million of them in the first sixteen months of the war⁵², was quite insufficient. Reader has stated it was "the most remarkable mass movements of modern times, perhaps of any time"⁵³ but it was not enough. It required compulsory conscription to ensure that more and more men could be sent 'up the line to death'. In the end, of course, the USA had to decisively intervene to bring about a conclusion.

There had been a small and vociferous minority opposed to war ⁵⁴ but almost the entire nation rallied behind the government and as in earlier wars tremendous patriotic fervour was unleashed. The anti-war movement "could neither prevent the war nor could they achieve its early end".⁵⁵ The war ran its course.

In spite of the war gaining the sobriquet The First World War it was largely a European war, fought in Europe and between European powers and Europe was not only ready for war but willing to wage war in 1914. Steiner has suggested "some profound boredom with the long years of peace and the tedium of industrial life had led men to volunteer for France and to find in that hell a final confirmation of manhood".⁵⁶ General Von Falkenhayn, Chief of the German General Staff, declared on the eve of war "Even if we end in ruin, it was beautiful".⁵⁷

In August 1914 the war offered excitement and perhaps glory. Few then gave thought to the pain, suffering and death; few then realised the magnitude of the carnage to which it would lead; few then realised the immensity of the task of commemorating all those who would fall in the theatres of war which were in sum to be the Great War.

The Great War, like the Boer War, was not to be 'over by Christmas' and instead dragged on in a near stalemate war of attrition with an ever-lengthening roll of those who were dying 'for their country'. It was thus appropriate that there was to be a demand locally and nationally for war memorials. As in all wars the bodies of the fallen were not to be returned for burial in their native soil so rather than a name in stone in the Kirkyard there would be a stone at the crossroads bearing all the names of those for whom it was believed 'Dulce et decorum est pro Patria Mori' (It is sweet and meet to die for one's country). Even if the poet Wilfred Owen was to castigate the 'sweet and meet' as "the old lie", ⁵⁸ nevertheless, these men did die for their country though very many were conscripts rather than willing volunteers.

It is not the aim here to look into the folly or the wisdom of British involvement in the war nor to lay blame for the strategies which resulted in the wholesale slaughter of millions of young lives but merely to examine the monuments erected in their honour in their homeland and on the battlefield. They were laid to rest in 'foreign fields' which the Imperial War Graves Commission was to truly transform into gardens which would be 'forever England' or Scotland.

Their name on stone and bronze on a war memorial on a road near their home would be the nearest thing they would get to a heroes' welcome. In stone it declares 'Their Name Liveth for Evermore' even if we have long forgotten.

The war, of course, was a major historical landmark as well as intense emotional strain. For many nations it was a watershed and a transformation. From a British perspective the war was momentous and, of course, in the end she was on the side of the victors.

Barnett has assessed the Great War thus ⁵⁹:

"It had not been in vain, an enemy more powerful and more dangerous than the France of Louis XIV or Napoleon had been beaten down. Britain's greatest industrial and naval rival lay shattered, rent by civil disruptions indeed revolution, Britain was secure and relatively little damaged. For even the loss of 744,702 dead, immense a figure though it was, was much lower proportionate to population than the German loss and not much more than half Frances' losses.

"It was the British army's hardest fought and greatest victory".

Those who had sacrificed and achieved the Victory deserved commemoration. Where old memorials, as Reader has observed, "testify to group loyalty and family piety" the war memorials of the Great War reflect "widespread grief in the community at large".⁶⁰

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CHAPTER TWO - PART ONE

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CHAPTER THREE

FROM INTRA TO EXTRA CATHEDRA

i. A Cathedral and its Monuments.

ii. A City and its Monuments.

"On a clear day, the view from the Cathedral tower is worth "a day's travel in June" the wide expanse of the busy city is spread at the gazer's feet, with all its evidences of activity, enterprise, and successful and unceasing industry".

James Pagan. ¹

1. James Pagan, History of the Cathedral & See of Glasgow, (Glasgow: F. Orr & Son, 1851), p. 61.

CHAPTER THREE - PART ONE

A CATHEDRAL AND ITS MONUMENTS

"A survey of the monuments in Glasgow Cathedral will lead to the conclusion that public gratitude and private affection have been well guarded".

R. McAdam Muir. ¹

"The jewel in Glasgow's ecclesiastical crown is the Cathedral ... it is the foundation stone of the city itself".

Stewart Lamont. ²

1. R. McAdam Muir, "Monuments & Inscriptions", in The Book of Glasgow Cathedral, Geo. Eyre Todd (Ed.), (Glasgow: Morrison Bros, 1898), p. 410.
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In his "comparative method" of architectural history Banister Fletcher concluded that Glasgow Cathedral is 'the best preserved Gothic edifice in Scotland and, although of different dates, is very uniform in appearance'.¹ Apart from St. Magnus Cathedral in Orkney, Glasgow Cathedral was "the only metropolitan church in Scotland ... which remained uninjured at the Reformation".²

Recently one of the Inspectors of Ancient Monuments has written ³:

"A complete Cathedral is a rare survival in Scotland, we should be grateful that Glasgow is one of those which is so complete because it must always have been amongst the most magnificent of buildings of medieval Scotland".

Many other experts have reckoned that not only was it an ancient building but also a very good one. "Finely executed" and "a work of high class" being the considered view of one renowned antiquarian.⁴ Sir Walter Scott picturesquely noted ⁵:

"Ah! it's a brave kirk - nane o' yere whigmaleeries and curliewurlies and opensteek hems about it - a' solid, weel-jointed masonwark, that will stand as lang as the warld, keep hands and gunpowther aff it".

Glasgow Cathedral stands today, therefore, as an important building historically and architecturally, and it is perhaps not surprising that such an ancient church should have, over the ages, acquired many monuments to the dead who once had links with the Cathedral and with the city. Muir has, rather apologetically, stated ⁶:

"...it can hardly be claimed for the monuments in Glasgow Cathedral, as compared to the monuments in other Cathedrals, that they are without equal in number, in beauty or in interest. Yet they are numerous, not a few of them are pleasing objects in themselves, some of them have remarkable associations, and all of them combined, in their various dates

and styles bring before us incidents and episodes worthy of remembrance, recall men and women who played their part in the progress and development of the cathedral and the Church, of the city and the nation".

On the memorials themselves Muir has mused ⁷:

"...not many names of universal or even imperial renown are visible, yet the names which we do read are calculated to make us prouder of the city and the country to whose service lives so useful and so honourable have been dedicated".

As for their value as monuments he concluded that "of their excellences or defects as works of art, one more competent must speak",⁸ but Muir did, however, give a brief description of a selection he thought likely to be of most interest. A few years later Lugton's guidebook to the Cathedral gave a list of "Monuments and tablets in the Nave" but as it was published during the year the Boer War ended it naturally could not include those memorials erected in the aftermath of that campaign.⁹

Much of the literature on the Cathedral has neither dealt fairly, nor comprehensively, with its memorials. The noted ecclesiastical architect Peter Macgregor Chalmers, in 1914, dismissed them rather tersely ¹⁰:

"There are several monuments to our soldiers, and the walls of the nave bear:

"The colours of the 93rd Highlanders, presented at Canterbury, 7th October 1834, by the Duke of Wellington, and carried through the Crimea.

"The colours of the 74th Highlanders, carried from 1855 to 1881.

"And the last colours carried by the Cameronian Regiment".

It was not a description to encourage visitors to study the monuments. Until recently most books and guidebooks have ignored the memorials and concentrated on the architecture, but of late this has, to some degree, been remedied. A booklet now deals with the stained glass windows, many of which are memorial windows, and the Glasgow volume in the Buildings of Scotland series devotes a few paragraphs to the monuments in the nave, describing the most aesthetically pleasing ones.¹¹

Of the guidebooks it is only in the most recent A Walk Through Glasgow Cathedral that the memorials rate a mention albeit that it is little more than a mere mention. It is highly selective in the few considered worthy of mention. Having referred to a couple of the tablets commemorating distinguished Glaswegians, war memorials are rapidly despatched, Morris has stated ¹²:

"Other memorials on this north wall are to soldiers who died in the service of their country in the Peninsular War, the Crimean War, the Boer War or in China, the East Indies, the north west frontier of India, and in Egypt. All tell something of national history and individual heroism in the nineteenth century".

The memorials at the west end are entirely ignored as were those on the south wall of the nave, although some of these were also to men who fought and fell in many of the theatres of war contained in the Morris list.

It is not the place here to consider the artistic worth of the monuments or reflect on the reasons why they have been so largely neglected but it will be useful to consider them. Glasgow Cathedral, since the Reformation, has been a parish church of the Church of Scotland although it has always been regarded as a very important church with its congregation being drawn from far and wide rather than from the immediate environs of the church itself and also from the more affluent and significant members of society.

While there were to be other churches built as the city grew the Cathedral remained the city church and has always had a ceremonial and spiritual role to play in civic affairs.

It is likely that since the memorials were not those of the great and famous they may possibly more accurately reflect the general historical development of commemorative art and of the rise of war memorials as a minor yet distinctive branch of monumental art.

While this study is chiefly concerned with war memorials in the "plein air" it is necessary, at least from a historical and local perspective, to start indoors by examining those which are now part of the internal fabric of one of Scotland's oldest and grandest of buildings. The historical development of war memorials may be the history of the war memorials in Glasgow Cathedral writ large. It is unlikely Glasgow would have been unique. She would either lead or follow the fashions of the day or, at base, be merely representative of the route memorial art has taken.

Although Glasgow Cathedral was from the time of the Reformation the Parish Church of Glasgow it had become Crown property yet was controlled and maintained by the Town Council. Pagan had noted that for many years ¹³;

"...the Crown seems to have been almost unconscious that such an exquisite architectural jewel was left to its keeping; and but for the protecting care of the resident burghers, the Cathedral might long ere this have been past the renovating power of the hand of man".

The efforts of the Town Council were somewhat limited in scope. Pagan claimed that they were "not so much directed to making the fabric better as to prevent it getting worse".¹⁴ Indeed he believed that by the care and expenditure of the Magistrates and Council "the Cathedral was kept in repairs - or was rather prevented from tumbling down".¹⁵

While it was the city's Parish Church it had long housed three separate congregations of the Church of Scotland, one in the choir, one in most of the nave and one in the crypt. Each had its own minister and Kirk Session and therefore its own independent rules and attitudes to its place or worship. Thus whether it was because it was Crown property, or because it was controlled by the Town Council or simply because the Kirk Session of the Outer High was more willing to accept wall tablets the nave began to acquire memorials, some of which were to those who had died in the service of the country in its military campaigns. The nave became a sort of family Chapel for the middle class of Glasgow.

The Barony Church, also known as the Laigh Kirk, which had occupied the crypt moved out of the Cathedral to a new church building which they had erected in 1798 but this new one was described as "the ugliest church in Glasgow".¹⁶ It is perhaps not surprising, therefore, when it was replaced in the late 19th Century the design chosen was for the most handsome of Gothic Revival structures and of Cathedral-like proportions, indeed it was modelled on Dunblane Cathedral. That fine building is now known as the Barony Hall, the Graduation Hall of the University of Strathclyde.

For most of the 19th century the congregation of the Barony was to use the Cathedral crypt as its graveyard. Many brass plates fixed to the floor mark the resting place of those interred. Others have the inscription cut into the stone flags of the floor, one such has deep incised letters -

The Burying Place
of the late
James Mackenzie Esquire
of Craig Park
here four of his children
are interred
J.M. died 13th June 1838.

Not only were his immediate family buried with him but others were to be commemorated nearby . Below an adjacent window are two tablets, each in memory of one of his grandsons, both were young lieutenants who were killed in action during the Great War and who lie buried in France. Thus we have a memorial in Glasgow to men buried elsewhere.

The only other soldier commemorated had two stained glass windows to his memory (they have since been replaced) and not only does Adjutant Robert Burns Anderson have a fine memorial, with ornate sword lying on top of it, in the crypt but has an even more ambitious monument in the nave. The monument in the nave will, however, be examined in due course.

From about 1802 onwards the Treasury began to fund repairs to the fabric of the Cathedral and by 1824 it could be noted "a more generous spirit ... began to display itself".¹⁷ The choir, or Inner High Church, was the first part to be upgraded and in 1835 the Town Council built a new St. Paul's (Outer High) as a necessary step towards the full restoration of the Cathedral. The new church was built in John Street and today the St. Paul's on that site, built in 1905, has become the Chaplaincy Centre of the University of Strathclyde. In 1952 the congregation of St. Paul's was linked with that of St. David's (Ramshorn) Church in their church in Ingram Street. St. David's had been built on the former Ramshorn Estate, then on the western edge of the city, when the city fathers acquired the site for both kirk and kirkyard. The first Ramshorn Church was completed in 1724 but was replaced a hundred years later by a Gothick one and that building has now become the Drama Centre for the Theatre Group of the University of Strathclyde.

With the removal of the other congregations and their churches the former Inner High was able to spread from the 'quire' into the entire ground floor area even if, for practical reasons, services were ever likely to be largely confined to the choir area. In 1857 the state accepted full responsibility for the upkeep of the

building. With its care and protection as well as its continuing use secure, the Cathedral became more than ever the city's church and would reflect the city's and the nation's ethos. The nave which had already begun to be used as a great memorial chapel would continue to serve that function and be the place of interment as well as place of commemoration of families regarded as being significant in the life of the city. It came to be regarded as the rightful place for the installation of memorials to commemorate those who had died in the military expeditions of the 19th Century when British Imperialism was on the ascendancy. Army families were also the city's mercantile families. Although officers had died in the far flung parts of the globe they were to be remembered in this church in this their home city.

The means by which they were to be commemorated in the Cathedral should reflect the changing perceptions of commemoration during the 19th century.

The earliest of the Cathedral's memorials to a military figure also happens to be one of the earliest cenotaphs. It depicts an empty tomb for Lt. Col. Henry Cadogan of the 71st or Glasgow Regiment was buried in a far off battlefield. The monument, erected in 1816, was executed by the local but much admired firm of monumental masons, David Hamilton and Sons. David Hamilton, its likely designer, was one of the most distinguished of Glasgow architects. Hamilton Palace, Glasgow's Nelson Monument, Hutcheson's Hall and the first of the St. Paul's Church's (1835) were among his many commissions. The marble memorial has incised letters to its face which inform us that Cadogan ¹⁸:

...gloriously fell at the head of his Battalion
in the ever-memorable battle of Vittoria June 21st 1813
Aged Twenty Three Years.

The Honourable Henry Cadogan was an honorary free-man of the city and the monument states:

This monument is erected
by a few of his friends in the city and neighbourhood
to perpetuate the remembrance
of his worth as a man and his
gallantry as a soldier.

Another soldier who had died overseas was Lieutenant John Stirling, of the Bombay Army, son of the Glasgow merchant William Stirling, and he had fallen while leading the cavalry of the Nizan of Hyderabad against Fort Dundhotee on 3 January 1828. The inscription states that he was interred "near the spot where he bravely fought and fell" and that the Nizan's government raised a monument over his grave at public expense. Perhaps what makes this memorial of great interest is that it concludes with these words;

This cenotaph
is erected by his brother officers
of the Nizan's Cavalry
in testimony
of their high esteem
of his public and private worth.

It is worth noting that the word 'cenotaph' had come into use. Those who were later to claim that "the word had almost entirely fallen into disuse until Lutyens revived it"¹⁹ for his Whitehall monument seem to have conveniently overlooked its frequent and widespread use during the 19th century.

The Cadogan memorial had been erected by local friends of the family. The Stirling one had been erected by members of the regiment in which he had been serving; the first example of a regimental memorial albeit to one individual and an officer. That memorial was also the first to give the name of the firm who had carried out the work - "Clelands & Co., Statuaries". It was therefore to be their memorial as well as Stirling's.

The tablet to Lieutenant Donald Campbell of the 20th Regiment of Foot who died at Malwan in the East Indies in 1835 is also a cenotaph. The inscription simply stated "a similar token of respect at his early death is placed over his mortal remains". If William Behnes, the London-based sculptor of this monument, had also executed the one for the tombstone in the East Indies then his work was indeed far travelled as well as prolific.

Just as at Edinburgh Castle, the first of the real 'war memorials' in Glasgow which commemorate more than one individual are to those who fell in the Crimea. The handsome marble memorial depicts a fallen soldier with a mourning female figure watching over him and the standard which she bears has the legend "'93' Cape, Alma, Balaklava, Sevastopol" for the memorial commemorates the men of the Ninety Third Sutherland Highlanders who fell during the Crimean Campaign. The officers who died, from Major to Lieutenants are given their full names but the inscription tersely ended by stating and "thirteen non-commissioned officers, four drummers and two hundred and ninety eight privates". No attempt had been made to give equality of treatment to all who had died. The memorial, dated 1859, was the work of Sir John Steele of Edinburgh who was best known for his Iron Duke in front of the Register House.

Many of the tablets honour men who died during the Imperial exploits of the 19th century and chronologically the next two monuments placed in the Cathedral commemorate individuals who died in the service of their country in those empire building days. One is a memorial to Major William Middleton of the 6th Princess Royal Dragoon Guards who had died in Malta on his way back from service in India. The other commemorated Robert Burns Anderson, the young officer who was, as previously mentioned, also given a memorial in the crypt. This monument informs us that he was adjutant to the Fanes Irregular Cavalry and had been captured by the Chinese while on escort duty under a flag of truce. There is a sense of hurt pride and indignant grief about the memorial for clearly the expectation was that even the enemy would fight fairly and that

flags of truce were meant to be honoured. Reading the text one learns that Anderson's "dust reposes in the Russian Cemetery at Peking with that of his fellow officers" who had all died at the hands of a "cruel and barbarous foe". The sculptors for the Middleton monument were the local firm of J. & G. Mossman but both the Anderson memorials were executed by Robert Jackson of London. Families, it would seem, were prepared to cast their net wide in order to get what was perceived to be quality in design and craftsmanship. Not surprisingly, therefore, the Cathedral has work by some of the most able sculptors of the age.

Although memorials to individuals would continue to be placed in the Cathedral a precedent appeared to be established with another 93rd Memorial for with it an attempt was made to commemorate all those who had fallen in the campaign of Eusofzai on the North West Frontier of India in 1863. Although all are named they are placed in descending order in rank from the two captains through one ensign, two lieutenants and one sergeant to the eighteen privates who are placed in alphabetical order. The memorial, of marble and carved by William Brodie, depicts a child with two soldiers, one bearing a laurel wreath. The monument was not erected until 1887 and that doubtlessly explains why the next few war memorial tablets to be placed in the church were to individuals rather to regiments and therefore seem to be out of place in what seems to be a general progression to all-embracing collective memorials with a uniformity of treatment in their inscriptions. These two memorials were to commemorate Major Alexander Dunlop Anderson who fell at Peiwal Kotal in Afghanistan in 1878 and the unfortunate Lt.Col. William West Watson who died at Irvine on the 6 March 1880 as a result of an accidental shell explosion the previous day.

All those men of the Highland Light Infantry who died at Tel el Kebir in Egypt in the battle of 13 September 1882 were to be commemorated even if the officers head the list of names. A later tall and ornate celtic cross commemorates all those of the Highland Light Infantry who fell in India and Ceylon during the 1884 - 1900

period but it too has officers preceding the other ranks but it is worth noting that marble had now given way to granite - the first appearance of the material in the Cathedral.

The Cameronians (Scottish Rifles) placed a memorial to those of its number who had died in India and in South Africa, during and after the Boer War, but again officers head the list of names. Another memorial commemorates three men of the Royal Army Medical Corps who fell during the Boer War while another tablet commemorates two sappers of the 1st Lanarkshire Royal Engineers who had also died in South Africa.

James Campbell of Tulliechewan, a cousin of the Prime Minister Henry Campbell-Bannerman, lost two of his grandsons in the Boer war and each has his own commemorative tablet, placed on either side of the one to Campbell's own memorial. Nineteen year old Lieutenant James Campbell of the Gordon Highlanders had received mortal wounds at Magersfontein on 11 December 1899 while Lieutenant Frederick Gildea of the Royal Scots Fusiliers died of enteric fever (typhoid) at Johannesburg, at the age of 25, on 18 April 1901. Old James Campbell died later that month - it had been a tragic spell for one of the most renowned of Glasgow's merchant families.

All the other war memorials within the Cathedral were placed there after the Great War and with the exception of that to Lieutenant General Sir James Moncrieff Grierson all were memorials which commemorate those from a particular regiment or particular group who had fallen in the fighting. There is one family memorial - it commemorates four brothers who died "in the cause of honour and freedom" - but the three others commemorate collectively those of the Army Medical Corps, the Field Ambulance Service and members of the Congregation of the Cathedral who died.

Most memorials of the Great War were not only collective in their remembrance but had an equality of treatment for all the Fallen. It is, therefore, both noteworthy and surprising that the Cathedral's

own memorial should differentiate between officers and men with the officers at the head of the list and the privates later. Death may indeed have been "swallowed up in victory" but equality or lack of it went to the grave - it was to be truly immortal. The Cathedral's war memorial has ensured death was not quite the great leveller it had been claimed to be. Lessons had still to be learned in the art of commemoration.

CHAPTER THREE- PART TWO

A CITY AND ITS MONUMENTS

"A great many ...Victorian monuments in the city centre are built with more craftsmanship than we can hope to emulate or than the world is likely ever to see again".

Lord Esher. ¹

"The air and general demeanour of the figure (Sir John Moore) are in the finest style of art, and the ensemble of this charming work is so refined and elegant, that although it may be equalled, little is ventured in saying it cannot be surpassed".

John Willox. ²

1. Lord Esher, Conservation in Glasgow; A Preliminary Report.
(Glasgow: Glasgow Corporation Planning Dept., 1970), p.2.
2. John Willox, The Glasgow Tourist and Itinerary - Lizar's Guide Through Glasgow & Environs,
(Edinburgh: W.H.Lizars, 1950), p.2.

"The nearer the church the further from God" may have been the view of some. It was certainly not the view shared by all Glaswegians. Many wanted to be buried as near the church door as possible.

Having examined some of the memorials within the Cathedral it is now time to move outdoors, for like many churches, indeed like most old ones, the Cathedral is surrounded by a graveyard. This one had been among the few places in the city where those desiring a Christian burial could be laid to rest and thus, not surprisingly, the burial ground contains some extremely fine examples of monumental art with gravestones dating from the 17th century onwards and commemorating some of the city's most distinguished citizens. Among those interred were Thomas and George Hutcheson, the founders of the Hospital whose Hall graces Ingram Street, Charles Mackintosh of waterproof fame, and Peter Lowe, founder of the Royal Faculty of Physicians and Surgeons.

As the city grew other churches and churchyards were required. St. David's Ramshorn Church was built at the heart of the expanding Merchant City and its churchyard in Ingram Street soon came to be regarded as the fitting place of internment for the city's most eminent figures. David Dale, the founder of New Lanark, and John Anderson, founder of Anderson's College - the predecessor of the University of Strathclyde - were among those buried there. The Committee of Management of the burial ground had a high regard for it and its likely clientele. When it was suggested that the less affluent might be buried there they declared that no part of the burying ground should be set aside for that purpose, "it being too valuable as the lairs in that churchyard afford a very high price".¹ They obviously did not think much of the graveyard at the Cathedral for it was their view that "provision be made for those of the lower ranks in life in the Cathedral or High Church yard".²

It was a view not shared by everyone. The Cathedral yard was to continue to serve the needs of affluent families and in 1820 it was substantially increased in area when the Cathedral Burial Ground was

opened. Among those interred there were was the architect David Hamilton, as well as Surgeon Alexander McDowall who had served in the Crimea. The old churchyard also acquired a few monuments with a military link. One being a handsome red granite pylon which commemorated members of the Mackintosh family of which General Alexander Fisher Mackintosh, Colonel of the 93rd Sutherland Highlanders, was part. Another, although now a somewhat dilapidated cast iron memorial had a suitably Imperial connection for it commemorated Maria Macauley who was "the widow of Lieutenant Basil Ronald, Madras Artillery, who died in India 1822, aged 29".³

Time and weather have eroded many of the inscriptions but it would seem, however, that the tidy little cemetery visible today does not truly reflect the conditions of earlier years. In the late 19th century Groome claimed it was "very much overcrowded with gravestones and monuments"⁴ while Buchan in 1841 had observed ⁵:

"...the churchyard itself had a peculiar character; for, though in reality extensive, it is small in proportion to the numbers of respectable inhabitants who are interred within it, and whose graves are almost all covered with tombstones. There is, therefore, no room for the long rank grass which in the ordinary case partially clothes the surface of these retreats, where the wicked cease from troubling and the weary are at rest. The broad flat monumental stones are placed so close to each other, that the precincts appear flagged with them, and though roofed only by the heavens, resemble the floor of one of our old English churches, where the pavement is covered with sepulchral inscriptions".

As the city's population had grown the existing graveyard provision could not cope and this was exacerbated by the fact, as one contemporary account noted, that "some ancient cemeteries in the city have been converted into building ground and market places".⁶ Willox in the mid-nineteenth century informs us⁷:

"...burying grounds were devoted to other uses than as places of repose for the ashes of the departed and, in course of time the cemetery of St. Mungo became nearly the only place of sepulture in which the vastly extended and rapidly increasing population of Glasgow could obtain the rites of Christian burial. The inconveniences, not to insist upon the revolting scenes, and the social dangers arising from this state of matters roused the community to the necessity of making more adequate provision for the interment of its deceased members".

John Strang, Chamberlain of Glasgow's Merchants House and one of the leading critics of the sorry state to which the city's cemeteries had degenerated, desired that they "become more an ornament and less of a nuisance to this city, more a source of national pride and less of national opprobrium".⁸ It was his view that ⁹:

"Scottish churchyards and particularly those attached to cities and towns are with few exceptions little else than vast fields of the dead which instead of possessing anything attractive have every thing of an opposite nature, will scarcely be denied by any who have ever entered their precincts".

The Merchants House of Glasgow had been established in 1605 to represent the interests of the merchants in the city - the Trades House being the body to represent the craftsmen- but local government and the well-being of the city had always been regarded as being part of its remit. Its principal officer, the Dean of Guild, and his Court acted as the building control authority of the city. As early as 1650, the Merchants House acquired part of the estate of Wester Craigs, to the east of the Cathedral and across the Molendinar Burn, and it had been planted with trees. This little tree-clad hill soon became known as Fir Park and in 1824 a monument was placed on its hill-top site, some 225 feet above the level of the River Clyde. This monument was a tall doric column on the top

of which was placed a statue of the reformer John Knox. Thomas Hamilton had been the architect and Robert Forrest the sculptor of the monument but its real importance lies in the fact that it was a pioneer memorial for the park and major step in the city's route to acquiring much civic statuary.

Fir Park seems to have been a largely under-used amenity and its days in that capacity were therefore destined to be limited. The early years of the nineteenth century had seen a flourishing garden cemetery movement develop and the enchanting Pere La Chaise in Paris, founded in 1804, was seen as the example which must be emulated. James Ewing, a former Dean of Guild and MP for the city declared ¹⁰:

"The Fir Park appears admirably adapted for a Pere La Chaise which would harmonise beautifully with the adjacent scenery and constitute a solemn and appropriate appendage to the venerable structure to the front".

Although the matter was first discussed at a meeting of the directors on 18 July 1828 it was not until early the following year that the Necropolis, as it was to be called, opened for interments and the sale of burial places. It did not take many years for it to be asserted that its elegant monuments "resemble a city that is literally 'set on a hill' - a silent but significant city of the dead - to draw attention of the living to the memory and virtues of the departed".¹¹ It also soon attracted visitors. By 1836 it could be claimed that "the number of visitors names entered in the visitors book now average above 100 daily"¹² while by 1850, Blair was able to record that it had become "a favorite (sic) resort of our citizens, as well as a principal attraction to strangers visiting Glasgow".¹³

The wealthy middle class were eager, if that is the right word, to be laid to rest in the Necropolis - "the leaders of Victorian Glasgow

chose to lie in the new cemetery's forest of obelisks and Temples" according to Reid.¹⁴ Blair, with some pride, noted ¹⁵:

"...the Necropolis may be justly regarded as the Westminster Abbey of Glasgow. it is to this city what the beautiful cemetery of 'Pere La Chaise' is to Paris. Almost all our most eminent fellow citizens who have been called to their rest within the last quarter of a century, are either interred within its hallowed precincts or are there represented by cenotaphs reared to their memory".

It is worth noting that the word 'cenotaph' was again being applied to such memorials around 1857.

It had been one of James Ewing's aims that the "unfrequented and unproductive" park would become "a lucrative source of profit to a Charitable Institution"¹⁶, and according to Reid the Merchants House "drew a considerable income from the unusual investment".¹⁷

Whether it was due to the fact that it was a commercial enterprise, albeit that it was run by a charitable concern, or whether it was due to the fact that by the time the Necropolis had become established the nave of the Cathedral was already the accepted memorial chapel in which to commemorate, by cenotaph, those military figures who had died in service overseas, the inescapable fact remains that the Necropolis did not develop any strong military link. There are, nonetheless, a few monuments to soldiers to be found amid its vast array of monumental splendour. Among the few are two cenotaphs of the Pattison Family, one of the city's major mercantile 'Army families'. One bears a statue of Lt. Col. Alexander Hope Pattison who had died at Nassau while commanding the troops in the Bahamas while the other commemorates his nephew Alexander, a lieutenant and Acting Adjutant of the 2nd West India Regiment, who had also been Secretary to his uncle. Lieut. Pattison, we are informed, was "young, beautiful and brave" and who met his death "with the calm serenity of a Christian and a

soldier...at the early age of 21".¹⁸ The monument is dated 1838 and the inscription informs that the young officer has both grave and cenotaph in Nassau. The cenotaph in Nassau might be regarded as another early war memorial. The text on the Necropolis monument concludes ¹⁹:

"...his brother-officers have erected a cenotaph in the church at Nassau, near which he was buried, to express their very high regard for his worth".

The memorial is of great significance for it would seem to be the first of Glasgow's outdoor memorials in which the word 'cenotaph' appears in an inscription.

Why these particular men should be commemorated in the Necropolis can be easily explained. On the north side of the pedestal of Col. Pattison's memorial it states ²⁰:

AD MDCCCXXXVIII
By a grant from
The Merchants House Of Glasgow
Of the requisite ground
the Contributors
Were enabled to place Colonel Pattison's monument
Near his father's tomb .

His father, John Pattison of Kelvingrove, had been a Glasgow merchant who had died in 1807 but on his wife's death in 1833 "to fulfil his dying wish, that they should be laid together in one grave"²¹ the family removed their father's remains from St. David's churchyard and re-deposited them beside his wife in the newly acquired family lair in the Necropolis. Thus, when their son died overseas it was natural that the family would wish to perpetuate his memory in his native city and beside his parents in what was now to be regarded as the traditional family burial enclosure. It required to be a cenotaph for his body had been laid to rest far from home.

Another monument, to his nephew and namesake merely added the dynastic touch and it, too, was a cenotaph.

The statue of Knox set a precedent for the area for there were to be numerous statues and portrait medallions in the Necropolis but it was the square in front of the Cathedral in particular which was to be graced with some fine statues. The recently transformed Cathedral Square forms the approach to both Cathedral and Necropolis and with the adjacent gardens has over time acquired a few monuments of note which commemorate distinguished Victorian figures. Apart from the statue of the Glasgow merchant James Arthur (1893) which is by G.A. Lawson all the others were executed, in whole or in part, by the local sculptor John Mossman who had his studio/yard in Cathedral Street, opposite the square. The firm of J. and G. Mossman still continues in the monumental business although it now operates from a shop in the High Street and has recently linked up with another old established Glasgow business, Robert Gray. Both firms had provided many of the handsome monuments in the city's growing number of Victorian cemeteries and both firms were to be active in the war memorial industry.

The statues by Mossman are of James Lumsden (a stationer and treasurer of the Royal Infirmary) of 1862, James White of Overtoun (a noted philanthropist and chemical manufacturer) of 1890, the Rev. Norman Macleod (a Chaplain to Queen Victoria and Minister of the Barony Church) of 1881, and that great Victorian hero David Livingstone whose statue dates from 1879 although only re-erected in front of the Cathedral in 1959. A little stone monument, marking, the site of the Bishop's Palace also stands in the square.

The Palace has long gone but the recent neo-Baronial Cathedral Visitor Centre cum St. Mungo's Museum of Religion now provides a new monument to the past. Just opposite, old Provands Lordship, the oldest house in Glasgow, provides another chapter in the city's history. Museums may indeed be memorials but both of these were

not erected with memorial intent. Statues, however, serve no other purpose than commemoration.

In Cathedral Square Gardens stands the city's first piece of civic statuary. It is the equestrian bronze of King William III and was gifted to the city in 1735. Having formerly stood at Glasgow Cross it was moved to the gardens in 1923. 'King Billy' as he is affectionately and sectarianly known is dressed in the attire any Caesar would have been proud to wear not because he necessarily considered himself to be a Roman but because it was, as was noted earlier, the sculptural fashion of the time.

Just as Cathedral Square had once been the hub of city life, Glasgow Cross had also seen its day pass. As the city expanded the real city centre moved westwards and as the 19th century progressed one place in particular acquired much prestige. Although Glasgow Green, the city's oldest public park, acquired a few monuments (as did other parks), and although Kelvingrove Park, in particular, was later to receive some magnificent pieces of statuary as well as fine monuments, there was one location which could aspire to have specific claim to be Glasgow's Hall of Heroes. If the Necropolis could be described as the 'Westminster Abbey of Glasgow' then it would be termed "the Pantheon of Glasgow"²² or "Glasgow's Valhalla".²³ The place was, of course, George Square.

George Square had been first laid out in 1781 with initially little more done to it than to simply mark out its boundary. By the start of the new century it was scarcely a dignified place, being described as ²⁴:

"...a hollow filled with green water, and a favourite resort for drowning puppies and cats and dogs, while the banks of this suburban pond were the slaughtering place for horses".

The central site, occupied by the lofty column commemorating Sir Walter Scott, had been intended for a statue of King George III

after whom the Square was named. Many of the streets in the area reflect the city's eulogistic approach to the Royal House of Hanover - George Street, North Hanover Street, West Regent Street, Frederick Street, and Duke Street (after the Duke of York). It is thus not surprising that the principal square should be named after the monarch although George III never did get a statue in the city.

The first statue to be erected in the Square was that of General Sir John Moore, hero of Corunna, who had been fatally struck by a cannon-ball at the moment of victory on 16 January 1809 in that famous battle of the Peninsular War. Moore had been born in the Trongate and this elegant bronze was the work of the celebrated sculptor John Flaxman. On its granite pedestal the inscription states ²⁵:

To Commemorate
the Military Genius of
Lieutenant General Sir John Moore
Native of Glasgow.
His fellow citizens
have erected
this monument
1819.

It is not without significance that Moore's statue was to be the first erected for the wars against Napoleon seem to have aroused much patriotic fervour with Glasgow citizens. A review of troops on Glasgow Green in 1804 was to be long remembered and the City contributed men and money towards victory. Citizen volunteers formed nine regiments and the frequent rumours of invasion had meant they had almost constantly been prepared to take up arms. Moore had been one of the heroes of the war and not only was he "the creator of the modern infantrymen" but also "the finest trainer of men the British Army ever knew".²⁴ He was also the "local hero" and ever to be remembered in the epic poem whose lines tell how, at his funeral ²⁷:

Not a drum was heard, not a funeral note,
As his corpse to the rampart we hurried;
Not a soldier discharged his farewell shot
O'er the grave where our hero was buried.

Throughout the nineteenth century statues were erected in the Square. In 1733 the architect William Kent had, at Stowe in Buckinghamshire, created a Temple of British Worthies. George Square was to develop into a Victorian Glasgow version. James Watt of steam engine fame had his statue by Chantrey erected in 1832 while the centre-piece - the Scott Monument, by John Greenshields and Alexander Handyside Ritchie - followed in 1837. Equestrian statues of Queen Victoria and her Consort Prince Albert by Baron Marochetti were erected there in 1865 and 1866 with the Queen being previously sited in St. Vincent Place where she had been first placed in 1854.

One of the major military figures of the era was Colin Campbell who had distinguished himself in various actions but will be forever associated with his command of the Highland Brigade - the Thin Red Line at Balaclava - in the Crimea and with his crushing of the Indian Mutiny. Raised to the peerage and buried in Westminster Abbey, he was much honoured and his home city was especially proud of him. It is said that when he was awarded the Freedom of the City not only did "six thousand of the leading citizens of Glasgow" subscribe for the sword of honour presented to him but he was given a tumultuous welcome. It was reported ²⁹:

"...his reception was like a triumphal entry, tens of thousands turning out to gaze with enthusiasm on the brave old warrior who had done so much for his country, and to whose heart Scotland was so dear".

This fine bronze portait of him by W.H. Foley had its pedestal inscribed ²⁸:

Field Marshall Lord Clyde

G.C.B. K.S.I

Born in Glasgow 20 October 1792

This memorial
of his distinguished military services
is erected by
his fellow citizens
1869.

Colin Campbell had served under Sir John Moore thus it was appropriate that he too should be commemorated beside Moore among the statues of George Square.

The other statues to placed in the Square were of non-military figures but in their day they were no less notable. Thomas Graham, a lecturer at Anderson's College, the precursor of the University of Strathclyde, rose to become the Master of the Mint and his statue by William Brodie was unveiled in 1872. Marochetti's statue of the Glasgow M.P., James Oswald was erected there in 1875 having hitherto been in Sauchiehall Street where it had been placed in 1856. James Ewing of Necropolis fame together with Oswald had become Glasgow's first M.P. s under the first Reform of Parliament in 1832.

The statue of the National Bard, Robert Burns (statue by G.E. Ewing, erected in January 1877) was closely followed by another poet Thomas Campbell who had been born in the High Street but was buried in Westminster Abbey. His statue of 1877 was by the local sculptor John Mossman who also executed the 1879 bronze of the great missionary - explorer David Livingstone. [The Livingstone statue was, as has been noted, removed to Cathedral Square in 1959, in order to make way for a prefabricated building which served as an Information Bureau. That building, which scarcely graced the west end of the Square, has since been removed and the Tourist Information Centre is now re-located in more fitting premises in St Vincent Place].

The most recently erected statue in the Square was of the great Liberal statesman William Ewart Gladstone and it was given a prominent site in front of the City Chambers. It had been executed by renowned Hamo Thorneycroft and erected in 1902. The only other monument in the Square was a small granite drinking fountain presented by local industrialist James Crum of Busby.

Important buildings surround the Square - office blocks, banks and a hotel as well as the General Post Office and the Merchants House. The latter had been designed by a well known Glasgow architect John Burnet and opened in 1877 and when it was extended, in 1909, his son John James Burnet was the architect and as far as the Square was concerned he was to have a major role to play in its future development, as will be discussed later.

If the monument to Scott has pride of place in the centre of the Square it is, however, the building occupying the entire eastern boundary that dominates the scene and give the square real civic dignity. The City Chambers is truly a monument to the Victorian Glaswegians' pride in their city and the Queen herself inaugurated these municipal buildings. Built to a design by Sir William Young it was the winning entry in an architectural competition which attracted 125 entries. Young had been born in Paisley and trained in Glasgow but had moved to London where he had established a successful practice with his scheme for the War Office as his major achievement.

Visitors to the City Chambers enter by way of its main entrance in the centre of its George Square facade and it was modelled on the 4th Century Arch of Constantine in Rome, built in honour of his greatest victory. It was to be particularly uncannily symbolic treatment of the entrance-way in the light of the subsequent history of the Square and of the site just in front of the City Chambers. In 1888 it was just another magnificent detail of what was a splendid piece of Victoriana. The edifice was crowned with a Jubilee pediment which depicted Victoria as monarch of all she

surveyed, a lion at her feet and attended by figures emblematic of England, Scotland, Ireland and Wales and on either side are other figures symbolic of all the different British Imperial possessions. She was the Queen-Empress and Glasgow basked in the reflected glory. Glasgow prided herself in being the Second City of that far flung Empire and George Square was the hub of the city. Other parks and open spaces might have acquired statuary but George Square by the end of the 19th Century was truly the civic space. Her buildings and her monuments had ensured that it was a fitting and dignified centre at the heart of a great city.

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SECTION TWO

A GREAT WAR AND A GREAT MANY MONUMENTS

In sermon time, while Squire is in his pew,
He gives my gilded name a thoughtful stare;
For though low down upon the list, I'm there;
'In proud and glorious memory'- that's my due.

Siegfried Sassoon,
from 'Memorial Tablet'.¹

1. K. Baker, (Ed.), I Have No Guns But I Can Spit,
(London: Methuen, 1982), p.150.

CHAPTER FOUR

WHY WAR MEMORIALS? AND WHY SO MANY?

- i. Monuments Abroad.
- ii. Monuments at Home.
- iii. Monuments in the Home.

"Every position must be held to the last man; there must be no retirement. With our backs to the wall, and believing in the justice of our cause, each of us must fight on to the end".

Field Marshall Haig, ¹
Order of the Day,
12th April 1918.

1. Sir D. Haig, quoted in Scottish Quotations, Alan Bold (Ed.),
(Edinburgh: Mainstream, 1985).

CHAPTER FOUR - PART ONE

MONUMENTS ABROAD

We're here
Because
We're here
Because
We're here
Because we're here. ¹

Marching, marching, marching,
Always bloody well marching;
When the war is over
We'll damn well march no more. ²

1. 'Soldiers' Song', quoted in J. Ferguson (Ed.),
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2. Ibid.

Showing that something has a long history is not the same as explaining why it was necessary. Thus it is with war memorials. They have a long history and distinguished pedigree and have developed over a long historical timespan. To demonstrate this, however, is not the same as explaining why in the aftermath of 1914-18 they were deemed necessary or even why they were necessary in earlier ages. War memorials were products of their time and of the people at that time. They reflect the values of their day.

In our day we may deploy armies in 'peace-keeping' roles in the Middle East, in what remains of Yugoslavia and in the other trouble spots of the world but the real raison d'etre for having armies is as fighting forces. Even in times of peace armies prepare for the next war, when they will attack or repel the attacker. In reviewing a study on the army in peacetime Professor Michael Howard complained that the book had "lost sight of what armies are for"¹. Armies, it must be stressed, are required for waging war. Soldiers are required for fighting.

For most of history, as Dyer has informed us ²:

"...war has been a more or less functional institution, providing benefits for those societies that were good at it, although the cost in money, in lives and in suffering has always been great".

Men would seem to have ever waged war and for many reasons - for glory or greed, a lust for power, for national aggrandisement, for imperial expansion, to achieve independence, to overthrow those presently in power, or to secure some personal, political or religious hegemony over others. There will no doubt be many other reasons and even those fighting on the same side in the same war may have different reasons for joining in the melee.

Wars may be internal and confined to one country in what is rather paradoxically referred to as 'civil' war or wars can be external and

involve any number of nations with the most complex being the multilateral bloodbaths which have so devastated our century. The slaughter continues and seems likely to continue. Kaiser Wilhelm II declared "till the world comes to an end, the ultimate decision will rest with the sword"³ but unfortunately the world has moved on and the instruments for mass destruction are greater than the sword.

Wars begin with an act of aggression but those on the defensive, or those who wish to defend and assist those attacked, have to fight to protect what they hold to be dear (or are so ordered) or they must yield. Fighting forces must answer their leaders' calls to take up arms and they must stand and fight. The leitmotif of soldiers is that they must fight. They are not expected to surrender or flee. It is often a dilemma; one of Stephen Crane's soldiers has aired his view "if everybody was a-standing and a-fighting, why, I'd stand and fight".⁴ Those who would wage war require that their armies stand and fight and the penalties on those that desert or flee are heavy.

It is the object of warfare, as Article 10 of the U.S. Rules of Land Warfare of 1914 has it, "to bring about the complete submission of the enemy as soon as possible by means of regulated violence"⁵ even if the object of war itself was, as Clausewitz has somewhat euphemistically observed, simply the "continuation of policy by other means".⁶ It is the nature of war that it be violent. Victory is only likely to be achieved through the use of violence and in the violence there will be casualties. One writer has, rather brutally but honestly, suggested that "soldiers are the tradesmen of killing, but officers are the managers of violence".⁷ As the scale of wars has grown due to the numbers of men under arms increasing and to the new technologies which are able to wreck a terrible havoc so also has the numbers of victims. The scale of violence and suffering is in direct or indirect proportion to the fire power of the combatants.

While it is likely that in any war there will be victims of all ages and from all sections of society those who comprise the fighting

forces will be, and for sound reasons require to be, the young and fit manhood of a nation. The aim is to win the war not to pursue it half-heartedly and with the handicaps of old age and infirmity. Old men send young men off to battle. To wage war efficiently and effectively armies require to be efficient and effective war machines. On the battlefield therefore young men exchange blows in the deadly game.

In order to ensure that a sufficient number of warriors, be they volunteers, willing conscripts or even mercenaries, are prepared to fight it has become necessary for us to institutionalise war. Service in the armed forces is thus not only seen as acceptable but portrayed as honourable. Society continually reinforces the need for young men (and women) to go to fight and face death in the national interest and as a patriotic duty. Warfare is legitimised so that violent action, normally condemned, is permissible and that killing the foe is not murder. Violence and slaughter, usually regarded as destructive, can be seen as constructive in a war situation especially if one regards the cause as just and the fighting as a sort of moral crusade. The killing is generally accepted as legitimate because those who do the killing, and often do so on our behalf, are also prepared (albeit perhaps rather less willingly) to sacrifice their own lives for their country or the cause. Enlistment is, however, generally packaged so as to appeal to youth as offering a passport to action and adventure rather than being a ticket to eternity.

Although soldiers may be terrified to kill and cowardly at the prospect of being killed the war demands that they must stand and face the foe. Campaign medals are awarded to all those who participate in the war on the nation's cause but it is bravery in the field that is particularly necessary and useful; it is given high status and is encouraged and rewarded. It is regarded as glorious and worthy of honour and to encourage others and reward the heroic medals are awarded, even posthumously, to those who have been especially brave. The highest British honour, the Victoria Cross,

is awarded 'for valour' to those who have been conspicuously gallant in the face of the enemy but almost all nations have an equivalent. Because the VC is rarely awarded the fact that it is only made of gunmetal rather than gold can be overlooked. Its scarcity plus the historical facts about the awarding of a particular medal have made it a most valuable and much sought after item. In 1897 Piper George Findlater though shot through both ankles propped himself against a boulder and continued to play the regimental march 'The Cock of the North'. This inspired the Gordon Highlanders to take the Heights of Dergal and for his part he was awarded the VC. When the medal was sold in the spring of 1991 it fetched in the region of £35,000.⁸ Bravery is still highly valued.

As objects are symbols it is no accident that the VC is cross-shaped so that it relates symbolically to Christ's sacrifice on the cross and therefore stimulates or consoles us into regarding self-sacrifice as being a good thing per se. What at other times might be regarded as reckless, foolhardy, stubborn, or even downright non-sensical may in a war situation be regarded as heroic. In war, normal rules do not apply. Wars may have been commonplace but they are nonetheless extraordinary. Desperate times and desperate situations require quite desperate measures.

Armed forces are a quite distinct part of society with their own authoritarian rules and strict code of conduct, their own rituals, rites of passage, pomp and circumstance. Armies require loyalty, deference, discipline and training. Part and parcel of this is the need for regimentation and uniformity, to mould men into soldiers who will take orders and obey unquestioningly and become part of an efficient war machine. Pride in the army, the corps or the regiment must take the place of individualism and even individual acts of bravery must be for the cause rather than heroic self-interest.

Armies comprise of regiments and, as the distinguished soldier Lord Wavell remarked, "the regiment is the foundation of everthing".⁹ Regiments have long proud histories and are steeped in tradition.

There is much truth in the statement made by a Colonel of the Black Watch who declared "It is not a regiment. It's a religion".¹⁰ They have old established customs and ceremonies and each has its own standards and style of behaviour. All have a strong sense of community and esprit de corps and the ties of shared experiences of danger and bonds of comradeship in adversity are closeknit. The historian of the Black watch has commented "in moments of crisis there is strength to be derived from a history, a tune, or a hackle which is beyond price".¹¹ Regiments are particularly proud of their past action in the field and have a strong desire to remember the courageous acts performed by their forebears in the regimental family. The regimental Colours are a symbol of its past glories. One regimental historian has written ¹²:

"The Colours are the soul of the regiment. The Colours of the Gordon Highlanders are scarred - but these scars are emblazoned in gold. For each one of them is a proud battle honour".

The Colours, as we have already noted, were to be laid up with much pride in the regimental chapel, usually a great church in the heart of the district in which the regiment is located.

Although pride and history were part of the regimental tradition it often spilled over into the wider community. Regiments had names which people could relate to and identify with and each had a territorial district from which they could recruit. Regiments were not only close knit within themselves but part of a greater but nonetheless parochial whole. Men of the regiment had friends and relations in the nearby outside world; soldiers had sweethearts and lovers beyond the guardroom. In each locality regiments were an established part of the scene - they provided spectacles with their military parades, regimental bands, and public displays which added colour, glamour and pageantry to the local scene. The barracks was also doubtlessly an important feature in a local economy and the regiment itself a valuable source of employment.

For much of the time companies of the regiments were based at home and even when sent overseas during the 19th century the risks of death and injury were little greater than those to be met on the factory floor, shipyard or building site. At least that was the scenario so long as the enemies were the aboriginal peoples of the world whose spears and sticks were no match for Gattling gun and bayoneted rifle. There were, however, a few wars where the enemy by dint of man power or fire power inflicted many casualties and the regiment had to bury many of its men on the battlefield.

Regiments in particular but the fighting force in general have had a tradition of camaraderie - of being together. The age old principle of the dead in battle being buried where they had fallen was part of the tradition - having lived and fought together when they were killed they were buried together.

In the church which served as the regimental chapel and where their Colours were laid up was also where memorial tablets to individual men, usually officers, had first appeared and where, as the 19th century progressed and the casualty lists grew, a full 'Roll of Honour' was to be placed. It had also become the norm by the early years of the 20th century to have, in each regimental cum territorial district, a war memorial set in some public place. Many towns thus acquired a South African War Memorial and many had also memorials to earlier campaigns. All these memorials had the express purpose of commemorating at home men who had lost their lives in war but who were buried far from home, generally at or near the theatre of war.

By 1914-18, therefore, war memorials had become an established method of commemorating those from a specific locality who had fallen in battle. The length and intensity of the Great War and the magnitude of the losses merely ensured that the scale of commemoration would also require to be of unprecedented dimension.

In 1914, however, no one knew how long it would last or how many would sacrifice their lives and yet the very origin of the commemoration would begin almost with the first casualty. The first casualty, like the last and indeed like all those in between was somebody's son, husband, lover or friend and although he would die and be buried in Flanders and require a gravestone there, he would be missed and remembered in his home and his home town.

Although it is not the intention to relate in any detail the history of the Imperial War Graves Commission and its work in commemorating the dead and in caring for the cemeteries, nevertheless its origins and development are inter-related to the study of war memorials. Some account of its work is necessary. Commemoration on the battlefield is inexorably linked to commemoration at home.

A Joint War Committee of the British Red Cross and the Ambulance Service of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, on the suggestion of Lord Kitchener, sent a Red Cross Mobile Unit to France in September 1914. Its purpose was to seek out and tend wounded soldiers who had become missing and to transport them from the battlefield to the hospital.

The man who had been instrumental in convincing others to form the unit and who was to be its leader was an Englishman, Fabian Ware. He had a varied career having been an educational administrator in South Africa under Lord Milner, an advisor to the Rio Tinto Mining Company as well as editor of The Morning Post. When war began, at the age of 45, he was too old for active service yet eager to do his bit: he therefore offered his services to the Red Cross. He arrived in France on 19 September 1914 to take command of the "miscellaneous collection of private cars and drivers that made up the Red Cross 'flying unit'".¹³ Ware set about organising his men and vehicles and to impose some order and discipline into their efforts. While seeking out and caring for the wounded was their primary function Ware also began to collect information about the dead, noting the

names and location of graves for they had been buried in haste by their comrades at or near where they had fallen.

Army Regulations had provided for the clearance of battlefields and for proper disposal of the dead but, as has been noted, "the chaotic conditions, sheer weight of casualties, and lack of system prevented it from being done effectively".¹⁴ Soldiers' graves were marked with a wooden cross after burial but no official record was being kept and Ware realised that without adequate records, as units moved from one area to another or as personnel changed, detailed information of who was buried where would soon be lost. Ware therefore began to record details of those buried and the precise location of the graves. His action in this respect seems to have been unique in the annals of warfare.

Although Britain had been involved in many wars throughout history there had been no policy developed of marking and maintaining grave sites of those who had been killed in the fighting. A few monuments had been erected on the field at Waterloo but they were all either national memorials (to the Hanoverians, Belgians, French or such like) or commemorate a senior officer such as Lord Picton, Lord Gordon or the Prince of Orange. At the Crimea memorials had been erected to both individuals and regiments but while many of them were erected by the Royal Engineers a wide range of styles and materials had been used. Many were simply of wood and thus there had been no real consideration given to the permanence of the commemoration. The cemeteries themselves varied in treatment although most had stone boundary walls. Some were regarded as being quite fine and, according to a contemporary account, one had "a certain foreign character from its being laid out in walks and alleyways somewhat after the manner of 'Pere La Chaise'".¹⁵ The cemetery at Cathcart's Hill was likened to be a "humble imitation of Kensal Green, and contains some handsome monuments, in design and execution far from inferior to many in England".¹⁶

There were many memorials put up in South Africa to mark the graves of soldiers killed in the Anglo-Boer war but they varied in style and treatment with crosses, stones, obelisks and cairns of all shapes and sizes. A wide range of different materials was used - marble, granite, sandstone, and cast iron. Many were simply of timber so no degree of permanence had been a component part of the commemoration. Many were isolated graves while many others were common or mass graves. Some had been laid in Gardens of Remembrance, others in town cemeteries and others simply where they had fallen. Some memorials commemorated one man; some commemorated many men. Many were regimental memorials, one commemorate 400,000 horses and mules. There was no uniformity of treatment and although the military cemetery at Harrismith with its well ordered rows of white painted crosses demonstrated what could be achieved it remained the exception rather than the rule. Ware would, doubtlessly, have seen Harrismith when he was in South Africa and, without doubt, the uniform treatment and the simplicity of the design would have impressed him as compared to the haphazard jumble and ill-considered commemoration in the other battlefield cemeteries.

The new role for Ware's unit seems to have had its origins in a meeting which he had with a Red Cross official, Lt. Col. Edward Stewart, at Bethune Cemetery. Dr Stewart pointed out that while the graves were adequately marked the location of the grave had not been recorded or registered and that nobody was responsible for their maintenance. Ware readily accepted these suggestions and his unit began to collect evidence of where the dead had been buried, to gather information on those interred and to mark and register the graves. All this aided the Red Cross in its attempts to trace those on the 'missing' list. More durable inscriptions were used and some maintenance provided. At headquarters information was collated, recorded and indexed. A system was being introduced.

Ware, therefore, was responsible for transforming the Mobile Unit from being a caring-for-the-wounded agency into one which became

totally committed to caring for the dead. One of the Unit's members has described the work ¹⁷:

"...he would search out the graves in fields and even in private gardens. Some were marked with wooden crosses roughly made by the dead men's comrades out of the inevitable army 'soap boxes', but because of the haste in which they had been erected many bore inscriptions that were soon washed away. These he would replace with 'well-made crosses with painted inscription and a tarred base'".

The Adjutant-General had become aware of mounting concern at home that "war graves should not be neglected, and he also well remembered the widespread distress caused by neglect of British graves in the recent South African War".¹⁸ He therefore advised the Commander-in-Chief to seek War Office approval for regularising Ware's activities. On 2 March 1915 the Unit became the 'Graves Registration Commission' attached to the Adjutant-General's Department

In the spring of 1915 the future commander of the British forces, but then a corps commander, General Douglas Haig, wrote to the War Office concerning the work of the Commission ¹⁹:

"It is fully recognised that the work of the organisation is of purely sentimental value, and that it does not directly contribute to the successful termination of the war.

"It has, however, an extraordinary moral value to the troops as well as to the relatives and friends of the dead at home.... Further, on the termination of hostilities, the nation will demand an account from the government as to the steps which have been taken to mark and classify the burial places of the dead".

As the war entered what was to become its 'static' stage, Ware entered into discussions with the French authorities about the basic principle of the right to the use of land where cemeteries were located in perpetuity. Although the traditional French view was that an ossuary was the proper and economic receptacle for soldiers' bones the French government provided for burial grounds to be considered as 'sepulture perpetuelle' for all Allied troops as well as French ones. This principle allowed for the long term solution to commemoration to be considered and paved the way for the creation of those vast cemeteries which to this day mark the Western Front.

Ware disliked the concept of small isolated burial grounds and desired to have large cemeteries. These would facilitate the identification and the proper marking of graves but also ensure that graves "will be easily found by relatives and ... obviate the necessity for the removal of bodies after the war".²⁰

Although France's Marshall Joffre had banned exhumations during the war this had, on one occasion at least, been breached and that fact had disturbed Ware. He desired that there would be no demand for home repatriation and in order to ensure that no further exhumations would occur he obtained from the Adjutant-General an order which established an "equality of treatment after an equality of sacrifice"²¹ principle and that exhumations were forbidden not only on hygienic grounds but "on account of the difficulties of treating impartially the claims advanced by persons of different social standing".²² By this order two of the key elements in future commemoration were established - the principle whereby all those who had died would be treated equally and uniformly and the principle that neither exhumation nor repatriation was to be permitted. Those who died in Flanders mud were to remain in Flanders soil.

Although nominally attached to General Macready's department, with Ware given the temporary commission of major, the Graves Registration Commission had remained officially part of the Red Cross but in September 1915 Macready recommended to the War Office

that "it be placed on a proper footing as part of His Majesty's forces".²³

In January 1916 the National Committee for the Care of Soldiers Graves was established and Ware became a member. The British Government agreed to meet the cost of the upkeep of all the graves. As the task grew and the theatres of war increased the Graves Registration Commission was also transformed. Ware was given the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel as Director-General of the Directorate of Graves Registration and Enquiries with an office in London and a staff of seven hundred.

As many of the graves had to be marked 'unknown' Ware was concerned that the next of kin of these unknown soldiers would have no place of remembrance. He was also anxious to reduce the number of those whose identity was not known and therefore was instrumental in having a new form of identity disc issued to each soldier so that in future more of the dead could be identified.

Many of the bereaved requested photographs of the grave of their lost relative so it became necessary to set up a photographic unit to meet this need and it also required that a greater emphasis be placed on planting and landscape works to enhance the environment of the graves so that they became more photogenic. Ware also took the view that since the next of kin could not look after the graves an official service ought to do so. For fear that the cemeteries might be handed over to civilian authorities after the war Ware made plans to establish a permanent executive, rather than advisory, body to secure their future. He considered the task to be beyond the scope of any of the existing government agencies. These ideas eventually led to the formation on 13 April 1917 of the Imperial War Graves Commission with HRH the Prince of Wales as its first President and Brigadier-General Fabian Ware as its Vice-Chairman. The IWGC was, as Ware has noted ²⁴:

"...empowered to care for and maintain the graves of those fallen in the War, to acquire land for the purpose of cemeteries and to erect permanent memorials in the cemeteries and elsewhere".

The Commission was given the right to permit or prohibit as it deemed expedient others from erecting memorials in these cemeteries. It had total control over the commemoration abroad. Longworth has stated that the IWGC "was the first organisation charged with the care of all the dead of a nation in any war".²⁵

After its first meeting the new Commission announced that there was to be "no distinction ... between officers and men lying in the same cemeteries in the form or nature of the memorials".²⁶ It was Ware's view and that of the Commission that ²⁷⁻

"...the proper and only possible place for individual memorials was in the homes, villages, etc. of those who had fallen and not in the military cemeteries abroad".

The Commission was later, in January 1918, to quite unequivocally state ^{28:}

"...those who have given their lives are members of one family, and children of one mother who owes to all an equal tribute of gratitude and affection, and that, in death, all, from General to Private of whatever race or creed, should receive equal honour under a memorial which should be a common symbol of their comradeship and the cause for which they died".

Little need be said here about the memorials in the cemeteries. Ware sought the best advice on their design and layout from some of the most distinguished architects, including Herbert Baker and Edwin Lutyens and from the Directors of the principal national art

galleries. The Director of the National Gallery of British Art believed, somewhat utilitarianly, that it was ²⁹:

"...wrong to spend such large sums on graves rather than on housing, or other items of social benefit, or on some more useful memorial such as a national university".

He desired simple designs at modest cost whereas Lutyens was in favour of grandiose schemes.

In the end compromise prevailed - a grand master plan and some monuments of truly heroic proportions but simple and effective memorials for individuals was to be the norm. A standard headstone was adopted and all had to be of similar size with similar lettering and only the regimental crests and the actual wording would vary. Larger cemeteries were to contain two monuments, one was an altar-like stone set on three steps, designed by Lutyens, which became known as the 'Stone of Remembrance'. The other was a stone cross with a bronze sword to its face which became the 'Cross of Sacrifice'. (Plate No.3.) It was designed by Sir Reginald Blomfield and was produced in four sizes and therefore suitable for cemeteries of varying size. The design of that cross was obviously much admired for it was used as the basis for many village and church war memorials. Examples can be seen in the cloisters at Paisley Abbey and in front of Glasgow's Barony Hall. It was also used in many cemeteries in Britain where service-men lie buried - both Craigton and Cardonald Cemeteries, for example, have a Cross Of Sacrifice. Many of the cemeteries abroad were also provided with a handsome memorial chapel.

Many of the dead had been unidentifiable and could never have been returned home even if that had been a permitted option. Many more were 'missing' and simply could not be found let alone be buried in an 'unknown' grave for their bodies had been blown to smithereens. Fussell has said of Flanders "a boneyard it is. Every week bones come to light"³⁰ and Winter has stated "still these corpses come to

the surface, brought up by winter rains and spring ploughings".³¹ To commemorate these 'missing' great monuments, known as 'Memorials to the Missing', are sprinkled across the theatres of war. Blomfield's Menin Gate and Lutyens' Thiepval Monument are two fine examples and must be among the most splendid examples of memorial art to be found anywhere.

For various reasons all the bodies could never be repatriated and thus the egalitarian minded Ware ensured that none would be returned home. Death, for the first time, had indeed become the great equaliser.

With rare exception, therefore, all those who died in the war were commemorated at or near where they had fallen and if they died at sea they were commemorated at an appropriate spot on the mainland. There required to be some exhumations carried out in order to bring bodies from isolated graves into larger cemeteries. The body of Lord Worsley, for example, was moved from its isolated grave and was re-interred in the cemetery at Ypres. His family, when told of the Commission's proposals for exhumation and reburial, considered them to be both "wise and right".³²

Lord Worsley was to have memorials erected in what had been his local church at Brocklesby, but since none of the bodies were being returned home there was thus a need for commemoration not only at home but in every home. Individually and collectively much commemoration was required.

CHAPTER FOUR - PART TWO

MONUMENTS AT HOME

Standing in their native district,
Where so many heard the call,
Is this monument erected,
To the men who gave their all.

D.C.

from "In Memoriam" ¹

1. Wishaw Press & Advertiser, 9 December 1921.

No one knew how long the war might last but what they did know was that, with the peace, those who had died would require to be commemorated. Some consideration would be required to be given to that commemoration and sooner rather than later. It was, therefore, no fanciful fiction that R.H.Mottram's The Spanish Farm Trilogy, one of the classics of Great War literature, relates the story of the old architect who had met his young nephew, Lt. Geoffrey Skene, for lunch. Skene was also an architect, having served his apprenticeship in his uncle's office, though at that time was briefly home on leave from the Front and the scene was set sometime during 1915. The old man stated "Well, my dear boy, the sooner it's over the better. I shall want you when we get really busy with the memorials - there'll be a lot!"¹ There was indeed to be a lot; any place and every place worthy of a name was to get its very own war memorial. The grief was widespread and few communities had not suffered loss.

It seemed that since the next of kin would not have a grave to tend in their local churchyard they required some tangible memorial to their fallen heroes. Every village green, therefore, acquired a little monument to commemorate all of those from that village who had perished while fighting for their country in the tragedy of 1914-1818 - this memorial in the home village was to be the substitute for the tombstone in the home kirkyard. It was to be The War Memorial.

In May 1916 Lawrence Weaver, architectural editor of Country Life and an influential writer on architectural matters, wrote his book on Memorials and Monuments. He did so because he felt that as "the number of men who have taken up arms lacks anything but precedent"² there would also likely be an unprecedented number of memorials. He certainly believed that memorials were necessary. In his view "it will ill-become us if future generations, looking back on our day, can say of those who have fallen 'some there be who have no memorial'".³ He therefore hoped that there would "a great response,

in lasting and artistic form, to the bidding, 'Let us now praise famous men'".⁴

Aymer Vallance, another leading art authority of the time and friend and biographer of the celebrated Arts and Crafts figure William Morris also put his weight behind the idea of abundant commemoration. Vallance believed⁵:

"...hostilities happily ceased...the subject of commemorating the fallen(is), if anything, more insistent than ever, for the vital necessity of concentrating our energies on the attainment of victory having passed away, the nation is now at leisure to 'pour out its mourning heart in memorials that will tell the generations to come how it realised the bitterness and glory of the years of the Great War'".

Vallance did his utmost to encourage good memorial making: he wrote articles on the need to have war memorials of good design and championed the desirability of Old Crosses and Lychgates being suitable models for future war memorials in a book of that title.

It was not simply a few art critics who saw the need for memorials. The Royal Academy believed that there would be "an universal demand"⁶ for them. In order to deal with the "spate of war memorials...the Academy set up a special committee in 1918 to advise on them".⁷ The Royal Scottish Academy also set up an advisory committee in "anticipation of the erection of a large number of memorials".⁸ Both of these bodies were, of course, not entirely disinterested for architects and sculptors were among their members and therefore both operated as an arts pressure group.

In the autumn of 1916 the Royal Institute of British Architects held an exhibition on the Design for War Memorials. At its official opening Dr A.C. Benson, Master of Magdalen College, Cambridge, addressed those present declaring that "our present task is to see that our dead are worthily commemorated, for our sakes and for the

sake of those who come after".⁹ He concluded by remarking that he did not want one national memorial but many. It was his view ¹⁰:

"...as many places as possible should have a record of a great fact which has penetrated our national life more deeply than any historical event in the whole of our annals".

The Civic Arts Association had been formed in 1916 to promote good design generally but especially as regards to war memorials and not only was the text of Benson's speech published in the Cornhill Magazine but was reprinted as a booklet, Lest We Forget, by the Association.

The RIBA was the leading professional body for architects and thus it had a vested interest in promoting not simply better buildings and design but the services of its members. Similarly Professor S.D. Adshead of the Town planning Institute may have desired to advance the cause of his fellow members as much as good design when, in 1917, he urged ¹¹:

"Let every town of moderate size...memorialise the part its heroes have taken in the war in the reclamation of a slum, in the erection of an up-to-date group of buildingsand in the centre, as a climax to the whole scheme, let us place the war memorial".

In 1919 at both the Royal Academy's Burlington House and at the Victoria & Albert Museum exhibitions were held on the subject of war memorials and the Royal Scottish Academy, not to be outdone, also held an "excellent and interesting"¹² exhibition in the National Gallery in Edinburgh in the Summer of 1919. The aim of the display was "to offer guidance to those concerned with such schemes"¹³ and "to give hints to designers and local committees".¹⁴ Building Industries stated ¹⁵:

"...we are glad to learn that the attendance of those interested, from day to day, was most satisfactory and gratifying.... we feel the exhibition will have proved of great guidance and value to all concerned - to local authorities and others".

The monumental sculptors fairly aggressively tackled the possible market and most had pattern books and illustrated catalogues. Aberdeen granite merchants, in particular, were successful in identifying the market and going all-out to corner it. In assessing Aberdeen's success the local newspaper believed it was due to the fact that ¹⁶:

"...the majority of them did not wait to receive orders 'per architect's schedule', but tendered direct when it became known that a monument was to be erected, almost invariably enclosing a design of their own".

They also carefully tailored what they saw as being the perceived need into what they could readily provide. The Aberdeen Daily Journal believed market research and skilful marketing were keys to Aberdeen's success. The granite industry made ¹⁷:

"...careful study of, local associations and requirements, and so well practised was this business-like method of dealing with prospective customers that competition became intense".

This keen competition doubtlessly worked in favour of the client-committees who therefore acquired war memorials at prices they could afford even if originality had been as much sacrificed as the fallen heroes had been. Some firms in particular, such as Messrs Garden & Co. of Aberdeen, were hailed as being "very succesful" in the competition and "their suggestions for the form of memorials to be raised were often accepted in preference to the plans of sculptors and architects of the south".¹⁸ In 1922 it was claimed "the last five designs proposed by this firm" had resulted in orders been won

in spite of strong competition from 120-200 other firms.¹⁹

It is likely that Messrs James Gibson & Co., at Craigton Cemetery, would have been a fairly typical firm of monumental masons. They had a handsome illustrated booklet giving "some idea as to the memorial designs" which they manufactured and stocked.²⁰ While not specifically geared to war memorials many of the crosses and obelisks which they could supply were very similar to those erected elsewhere as memorials. Obelisks and crosses were not a craze of the 1920's they had long been part of monumental masons' stock in trade.

Monumental masons, possibly due to the fierce competition, endeavoured to provide a really good service to potential clients. Gibson's announced in their booklet ²¹:

"...should you fail to find an example in every respect suitable for your purpose, we shall welcome the opportunity to submit further drawings, or to adopt any particular design entirely to your liking, either as regards size or style".

Apart from having "ample and efficient staff" Gibsons believed they had the "most approved and up-to-date" equipment, "including special sawing, polishing and turning machinery". The firm had also installed pneumatic dressing tools. This had been a fact they were immensely proud of, declaring "the worth of which we were the first to recognise locally, and in the employment of which we were the pioneers in our line of business in Glasgow".²²

The firm was confident that all orders entrusted to them would be "executed with promptitude and in a manner calculated to give every satisfaction".²³ As a little additional carrot the leaflet ended with the intriguing prospect "we are in a specially favourable position to offer you many advantages".²⁴ With such appeal it is perhaps not surprising that many committees charged with the erection of memorials found it simplest and best to deal with one

man or at least one firm, namely the local monumental sculptor at the nearby cemetery gates.

Many monumental masons carried an extensive stock of monuments - Messrs Scott & Rae advertised as having "over 100 Monuments always in stock".²⁵ While many of these were simple tombstones most masons' yards could supply many of what had been merely grander graveyard monuments which were suitable for use as war memorials and they were all willing to add a few innovatory items to their repertoire - mercat crosses, granite soldiers and the like, all of which they could embellish with laurel or more militaristic detailing if required.

Even firms with no catalogues were eager to secure commissions. Messrs Charles Henshaw of Edinburgh, on receiving an enquiry for a war memorial tablet in 1919, sent off six photographs of previously erected memorials to the prospective client. Henshaw drew particular attention to one design stating ²⁶:

"The original of this cost £70, but by using the border and altering only the name to suit your requirements, I could produce this for £50".

While this particular example was a design for a tablet to one individual and to be sited within a building it does, however, reveal the willingness to offer a 'good deal' to clients in what was obviously a tight market. This was perhaps further reinforced by Henshaw when he concluded his letter thus ²⁷-

"If the photographs are of no immediate service, I should be glad if you would return, as I have such an enormous call upon these".

Many firms had agents and branches in several locations to ensure that they were in good position to secure commissions as well as the means to execute them speedily. Messrs. J. Wippell & Co., had

"travelling representatives...located at strategic points throughout the country".²⁸ They also sent travellers on "regular and extensive trips to the USA and Canada".²⁹

In the advertisement columns of local and national newspapers and in popular magazines, monumental sculptors and other craftsmen advertised their services. Messrs G. Maile & Son offered to send their "booklet post free" to enquirers interested in their "War Memorials - Celtic Crosses, Cenotaphs and Bronze Figures" while Messrs Kelly & Co offered to execute "War Memorial tablets, Celtic Crosses in Silver Grey Granite" and invited readers to "write for catalogue".³⁰ Messrs Scott & Rae of Glasgow were not unique in their efforts. They are reported to have ³¹⁻

"advertised their business as widely as possible, not only in trade journals but also in places where they would catch the public's eye such as local directories".

Firms such as Messrs H. H. Martyn & Co. Ltd., of Cheltenham but who had opened a Glasgow sales office in 1913, liked to draw attention to the fact, and as widely as possible, that their work had not only appeared in the V & A War Memorial Exhibition but had been praised. Their 1919 advertisements in local magazines quoted some glowing reviews their work had received from the pen of the reviewer in the Architects Journal - work which was "particularly commended" and one which was "an admirable example of a happy combination of originality tempered by scholarship and executed by restraint".³² Such advertising presumably paid dividends for R. Lyndsay Clark, the sculptor of that highly praised memorial, together with Messrs Martyn, were to provide Kelvingrove with its War Memorial.

Most firms, like Messrs Scott & Rae offered to erect monuments "in any part of the country" ³³ although few would likely have had to cover such a wide sparsely populated territory as Messrs John Hood & Son of Wick. Alexander Hood, a former director, has recalled ^{34:}

"We erected them all over the northern counties and the islands and for many of them sea transport had to be used because of many of them being in outlying districts and at that time (we) had an interest in a small sailing 'smack'".

Not only did the press - newspapers, magazines and journals - frequently report on the work of War Memorial Committees and on war memorial developments and especially on the unveilings all helped create a climate of opinion whereby districts without war memorials were almost under coercion into having one.

Building Industries, the Scottish Building Trade Journal, aimed some pretty strong invective at those who were slow to provide memorials. In August 1923 it fired a broadside ³⁵:

"We wonder how many towns and villages in Scotland are yet without their war memorial to the local heroes who fought and fell in the Great War? We may be wrong - but somehow or other we think we are right - in assuming that in a great many cases such war memorials have been talked about, written about, and quarrelled about without getting any nearer completion and....we were astonished to find that in many cases biggish burghs as well as humble hamlets have still only reached the talking-about-it stage. It may be argued, of course, that the cost of erecting such memorials has hitherto been prohibitive in a good many cases, but, after all, such a war memorial is not to be judged by the number of pounds, shillings and pence which have been expended on its erection but rather by the spirit which has prompted the donations - in other words, a war memorial does not necessarily require to be even an expensive thing of beauty to be a local joy for ever. It is certainly a curious commentary that seemingly in many cases these war memorials will be finally erected by another rising generation rather than by the passing generation who were so much indebted to the dead heroes for services rendered, and this certainly seems to imply that the war memorial question

in different cases has been tackled in a very apathetic and lackadaisical spirit by the committees concerned".

Without direction from central government each community, and certainly every parish, felt the need to erect a war memorial. Doubtlessly there was much local demand but there were also many external pressures which forced each to respond and erect a memorial.

War memorials became a mark of identity and a question of pride as well as a place of remembrance.

CHAPTER FOUR - PART THREE

MONUMENTS IN THE HOME

'He died a hero's death: and we
His Comrades of 'A' Company
Deeply regret his death: we shall
All deeply miss so great a pal.'

Robert Graves,
from 'The Leveller'.¹

1. Anne Harvey (Ed.), In Time of War,
(Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1987), p.23.

On 7 November 1914, at Zandvoorde south of Ypres, the Earl of Yarborough's son and heir, Charles Sackville, Lord Worsley was killed, while serving with the Royal Horse Guards. Yarborough was proud of his son and wrote a loving biographical volume in his honour. He described Worsley as being "the gallant young hero"¹ whose "courage as a soldier was acknowledged by all".² He, therefore, proudly quoted from a note Sir Douglas Haig had written to Lady Worsley in which he had declared "what a splendid death he died, fighting his machine gun to the last; and what a fine example he has set us all of how to do one's duty".³

Sassoon in 'The Hero' ⁴ tells of an officer visiting a mother who has just lost her son in the fighting -

Quietly the Brother Officer went out.
He'd told the poor old dear some gallant lies
That she would nourish all her days,...

The old lady obviously wanted to know, or at least wanted to believe, that it had been all worthwhile and when told the "gallant lies"⁵:

....her weak eyes
Had shone with gentle triumph, brimmed with joy,
Because he'd been so brave, her glorious boy.

Everybody wanted their sons to have been "so brave" and for each of them, if they had been killed in action, to have at least died a noble and heroic death. The hope was that the sacrifice had not been in vain.

But all had not been brave or heroic. Babington informs us that 262 men were court martialled and executed for desertion and cowardice.⁶ We will never know the cowardly thoughts and base actions of many others. Many, however, were brave. Many received medals for bravery and perhaps many more deserved medals and did not

get them. Lord Worsley's brother officers, for example, thought "the fellow ought to have got a DSO".⁷ Whether the losses were of great heroes or even just ordinary not very heroic private soldiers the losses were no less real to those who loved them. All did not get medals for bravery and few got volumes written in their "appreciation" but all were due the nation's grateful thanks. All deserved to be commemorated and not simply the truly heroic. Everyone was a 'glorious boy' to somebody. Everybody was, in Urquhart's memorable phrase, "somebody's bairn".⁸

For a time after the Great War every home had its own little memorial shrine. A sepia photograph of a kilted soldier, with hesitant grin below his glengarry, stood in its simple frame on the sideboard, or hung quietly in the corner by the fireplace near the now empty chair where he used to sit. Also on the wall was a small bronze plaque with a hole drilled in it so that it could hang on its nail. In another small frame was an even smaller certificate-like scroll. A couple of service medals were part of this memorial ensemble and they either lay on the sideboard or hung by the plaque. All these items were mementoes of the Great War and all commemorated just one of the many glorious boys who had died in the fighting.

Photographs of loved ones had become a common item for display in the family home whether they were of men on active service or not, or even whether they had died or not - they were a visual reminder of someone absent. 'Gone, but not forgotten' seems to have been their unspoken message. They merely assumed an added poignancy when the figure in the photograph was never likely to return. Photographs were likely to be unique and personal to each house. The other items in our list were common to many homes for they were an expression of the nation's thanks to one who had served and of grateful sympathy to the next of kin of one who had fallen. The memorial plaque and scroll are worthy of further comment for they are individual memorials of small size but in totality extensive and nationwide in scope.

With the casualty lists ever lengthening the government, at the behest of the Secretary of State for War, in October 1916, set up a committee to consider what form of individual memorial should be given to the relatives of those who had fallen. The Secretary of the War Office was appointed Chairman and a small expert sub-committee was assigned to advise on artistic and technical matters. The total cost of the memorial was to be borne by the state.

It was not until August 1917 that the Committee made public its idea for a bronze plaque and announced that there would be an open competition with prizes to the value of £500 being offered. The winning design would be reproduced and issued to the next of kin of all those who had fallen in the War. The dimensions of the plaque were stipulated to ensure that it would "not be mistaken for a medal"⁹ and it was also stated that a symbolical figure should be incorporated into the design and that it should also bear the text 'HE DIED FOR FREEDOM AND HONOUR.

The inscription which they had decided upon was an interesting variation on the wording of Parliamentary Recruiting Poster No99 of 1915 which bore the Prime Minister's words "No price can be too high when honour and freedom are at stake". Presumably, it later seemed that freedom was the greater priority when paying the high price. Thus the order was reversed with honour becoming of secondary importance. It is, of course, worth noting that the Prime Minister, H.H. Asquith, when informing the Commons on the 6 August 1914 that Britain was at war stated that it was "in the first place to fulfil a solemn obligation ... not only of law but of honour".¹⁰ Freedom was not mentioned.

By the closing date of 31 December 1917 more than 800 entries had been submitted. After much consideration the Committee came to its decision by the end of January. It was deemed that the entry bearing the non-de-plume 'Pyramus' was best and it was thus awarded £250. 'Moolie' was second with two designs and gained £100. There were to be three joint winners of the third prize and each was

awarded £50. 'Moolie' was the pseudonym of the sculptor Charles Wheeler and he was later to design the Indian Memorial to the Missing at Neuve Chapelle. Among those who had been third was the Aberdeen-born William McMillan ('Sculpengro') who had two prize winning designs. He was later to design both the Great War and Victory medals which were awarded to all of those who had fought. All the prize designs were put on display at the Victoria and Albert Museum.

Edward Carter Preston of Liverpool had been, however, the winning artist and with HRH the King's approval his design became the accepted model for general reproduction. By an "ingenious method of casting" a raised tablet was to encase the name of the person commemorated.¹¹ Every plaque was therefore standard and yet each was individual: there was equality of treatment for no rank, regiment or decoration was to appear, simply the name of the fallen.

One of the conditions imposed by the Committee was that the design should be "essentially simple and easily intelligible"¹² and thus though the plaque was rich in iconography it was supposedly of a form that recipients might understand. The plaque was to be their personal war memorial - a metaphor for their dead son (or daughter) and to commemorate a sacrificial death given in the cause of King, Country and Empire. It was also presumably required to bolster the institutionalised nature of war by legitimising the violent action demanded by war and reinforcing the need for young men to go and fight bravely to secure victory over evil and, if need be, to die for their country. Never before had so many young men been compelled by choice or by conscription to join up: never before had the sacrifice been so great.

Whereas the other six prize-winning designs all depicted either a lone mourning figure or such a figure together with a sacrificial figure, the winning design dismissed grieving and concentrated on British imperial greatness and the belief that any sacrifice in such a cause was worthwhile.

The plaque (Plate No.5.) had as the principal features of its design a figure of Britannia holding a laurel wreath in her left hand while in front of her was a powerful-looking lion, symbolical of the British Empire. Two small dolphins represented British sea power while in the exergue, below the central design, a smaller scene depicted a lion slaying an eagle. The design, however, was not universally admired.

While the lion in the main design was supposed to be "striding forward in a menacing position"¹³ officials at Bristol Zoo thought that the lion "ought to have been a magnificent production instead of the meagre-big-dog-size presentment".¹⁴ They considered it so unlike the fine specimens in their zoo that it was a lion "a hare might insult" and that a better-constructed plaque than this should be handed to the next of kin".¹⁵ Even the small scene in the exergue came in for criticism and one of the Committee believed that the Imperial lion slaying the German eagle, suggesting the desired destruction of the Central Powers, was "potentially unhelpful with regard to future, post war relations" and that the eagle should not appear "too hopelessly humiliated".¹⁶

The approved design, however, went into production with a factory at Acton manufacturing the earliest ones before mass-production was transferred to Woolwich Arsenal and to other munitions factories when the need for armaments ceased. Made of gunmetal it was therefore made of a durable material which would be readily available in abundance and at virtually no cost. Of the 1,355,000 plaques distributed only 600 were issued to commemorate women and these, of course, have 'she' rather than 'he' on their inscription and due to their rarity they have become, with the passage of time, much more valuable than the common male version. It has been said that the plaque was "the most universally distributed numismatic work ever cast or struck excluding money"¹⁷ and perhaps because it was so common it soon earned the sobriquet of the 'dead man's

penny'. A penny, after all, also depicted Britannia and it too was a comparatively worthless scrap of metal.

At the same time as the plaque was being considered it was also decided that a Memorial Scroll should accompany it. It may have been feared that the plaque's design might not adequately express the aims or values of the memorial. Great difficulty arose over the wording of its brief statement. Some of the leading literary figures, including Rudyard Kipling, Sir Henry Newbolt and the Poet Laureate (Robert Bridges), offered suggestions but the Committee remained dissatisfied. The Provost of King's College Cambridge, Dr Montague Rhodes James was then consulted and he promptly offered a draft which, with minor modification, was accepted. The final wording which was adopted was¹⁸⁻

"He whom this scroll commemorates was numbered among those who, at the call of King and Country, left all that was dear to them, endured hardness, faced danger, and finally passed out of the sight of men by the path of duty and self-sacrifice, giving up their own lives that others might live in freedom.

"Let those who come after see to it that his name be not forgotten".

The scroll was produced on good quality paper with the Royal Arms above the inscription and with the soldier's name, rank and regiment given below. This may have been a way of trying to satisfy those who did not relish all the equality of treatment on offer. The writing and designing of the scroll as well as the production of the wood block from which it was to be printed were carried out by staff at London's Central School of Arts and Crafts. Due to war-time shortage of material, like the plaque itself, production of the scroll was held up until hostilities had ceased. By June 1919 the War Office was able to inform the press that distribution had begun but problems existed^{19:}

"...the concurrent issue of the plaque has not been found possible, owing to the necessity of building a special factory for its manufacture, and it has not been thought desirable to delay the issue of the scrolls".

Each scroll was dispatched in a cardboard tube and was accompanied by a covering letter bearing a facsimile of the King's signature. Below the Royal Crest and with the address given as Buckingham Palace the brief note simply stated ²⁰:

"I join my grateful people in sending you this memorial of a brave life given for others in the Great War".

It is likely, therefore, that the scroll was the first of the memorials to be provided for each of the Fallen but it was alas the least durable. In 1919, however, it was something to treasure and was proudly displayed and when the plaque and the service medals did eventually arrive thousands of homes were transformed into "small domestic 'shrines'".²¹

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CHAPTER FIVE

FROM IDEA TO REALITY

The bells of hell go ting-a-ling-a-ling,
For you but not for me,
And the little devils how they sing-a-ling-a-ling.
For you but not for me.
Oh death, where is thy sting-a-ling-a-ling,
Oh grave, thy victory?
The bells of hell go ting-a-ling-a-ling
For you but not for me.

From 'The Bells of Hell',¹

1. Tony Howarth (Ed.), The Great War; Joe Soap's Army's Song Book, (London: Longman, 1976), p.10.

By the time of the Great War there had become an established, even if not well developed, tradition in erecting monuments. Very many places had in the past acquired a memorial to somebody which now stood in a prominent location in the district and many had, more recently, been provided with a South African War Memorial. Where formerly the commemoration of fallen soldiers had been solely the preserve of the regiment had, of late, become, if not exactly the responsibility of the community, at least had a more public face.

Many of the monuments erected in the pre 1914-18 world had been gifted to towns and villages by successful local entrepreneurs or by affluent landowners indulging in a little paternalistic ostentatious show. These monuments were examples of conspicuous consumption which revealed enlightened self-interest as much as worthy ends for they presented a more acceptable capitalististic or aristocratic face to their world. No matter the reason there are many fine monuments.

Many other monuments (and many of them also fine monuments), however, bear the legend - "Erected by Public Subscription" for by that means members of the public (generally the middle classes or the more affluent or deferential of the working class) were enabled to contribute towards a memorial to someone for whom they had some regard and affection. It allowed them to be personally involved and to identify with and be part of the remembering process. It would not simply be a memorial but would in a very real sense be their memorial, belonging to them and to all others who had contributed and the monument would also be set up at the heart of their community. It would no longer be a monument presented to them on a plate by some benign figure, and over which they had no control, but one in which they had at least the semblance of involvement. It would be a public monument but one with which they personally associated.

Securing funds and making decisions on the steps to be followed in the creation of monuments, if to have any vestige of genuine local

involvement if not exactly democratic control, required a committee. It was to be these largely inexperienced committees which had to ensure that war memorials were erected in each locality that desired one. They had to transform ideas into realities. They had to erect memorials which would stand in the heart of their localities and for all to see.

In the few chapters which follow a more detailed examination will be made to attempt to assess the problems and issues faced by the committees and how they resolved them. Here we may simply list some of the major decisions which had to be tackled. From a somewhat limited range of options committees had to decide on the type of memorial to be erected, whether it had to be functional or purely monumental. They had to also to select both the designer and the design, the choice of the former was to a large measure the solution to the latter. A suitable site for the monument of their choice had to be found and acquired. The inscription which would adorn the face of the memorial had to be agreed upon. Committees also had to plan for what would be the most important day in the life of any memorial - its unveiling day - when it would be the focus of so much public attention. They had to plan that day in some detail for it required to be a fittingly special occasion. Not only did they have to raise funds to erect the memorial but the long-term future of the memorial had also to be considered for while most were made of durable material their care and ownership required to be in hands capable of securing long-lasting aims. Most memorials were to be graced with the words 'Their Name Liveth for Evermore' so clearly some thought to permanence had to be given.

Generally, in towns and cities, leading local politicians such as mayors or provosts chaired public meetings and became conveners of War Memorial Committees. In the rural areas one of the local landed gentry, parish clergyman or the local County Councillor accepted the role. These public meetings were usually organised to elect a small committee and to gain public support for the idea of a local

memorial and to hear some of the ideas for the specific monument to be placed in their specific locality at the heart of the community.

Erecting public memorials had become a middle-class institution and the committee which erected the monument at Fochabers to Captain Wilson was ever a fairly typical one. It included the local bank manager, local headmaster or school teacher, together with a representative of the local landed gentry. The local minister, if not on the committee, had a role to play on unveiling day, as had the leading figure in the local gentry for monuments had to be dedicated as well as unveiled. Retired middle to high-ranking officers were other likely members of such committees. The key aspect being that commemoration was local - it was not something foisted on local communities from without. Committees might not have been very representative but they were local.

There was often a desire to form committees from a fairly wide spectrum of local interests. In Wishaw the Town Council, having decided to take control of the matter, resolved that all the members of the council would serve on the committee together with certain council officials - the Town Clerk, Town Chamberlain and Burgh Surveyor together with the Veterinary Inspector and Superintendent of Slaughterhouses - one can imagine how the latter's professional expertise would be invaluable! It was not simply to be left to council personnel, instead individual members from the community were also invited to participate and these included the local landed figure - Lord Belhaven and Stenton - plus local businessmen and shopkeepers. The tailor, draper, joiner, stationer, insurance agent and bank manager together with lawyer, doctor and clergymen were all asked to take part. The local co-operative society was also invited to send a representative. ¹

Note that people were invited to join the committee: they were not just nominated by outside groups or members of the public asked to volunteer. They were selected.

No doubt the Council would be much pleased when it could be reported that "almost all had accepted appointment".² Many committees came face to face with public apathy and indifference. Often there was a poor attendance at public meetings and the meeting held at the public hall at Kilmun had to be adjourned due to "the poor turn out due to the inclement weather".³ Another meeting had to be subsequently organised.

Raising finance was one of the key tasks for without the necessary funding no memorial would be possible and without adequate resources even the desired memorial would remain a pipe dream. With the branch manager of the local bank drafted in to act as treasurer committees had to collect money by inviting public subscriptions and rattling collecting boxes on flag days, and where necessary by organising fund-raising events. Rarely did the money come flooding in: more often than not, much coaxing was needed to scrape together the required funds.

As we know from the historical example of the National Monument on Calton Hill money was never very readily provided. A very recent contemporary example highlighted the problem - the National Memorial to Queen Victoria had been in the process of being erected in front of Buckingham Palace in 1905 but shortage of funds was endangering the entire project. The noted art critic Mr M.H. Spielmann lamented ⁴:

"...the comparative failure of subscriptions ought not to be allowed to cripple the great scheme as it was finally passed, and if the contributions are not sufficient Parliament should be moved to make them good".

There was no such safety valve for local committees. They did not have recourse to Government funding nor did they have art experts championing their cause. Apart from the advice of the Royal Scottish Academy and other arts bodies on aesthetic matters they were alone and they were inexperienced.

In order to gain greater public support often committees sought ideas by enlisting the aid of the local newspaper. Many papers carried a healthy correspondence in their columns on the form local memorials should take and some like the Dundee Courier offered £10 for the best suggestion.⁵ Most newspapers not only reported on, but advertised, meetings and events organised by the committees but also, like the Banff Advertiser,⁶ regularly printed the lists of subscribers to the war memorial fund - a sort of public and emotional blackmail. Another and very necessary list to be published and advertised as widely as possible was that of the names of the Fallen for these names would become the 'Roll of Honour' to be placed on the memorial - it required to be accurate so the list was put in newspapers with "alterations and additions" invited.⁷

One of the first priorities had been raising funds and various methods were employed. Flag days, jumble sales, bazaars, garden fetes and sales of work were the normal methods although at Laurencekirk a sale was held at Kincardine Auction Market to raise funds.⁸ In Wishaw, the Cambusnethan Hero Fund Committee organised a fancy dress parade and collection in the streets.⁹

Concerts, especially school ones, were a popular and profitable way to gather funds. Pupils of Buckie Higher Grade School held a concert¹⁰ while pupils from Oban High School held a concert at which "£65 was realised".¹¹ At Cullen part of the proceeds of a performance of "Mains Again" was "handed over to the committee"¹² while at Buckie Captain J.P. Paterson gave a recital in aid of funds.¹³ At Keith a concert was given and it also had a innovative musical idea in that at its sale of work in aid of funds there was a "cafe chantant".¹⁴

Although the Kelso War Memorial Committee had been in a happy position whereby it could fairly quickly claim that "subscriptions were coming in well"¹⁵ it was often an uphill struggle. Many people were unwilling to get involved in the work or even give much support to the fundraising. At the unveiling of the Meigle War

Memorial the Duke of Atholl spoke of the "general apathy within the country" which he considered to be "a great enemy".¹⁶ A public meeting had been held in the Couper Institute to consider the possibility of a Cathcart war memorial but the "small attendance manifested lack of interest"¹⁷ and it was agreed to abandon proposals for a memorial meantime, although it was resolved that "the War Memorial Committee could if they thought fit to later proceed to erect a monument".¹⁸ Disinterest must have persisted for there was to be no war memorial in Cathcart.

Many committees which had considered larger schemes and those frequently of a utilitarian nature had to cut their coat to suit the cloth. At Newarthill, for example, the original proposals had been to build a recreation and reading room but "the committee had come up against a good deal of apathy among the villagers".¹⁹ They were faced with the difficulty that "it would have taken six to seven years to collect enough money to build the recreation room as the memorial".²⁰ So as to, more speedily, have a memorial they had decided that it had to be of "more modest form"²¹ and it was agreed to have a simple granite column with cross on top. As it was, even finding the resources for that had not been easy - on unveiling day "£40 remained to be wiped out".²²

Even the monumental schemes had to change in the light of economic necessity. The Edinburgh architect George Washington Browne had proposed a 25 feet high tower to be erected on a hill at Kirriemuir but instead a more modest granite soldier was placed on a site within the town's cemetery.²³

As well as merely inviting subscriptions and running fund-raising events, committees had often to resort to a more direct approach. At the fishing village of Findochty a circular was distributed "to every trade, firm and boat to raise funds for the memorial".²⁴ In Rutherglen 2500 copies of an appeal were posted to inhabitants, while a further 6000 copies were distributed round the doors by members of the Boys Brigade and Boy Scouts.²⁵ Lack of sufficient

funds led them to conclude that there was a need for "a door to door canvas to be adopted "as the only likely (plan) to prove successful".²⁶ The Rutherglen Committee was one of the few which seems to have recorded possible reasons for the poor response - in the Spring of 1921 they noted that with the large levels of unemployment it would be "inopportune meantime to collect subscriptions" and that the "subject to be delayed until unemployment and the distress thereby caused had subsided".²⁷ Even when funds were collected and the monument erected it was not a story of financial success. At the time of its unveiling there was still a shortfall of £383.²⁸ This had been about 25% of the total cost of the memorial.

Controlling costs was another problem for estimates, then as now, have an uncanny knack of being less than final costs. At the time when Robert Lorimer gave his costings for the large Galashiels memorial project these amounted to £21,433 at a time when the committee had only raised £17,429. Although the committee had been very successful in securing additional funds they had to "to make a final appeal to raise £2,590 required to clear the actual cost of £23,000".²⁹ This too seemed to have been successful for they could soon report that "the effort (was) now completed £2,901 had been raised".³⁰

They were not the only ones to have a surplus however rare it might generally have been. At Cleland a surplus of £50 was available from the fund and it was agreed by the committee that it be disbursed to aid the needs of dependants.³¹ At Campbeltown, at the final meeting of the committee it was revealed that as there was a credit balance on hand of £530 it was to be given to the Town Council, who had already accepted custody of the memorial, for the future upkeep of the memorial (something most committees seem to have overlooked) and for improvements to the surroundings ³² (something most committees largely ignored).

As the subscriptions came in, no matter how slowly, the expertise of the treasurers of the committees would be useful especially with an over-abundance of funds being a rare problem - it had to be banked or invested to gain interest and income. At Buckie it was patriotically invested in war bonds.³³

Committees, therefore, did not have an easy task. Most performed their duties with dedication and doubtlessly endeavoured to build as best they could within the limited constraints of the available funding. Few of those involved had ever been active in such tasks before. War memorials may not have been new but it had become a craze with few real experts to demonstrate the way ahead. Committees were led blindly into the dark. Let us therefore now focus on the memorials which they erected and which are in a sense monuments to their abilities as well as being war memorials to the fallen.

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CHAPTER SIX

WHICH MEMORIAL?

i. Making the Choice

ii. Squaring the Circle

But they held a meeting,
Saying.
'We think perhaps we ought
To put up tombs
Or erect altars
To those brave lads
Who were so willingly burnt,
Or blinded,
Or maimed,
Who lost all likeness to a living thing,
Or were blown to bleeding patches of flesh
For our sakes
It would look well'

Osbert Sitwell,
From 'The Next War'.¹

1. I.M. Parsons (Ed.), Men Who March Away,
(London: Hogarth Press, 1987), p.179

CHAPTER SIX - PART ONE

MAKING THE CHOICE

"What pyramid, obelisk, Greek or Roman temple is comparable in adaptation to the florid temple you have designed?"

John Britton, on the Scott Monument.¹

1. N.M.McQ. Holmes & L.M. Stubbs, The Scott Monument,
(Edinburgh: Edinburgh City Museums, 1979), pp.8-9.

Cairn-making has a history lost in time; clansmen supposedly marked their return from battle by placing stone upon stone. They also may have had a more commemorative role for Clan Farquarson has as its slogan or war cry 'Carn na cuimhne' meaning "Cairn of Remembrance".

On Scottish peaks it has long been a tradition of those reaching the top to place their stone on the pile long since began and so continue the monument-making process.

Not all monuments are of such rough and ready construction and built without pre-conceived design or timescale for completion. Most are built after some careful planning and construction and not a little creativity. By the time of the Great War there had already been established a tradition of monument making: it was not necessarily a long tradition but it nonetheless existed. While not every town or village had a monument very many had one; indeed some places had quite a few. The group around the Cross at Paisley, the rich collection in Glasgow's George Square or the string of jewels along Princes Street Gardens are only unique in the quality and quantity of the monuments not in the concept itself.

Before the Great War many places had previously erected, on prominent sites, monuments to celebrate Queen Victoria's Jubilee or to commemorate Victoria or Albert, some local dignitary or some famous citizen. More recently many had been erected to commemorate those who had died fighting for 'Queen and Country' in South Africa.

Liberally sprinkled nationwide were a great many such monuments. A few examples will suffice to give an indication of the form they had taken and of the diverse people and the varied events they sought to compel us to remember. A handsome red sandstone obelisk with a bronze bust was erected at Thornhill in 1897 to commemorate the explorer Joseph Thomson; a grey granite cross at Edzell commemorated those who fell in the Anglo-Boer War; a statue of Albert on the North Inch, Perth (by the sculptor William Brodie) had been unveiled by the Queen herself in 1864; little Kinloch Rannoch

had a great obelisk to Gaelic poet and local schoolmaster Dugald Buchanan.

Some monuments were truly monumental. Outside Stirling was the massive Baronial tower of the Wallace Monument. It was built at great cost for memorials have invariably been expensive. Dundee built a great 84 feet high Norman arch to commemorate Victoria's visit to Dundee and though "it cost £3000 - a tidy sum"¹, it was demolished to make way for the Tay Road Bridge. It was the aim of monument makers that memorials be permanent but while most monuments have been lasting, some have always been expendable. What suited one age has not always suited others.

Even quite ostensibly ordinary memorials could have some major claim to renown. Helensburgh erected a tall granite obelisk to commemorate the steam navigation pioneer Henry Bell of 'Comet' fame. The blocks of red Peterhead granite used in its construction were in its day "among the largest blocks ever quarried ... 25 feet long by 3 feet square, weighing 18 tons".²

Some of the commemorative items erected were vaguely useful - for example, the seventy-five feet tall granite Jubilee Clock Tower at Gatehouse of Fleet or the smaller ornate one at Slammanan to commemorate one of the men killed in South Africa or the combined lamp and fountain at Fintry put up to recall Edward VII's Coronation in June 1902. Crail put a unicorn on top of its old Mercat Cross to celebrate Victoria's Golden Jubilee in 1887 and erected a brand new Jubilee Fountain for the Diamond Jubilee in 1897. Fountains were a very popular form of monument. Jedburgh, Torpichen and Rutherglen also have one for the old Queen but other places erected them for a quite different reason. In the 19th century the Temperance Movement was eager to encourage the drinking of water rather than alcohol. Watson's Fountain in Hamilton gifted by the local colliery proprietors and Collins Fountain, at the entrance to Glasgow Green, to commemorate the work of William Collins, publisher of Bibles and temperance tracts, are but two

examples but few towns do not have a drinking fountain generally, and now sadly, disused. Getting memorials was often easier than keeping them.

Many public halls were erected to commemorate the Jubilees. Little Coaltown of Balgonie acquired a new picturesque Queen Victoria Memorial Hall in 1905 while Kirkcaldy simply adapted a former chapel building into its Victoria Halls at that time. The town of Selkirk had already laid the foundation stone of its Public Hall in 1895 so it seemed to be a fairly simple matter to convert them into the Victoria Halls. The town of Coupar Angus, on the other, had built new halls in 1887 at cost of £4,500 to mark the Queen's Jubilee.

Some of the memorial type buildings were quite splendid affairs. Dundee's Albert Institute has been called "the grandest Albert Memorial outside London" erected at a time when "memorials to Albert were the rage throughout Britain".³ The Queen Victoria School at Dunblane was erected as a memorial to the Queen as well as a school for children of soldiers and sailors who had lost their lives in the South African War. It is a magnificent Baronial building with delightful chapel and may well be the most attractive war memorial in Scotland - it certainly continues to be the most useful, although the residents in the little Coronation Cottages, of 1902, at Bo'ness may not entirely agree.

Another popular form was for recreation grounds, gardens and public parks. Kirkintilloch had its Jubilee Park complete with ornamental cast iron bandstand and fountain. Victoria Park was gifted to the Burgh of Partick "to provide jobs for local unemployed"⁴ and to commemorate the Jubilee - the gates known as the Jubilee Gates were erected in 1887 at a cost of £200.

The landed interest or the ruling elites who gifted the sites and the monuments or at least determined their form were no doubt torn between concepts of giving the people what they thought the people might need and the frivolous benevolence of conspicuous consumption.

Erecting ornaments was less damaging to the bank account than improving the social conditions of lower orders. Better perhaps to use a little patriotic zeal and put up a drinking fountain as a gesture to commemorate her departed Majesty as well as encourage others to drink less spirits or at least drink more clean water.

At the time when much consideration was being given to the possible memorial to Prince Albert in Manchester, the committee examined the range of options - "an infirmary, public baths, model dwellings, a lending library, a school of science, a park, botanical gardens and a monument".⁵ They chose a monument. A decision which no doubt came in for much criticism.

The idea of erecting monuments which have a real use has also had its critics.

Adshead has lamented⁶:

"...the utilitarian patriots of last century who must be credited the discovery that a memorial could take the form of a hospital or similar useful institution".

Adshead has also related the delightful story of a small Urban Council who "with an eye to thrift and economy, decided to commemorate the Jubilee of Queen Victoria by the construction of a public sewer".⁷ Benson believed we had acquired the "ugly habit of combining ... local utility with a memorial"⁸ and told of the benevolent clergyman who, having announced the death of a great statesman at a public meeting, declared 'That is just what we wanted! We have long needed a new water supply'.⁹ Certainly not much sentiment attached to the statement just a rigid adherence to the principle of utility for the happiness of the greatest numbers would surely derive from fresh healthy water. The village of Northiam, near Rye in Sussex, acquired a parish hearse as its means of commemorating Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee.

Few War Memorials were to be quite so utilitarian as these somewhat extreme examples but for most villages and towns there was indeed likely to have been much discussion, as to whether memorials should be 'monumental' or 'utilitarian' in character and decisions did not always please everybody.

Graves and Hodge in their memorable survey of the inter war period, The Long Weekend, have succinctly described the war memorial predicament¹⁰:

"In every village in England the problem of the local war memorial was raging - where should it be placed? What form should it take - statue, obelisk, or cross? Could the names of all the dead be inscribed on it? Or would it not be more sensible to use the money collected for a recreation ground and engrave the names on an inexpensive plaque in the church?"

It was, of course, not a problem unique to England - the villages of Scotland had to cope with the same dilemma. In Robert Graves' little Oxfordshire village of Islys a post-war request to provide a village recreation ground was opposed, it being pointed out that ¹¹:

"...shortly after the Armistice the village had turned down a recreation ground scheme, preferring to spend the memorial subscription money on a cenotaph".

The Perthshire village of Meigle faced this sort of problem and got round it rather neatly by providing both: it erected a War Memorial Arch to its Victory Park recreation ground. Maybole not only created a fifty acre War Memorial Park with impressive wrought iron gates but placed, on the top of the hill in the centre of the park, a tall granite obelisk as the town's War Memorial.

Often, however, the more utilitarian concepts did win the day. The Isle of Arran opted for a War Memorial Hospital (at Lamlash) and the town of Inch in Aberdeenshire obtained a Cottage Hospital. Leith

had extended its hospital to commemorate Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee and simply further extended it as a war memorial by providing a new wing especially for children.

On a smaller scale but still with health in mind the Lanarkshire village of Gartcosh provided a home for the District Nurse - appropriate bronze tablets were mounted on the gate piers to commemorate by name those from the village who had fallen, thus Gartcosh endeavoured to give a veneer of monumentality to its rather utilitarian concept.

This was to be done on a larger scale in other places - Aberdeen not only extended her Art Gallery and incorporated a Memorial Court within the building but also erected, on the external corner, a magnificent pillared crescent shaped War Memorial with a granite lion on the front of it. The original intention had been to locate a bronze of King Edward VII there but it was a fairly simple matter to re-locate Edward and to transform it into a war memorial, and it has created a quite splendid memorial.

Kirkcaldy's War Memorial comprised not only an Art Gallery and Museum but had in fact a long dedicatory wall with a Cenotaph at its centre and also a beautifully laid out public garden. Both Aberdeen and Kirkcaldy have amply demonstrated that it was indeed possible to combine a useful purpose with a most aesthetically pleasing war memorial incorporated into the overall scheme but, of course, such schemes cost a lot of money and both of these were only made possible due to generous benefactors.

It was perhaps not quite so easy to achieve a dual identity with one of the other popular forms of memorial although Aboyne was a notable exception. Not only did Lord Glentanner gift a hall which was named the 'Victory Hall' but attached to it is a charming little war memorial shrine with dedicatory panels and stained glass windows. They are both part of the same building yet quite distinct - one serving as a public hall, the other purely memorial.

The local laird was to contribute substantially to Ayrshire's Barrhill Public Hall which had reading and recreation rooms together with a Caretaker's house as its war memorial.¹² The building, however it may be considered, is really more public hall than memorial even if it has some panels inside the door giving details of those who had died. Tomintoul also gained a little War Memorial Hall but in spite of the granite tablets on the outer wall it remains a useful hall with the memorial aspect reduced to a secondary role. The bustling town of Lanark acquired an impressive three storey suite of public halls as its War Memorial but in all these cases no matter where the list of the fallen might appear there is no escaping the fact that what was built was a public hall which also happened to have been built as a memorial. The real function however was the public hall aspect.

The mere fact that it was labelled the War Memorial Hall did little to distinguish it from all the other halls not so named, indeed Gorgie quite simply used existing former church hall and re-christened it the 'War Memorial Hall'. Other examples of this can be seen in Fort Augustus where a recently built drill hall had panels added externally which transformed it into the War Memorial Hall. The Fife village of Ceres simply converted a former church building into its War Memorial Hall. A Hall by another name is still a hall. Lord Chatfield was later to sensibly note ¹³:

We must be careful...to see that the war memorial is not entirely indistinguishable from that which is not a war memorial".

Renfrew was gifted a fine swimming pool - The Victory Baths - by a local shipbuilder but unless benefactors came up with the money required for such grandiose schemes towns had to settle for less, and in settling for other than a costly building or well laid out park generally meant settling for a monument.

Greenock considered among its many suggestions that an extension to the Art Gallery ¹⁴ might be built but instead opted for a cenotaph in a public park. In Barrhead one of the considerations was for "the erection or purchase of a building to be used as an institute primarily for disabled or demobilised men but also for the general public". ¹⁵ It was not to be so, Barrhead also opted for a monument in a public park whereas Wishaw built an Ex-Servicemen's Institute. Wishaw had to wait until 1986 to get its monument in the park and then for the simple reason that Wishaw felt that it "did not have a war memorial"¹⁶ and possibly because it had not been able to distinguish between the war memorial and that which was not a war memorial.

Finance, as we have noted with Edinburgh's National Monument, was ever to be a problem with those who sought to erect memorials and whether by accident or design memorials largely reflect the money spent on them. London's Albert Memorial required £100,000 but by the time its design had been selected only £60,000 had been subscribed and Parliament had to provide the Queen with additional funding for the memorial and readily passed over all executive decisions regarding its design to the Queen. The Albert Hall once considered an integral part of the commemoration would require another day and another project.¹⁷

Lack of an abundance of funds generally demanded that memorials be inexpensive. There would be no government help for them.

A bronze tablet set on the wall of the church was a simple solution adopted by many congregations. Others went in for a stained glass window as their memorial while others like St. Cuthbert's near the West-End of Edinburgh's Princes Street created a memorial chapel in the base of their old tower, while at Dunblane Cathedral the Chapter House was restored as a memorial to those members of the congregation who had fallen. The historic St. John's Church in Perth was restored, not simply to serve the needs of the congregation, as the County of Perth's War Memorial. Linlithgow's

War Memorial was set within the town's ancient St. Michael's Kirk. Presbyterians were however not always to get it all their own way - in the little mining village of Croy parishioners at their own expense and by their own labours erected a tower for their Catholic Church.

It seems likely that many localities or parishes were caught up in the dilemma as to whether the War Memorial should serve some useful purpose or be simply a monument serving only a memorial function - what was appropriate in one place was not seen as appropriate for another. Just as the geographical spread of War Memorials reflected the population densities of the localities in which they were situated so to do they in a sense reflect the affluence of the area or the affluence of those who decided to erect them. The examples given reflect the widespread and varied nature of war memorials. Nothing is ever quite so clear cut for the wealthy suburbs of great cities but then separate small communities might, as was the case in Corstorphine, put up a simple cross as the local memorial as a focus for local grief and as a symbol of community while the main memorial would be the impressive monument located in the City Centre.

By and large, however, the wealth of an area was reflected in the cost of its war memorial for the war memorial was a product of the funding provided by a community for that purpose. Centres with the largest populations had therefore the greatest potential for amassing more money for any project not the least of which was the war memorial project. The amount of money available may not necessarily have decided the final shape of a war memorial but it was certainly a deciding factor not only as to whether a utilitarian concept was possible but whether even a fine monument was possible. Money mattered where monuments are concerned. With adequate funds some choice was possible, without adequate funding the choice was somewhat limited.

CHAPTER SIX - PART TWO

SQUARING THE CIRCLE

"Placing a work of art in a city square does not necessarily make it a monument; it may merely make a museum of the square".

Marvin Trachtenberg. ¹

1. M. Trachtenberg, The Statue of Liberty, (New York: Viking Press, 1976), p.15.

It would appear that the problem posed as to what form a memorial should take was one likely to have been faced by almost every village, town and city in the British Isles. If one were to take any war memorial committee as an example then it is likely that, to a greater or lesser degree, its dilemmas would reflect the nationwide debate. The choices offered and solutions considered in Glasgow were probably those faced by everyone else.

One thing is clear there was no shortage of ideas as to the form Glasgow's memorial should take. The columns of the Glasgow Herald were to contain the views of many prominent Glasgow Citizens. Others contacted the War Memorial Committee direct and others expressed their views at meetings arranged so that ideas could be aired. It would be wrong to suggest there were as many ideas as people but there was certainly a goodly number of ideas and many of these reflected the great divide between the purely memorial and the useful.

Some schemes were particularly grandiose and some were rooted in the more basic needs of the city. The noted architect John Keppie who some experience of cenotaph-making having designed the splendid Pearce Monument in Craigton Cemetery did not opt for a monumental solution. Instead he had the vision of a grand plan and suggested "a city improvement scheme" which included beautifying the river frontage, building on St. Enoch Square, the erection of a new bridge across the Clyde and easing the congestion on Argyle Street.¹

Other ideas were more financially practical. The architect Jeffrey Waddell wished to restore the Western Towers of Glasgow Cathedral. He pleaded²:

"There is an urgent necessity for a worthy memorial to the heroes of Glasgow who have fallen in the Great War. What more fitting memorial could be found than this....There could be no more fitting memorial than the tower and spire, which pointing heavenwards remind us continually that the things

which are seen are temporal but the things which are unseen - the ideals for which they fought and fell - are eternal".

The Cathedral seemed to have been a favourite for improvement. Someone suggested that the completion of its transepts should be undertaken while others thought that new stained glass windows should be inserted.

A Museum of War was another possibility while Alex Pollok thought that a Memorial Hall, a replica of the once splendid Ypres Cloth Hall should be erected.³ Someone suggested a 300 feet tall View Tower to be erected in Queen's Park (perhaps an idea borrowed later for the Empire Exhibition in Bellahouston Park for Tait's Tower was also to be 300 feet tall). Another desired a Monumental Tower to be built in Blythswood Square while another wanted a new building to be erected on the West Side of Blythswood Square.⁴ Quite why was never satisfactorily explained for such a scheme would have destroyed the charming uniformity of that Georgian Square, one of the most dignified and delightful features of the city centre.

The Director of the National Galleries had suggested a new National University but a local citizen suggested the creation of a New University for Glasgow (presumably the University of Strathclyde later satisfied that demand). [Incidentally Leicester not only gained a University but achieved 'city' status to commemorate and celebrate her contribution to the war effort]. Others suggested that an extension to Glasgow's Royal Infirmary would be an appropriate memorial for it had already received a Jubilee block while the City's Medical Officer of Health Dr. A.K. Chalmers suggested a Memorial Chapel⁵.

George Square was possibly always regarded as the ideal site. many suggestions for its use were forthcoming. Two architects Malcolm Stark and John Murray provided plans for a great oval War Memorial Hall to be built in the centre of the Square and with seating for five thousand.⁶ These proposals, incidentally, would have meant

that Sir Walter Scott on his tall column would require to have been relocated on a new island site at North Hanover Street where the road would have had to be widened and buildings on the north side of the Square demolished. It is also perhaps worth noting that in their scheme Albert and Victoria were required to be moved and to the location where the statues now currently find themselves at the west end of the Square.

Sir Walter Scott's column seemed to have been a favourite for removal, the architect Andrew Balfour wanted a "war memorial of beautiful design" ⁷ to be in its place and the Scott Monument to "be re-erected on the site occupied by St. George's Church". ⁸ Poor old St. George's was, it seems, just to be swept away yet it was, and indeed is, one of the finest classical buildings in the city with a handsome steeple and is an imposing terminal feature to George Street. Another suggestion for George Square was less ambitious that it be provided with "a simple massive beautiful statue" although it was also felt that as a token of thanks a book ("a war volume") "should be given to each soldier".⁹ A piece of sculpture or a group of sculptures were popular suggestions in their own right as well as being often subsidiary to grander schemes.

Another celebrated Glasgow architect Peter Macgregor Chalmers, perhaps fearing that Glasgow might rush into something, stressed that "our War Memorial requires the most careful thought" ¹⁰ and though he was then to consider "the needs of the prisoner, the poor, the sick and the permanently disabled" ¹¹ he was to come down firmly against a utilitarian standpoint. Chalmers was a medievalist and as an expert on the Cathedral it is therefore most interesting that he did not lend his support to any of the schemes suggested for the Cathedral's role as possible memorial but merely wished for a Cathedral site for the monument. He declared: "The open space is available now in our Cathedral Square and I believe our sculptor is ready to our hand".¹² Quite who he had in mind is not known.

There were without doubt many sculptors eager to prepare a

monumental work for Glasgow just as, most assuredly, many architects hoped to get the prestigious contract.

Not all the ideas, however, involved much work for architect or sculptor. Others had less monumental projects in mind, and some of these projects would not likely lead to any great plaudits.

Some of the outdoor suggestions were comparatively simple - planting trees and bushes and creating a children's play area. Others were a little more complex - the formation of an open space along the river bank with War Memorials located there and Ludovic Mann suggested that it would be a good idea "to construct a Memorial Way from Hamilton Palace to Balloch Park passing Glasgow Cathedral en route".¹³ It is interesting to note that long distance footpaths, riverside walkways, adventure play areas and parks were all worthwhile ideas and were to become features which later generations of planners and landscape architects were to provide the city.

Some of the ideas were utilitarian to the extreme. Some suggested huts and social centres for the demobilised men; the Scottish Veteran Garden City Association wanted cottages for the disabled, and indeed many places did get housing for that purpose. Prince Albert, the future George VI, got caught up in utilitarian idealism for he wrote to the City Council suggesting "an institution for the benefit of the disabled" ¹⁴ would be the appropriate memorial for Glasgow.

The Scottish National Council of the YMCA suggested an Institute which would be under their auspices, would be the ideal solution. Its Secretary stated ¹⁵:

"...providing adequate and attractive means of recreation and social intercourse would be an eminently suitable memorial and would at the same time meet the needs of the returned men and the future youth of the country".

While many could see great virtue in providing such an institute many perhaps thought that it ought to have been provided anyway and that the War Memorial should simply be monumental. Desiring a War Memorial which served some useful purpose was an attractive idea to many people but equally forthright in their views were those who saw no virtue in such a scheme and desired something quite different.

The Utilitarians were however not to have it all their own way, the sculptor Alexander Proudfoot having listed all the "appealing suggestions to date" dismissed them as "not being appropriate". He stated ¹⁶:

"There ought to be something sacred, something that custom cannot stale, something that is in our midst and yet is given as a tribute to the fallen without hint of serving any other purpose however useful".

For Proudfoot this would be a temple or Valhalla which would be "for no other service but to memorise the fame of the fallen".¹⁷ Unlike a memorial chapel of a great church, which in spite of its name merely operates as a chapel, Proudfoot seemed to desire an equally sacred temple or chapel but quite separate and distinct. It would be monumental in the fact that it would be basically useless although there would appear to be a hint of the glorification of war rather than remorse for lives lost, "fame" being his word. Some places did in fact adopt a temple or shrine - Aboyne as we have noted had one attached to its new hall and Kilmarnock went in for a detached shrine - a charming little building - but because it was isolated from other buildings tended to be the focus of misuse rather than be the useless shrine originally intended. Now under lock and key no one uses it and no one gains entry to read the tablets with the names inscribed unless one has made prior arrangements to obtain the key. However with hindsight and foresight we would all be wise. The men of 1914-18 had ideas and concepts for their day and age not for eternity. Although one suspects that a temple on Proudfoot's terms would really have ever

been quite useless and never very usable. It was as well to dream. Hopes and actions often derive from dreams.

War Memorial Committee had to turn all the hopes and dreams into war memorials. There was a wide variety of ideas for the poor Committee to have to consider - some practical, some impractical, some worthy of a great city, some not so worthy. Some of the ideas would have been horrendously expensive some would be more realistic in terms of cost.

The first decision in Glasgow was perhaps the easiest of all.

By May 1919 it was agreed that it was desirable that "a fitting and permanent memorial should be established".¹⁸ The Lord Provost noted that the suggestions divided themselves, as one might expect, into two classes ¹⁹ -

- "1) A memorial of a monumental character,
- 2) A memorial of utilitarian character".

It only remained to establish which Glasgow's was to be. That was to be the first of the problems.

Much of the debate about Glasgow's War Memorial was to be pre-empted by events. Throughout the United Kingdom Peace Celebrations were held in the first summer following the end of hostilities and it was for these celebrations that Whitehall acquired the Cenotaph which was unveiled on 19 July 1919. Built originally of wood and plaster it was later to be rebuilt as a permanent structure of Portland stone.²⁰ Whitehall's Cenotaph was a tall pylon supporting an empty tomb and became an immensely popular success, indeed Manchester merely acquired a copy of it. Because of Glasgow's traditional Fair Holidays she was to have her Peace Celebrations in August and the Glasgow Corporation Sub Committee on Naval and Military Parades instructed the well known firm of cabinetmakers and funeral undertakers, Wylie and Lochhead to provide a Cenotaph in memory of

fallen sailors and soldiers and to erect it at Jail Square, facing the Justiciary Buildings.²¹

The Glasgow Cenotaph, therefore, was erected at the main entrance to Glasgow Green and it took the form of a simple cross some 20 feet high set on a raised platform 4'6" high and 14 feet square with a laurel wreath hung on the cross and a Union Jack draped over one corner of the base. The cross was stained a walnut tint and on gold letters the monument stated - Our Glorious Dead 1914 - 1919. One observer noted that the "monument has a simplicity and dignity which render it most appropriate as a memorial to the dead".²² Many places were to receive a cross as their permanent memorial and many were also to have that inscription.

The Glasgow Herald believed that Glasgow had resolved "to follow the example of London" by erecting "a cenotaph in homage to the fallen".²³ It went on to ponder²⁴:

"It remains to be seen whether following further the example of London the Cenotaph may become a permanent memorial to Glasgow's sons fallen in the war".

The Lord Provost, as Chairman of the War Memorial Committee, was soon to take up the idea. Crowds had flocked to see the Cenotaph erected at Glasgow Green. It, the Provost declared, "...had met with the approval of the citizens to such an extent that it was proposed to reproduce it, in a permanent form, in George Square".²⁵

He was, perhaps rather sensibly, to add "some other form of monument would also probably be required" and as a truly pragmatic politician he was to further add that "the decision on the character of the memorial ought to be left to a later date". This was not simply a delaying tactic but was for the soundest of reasons - finance - "once it could be more accurately ascertained what funds might be available".²⁶

At the end of the day, of course, Glasgow was also to devote half of the sum raised by the War Memorial Appeal for the maintenance of Prince Albert's Workshops for the Disabled in Possilpark.²⁷ These workshops had been set up in 1919. Glasgow, therefore, while it did get caught up in the utilitarian idea nevertheless opted also for a monumental dimension, for clearly no amount of doing good can truly constitute a memorial. As Curl has stated ²⁸:

"A true memorial should simply be, and not be confused with good works. Its purpose is to cause people to remember and to provide a reminder. Its raison d'etre is to keep before the beholder what or who is being commemorated".

Let us therefore turn our attention away from the utilitarian types of memorials and concentrate on the monumental, those which have no intrinsic 'use' nor perform any social purpose other than to simply commemorate 'the Glorious Dead'. They are the real war memorials.

It is perhaps worth noting that Prince Albert's Workshops for the Disabled have long gone, indeed it was to cease operations in April 1922 ²⁹ and its Killearn Street premises put up 'for sale' in May that year.³⁰ The Cenotaph at Glasgow Square, on the otherhand, still stands to remind us of the service and the sacrifice of those who fought and fell. It was to be a truly lasting memorial whereas utilitarian needs change with the passage of time and in any event reasons are quickly forgotten when functions dominate. For memorials to be truly successful they require to have only a commemorative function and not fulfil a useful purpose into the bargain.

Curl has pondered ³¹:

"One shudders to think what European civilisation would be like if the Greeks, the Romans and the great monumental builders down the centuries had set their sights on purely utilitarian values".

Perhaps the Master of Magdalen College, Cambridge who was so opposed to functional monuments should be allowed the last word on the subject. He had written ³²:

"I do not believe in fitting things in - if we commemorate let us commemorate with a memorial which arrests and attracts the eye, is long and gratefully remembered and by an inscription which touches the heart".

No memorial is ever likely to satisfy everyone. Even the generally lavishly praised have had their detractors. Charles Dickens thought little of the Scott Monument in Edinburgh. He stated ³³:

"I am sorry to report the Scott Monument is a failure. It is like a spire of a Gothic church taken off and stuck in the ground".

The art critic John Ruskin referred to it as as "a small vulgar Gothic steeple on the ground".³⁴ The generally much admired Shaftesbury Memorial (Eros) did not please George Bernard Shaw. He reckoned the sculptor Sir Alfred Gilbert "should be drowned in the fountain with which he disfigured Piccadilly Circus". ³⁵

Erecting the purely aesthetic, therefore, did not mean there were less problems than simply providing a functional building. It has always been an awesome responsibility. Squaring the circle is not easy!

It seems appropriate to conclude with the story of one particular war memorial. Glenelg has provided an example which highlighted the utilitarian/monumental dilemma. A large bronze group by the sculptor Louis Deuchars now stands by the shore. It proved a difficult statue to land at this remote village and the difficulties could easily have been overcome had the village accepted the utilitarian alternative proposal of the landlord (Lady Scott) namely to provide a pier rather than accept the monument proposal.³⁵

Had she offered both pier and statue things might have been different. In refusing her utilitarian pier they had to accept her choice of sculpture. They still have no pier; they are still isolated; they have a monument. One can almost imagine the 'I told you so' moral indignation of the utilitarians.

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CHAPTER SEVEN

WHAT MONUMENT?

- i. The Range of Options.
- ii. No End of Advice!
- iii. Selecting the Design & the Designer.

And now today has come along
With rifle, haversack and pack
We're off, a hundred thousand strong
And some of us will not be back.

But all we ask, if that befall
Is this, within your hearts be writ
This single line memorial:-
He did his duty - and his bit!

Ian Hay,
from 'K(I)'.¹

1. Ian Hay, The First Hundred Thousand, (1915),
(Glasgow: Richard Drew, 1985), p.4.

CHAPTER SEVEN - PART ONE

THE RANGE OF OPTIONS

We shall build the Cenotaph: Victory, winged, with Peace,
winged too, at the column's head.

.....

God is not mocked and neither are the dead.
For this will stand in our Market-place.

Charlotte Mew,
from 'The Cenotaph'.¹

Every time I shut my eyes all I see is flames
Made a marble phone book and I carved all the names.

Adrian Mitchell,
from 'To whom it may concern'.²

1. I.M.Parsons (Ed.), Men Who March Away,
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Having agreed on the form a particular memorial should take the next major problem was to decide on the actual design of the monument. This often proved to be every bit as difficult a dilemma as the original choice between utilitarian or monumental had been.

Few were, however, quite as difficult as that experienced by the distinguished architect Professor Albert Richardson in his home town where he desired to erect his own version of Lutyens' Cenotaph but one which would, in his view, be "more Greek in character, less exhibitionist in design".¹ It had been intended for a site near the church but this was resisted vehemently by the Archdeacon who considered Richardson's proposals to be "a pagan monument" thus a more modest cross was erected in the churchyard. The Cenotaph was therefore erected on "a far better and more dramatic site"² in the public park, known as the Alameda, to the west of the town. Thus Ampthill acquired two war memorials and both to Richardson's design.

There were numerous Scottish towns and villages which also acquired two or more war memorials; a principal one in a public place - in the city square or village green - and another in a more private place commemorating not those of the town but those of a specific locality or organisation. The city of St. Albans has ten street memorials commemorating those of specific streets as well as having the all-embracing St. Albans City War Memorial in its main street.³ Scotland does not seem to have any street memorials but many places have a local memorial serving a limited area and local community. These were undoubtedly erected not because of any real disagreement or dispute over the design of the town's main war memorial merely a desire to have one more specific to their own needs and more personal in character reflecting local loss and local remembrance of that loss. Local communities desired local commemoration.

There was, of course, a long tradition in having regimental colours and memorial tablets in churches so it was not surprising that churches should also desire to have their own war memorial. Many churches were surrounded by their churchyards which were full of

monuments to the dead - gravestones - and some had cenotaphs to those buried elsewhere, therefore churchyards seemed the ideal location for specific churches and congregations to erect their own war memorial. Most churches have a tablet inside but there are a few Scottish examples of churches having their very own memorial outside. St. George's Episcopal Church in Maryhill, St. Mary's R.C. Church in Hamilton, and Larkhall Parish Church, being just a few examples.

Apart from churches, even if surprisingly few have one in the churchyard, other organisations also have their own memorial erected in a public place. The police forces of Hamilton and Dundee both put up granite crosses outside their headquarters while Heart of Midlothian Football Club erected a fine monument near Haymarket Railway Station and the Scottish Rugby Union erected a memorial within their grounds at Murrayfield. The steel makers Stewarts & Lloyds placed a memorial on the wall of their works to commemorate their employees who had been killed and the Scottish Co-operative movement opened a library memorial building in Kingston, Glasgow with a tablet over the door telling publicly that it was to commemorate those "Co-operators in Scotland who fought in the Great War".⁴

Not surprisingly, the most common groups to erect their very own memorials were the Scottish regiments and they, as has been already noted, had a long tradition in erecting memorials to their fallen comrades. Memorials to their men were set up by regiments in places such as Peterhead, Banchory, Keith, Dingwall, Dornoch, Stornoway and Glasgow. These were towns and cities where specific regiments had not already erected a South African War Memorial or ones to earlier campaigns or simply desired another regimental memorial. Generally, if a Boer War regimental memorial existed then a bronze tablet was simply added to it - the Royal Scots Greys Memorial in Princes Street Gardens is an impressive example.

This up-dating of the war memorial was to be a precursor for the

memorials erected after the Great War. In the aftermath of the Second World War lots of bronze tablets or additional names were simply added to the Great War Memorials. New wars did not result in new monuments. Old memorials were frequently, and very economically, simply given new lettering.

Most towns and villages have one memorial. A rare exception to this is the tiny Lanarkshire village of Elsrickle where in the village churchyard an obelisk was erected by the United Free Church to commemorate four of the fallen while on the far edge of the village another little granite cross has the names of two "gallant heroes" on its face.⁵ It seems that these two lads had been orphaned and either were adopted by a local family or stayed in a nearby orphanage but because they were not 'local' their names were omitted from the local village memorial at the church. This was certainly scarcely a good example of Christian charity especially when they, like the other four, had sacrificed their lives in the same cause in the same war.⁶ The inscriptions on the two memorials are not surprisingly rather similar.⁷ The one on the churchyard obelisk concluded thus:

They died that we might live.

The one on the little cross ended:

They also died for us.

So it seems the petty churlishness will remain in perpetuity - a sad reminder of mean spiritedness, but thankfully that was an unique instance and almost all other memorials were to be all-embracing in their collective remembrance and if names were omitted it was by accident rather than design. On some memorials it is even possible to discern names that were added at a later date because they had been omitted earlier.

Even if names were not excluded many memorials have an air of

exclusiveness with the high ranking top-brass named at the top of the list and the other ranks descend downwards. Some officers, of course, have memorials all to themselves. At Taynuilt a granite soldier commemorated all the men of the parish but a granite seat was placed beside it to commemorate Lieutenant William MacBean. At Cladich on Loch Awe side, in front of the Episcopal Church, Major J.S. Thorpe has his own personal monument.

Such exclusive monuments are, however, rather rare but unfortunately there was often little exclusiveness or rarity as to the design of war memorials and this was particularly to be the case of the granite memorials which abound. The memorials put up to celebrate Queen Victoria's Jubilee or other events had revealed the limited nature of monumental art. Nevertheless within a restricted field there could be considerable variety of treatment of the various monuments erected.

Almost every school, church, public building or even factory that existed in the post 1914-18 world had a bronze plaque or granite tablet placed inside it as a war memorial but the plaque or tablet was generally the least favoured method for the war memorial outdoors. Nevertheless a few exist - granite tablets on the wall of Garvald Church in East Lothian and Rickarton Church near Stonehaven, as well as on the walls of schools at South Alloa in Stirlingshire and Star in Fife, and on a boundary wall at the road junction at Wormit, Fife. Sandstone tablets can be found on the church walls at Kingsbarns, near St. Andrews, and Straiton in Ayrshire as well as on the garden wall at Pollok House. (In spite of all his high-sounding pronouncements on public memorials, which we will discover in the next section, Sir John Stirling Maxwell placed a very simple chaste panel as his own war memorial). Bronze tablets can be found on the wall of the Nicholson Institute, Stornoway, the wall of the Town Hall, Dornoch and on Canongate's Tolbooth.

For the most part, war memorials were erected as free-standing monuments in a prominent location but the range of options for their

design was ever limited. Committees never had a wide choice once they had decided to erect a monument rather than a building. Most of them had to opt for one of the very similar styles available. Celtic crosses and obelisks can be found in abundance, and those were generally made of grey granite although there are a sprinkling of red granite and sandstone ones. Crosses reflect the long Christian tradition within Scotland. Not simply Celtic Crosses but other forms of crosses can also be found - Latin crosses, Barochan crosses, Northumbrian crosses, Gothic crosses and Maltese ones - and they exist in both stone and granite but they are much fewer in number. Some of the obelisks or columns have a sphere or globe or some other emblem to their top to add a little variety but the difference was by degree rather by substance. As cairns had been a traditional method cairns of rough stone or granite were also popular with a number of committees - stone at Dunkeld and Balfron but granite in Yoker.

It will suffice to take a brief look at the memorials of one county to ascertain the limited range of monumental styles on offer and which resulted in the memorials erected.

In Ross and Cromarty (see Map No.1) there would appear to be thirty-four war memorials in total. Of these there are ten celtic crosses and eight obelisks with a variety of other forms providing the remaining sixteen memorials. Only one of each of the crosses and obelisks was of sandstone - all the others were of grey granite. An exception being the one at Invergordon which was of pink granite. Of the diverse sixteen, three were grey granite columnar structures, one a grey granite cenotaph and two grey castellated towers. One was a pink granite slab, more like a gravestone than a war memorial, which had been re-erected in front of Dingwall Station. Hitherto it been placed in front of the station at Nitshill on the southern outskirts of Glasgow. It was moved to Dingwall long after the Great War, when and due to vandalism it was felt that Dingwall would provide a kinder and safer environment for it. It was, in fact, simply a memorial to one man - the much-

decorated Sargeant Meikle who was of Dingwall stock but had been ticket-collector at Nitshill before the war.

A very static looking granite soldier stands at Ardgay, just over the district boundary but formerly in the county, while a livelier looking bronze one can be found at Dingwall. That town also has a stone cairn with a much weather-beaten timber cross arising from its midst and this cross had been part of the original Seaforth Memorial erected on the battlefield at Cambrai in Flanders. It had been brought back to Scotland at the end of hostilities and when a more permanent memorial was able to be erected in its place. Muir of Ord has a simple stone cairn while Contin has a stone tower and Gairloch a stone cross. Handsome gateway memorials can be found at Fortrose and at Strathpeffer, the former is entirely of stone and provides a magnificent entrance lychgate to the ruined cathedral while the latter is a mixture of granite and sandstone with splendid ornamental wrought iron gates and provides entrance to the cemetery. Ullapool has a little marble angel-like figure set on a stone base while Tain has a great bronze tablet with regimental crest set on the wall of the Tolbooth and a huge brass tablet set inside St. Duthac's Church which had been elevated to the status of memorial shrine.

It can, therefore, be seen that although there was indeed to be some variety it was nevertheless extremely limited in its scope. Granite provided the principal material with crosses and obelisks dominating the memorial scene. In a very real way these few memorials from Ross and Cromarty illustrate almost the entire range of options available to those who wished to erect monuments.

There were, however, to be a few designs which did not appear as memorials in Ross-shire and perhaps some comment on these is necessary as well as some further comment on some of the more pleasing memorial types which do grace that county and elsewhere.

Memorial gateways were a sort of hybrid between a utilitarian

function and a monumental one and they can be found sprinkled thinly across Scotland. From a granite gateway at Kirkwall to the Kirkhope Lychgate at Ettrickbridge in the Borders and the churchyard gate at Cummertrees in Dumfriesshire they are an added feature of interest to the scene as well as convenient shelter. War Memorial gateways have been placed at the entrances to various types of buildings - at churches, (e.g. Kintore, Aberdeenshire); at parks (e.g. Kilbirnie, Ayrshire and Thornton, Fife); at cemeteries (e.g. Lesmahagow in Lanarkshire, Turriff in Aberdeenshire and Mouswald, Dumfriesshire); at schools (e.g. Crossford, Fife) and at historic buildings such as Fortrose Cathedral as we have previously noted. A particularly handsome set of gates with attendant pavilions can be found at the entrance to Glencorse Barracks, south of Edinburgh, but these are a hark back to the past with a regiment having its own war memorial in its own front yard.

Other vaguely utilitarian ideas were those which had earlier appealed to the Victorians and Edwardians and revealed the full extent of the possibilities. These were clock towers, bandstands for local regimental and other bands to play in, ornamental lamp standards, and drinking fountains and troughs. A few examples will show the widespread use but limited range. A clock tower had been placed at Tobermory Harbour in 1905 to commemorate the Victorian traveller and writer Isabella Bird, while Gatehouse of Fleet has a fine 75 feet tall Jubilee one which dominates the main street. An ornate granite fountain at Coatbridge commemorates the local poet Janet Hamilton while at Tough in Aberdeenshire is a Diamond Jubilee Fountain designed and erected by the Aberdeen monumental mason, William Boddie.⁸ At Rutherglen's Overtoun Park an impressive cast and wrought iron bandstand can be seen and it had been gifted by a former provost. At Fintry an ornate cast iron lamp-cum-fountain celebrates Edward VII's Coronation while at Barr a small canopied fountain, also of cast iron, serves as the South African War Memorial. Although cast iron had been used as method of making tomstones in the past and although in the Victorian age it had been widely used as a decorative and commemorative medium it had gone out

of fashion probably due to the fact that, though rigid and strong, can be readily shattered. There were would not appear to be any cast iron war memorials.

War Memorial clock towers were erected at both Brora and Helmsdale in Sutherland, and smaller clock memorials were erected at Blackness near Linlithgow and at Skipness, Kintyre. Drinking fountains abound: Bolton in East Lothian, Jeanfield near Perth, Edinkillie in Morayshire, Bridge of Don on the outskirts of Aberdeen, and at Carmunnock, Glasgow being just a few of the many.

Sundials were a necessity in the days before clocks and watches. They were to be sited in many locations and their historian has stated ⁹:

"They were placed on public buildings... and at focal points of population, such as market places and river bridges, where the traffic of wide countrysides converged".

Many had been erected in the gardens of great country houses and many had, more recently, been placed in the public parks of great cities. Many bear the initials of those who made them while others have those of the husband and wife who had been owners of the estate and garden in which they had been placed. They had therefore achieved a memorial status even if that had not been the original intention. Some were, however, designed to have a commemorative function; the one at Holyroodhouse was believed to mark the Coronation of Charles I while the one at The Meadows commemorated the opening of Edinburgh's International Exhibition of 1886. It had been opened by Prince Albert Victor, Victoria's grandson, in a "pleasant affable and withal dignified way",¹⁰ surely the way all openings and unveilings should be performed.

Sundials, though no longer a strict necessity by the twentieth century, were more a decorative rather than useful monumental idea. A few were erected as war memorials and examples can be seen at

Coldingham, Berwickshire and at Almondbank, Perthshire. A viewpoint indicator was a more novel idea and useful for Sunday afternoon strolls to local beauty spots. Although one had been erected in 1903 at Corsie Hill, Perth, and had a memorial intent, the one placed on Brimond Hill, near Aberdeen seems to have been the only war memorial one.

The selection of suitable locations for war memorials could be as important as the choice of monument itself and a more lengthy consideration will follow on the siting of memorials. Suffice to state, at this point, that siting was important and that securing the right location could immeasurably enhance any monument. Many monuments are distinguished edifices in their own right but the superb location of some has transformed them into notable landmarks. The majestic Baronial towers such as at Forfar (Plate No.5.) and Stornoway are prominent landscape features. The Kitchener Memorial Tower on Orkney's Marwick Head and the American Seamen's Memorial at the Mull of Oa, Islay are both dramatically sited atop huge cliffs with Atlantic rollers pounding below and sea birds noisily reeling overhead, neither are especially noteworthy structures in their own right but their breathtaking situation has made them quite magnificent. On another location they might be quite unremarkable: where they are they are makes them quite unforgettable.

Another excellently sited monument is also a remarkably fine building; the mock ruined temple on Black Hill, south of Stonehaven. (Plate No.7.) It had been one of the great features of English landscape gardening to introduce sham castles and romantic temples into what otherwise had been a carefully contrived yet natural looking landscape and this almost Folly-like pretend ruin is one of the most delightful of Scottish Great War memorials and its superb location overlooking Stonehaven Bay has made it also one of the finest sights on the Scottish coastline.

Few committees and places had such a sense of theatre: many opted for simple solutions. For sheer simplicity a single stone could not

be improved upon and Tullibody in Clackmannanshire, Crook Of Devon in Kinross-shire and Blair Atholl, Perthshire adopted a huge stone monolith, taken from a nearby hillside, and re-erected it in the centre of their community as their war memorial. This had been an idea borrowed from the past. The men of Bonawe had erected their Nelson stone at Taynuilt by simply moving a stone from a hillside to another hill overlooking their ironworks. The red granite monolith at Kincardine O'Neil on Deeside, with its sword in bold relief to its face and the grey granite one at nearby Torphins, set on a cairn of granite stones amid a rock garden with even more granite boulders, are but more lavish variations on the essentially age-old simple concept. Standing Stones are among the earliest of human monuments in Scotland. Those at Callanish and Clava are merely more spectacular and better known examples of what was a most common monument, even if we do not know quite why they were erected. War memorial monoliths seem to be part of that continuing monumental tradition and yet have the added virtue of having a clear memorial intent.

Though they did not have their origins in pre-history like the standing stones another historical source of monumentality was also readily adapted as war memorials. One of the key features of Scottish burghs had been the mercat or market cross. It was there that proclamations were read, criminals were punished and where merchants conducted their business: town-life revolved round these stone shafts. They were most assuredly at the centre of things, indeed their historian Alexander Hutcheson has remarked that they were "the rallying point of the community's aspirations".¹¹ Perhaps, in the aftermath of war, it was to be hoped that war memorials would command the same focus of attention.

Mercat crosses had become a topic of increasing interest. A Stirling architect, John W. Small, had in 1900 produced his definitive work on Scottish Market Crosses and in 1902 had provided Culross with a restored version of its original 17th century mercat cross. Hutcheson, in his introduction to Small's book had suggested

that the historic 'Borestone' at Bannockburn had possibly been the base of a market cross and had been placed there "to commemorate the victory ...and the public road which now leads past it no doubt at first led to it".¹²

The idea of erecting or re-erecting mercat crosses seems to have appealed to the Scottish psyche. The City of Glasgow, although it had apparently lost its original one in 1659, obviously still retained so much affection for the idea of mercat crosses that she acquired two of them. A handsome granite cross-cum-fountain was gifted to the City in 1915 and it stands at Port Dundas, opposite what was formerly the site of Buchanan Street Railway Station. Glasgow Cross was to be graced with an impressive new market cross in 1930. It was erected, as near as possible, on what was believed to have been the original site and in design was typical of the old Scots style with balustraded platform from which proclamations might be made. It was to be rather a unique and pioneering structure for women were entirely responsible for its design and embellishment. Mrs Edith Burnet Hughes, niece of Sir J.J. Burnet, was its architect and Margaret Finlay executed the sculptural work and Helen Lamb the superb incised lettering of the inscription on its slate panel.¹³ These 'Glasgow Girls' certainly proved that they were every bit as capable as the 'Glasgow Boys'.

Dr W.G. Black who, with his late wife, had been the donor of the cross at Glasgow Cross was also an antiquarian of some note. In his booklet on the Glasgow Cross he had stated that a mercat cross was "the emblem of local justice and authority, which became the emblem of corporate authority - essentially civil yet having acquired an ecclesiastical name".¹⁴ Black was later to state that he regarded the cross he proposed for Glasgow as being "an emblem of continuity in Glasgow civic life".¹⁵ So many of the war memorials which were erected were crosses - of all shapes and sizes and not simply mercat crosses - and they too were emblems, perhaps not so much of civic authority although many claimed justice to have been on their side, but emblems of local identity and certainly of

continuity and history.

Black noted "No King or Parliament ever ordered the erection of market crosses; they were there ...of a symbolical character".¹⁶ It almost seems an apt description for all war memorials - no decree ordered them; they were there because local people or at least those who had assumed authority in a community desired them. War Memorials were emblematic and symbolic like the Mercat Cross.

The old market crosses may not have had any memorial intent but the new ones certainly had a memorial component. The Port Dundas fountain/mercat cross was in very real sense a memorial for William Annan, its donor, was commemorated by the bronze panel to its face. Though he had gifted it in 1914 it was not erected until 1915, some months after his death.¹⁷

At the time of the inauguration of the Mercat Cross at Glasgow Cross the Glasgow Herald remarked that it was "essentially a Stone of Remembrance".¹⁸ Clearly therefore many regarded it as a memorial.

In 1926 the Burgh of Rutherglen acquired a replica of the old cross it had lost in the middle of the eighteenth century. Gifted to the town by Lord Fleming to commemorate his father, who had been a former provost, and his mother, it was also given "in memory of Major C.E.Fleming who was killed during the Great War".¹⁹ Major Fleming had been the donor's brother. The Town Clerk of Rutherglen had, during the war, written that he hoped that "as soon as happier times arrive" Rutherglen would erect her market cross for he could not think of "a more appropriate memorial...it would be an adornment to our old town, which is so sadly wanting in memorials to its past".²⁰ Rutherglen thus gained a memorial to her past, a symbol of her identity and civic pride and a memorial which is in part a war memorial.

Not surprising, the surrogate mercat cross was to prove to be another popular memorial style even if it was to be entirely

memorial rather than mercantile. Mercat crosses historically were of two distinct types - one had a tall shaft with cross on top and with the shaft rising out of a tall stone or granite octagonal, often castellated, drum base or podium; the other was simply a cross set on a tall octagonal shaft set on a base consisting of a few steps. Rather than having a cross at the top many had a lion or unicorn carved at the column head. War memorials were also to be of both forms. Those of the drum variety can now be found at Govan; Aberdour on Speyside; Portree, Skye; and Bothwell in Lanarkshire while the simple shaft variety can be seen at Dalmeny near South Queensferry, Castle Douglas in Galloway, Tranent in East Lothian, and Abernethy near Perth. The little village of Bowden in Berwickshire simply restored its ancient mercat cross as its war memorial while Irvine opted for a replacement for one that had long vanished.

Abernethy had one of the few original Celtic round towers in Scotland (the other is at Brechin) but although the round tower idea had been recently borrowed as the basis for the memorial at Largs to commemorate the 1263 battle only Sandbank and Ardnadam on the Holy Loch acquired a round tower of Baronial character as a war memorial.

Not only were ideas borrowed from the past but so also were some of the building materials. This was again not a new idea for old buildings have always been used as a quarry for stone for new buildings. The battlefield monument at Prestonpans was to be built of stone taken from the site of a demolished house in the neighbourhood. Aberdeenshire's Mintlaw Memorial was built from stone taken from nearby ruined mansionhouse Pitfour House while Auchentibber's memorial consists of marble columns which had been taken from the nearby and recently demolished Hamilton Palace. No other war memorial has pillars with such an aristocratic pedigree. Aberlady merely resited its elegant even if humble Boer War Memorial and provided it with a new and suitable inscription to convert it into the Aberlady War Memorial and to commemorate those who had died in the Great War.

Not all war memorials were so easily created - many involved considerable architectural design and many others required the skill and craftsmanship of the sculptor and monumental mason.

Many monuments were to include pieces of statuary and of these the most popular theme was of a typical soldier, generally a kilted figure with his head bowed and his hands resting on upturned rifle as if in mourning. Many granite, marble, stone and bronze 'Tommys', or more correctly 'Jocks', are dotted around the Scottish scene. Granite ones can be found at Port Ellen, Dumfries, Lochinver, Kirriemuir and in the heart of the granite industry at Ellon and Inverurie. Marble ones can be seen at Lochmaben, Glenfinnan and Scourie while bronze ones still proudly stand at Newmains, Bonar Bridge, Penpoint and Forres. There are fine examples of those carved out of stone to be found at Loch Awe, Killin and St.Margaret's Hope, Orkney.

Bronze sculpture was not limited to military subjects and there are many winged female figures of 'Peace' or 'Victory' created - Lockerbie, Partick, Montrose and Cupar are some examples. Other symbolic figures or groups can be found at Fraserburgh, Glenelg, Hawick, Kirkcudbright, Lossiemouth, Ormiston and Thurso. There are not many symbolic granite pieces around - they are a comparative rarity but the monuments at Halkirk near Thurso and at Portknockie on the Moray Coast are among the few. Two particularly fine pieces of war memorial sculpture can be seen at Paisley (Plate No.6.) and at Galashiels (Plate No.7.) A later chapter will, however, deal in more detail with these two memorials in particular and on the art and iconography of memorials in general.

Ross and Cromarty had only one pylon or cenotaph within its bounds this had been in fact one of the most popular memorial forms and it was also the major architectural solution to the memorial problem. While all war memorials are in a real sense cenotaphs the word is here used to describe a monument which is based on the traditional sarcophagi/chest tomb and which was basically a variation on the

much praised Lutyens' Cenotaph on London. Monuments of a cenotaph variety and designed by architects can be viewed in many towns including Hamilton, Motherwell, Coldstream, Grangemouth, Falkirk, Dunfermline and Kirkcaldy.

Granite crosses and obelisks were to be largely the domain of the monumental mason while the bronze or stone statuary were the realm of the sculptor. Neither of these solutions necessarily required any architectural input. Architects on the other hand had to frequently call on the services of the artist and craftsman as well as the builder to create and embellish to turn their design into a monument.

This inextensive range of memorial styles mentioned and the very limited number of people who were able to make war memorials to a great extent reveals the paucity of the language of monumentality. These were to be the extent of the options open to committees who desired to erect a memorial. With cost a major factor and some regard to aesthetic considerations generally necessary, committees had little scope to be adventurous and little choice. Many factors and constraints and few design options dictated which memorial would end up on the village green, at the cross-roads or in front of the church in a particular village. The fact that they all managed to produce a scheme which by and large was accepted and appreciated by so many was in itself a remarkable achievement.

CHAPTER SEVEN- PART TWO

NO END OF ADVICE!

"Let us then erect our war memorials, of whatever form they may be, in a spirit of pride and reverence, remembering what they recall".

Lord Chatfield. ¹

1. A. Whittick, War Memorials,
(London: Country Life, 1946), p.vii.

Given the somewhat narrow range of styles in the memorial option open to committees and therefore the somewhat limited variety of forms now in evidence as one traverses the country it is now difficult to imagine that very much thought had gone into the decision. As the memorials which now grace the urban and rural scene are instantly recognisable, as much due to their similarity as to their dull uniformity it is perhaps surprisingly so, for there was no shortage of advice on memorials. Few of those who considered themselves to be expert in the field hid their light under a bushel.

The Royal Scottish Academy not only expected there to be a huge demand for war memorials but believed that some form of artistic control would be necessary. Regarding itself as the nation's artistic voice it thought it would be eminently suited to perform such a role and so declared ¹:

"(it is) their duty, as a national institution, to make their knowledge of the fine arts available to the public by offering to advise and guide public committees charged with carrying out the work".

In order to get the process underway the RSA set up a small Sub-Committee on Scottish War Memorials, which consisted of Pittendrigh Macgillivray, George Washington Browne and James Paterson - three much respected Academicians. A brief word on each of these men would not be inappropriate here.

The Aberdeenshire born James Pittendrigh Macgillivray was a poet and painter as well as sculptor but it was as the latter that he had achieved renown. Trained under Brodie and Mossman he had worked in Glasgow on Mossman's statues of Thomas Campbell and David Livingstone, both of which were then destined to be placed in George Square. Macgillivray became one of the group of artists known as the 'Glasgow Boys' and his best known works in his own right were the Burns' Statue set on Irvine Moor, Lord Byron's Statue in Aberdeen, and Edinburgh's massive Gladstone Memorial with its statue

of the great man plus a fussy abundance of allegorical figures. It is a work which almost epitomises the Victorian era. Macgillivray had become President of the Glasgow Art Club. In 1891 what had been perceived as the "east coast monopoly at the RSA came to an end"² and Macgillivray was elected as an ARSA in 1892 and a full Academician in 1901. He had once been among its foremost critics, having penned lines which attacked it ³:

We'll vow for ART a better life -
and damn the Scots Academy.

He was destined later to become His Majesty's Sculptor in Ordinary for Scotland. Macgillivray, in 1918, was at the age of sixty-two therefore a much respected and senior artistic figure.

George Washington Browne, a Glasgow born and Glasgow trained architect, had moved to Edinburgh to work in the office of the celebrated Sir Robert Rowand Anderson before setting up in practice on his own account. Browne had designed the King Edward VII Memorial Gates at Holyroodhouse Palace although his best known work was the much praised Edinburgh Central Library on George VI Bridge - a building "lavishly detailed and topped by an enjoyable roofline".⁴ Browne had submitted an unsuccessful entry for Glasgow's Municipal Buildings but Glasgow was nevertheless to gain a fine building by the architect - the charming yet pompous little Buchanan Street Tearoom for Miss Cranston which is now the International Branch of the Clydesdale Bank. Browne became an ARSA in 1892, RSA in 1902, and was to become its President in 1926, the year in which he received his knighthood. He was, therefore, in 1918 at the age of 65 years an architect at the top of his profession if not yet at the height of his status.

In his youth James Paterson had also been one of the 'Glasgow Boys' and had studied in Paris as well as Glasgow. He belonged to a well-known artistic family and was the brother of the architect, A.N.Paterson. His home in Dumfries-shire had been a wedding present

from his parents and had been altered and enlarged to designs by John James Burnet, the major Glasgow architect of his day and a family friend, indeed his brother had been an assistant in Burnet 's office for a time. Paterson moved to Edinburgh in 1906 having been elected ARSA in 1896 and many of his portraits and landscapes are in both private and public collections. His work was pleasant rather than exciting. He was later to become President of the Royal Scottish Watercolour Society but in 1910 he had become Librarian to the Royal Scottish Academy as well as being elected full RSA. He was later to become its Secretary. In 1919 he was sixty four years of age.⁵

In 1918 these three Academicians were in their sixties and had long been part of the establishment as well as part of the art establishment even if, in their youth - some considerable time previously - they had might have been a trifle rebellious or difficult. They were gifted men, now senior figures in their respectful professions, no longer innovative but safe and traditional - their advice would be sound but it would not be progressive or 'modern'. It would be what was expected of them.

On 14 November 1918 their report was presented to the Council of the RSA and was immediately adopted as their policy. In outlining their proposals the Sub-Committee believed ⁶:

"...in view of the general inexperience of ordinary public committees in dealing with the aesthetic side of Memorials, sculptural and architectural, it is believed that... there is a great need for a reliable and disinterested Advisory Authority".

The Sub-Committee had watched with interest events South of the Border and believed ⁷:

"The Royal Academy of Arts in England (had) recognised the necessity ... and assumed the duty of forming the desirable

authority. The Royal Scottish Academy if it realises the nature of the case, can scarcely remain inert in face of the example set without falling short of its claims and dignity of its position".

It was also their view that such a committee as they envisaged would promote what was perceived as 'good' art. They stated that the committee would "in these days of great change and prospective reconstruction become a far reaching influence for good in relation to communal artistic questions".⁸ Certainly they regarded themselves as being the arbiters of good taste. Although, it is perhaps not without significance, that only George Washington Browne had had any experience of war memorial design: he had designed the little ornamental clock Boer War Memorial at Slammanan, an elegant if rather staid piece.

In accepting that there was a need for a "reliable advisory authority" to which questions of "taste and fitness" in regard to memorials might be referred the RSA called a meeting of interested and invited individuals in order to set up a "broadly based" committee.⁹ Those invited to be represented included the "various Churches and Universities, Town and County Concillors, and not only representatives from Art Bodies but "representatives of the Nobility and other important private persons".¹⁰ Whether social control was intended or not it was nonetheless implicit with the meeting certainly more representative rather than democratic. Two of its Glasgow members were Sir John Stirling Maxwell of Pollok and Sir Charles Cleland, the representative of the Glasgow Education Board. Under the Chairmanship of the President of the RSA, J. Lawton Wingate, the first meeting of what was to be known as the Grand Committee was held on 29 January 1919. In welcoming what he described as this "widely representative body" of men from the institutions mentioned Wingate declared ¹¹:

"...the end of the war had evoked a desire for memorials which they feared, in the absence, of cultured direction, might

result in much misspent effort and many regrets".

The number of requests for advice which the RSA had already received had seemed to fully justify the view that there was a need for such a committee. Wingate therefore proposed that Sir John Stirling Maxwell be elected Chairman of the Committee. In accepting the post Sir John addressed the gathering, he stated that there was ¹²:

"...an universal wish that the memorials should escape the failure which had dogged the previous efforts of the last two generations. Everyone could recall such failures - the tower, the pillar, the fountain, the clock - each good in intention but so ill-designed or ill-placed or of material so incongruous that the memorial of a glorious reign or a noble sacrifice intended to be the keynote and focus of its surroundings too often wore the aspect of a mean and ugly intruder whereas all else was homely and appropriate ... a perfect monument should be like a perfect song and only the artist could produce those songs in stone".

Although only 52 years of age in 1919 Stirling Maxwell had much experience on a broad front as well as long being part of the Establishment.¹³ In politics he was a Conservative and was for a period private secretary to the Colonial Secretary and from 1895-1906 was MP for Glasgow's College Division. He was an officer of the 2nd Lanarkshire Yeomanry Cavalry as well as Hon. Colonel of the 3rd Lanarkshire Rifle Volunteers and was Depute Lord Lieutenant for Renfrewshire and Inverness-shire and Vice Lieutenant for the City of Glasgow.

A man of much charm, tact and diplomacy, Stirling Maxwell was also a man of wide interests; forestry and gardening as well as art and architecture. He had inherited the estate at Pollok at an early age and had employed the eminent Rowand Anderson to add entrance halls and wings while he developed the grounds and extensive gardens. He had a fine art collection as well as being an able water colour

artist himself and served for some time as President of the Glasgow Institute of Fine Arts as well as being on the Board of Trustees of the National Galleries of Scotland. He was later to write a book on Scottish Architecture and was to become founding father of the National Trust for Scotland. Stirling Maxwell was a passionate and learned antiquarian with a love for old buildings and tradition.

He was a keen churchman and a paternalistic Tory of the old school. Not only had he gifted Maxwell Park to the city and Pollokshaws Burgh Hall to the burgh which was soon to be absorbed by the city but he had been instrumental in securing the Balloch Castle Estate for the city. For his interest in Glasgow's wellbeing he was rewarded by being made a Freeman of the city in 1913.

Stirling Maxwell believed the RSA had a "mission". While he would claim it would not be their intention to "dictate" or even "lay down the law" on matters of taste, merely to put "expert advice at the disposal of the community without asking for payment or consideration of any kind",¹⁴ he nevertheless felt it a duty to encourage others to see things as he saw them. He wished the RSA to educate the public in things artistic and perceived a real need for "enlightened public opinion"¹⁵. He and his like believed they did indeed know best but wished others to share some of that knowledge.

The Committee would, if consulted, be able to indicate the artist "specially adapted for the work" of memorials and recommend local designers and craftsmen "wherever competent men were to be found"¹⁶ and his committee were also willing to suggest suitable materials and forms of inscription. Clearly there was little belief that the general public could be trusted to come up with anything worthwhile. Only those, and such as those, knew what "taste" was. Their advice, they believed, should be sought on all matters, and not just received but acted upon. Ruling elites, of course, have always "known best" - it was not a new thing of the post 1914-18 world.

At the meeting held in January 1919 at the Academy, in the absence

of the Lord Provost of Edinburgh, Treasurer Chesser moved that the meeting adopt and carry on the movement initiated by the RSA. The Lord Lieutenant of Fife, Sir Ralph Anstruther seconded the motion and the meeting enthusiastically endorsed the proposal. It was also agreed that the Administrative Committee should be a mixture of Academicians and laymen and the following were elected - the President of the RSA (James Lawton Wingate - painter), the sculptors James Pittendrigh Macgillivray and Percy Portsmouth, the architects George Washington Browne and James Miller and the painters D.Y. Cameron and James Cadenhead were all to represent the Academicians while the laymen were to be the Earl of Moray, David Erskine of Linlathen, Hugh Reid of Glasgow, P.J. Ford of Edinburgh, Sir John Findlay, Professor Baldwin Brown of Edinburgh University and the Secretary of the Society of Antiquities, A. O. Curle.

Two months later this Committee was able to offer a memorandum which could be sent on request to convenors of local committees. The memorandum stressed that the Committee itself would take no part in the production of actual designs and suggested that these should be obtained from a "professional artist". While they were not prepared to recommend an individual artist by name they did, within the memorandum, give a list of sculptors, artists, and painters in various districts of Scotland who could undertake the work. The Committee was, however, prepared "to express an opinion on the question of fitness to intention, material, site and district"¹⁷ and the Committee was, of course, only concerned in memorials of an artistic kind - the utilitarian aspects were of no interest to them.

Having briefly outlined the various forms which memorials might take the Committee stressed the importance of the key elements of site and surroundings. Materials were also important and they strongly recommended the use of granite which they believed was "admirably suited for colossal sculpture of a type befitting war memorials". After granite "carefully selected stone such as Craigleith and bronze (were) practically the only satisfactory materials for open-air sculpture in Scotland".¹⁸

The RSA were not to be alone in offering advice. In London, as has been noted, the Royal Academy's Committee on War Memorials offered to give advice on particular cases if requested and also issued a public pronouncement on its suggestions for those considering erecting memorials. While some of their suggestions dealt with internal memorials and on the siting of external ones four dealt with the general principles of good design. These were namely ¹⁹:

"Designs should be obtained either by calling in a competent artist, or by competition; and, in the event of a competition being held, whether open or limited, a professional artist should be employed as assessor, who should be consulted as to the site and the conditions of the competition.

"Where the memorial is to take the form of sculpture or architecture the question of material should be determined - (a) by the amount of money available, e.g., for bronze, marble, stone, or wood; (b) by local considerations where they exist. If, for example, there is a suitable and durable local stone, this should be used in preference to stone imported from a distance; and if such stone is used due account must be taken of its qualities in the design.

"The lettering of all inscriptions should be carefully studied, and should be legible. A bold Roman type, or the Italian lettering of the sixteenth century based on it, is the type most suitable.

"In all memorials simplicity, scale, and proportion should be aimed at rather than profusion of detail or excessive costliness of material. It is the imaginative and intellectual quality of the work that gives it its final value".

There was also of course to be much written advice. Arthur C. Benson's booklet Lest We Forget was a reprint of the speech he had

given at the opening of the exhibition "Designs for War Memorials" which the Royal Institute of British Architects had organised. Benson had declared his view on the need for good design ²⁰:

"We must not do it idly and carelessly, we must take thought, have a plan and a purpose, not to be in too great a hurry. Hurry is the worst foe of memorials".

In his view the key requirements of good design were "beauty, dignity, simplicity and form".²¹ He believed ²²:

"We want what appeals directly to the eye and then dart a strong emotion into the heart, an emotion in which gratitude and hope are blended".

In order to achieve this Benson felt memorials required "to evoke the spirit of the artist and craftman rather than the designer" and that inscriptions and representations should be "wholesome and humble" with an appeal which was both direct and personal "avoiding rhetoric and over-emphasis". He believed memorials should "not be too worthy; they (were) to tell their own story of noble deeds".²³

Benson also pointed out some of the difficulties of places desiring to arrange their own affairs and that frequently those who did administer local interests did not necessarily have artistic taste as an attribute. He feared not only was "our artistic instinct ... not widely defused"²⁴ but that there was also "a deep seated mistrust of the expert... the expert (was) often regarded as the man who lets you in for heavier expenditure than you (had) intended".²⁵

In his book, Old Crosses & Lychgates Aymer Vallance stated that he hoped the book might prove useful for those intending to erect memorials and that his selection of examples of both crosses and lychgates might indicate "the most appropriate form of monuments for reproduction and adaptation to the needs of the present".²⁶

Vallance, a noted antiquarian and expert on ecclesiastical art, had also written an interesting article on "Churchyard Crosses" the purpose of which he declared as being²⁷:

"...not only to stimulate a study of churchyard crosses but also to suggest that the most appropriate form for a collective commemoration to take (would be) a cross in the churchyard or some other public place".

Sir Lawrence Weaver on the otherhand had written a more general work, Memorials and Monuments, in which he desired to "focus attention on good examples, old and new"²⁸ and all with the hope that his survey might "be useful to people who are considering memorials and that it might lead to the artist rather than the trader."²⁹ He clearly wanted sculptors and not monumental masons to execute war memorials.

In War Memorials & the Barochan Cross Ludovic Mann, a Glasgow antiquarian, ventured "upon a suggestion as to the class of monument which, especially in the case of the smaller communities, may be found not inappropriate to follow".³⁰ He suggested³¹:

"...a facsimile of the local often defunct or defaced ancient ecclesiastical cross of a parish (not the later mediaeval market cross) be put up on some local site where the people for generations to come, including wayfarers and visitors might see it".

It was Mann's view that in adopting the Barochan Cross as the model such monuments would in all cases be "simple, dignified, beautiful, of appropriate symbolic significance, and never obtrusive or aggressive".³² He believed they should also be constructed of stone. He stated³³:

"...the most durable material seems to be the hard undivided, homogenous sandstone, such as was used at Barochan, where the

stone is native to the locality and seems capable of outlasting granite and certainly marble".

While one can sympathise with Mann in his desire to use local materials he did, however, overstress the durable quality of native stone. Because it had become so badly weathered and for its better protection from the elements the ancient Barochan Cross has had to be placed indoors at Paisley Abbey. Granite war memorials erected outdoors look as though they might, for better or worse, last forever.

Mann was, however, essentially practical and considered that employing an architect was "in every case advisable" and that the likely cost of erecting monuments such as he proposed "should not exceed £200- £300".³⁴ Nobody else offering advice seemed to give much consideration to costs and yet it was to be one of the real problems for memorial makers and of every age.

Just as Sir John Stirling Maxwell had been critical of the earlier breed of war memorials so too were Weaver and Vallance. Weaver had lamented the fact that the Anglo-Boer War Memorials had "revealed the exceeding poverty of memorial design in Great Britain".³⁵ Vallance reckoned ³⁶:

"too many of the manifestations of modern so-called art betray its utter bankruptcy, because having broken with tradition, it has no resource left but to express itself in wayward eccentricity and ugly sensationalism, the very antithesis of the dignified beauty which the following of the time-hallowed precedent alone can impart".

Weaver had realised the pioneering nature of his book and bemoaned the fact that ³⁷:

"... my task (had) not been easy because the subject matter of memorial design (had) been neglected in an unacceptable way

....I have found no book on the larger and more important question of the development of design, or on the many aesthetic and practical considerations bound up with the invention of modern monuments".

Doubtlessly few had written on the subject of war memorial design because it was only after a major war that anyone really required to consider the design of such monuments and only then, therefore, consider the failings or virtues of older monuments. No doubt if a country was at state of constant war then there would be an ongoing dialogue and would not a neglected subject. A state of peace seems a small price to pay for its neglect. One must, however, lament the fact that memorial design and not simply war memorial design has been a rather neglected field. A look in any cemetery today reveals the real poverty of memorial art.

Weaver and the others had not been lone voices in expressing their anxieties for there was a real fear that war memorials "might sprout up in awful tastelessness as soon as hostilities were over".³⁸ To this end the Civic Arts Association had been set up in 1916 to promote, not only "the utilisation of arts or crafts for civic purposes" but also "to support efforts to embellish towns, cities and villages by employing artists and craftsmen". Its third aim was one which dealt specifically with war memorials: "To provide a consultative body on questions appertaining to memorials so that they may be worthy of their purpose".³⁹ The Civic Arts Association was to have branches throughout the country and it also published inexpensive literature on war memorials. Lest We Forget by the Master of Magdalen College, Cambridge cost 6d while A. Clutton Brock's On War Memorials was a mere 3d. Other societies could affiliate to it for £1.1/- per annum and could purchase its literature at cost price to sell to their own members. These publications may have reached a wide readership but one cannot help wonder if this had been so. If it had been the case the question needs posing as to why all the sound advice seems to have been

largely ignored by almost all committees as they went about their own business.

It was not just the fine words and pretty illustrations of Weaver and Vallance or the lofty aims of Brock and Benson that caused so little sway. Advice did not stop there. There were several exhibitions designed to give aesthetic guidance to those who required it. The Royal Institute of British Architects had held its own exhibition as early as 1916 and in the Summer of 1919 the Victoria & Albert Museum held an exhibition under the auspices of the Royal Academy of Arts, entitled "War Memorials to the Fallen" with the aim of providing "suggestions which may be of assistance to artists and the public".⁴⁰ One of the rooms was set aside as a Bureau of Reference to which visitors might go for information. The official guide - Mr. Leslie D. Farakar - not only conducted visitors round the exhibition but provided lectures on the topic. Where Mr. Farakar obtained his knowledge is not known!

During the Autumn of 1919 the Royal Academy held its own exhibition at Burlington House, to supplement that at the V. & A. Included at that show were Sir Reginald Blomfield's memorial for Loch Shiel, a variation on his Cross of Sacrifice but with a different plinth. The Cross of Sacrifice was, as we have noted, to be located in all the Imperial War Graves Commission Cemeteries as well as being set up in many places as the war memorial. It was erected in many Scottish Cemeteries including Rosebank in Edinburgh, Tomnahurich in Inverness, at Craigton in Glasgow and at Scapa Flow. The design was also plagiarised and borrowed for use by many memorial committees. The other Scottish exhibit was the splendid art gallery extension for Aberdeen with its colossal arcade and granite lion.

Not to be outdone the Royal Scottish Academy also mounted its own exhibition under the aegis of its War Memorials Advisory Committee and held in the National Gallery in Edinburgh during the Summer of 1919. The exhibition which opened on 5 July 1919 was in two parts. One section looked at historical examples in France, Italy and

elsewhere to show not only how war memorials had been erected in the past and how these and other monuments might "give hints to designers and local committees for the treatment of present day memorials".⁴¹ There was also on view an exhibition of new designs which Building Industries noted ⁴²:

"was somewhat small - owing to many artist having only recently been demobilised. But although limited in number the designs showed a high artistic standard ... we feel the exhibition will have proved of great guidance and value to all concerned - to local authorities and all others".

Although there were few exhibitors the exhibition was nevertheless fairly extensive in its scope and, as perhaps befitted an RSA sponsored exhibition, Edinburgh architects and artists dominated the show.

James B. Dunn had a scheme for widening Princes Street and George Washington Browne had plans for completing the National Monument on Calton Hill which had for so long lain unfinished. Reginal Fairlie displayed his design for the Memorial Chapel at Falkland for Lord Ninian Crichton Stuart (began in 1912 and as yet still an unfinished roofless shell). Robert Lorimer had various designs for tablets in bronze and oak on view. B.N.H. Orphoot displayed his proposed memorial for Venlaw Hill near Peebles (Orphoot did design the Peebles War Memorial but alas the Venlaw one seems to have remained unbuilt). William Davidson's designs for a Mid-Lothian Church memorial and for a monument for a Berwickshire Parish were on view. This latter monument was likely to have been the memorial at Parkside which is known to have been his design.

Glasgow based A.N.Paterson had his proposals for the Helensburgh memorial on show and the the splendid scheme which the Glasgow Herald noted as being "elaborate"⁴³. He also displayed his design for a memorial lectern for Lesmahagow Parish Church and a perspective view of the intended memorial for Lenzie - this latter

scheme was destined to be never built. Hamilton Neil's work on display were designs for a marble wall tablet and for a free-standing war memorial (possibly his mercat cross for Renfrew). Others had schemes on show but some of these may never have got beyond the drawing board and if they did they have not yet been identified.

J. Donald Mills of Dundee had his proposals for the Tayport memorial on view and these were described simply as being "Roman in character"⁴⁴ but even today this elegant arched gateway is a memorial worth seeking out. It is a quite splendid classical monument proving that little in the art of monument making could surpass those with classical ancestry.

Percy Portsmouth, of Edinburgh College of Art, had three bronze sculptural figures exhibited. These were likely to be his figures for Elgin, Thurso and Wick. Hazel Armour, a student at that college, also had a bronze figure on show and while it had been described as "artistic" it is not known whether it ended up as a war memorial or not (it certainly cannot be traced).

Perhaps the most prolific of the exhibitors was Barbour F. Bowie of Dumfries who had displayed several proposals for Dumfries-shire monuments. These included a memorial lychgate, a veteran's home, a village cairn, an ornamental gateway to a school, a mercat cross and surely a welcome addition to the memorial ranks and to the language of monumentality - a peace tower. Bowie certainly demonstrated almost the full scope of memorial types available and the range from utilitarian to monumental.

It is simplest to conclude that in the main the advice given on memorials was of a loosely aesthetic nature rather than firmly practical. There was a dearth of new ideas on the form war memorials might take and no indication of costs. Though Stirling Maxwell and the others might lament the uninspired earlier monuments they could supply few new solutions or much sound advice.

Yet no matter how narrow the range of options and no matter how much advice on good design might be offered and in spite of some excellent examples in books and exhibitions each committee still had to make up its own mind on what it would erect in its own locality. They could not simply use the designs exhibited or simply copy someone else's scheme no matter how well designed and how many plaudits it had received. The copyright acts endeavour to prevent infringement of designs. Committees were also restricted by finance as much as by lack of artistic discernment.

They had to select a memorial within their budget and though they desired their memorial to be distinctively their own they perhaps hoped that the wide choice in the monumental mason's pattern book would give them that semblance of individuality for which craved. It is likely that sound practical reasons dictated that the war memorial was selected from somebody's catalogue and not from the walls of an exhibition. All things being equal and although they might have preferred other solutions committees had to like what they could afford. They had to be pragmatic as well as practical.

Choosing the right design was, one suspects, never an easy task and that the architect J.A.Morris's plea for a "revival of art and craftsmanship" and for them to "to produce the best and the best only"⁴⁵ was rather a forlorn plaintive cry. What should have happened is rarely what happened. With limited ideas and lack of vision together with restricted funds committees simply had to do their best.

CHAPTER SEVEN - PART THREE

SELECTING THE DESIGN AND THE DESIGNERS

"What is wanted ...is the best possible design in every case, and that can certainly be better attained by letting all and sundry compete".¹

1. Building Industries, 16 August 1923.

Graves and Hodge have painted a graphic picture of the great dilemma in selecting the appropriate design for the war memorial ¹:

"so great was the demand for war memorial designs and so puzzled were committees as to where they should go for them that the Medici Society inserted a full-page disclaimer in the weekly journals; 'In view of the daily enquiries for price-lists, catalogues, etc., of Memorials, the Medici Society begs to repeat that it does not supply "stock designs", nor issue price-lists or catalogues of Memorials'".

It was perhaps not surprising that committees should have turned to the Medici Society for many would not have known where to seek information. There may have been a tradition of erecting memorials but most people were new to it even if they knew of it. The Medici Society, named after the great Florentine family of patrons of the arts, had been formed in 1906 and had started to produce coloured prints of 'Old Masters'. They were possibly regarded as something of experts in the art world and the firm was widely known because its postcards were on sale in many art galleries. It had also published a number of Regimental Histories which had been "specially commissioned by the regiments" and were only available from each regiment.² but perhaps the problem arose because their catalogue stated³:

"The Medici Society is always pleased to give advice and estimates in regard to the publication and production of Regimental Histories, War Memorial volumes, etc.".

The "etc." may have been misleading and they did offer "to give advice". It maybe had not been clearly expressed, but the Medici Society was interested in producing War Memorial volumes and not volumes of war memorials!

In 1919 the Edinburgh bronze founder Charles Henshaw, when asked by an enquirer about designs for memorials, stated ⁴:

"I do not issue a list of Memorials on principal, as it encourages an amount of repetition which is undesirable and not in the best interests of either the craftsman or his client".

While the Medici Society may have rather smugly disclaimed involvement and Henshaw may have frowned on them, many firms engaged in memorial work did produce catalogues and lists. As we have already noted many of the granite merchants of Aberdeen as well as local monumental masons produced catalogues. Many of those involved in memorials were old established firms but they were willing to introduce new designs and alter and adapt existing patterns to suit specific requirements. They were anxious to please prospective clients.

These catalogues and brochures would have come into their own once a firm had a few war memorials erected and photographs of actual war memorials could be used, rather than simply artist's impressions or design sketches. It was better to have a photograph of a real war memorial in a village than simply one of rather a grand gravestone in a cemetery. Messrs G. Maile & Son, the firm of London church furnishing craftsmen, progressed into outdoor monuments from what had been a vast business making tablets for inside churches. They issued a selection of brochures depicting aspects of their memorial work and one which they proudly entitled Some Interesting War Memorials illustrated some of the war memorials they had recently erected, including a granite celtic cross for the Isle of Wight. To demonstrate their prowess in the memorial field the leaflet carried the statement - "sculptors of Lord Kitchener's Memorial".⁵

Selecting from someone's catalogue was not the only way, just simply the easiest. Many war memorial committees decided on a selective competition whereby a handful of architects and/or sculptors were invited to submit a design or designs, perhaps based on a stipulated total cost for the memorial. In these limited competitions payment was generally only made for the winning design

for it was the one to be erected. Presumably those who had been unsuccessful hoped that all their efforts would not be totally in vain and that some other locality would snap up their design.

In Rutherglen, for example, it was decided that "three or four sculptors be asked to submit a design".⁶ The three approached were Kellock Brown, George H. Paulin and Alex. W. Young, all prominent Glasgow sculptors but somehow a little flexibility was introduced and the firms of Messrs Galt & Barr, Scott and Rae, and Robert Gray were also able to be included in the competition. When the votes were taken one of Mr.Gray's designs had received ten votes to Mr. Paulin's six. Voting for the other schemes had been five for Mr. Young's, four for Mr. Gray's second design and only three for Kellock Brown. The Sub-Committee, therefore, agreed "to ask Mr. Robert Gray, Monumental Sculptor, to execute a model of his design No.3. and submit it for approval".⁷ It was, of course, stipulated that the memorial when constructed was to cost no more than £1,600 in total.

Other committees opted for an open competition, whereby an unlimited number of entrants might apply to the Secretary of the Committee or, more often than not, the Town Clerk for details of the competition, and to whom they must submit their design. A closing date was set by which time all entries had to be submitted. Some Committees charged a small fee to cover costs and this may also have helped eliminate the 'time-wasters' who simply wanted details but did not really intend to enter. In Dunfermline, for example, where Sir J. J. Burnet was to assess the entries, entrants were asked to submit £1. 1/- as a fee for "the conditions, plan of the site and photograph of the surroundings".⁸

Stirling decided to go in for a somewhat limited "open" competition. It was confined to "architects from Stirling" and it was stressed that the competition was one in which only "local architects might submit designs".⁹ The Committee had originally asked the architect of their Municipal Buildings, J. Gaff Gillespie, to prepare

a scheme and he had produced a design for a triple-arched monument. For various reasons, not the least of which was that "funds were insufficient",¹⁰ it was agreed to depart from the idea. Instead the artist D. Y. Cameron and the architect James Miller were appointed as advisors and they declared a preference for a pillar-type monument. In the competition, in which they were to act as assessors, it was thus perhaps not too surprising that the winning design was in fact a free-stone pillar. George R. Davidson had submitted the winning design and his chaste column still graces the site opposite the Municipal Buildings.

There was frequently much squabbling over the rules and conditions of competitions and the Royal Institute of British Architects had established its own set of rules. As early as 1918, the RIBA Competitions Committee had warned its members¹¹:

"...about taking part in competitions which involve the spending of public money where the competitions do not accord with the RIBA Regulations for Architectural Competitions ...it is the duty of members, in the interests of the profession, to send a copy of conditions to the Secretary of the RIBA without delay so that action might be taken to get irregular conditions put into proper order".

It was only after rules had been sorted out that architects were supposed to get involved in the various competitions held. Most major towns and cities organised some form of competition to secure the best design.

At Wick, due to problems over the conditions, the RIBA advised its members not to participate in the competition until the "rules were revised".¹² Whether they were ever revised or not need not be of any great concern for the sculptor Percy Portsmouth won the competition and his Roman Senator still stands on top of a handsome pedestal provided by the local firm of Messrs Thomas Hood and Sons. At Hawick there was also trouble over the rules but this was short-

circuited when the Council purchased the statue 'Spirit of Youth' at the RSA Exhibition and simply commissioned J.B. Dunn to design a monument to take it. His elegant cenotaph with the youthful figure in front of it adorns Wilton Park to this day.

Generally one or two assessors were appointed to judge the entries. They were usually distinguished architects or artists and many of them had designed memorials of quality in their own right. Prizes or "premiums" were usually awarded to the first three designs and occasionally a fourth prize was also offered. The winning design was also the one that was erected so the architect gained his/her fees for the work or the sculptor got the agreed sum for his statue.

At Troon, where the noted architect James Miller was assessor (he had designed Troon's Municipal Buildings as well as its railway station), an open competition had been held with three premiums. The results were: first - Walter Gilbert (£25), second - W.B.J. Wright with Robert Gray as sculptor (£18) and third - F.W. Doyle-Jones (£10). Thus Walter Gilbert was commissioned to make his bronze statue of Britannia which proudly stands by the shore.

In Rothesay, as the winner was expected to execute the work, only second, third and fourth prizes were awarded these being £18, £10 & £5 respectively. The Glasgow architect John Keppie acted as assessor and all the designs had required to be submitted to the Town Clerk by 19 February 1921.¹³ As this was to prove another example of a dispute over the rules, architects had to wait until the conditions were resolved and therefore the date for submission of designs had to be "extended to March 26th"¹⁴ once the conditions were regularised. The monument was to cost £2,000 and the winning entry was that by the sculptor Charles d'O Pilkington Jackson.

Dundee had an open competition with Sir John James Burnet as the assessor and it resulted in 125 design entries "from all over Britain"¹⁵ and with prizes of £250, £150 and £100 awarded. The winning design selected by Burnet was that by Thomas Braddock of

Wimbledon. Open competitions often resulted in English firms entering the competitions and occasionally winning them. In Dunfermline, again with Burnet as assessor the Manchester firm of Taylor and Young had its design selected out of the 34 submitted. Out of the 150 entries for the Brechin one Wright and Wrigley of Wakefield had their design selected and the list of the other prize winners illustrated how near and wide the net could be cast - entrants included Robert Brodie of Cathcart, Glasgow, Joseph Addison of Leeds and Messrs Allen and Frisken of Dundee. Entries for that particular competition had to be submitted for 11 January 1924¹⁶ and thus rather beyond the time when most memorials had been erected perhaps accounts for the vast number of entries.

Scottish architects, of course, still managed to gain substantial awards. In Coatbridge the much respected and long established practice of Cullen Lochhead and Brown acted as assessors and they selected the classical design of Mrs. Edith Burnet Hughes (niece of Sir J.J. Burnet) while at Hamilton her husband Professor Harold Hughes (a former partner in the Burnet office) won the competition with his design which had been selected by George A. Paterson, the President of the Glasgow Institute of Architects. At Kirkcaldy the Glasgow based A.N. Paterson acted as assessor and John McKay won the first premium of £50, J.M. Honeyman of Glasgow the second £30 and Mr. William Williamson of Kirkcaldy the £20 third premium. Williamson was later to execute the Second World War Memorial which was to be alongside the earlier memorial so perhaps he was even to capitalise later on his ideas of 1925.

Choosing the right design was often made easier by simply choosing the architect. Often the local architect was asked by the committee to prepare a design for a war memorial as was the case in Turriff where W.L. Duncan prepared a scheme for a lynchgate for the churchyard and then was asked to obtain estimates for its erection. (At the end of the day, however, the red sandstone arched gate to William Kelly's design was sited at the New Cemetery). At Newton Stewart Alex Young was consulted by the local committee to prepare

plans for the war memorial "be it memorial or institute".¹⁷ A handsome stone obelisk was selected to grace the square of the town, perhaps because funds did not stretch to an institute.

Often individual architects were asked to give one or two suggestions with an indication of likely costs to help the committees come to a decision. For the Mortlach Parish Memorial at Dufftown, A. Marshall McKenzie prepared three schemes of varying costs between £1,025 and £1,380.

Frequently Committees were helped or hindered by the various comments and ideas which were submitted by readers to the local newspapers. There was generally a wide range of views on the form each memorial should take and no shortage of opinions. Lerwick was no exception. The local architect J. M. Aitken at his own behest produced plans for the erection of a new tower for Fort Charlotte and this tower was to contain not only a memorial room but a museum, reading room, lecture hall and the usual offices. Robert Williamson, also of Lerwick, perhaps had a somewhat over-inflated view of himself as sculptor for he devised a grandiose scheme for a truly monumental piece. He produced a large scale model - one hesitates to use the word maquette for that would give it an artistic dimension which it totally lacked - to show his prowess in memorial making.

It is worth quoting at length the press description of his model which Building Industries believed the model reflected "the greatest credit in Mr. Williamson's artistic tastes and mechanical skill".¹⁸ It is worth quoting, at length, the press description of the proposals.¹⁹

"The model is to a scale of one and a half inches to the foot, and its size if completed would be twenty-eight feet high, twenty eight feet wide, and twenty one feet deep. Mr. Williamson's suggestion is that the base should be of Shetland grey granite, with two oblong pillars rising on each side of

the buttressed circular pillar; the front would be adorned by two Corinthian pillars in Roeness Hill red granite; on the top of the main central pillar there is the figure of a bearded Viking in full dress; while on his right is a group representing the Navy, one of the figures standing by an anti-submarine gun, and the other ready with a shell. On the right is a group typical of the Army - a Highlander kneeling in the act of firing his rifle, and another standing close behind him with his rifle at the charge. The group at the base of the central figure represents an old sailor speaking to a Boy Scout and a Sea Scout; while at the side of the model which cannot be seen in the photograph (which accompanied the article) the figure of a woman - one of these anxious souls who learned to watch and to wait with a young child holding on to her dress. The woman is seen in an attitude gazing out to sea. The model is ornamented around the base with twelve shields which it is suggested should be 'of burnished copper' and on which the name of Shetland's Fallen Heroes should be inscribed. On the panel below the Viking the following inscription is emblazoned:-

"Erected to the memory of the 549 Shetlanders, officers, non-commissioned officers and men, who died for their country in the Great War, 1914-1918.

"Ye crossed the sea like men of old,
And broke the tyrant enemies bold
On Liberty:
And Freedom, as your names shall last
That Viking spirits still hold fast
In Memory".

One is tempted to say "Phew!"

One shudders to think what the memorial would really have looked like had it been built - the photograph of the model which Building

Industries published revealed it to be a most dreadful clutter. It seemed to possess everything but the proverbial kitchen sink.

Perhaps, it was as well that the Shetland War Memorial Committee called in the services of the very safe Robert Lorimer who designed a dignified and elegant cross and even if it was not the most imaginative or exciting of war memorials it has a solid worth about it. Its very austerity certainly reminds us that Lorimer rightly rejected every vestige of Williamson's ideas.

Occasionally, even after having appointed an architect, Committees were unhappy with the design selected and called for revisions. J.M. Bowie of Dumfries was called upon to produce "fresh designs" for his pedestal for the Annan war memorial.²⁰ George Washington Browne had to produce several schemes for the Keith memorial. The war had barely ended when his first proposals were published and yet in October 1921 it was further reported that a "revised" scheme had been approved and with "work to start at an early date".²¹

Selecting a suitable architect was often made simpler if a town had a local man who had moved away and made a name for himself elsewhere. Often those with a link with a particular town, especially if they had been born there, desired to give not only of their best but to give of their services without charge. This was obviously an idea that much appealed to Committees lacking much in the way of funds. Two very successful London-based architects were to design their home town war memorials. - F.W. Troup at Huntly and J.J. Joass at Dingwall.

Francis W. Troup had been born in Huntly in 1859. The son of a Congregational minister, he had moved south to work in the Glasgow office of Campbell Douglas and Sellars, architects of the city's St. Andrew's Halls, before moving to London where he became one of the leading exponents of the Arts and Crafts Movement. His building for the Art Workers Guild Hall was an early casualty of the war: it was damaged by bombs in September 1914 and was believed to have

been "one of the first compensation claims made in London in the Great War".²² Troup designed the elegant Huntly War Memorial, set on the roadway leading towards the Gordon Schools and Huntly Castle.

John James Joass was born in Dingwall in 1863 where his father had a small architectural practice but after a brief spell in Glasgow the younger Joass went to London in 1898 where he was to join the office of John Belcher, a renowned London architect. It was out of that office had come the most magnificent of British memorials - the Ashton Monument at Lancaster, clearly visible from motorway or train as one heads north and, frequently illuminated, it is difficult not to notice it. Though not a war memorial it is a monument of such splendour that few war memorials approach it in quality of design and craftsmanship. Pevsner has called it "the grandest monument in England"²³ so it is perhaps not surprising that it has few rivals from war memorials but then no war memorial cost £87,000 (the Ashton Memorial cost that in 1909). Great cities spent considerably less and the towns and cities which did spend vast sums or at least went in for major expenditure generally demanded more than a mere monument. Aberdeen got its Memorial Hall and Art Gallery extension, Kirkcaldy a new art gallery, Perth restored her ancient St. John's Church, Paisley went in for a piece of urban renewal with a town planning scheme and Galashiels obtained new Council Offices and all of these projects incorporated a distinctive and impressive war memorial. At Dingwall Joass was told "to take steps to proceed as long as £2,017 was not exceeded".²⁴ He did produce a fine memorial with a bronze kilted soldier by J.A. Stevenson on top of a sandstone base at a cost of £2,000.

Keeping the costs down to what committees could afford to spend was doubtlessly a major contributory factor in determining the design, its material of construction and the embellishments which might enhance it. The designer had to work within these constraints. Architects have ever had problems dealing with individual clients: one can only surmise at the difficulties in attempting to design for a committee, and for a committee which was likely to be subjected to

countless views and advice from so many external sources.

Most architects/artists could recite countless accounts of the problem of dealing with a single client over a commission let alone the burden of endeavouring to satisfy a committee. The problem of war memorials was that over and above that, there were the additional serious problem of funding. Few committees seldom had, at best, an over-abundance of funds while many, at worst, ever had sufficient. Committees were also by and large new to the task of commissioning a work of art and the few members of the committee who had had any sort of experience in architectural/artist/client relationships were also new to serving on committees.

Curl has told of the problems of Hyde Park's Royal Artillery Memorial and while it may not be typical it had nevertheless highlighted the problems which could be encountered and which sadly were faced by C.S. Jagger. Curl has written²⁵:

"...and the constant chopping and changing must have tried his patience (although he himself proposed and carried out some major changes that did not help the timetable). It is likely that the Committee underestimated the complexity of the project.

"Throughout the period when he was preparing the Memorial, members of the Committee viewed the work in Jagger's studio as it proceeded. Every change in the design (whether proposed by Jagger, by the Committee, or forced upon both by the Fine Arts Commission) was discussed at great length. Although Jagger was paid £25,000 for his work, he actually did far more than he had agreed, and his contract included the organisation of the building work as well as the design. Even the discovery of a disused sewer once the foundations had been dug led the Committee to suggest that no action should be taken, but that Jagger should be left to sort it out and pay for the filling out of his fee. It must have been a relief to Jagger

that the bronze for the sculptures was donated, and that he did not have to pay for it".

One cannot but feel that Grassic Gibbon's Kinraddie adopted a sensible solution when they left memorial-making to one man, namely the parish minister. Gibbon has told that ²⁶:

"...he'd been handed the money, to raise a memorial for Kinraddie's bit men that the War had killed. Folk thought he'd have a fine stone angel, with a night-gown on, raised up at Kinraddie's cross-roads. But he sent for a mason instead and had the old stone circle by Blawearie Loch raised up and cleaned and set all in place, real heathen-like, and a paling put round it".

Kinraddie had acquired a monolith just like Blair Atholl or Crook of Devon. Gibbons' Mearns does, in fact, seem to lack such a standing stone.

The people's disappointment at Kinraddie's memorial was perhaps a common reaction. Many memorials were not particularly impressive. Many places which got "a fine stone angel, with a night gown on" did not appreciate them either. Pleasing everybody would not be easy. It was perhaps only those monuments which were by established artists and architects, or at least those so trained, that are above the mundane. The men of the granite industry had been trained to make funereal monuments: they were craftsmen rather than artists. Sadly so many memorials are the work of solid craftsmanship and short of artistic flair.

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CHAPTER EIGHT

AND WHERE SHOULD IT BE LOCATED?

"Where and by whom shall we be remembered?"

Edwin Muir,
from 'The Day before the Last Day'.¹

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Christopher Isherwood, in his novel The Memorial, had written ¹:

"The Memorial cross had been erected on the spur of land at the back of the church, overlooking the valley. The dark edge of the hill rose behind it, and everybody agreed that the site could not have been better chosen, although it was unfortunately not visible from the road".

Thus he has described his Chapel Bridge war memorial which seemed to satisfy everyone and most criteria. Finding the ideal location and one that suited most people was another of the problems encountered by War Memorial Committees and one that met with mixed degrees of success.

Once it had been agreed what the actual form a memorial should take and having considered and selected the design thought to be most *appropriate there was the additional problem of where to locate it.* No doubt many considered the location first and then sought to find a memorial to suit that location but it is possible that some committees might have opted for a specific monument and then sought out a suitable spot on which to place it (or at least that is what would appear to be the case looking at some monuments today in their inappropriate sites).

It was not an easy task. In towns the best sites had already been given over to be where the statue of Queen Victoria or where the Jubilee Fountain now stood. It had frequently proved a problem as to where to locate the King Edward VII memorial. Dunoon had even contemplated moving her beloved Highland Mary Statue away from its impressive hilltop site in order to make way for the war memorial. The site at Aberdeen earmarked for the statue of King Edward became the site of the war memorial.

The great Lutyens has told of his experience in one village. In a letter to his wife he reported ²:

"Jack and Lady Horner and Katharine met the villagers and walked round all the morning inspecting sites for the War memorial at Mells, a funny procession. I walked miles Sunday morning with Katharine Asquith to have a preliminary survey. Found a perfect site in the centre of the village, which no one else found, or thought of, and with a little tact and patience it was carried by the villagers with acclamation".

One wonders, of course, quite where the others had looked or why he had to walk so many miles when a site could so easily be found in the High Street and to everyone's satisfaction. The Arts & Crafts architect Ernest Gimson's last work was to prove one of his most awkward for it had been intended to erect the Memorial Cross in the centre of the market-place but "due to considerable local opposition to that site the War Memorial Committee decided to place it in the churchyard".³

Not everyone got his or her own way regarding choice of site. Ross Shearer, librarian at Rutherglen Library, became Convener of Rutherglen War Memorial Committee and with a group of fellow members of the Ruglonian Society he visited East Kilbride in June 1921 to see the War Memorial Cross erected there on land gifted by Mr. Allan Barnes Graham and which had recently been unveiled. It was, incidently, an ornate celtic cross to a design by Dr. Peter Macgregor Chalmers and had been unveiled on Sunday 1 May 1921 by Captain Walter Elliot MP. Shearer believed the visit had been of great value for he reckoned those present "learned some things that (would) prove useful when Rutherglen's plans (were) being considered".⁴ Of the East Kilbride memorial he stated ⁵:

"It was a surprise to many of the company to find the monument, not as they expected at the entrance to the village, nor in the market place, nor even in the Public Park, all of which (were) excellent sites, but away in a secluded corner among the trees, fully a quarter of a mile from the town".

Having waxed eloquently on the merits of that particular memorial and its naturalistic setting Shearer turned his focus towards his home town. He wrote ⁶:

"Like East Kilbride, Rutherglen has an admirable site for a scheme of this nature already to hand on the Corporation lands of High Crosshill to which a via dolorosa (way of the cross) could be maintained by planting of a double row of willows along the line from Overtoun Park South Gate. This site overlooks both the town and the neighbouring city besides commanding an extensive view of the country to the south-east. It was here... stood the Pre-Reformation cross from which Crosshill took its name. It was from this very spot we watched the last contingent of Rutherglen's fighting force gallantly march away to the Great War".

It was doubtlessly a splendid argument but no matter how much he hoped that "the common practice of choosing a site on the main *thoroughfare will be avoided*"⁷ it was alas all in vain. Even the site in Overtoun Park which the Sub-Committee had recommended was rejected by the subscribers at a public meeting when they decided "on a site at the west end of the Main Street".⁸ Even the eventual decision on that site had not been taken lightly - a mock-up full size model of the proposed monument had been placed in front of the library and this had resulted in Alex. B. Allen writing to the Clerk stating ⁹:

"...the height of it appears to be out of proportion to the height of the building behind it and if the design has been agreed to by the committee then I think the question of another site should be considered, say standing by itself at the West or East end of the Main Street".

With a skeletal frame of the proposed memorial placed at the library as well as in the Main Street it was hoped the Sub-Committee would "be better able to judge"¹⁰ which of these sites would be most

suitable. The adherents of the other sites were not, however, ready to merely let the matter rest. They pursued their own preferences with some diligence. David Hardie was one of those dissatisfied and stated that he wished ¹¹:

"...to see the Memorial erected in a suitable site in Overtoun Park ... amid the beauty of nature nothing could mar neither the design nor the solemn message of the monument to mankind".

For the most part, the sites selected by committees created few problems other than the technical and constructional ones associated with any building project. The sites selected were those considered by the committees to be the best available and the ones best suited to show their monument to the best advantage. Often the sites were simply the most appropriate - simply the one they had been gifted, or one that was already in public ownership, or merely one they could afford to acquire.

Occasionally the site selected led to a few problems because it did not please everyone. The Ayrshire town of Dalmellington was perhaps rather exceptional in that that the dispute resulted in legal action at Ayr Sheriff Court. Village greens were among the most popular locations for war memorials and yet local solicitor W. B. Addison, endeavoured to prevent Dalmellington War Memorial Committee from erecting their memorial on the town common adjacent to his property. He believed that the war memorial "would obstruct his view if erected on the site proposed by the committee" but there was a fairly simple solution for if it was "moved a few yards he would have had no objection to it".¹²

The defendants on the otherhand stated that it was to be located one hundred feet from Mr. Addison's home and that the consent of the heritors, the Parish Council and Ayr District Committee had all been obtained. The Sheriff, however, in granting the interim interdict, declared ¹³:

"...it would be rather a pity to have, in front of the pursuer's window a large obelisk blocking his view when its removal a few yards away would remove his objection".

It was a remarkably easy problem to solve.

The few examples from South of the Border together with East Kilbride, Rutherglen and Dalmeilington cases all reveal some of the locational options open to committees for the siting of memorials. Clearly what was considered suitable and appropriate by one committee was deemed not to be so by other committees. Each committee had to decide what was best for their particular memorial because each knew the locality in which it was to be placed and each endeavoured to choose a site which best suited both the monument and the community.

There have been few studies of villages and their development. None were available in the pre-1914-18 world and the pioneering work in the field was to be Sharp's fascinating study The Anatomy of the Village. Though full of interesting detail one will search in vain for any mention of the war memorial in its text. Some of the photographic illustrations in the book do reveal the visual importance of a war memorial to the village scene if located in a strategic site as a terminal feature at the end of a vista or street or as a feature of interest on the village green but this is ignored in the text. It seems surprising that what was to become such a common village feature should be ignored or whose importance did not seem to cross the mind of the author. It is difficult to comprehend how any study "of the principles of a design whether conscious or unconscious" which have given villages "their beauty, their charm, their character"¹⁴ could ignore such a commonly inserted feature. War memorials were not only almost universally placed into villages but became a key element in their appearance - features which punctuate and predominate almost every village. War memorials were truly at the centre of things when placed there and still remain visual features at the heart of so many places. Any anatomy of a

village which overlooked them seems to have missed the heart of the matter - war memorials were and are core elements in any village.

War memorials were so often regarded as being so central to village life that they were often surrogate mercat crosses and often stood where once the common parish pump had stood on the edge of the village green. Even if erected in days long after mercat cross and parish pump had any real significance or function, memorials became a visual focus of village life and provided a feeling of community and identity. Sharp was not alone in giving such scant regard to the importance of war memorials for being commonplace they have tended to be treated rather disdainfully. Perhaps Sharp chose to ignore them because of the wide variety of locations in which they were placed and thus it was found difficult to generalise. No matter the reason they were overlooked. An opportunity to comment on their locations and the suitability of their sites was not taken and the chance to offer guidance on principles to be followed in the future was not grasped. Clearly public art and monuments had no place in that town planner's scheme of things.

For the most part War Memorial Committees selected sites which were conventional and pleasantly acceptable to most people. Robert Lowell in his memorable poem "For the Union Dead" had some harsh words to say on Boston's American Civil War Memorial. "Their monument sticks like a fishbone in the city's throat"¹⁵ is not a very pleasant picture of something that is meant to satisfy some emotions as well as please the eye. Few would wish to point to any Scottish war memorial and claim that it was so visually offensive or dramatically uncomfortable as sticking into the throat of the locality. Yet, many are not pleasant in either design and siting and many are in far from ideal locations with little visual impact. For the most part we have come to accept them, to take them for granted and ignore them, in much the way as Sharp had done. We have even felt the need to move the odd monument to suit later needs. They have seldom, if ever, been a problem: they have sadly been quite forgettable.

Few rules regarding the siting of war memorials could ever have been very applicable or even necessary. Each committee had its own view as to what site was best for its own monument. In any event such advice as was available was of scant proportions. The Royal Academy's War Memorial Committee had very little to say on the subject and its public pronouncements offering suggestions to those contemplating erecting memorials were somewhat vague. Two of its statements did, however, deal with the siting of memorials. Its most helpful statement considered the selection of the site and it was interesting not because of the sound advice it offered but because it really gave the impression that they believed that ordinary people did not have the slightest clue.

Their first point was ¹⁶:

"the site of the memorial, especially if in the open, is of vital importance. Any odd place will not do, and advice should be taken as to the suitability of the site before designs are obtained. In large towns, for instance, a memorial should not be so placed as to obstruct traffic; on the other hand, it should occupy a position sufficiently conspicuous to be worthy of its object; and the value or disadvantage of existing buildings as a background should be considered in deciding its position".

The other statement dealt more specifically with the treatment of the chosen site and the need for careful planning and landscaping. It stated simply ¹⁷:

"In smaller towns or villages the setting of the memorial, the approaches to it, and its immediate surroundings should be carefully considered, and the cost of laying out the site, when necessary, should be included in the scene. The effect of a memorial is often entirely destroyed by want of a careful laying out of the site".

They were careful not to give any examples of bad practice from the past nor even to proffer suggestions for the present.

With such vague and general advice on offer committees had simply to proceed and put up their memorials on the sites available and on those they considered to be the most suitable. Now that the memorials are all in place it is possible to take an overview and examine the sort of sites which proved most popular with most committees.

The range of options for locations for memorials was never likely to have been great and one assumes it was generally a very straightforward matter of placing a monument on one of a few sites available from a very small range of favoured locations. Like all general rules, of course, there were exceptions and some memorials are tucked away in the most out of the way locations for reasons that may have been both sound and obvious then but are now obscure. Even these isolated monuments in many respects still conform to some basic concepts and were placed in the type of sites normally popular.

The Unst War Memorial stands in the little cemetery at Norwick presumably because it was the parish cemetery and cemeteries were a common place to erect war memorial cenotaphs and not because it was ever at the centre of things. The cemetery is the most northerly one in the British Isles and for that reason is of interest for the Norwick area of Shetland abounds in 'northernmost' things. In any event there are such a sparse scattering of houses there that there was perhaps never a centre at which to place a monument. Thus the cemetery, and not the centre, became the war memorial site and whereas cemeteries are rarely visited these days in the 1914-18 world cemetery visiting was a ritual. Time has therefore made the war memorial more remote than ever.

War memorials being cenotaphs were a sort of substitute for a gravestone and thus these monuments to the dead were frequently

placed in local churchyards or cemeteries. There is a certain poignancy in setting the cenotaph or empty tomb amid the real tombstones and it had long become a traditional place. The Necropolis at Glasgow, as we have seen, has many historical examples of monuments to those who were buried far from home yet whose kinsfolk wished to remember them among their own. To be among the dead was a convenient and symbolic place to site a memorial: had they died at home they would have been buried besides friends and relatives so it was appropriate to put the war memorial in the same burial ground. Since the war memorial was not a tombstone it required to be somehow different from the other stones. Thus it is generally larger and occasionally more ornate than the stones which surround it. It was also generally given a prominent site within the cemetery. Many war memorials took the form of an arched entrance-way or gateway to the churchyard (examples being Cruden Bay, Acharacle, and Kintore) or to the cemetery as at Strathpeffer, Turriff, or Mid Calder. Many were, like the Norwick one, simply another monument within the churchyard or cemetery. At Haddington, Glenbervie and Ladykirk, to name but a few, the monument is in the churchyard while at Colinton, New Cumnock, Morar and Blantyre it is set within the cemetery.

Although Sharp overlooked them, village greens were a much preferred location and Dalmeny, Dirliton, Carstairs and Whitehouse are among the many places in Scotland to have opted for that site - a site which was truly at the centre of things. In larger centres of population public parks or municipal gardens were seen as another ideal site, being an attractive yet easily obtainable solution since the site was already in public ownership. Hamilton, Fort William, and Dalry all have a park or garden setting for the memorial while Edinburgh's Princes Street Gardens is simply one of the finest memorial parades around. Some committees, rather than opt for restful gardens decided on busy high streets and thus on the Main Street of Wigtown, Crosshill, Thurso, and Ranchory now stands the war memorial. Elsewhere the market place or town square, being a truly public spot, was considered the best solution and thus places

such as Portree, Moffat and Annan have their monument in the crowded centre of things and now amid a sea of parked cars.

Those who placed war memorials in the front of major public buildings have not made it clear why they did so. We must ponder whether it was to give an enhanced status to the building or whether it was to give added prestige to the war memorial. With public buildings as a backdrop this was a location widely adopted by committees. Memorials can be seen in front of schools at Craigbank (Cumnock), Larbert, Bellshill and Dollar and in front of churches at Elgin, Kenmore and Kinghorn. Both were eminently sensible locations for most of those who fell were likely to have been former pupils of these schools and these churches were the parish churches for their communities. Surely only the importance of the building to the community, rather than links with those who died, can have been the reason behind erecting memorials in front of public halls such as those at Pitlessie, Alloway, Pollokshaws and Crook of Devon. Other buildings deemed important enough to have the war memorial in front of them were railway stations (e.g. Dingwall and Crianlarich) or 'Miners' Institutes (as at Ormiston, Balgonie and Coaltown of Wemyss). One surprising location was that in front of the police station as at Uddingston but perhaps it may be simply explained by the fact that it is a central site rather than to stress the law-abiding qualities of the inhabitants. Lerwick's most important building was the Town Hall and thus a site in front of it was without doubt the most important location in the town. Kirkcudbright's major feature of interest is still its picturesque old castle and it was in front of it that its war memorial was given pride of place.

Some were, as has been noted, part of a grander scheme of things and thus the war memorial has a very prominent site at the heart of a major memorial ensemble. The bronze horseman at Galashiels stands in front of what was then new Council Chambers, Aberdeen's memorial is a very distinctive yet component part of the Art Gallery complex while a stone cenotaph stands in the centre of a wall amid memorial

gardens in front of the Kirkcaldy Art Gallery.

As we have already noted many churches desired to have their own memorial, one that was specific to their own congregation and over and above the general memorial for the district. For the most part a simple bronze or marble tablet inside the church sufficed but on occasions congregations desired something more public and therefore erected war memorial crosses outside. Churches at Pollokshields, Girvan, Strathaven, and Hamilton are among those who have placed a war memorial in front of the building.

The chief asset of a seaside town is undoubtedly its sea-front and thus it is there that many monuments have been erected - Millport, Largs, Oban and Lochinver are but a few examples. The pierhead was, like the railway station, the departure point for those who had gone to war and therefore had a symbolic role as well as being a prominent spot on which to set the war memorial. Port Ellen, Rothesay and Footdee were among places to opt for that site.

A spot overlooking the harbour had obviously similar connotations as well as offering a commanding location - Kyleakin, Findochty and Dunbar were among places where that was the final choice. Hilltop sites such as those at Macduff, Forfar and Strathaven were another popular location and some memorials in this category have become truly superb features of the landscape. The granite column rising from its cairn-like base on the hillside near Dolphinton, West Lothian is particularly impressive yet in itself a very simple monument: it is the site that makes it worthy of note. The little obelisk on the hillock by the roadside at Loch Sunart which is the Strontian War Memorial catches our eye because it commands the scene not because it is an eye-catching work of art. Stonehaven's ruined temple, Peterculter's battlemented tower, Stornoway's baronial keep and Dundee's beacon tower on the Law are not only fine monuments but are in superb locations. They are impossible to miss but would be impressive and distinctive on any site: the sites on which they were located were chosen in strokes of near genius. They are above

the clatter of everyday-life and they peacefully and serenely focus our attention above the usual and the humdrum - they, if any stone can, make us think of things spiritual rather than temporal.

The splendid round tower on the shore at Larzetto Point on the Holy Loch does not have a high commanding position and is set by a busy road but nonetheless its location gives it a powerful presence. It is also a reminder of our architectural heritage being a modern version of the Celtic Round Tower but as the road skirts the lochside it is an imposing feature of note. From the sea it has an almost beacon-like effect and is as dramatic as any lighthouse. It is a reminder of safe haven and home. Its siting and its design are masterly.

Perhaps the most poignant of the memorials are those located near the scene of tragedy. One is the little obelisk on the shore at Holm, Stornoway, erected to commemorate the 205 men who lost their lives when HMY Iolaire struck the rocks of the Beasts of Holm on New Years Day 1919 - men who had survived the horrors of war were to drown a few yards from their homes.

On lofty Marwick Head, Orkney, stands a tall battlemented tower which commemorates Lord Kitchener, the Secretary of State for War, who perished with almost all the ship's company (only twelve survived out of the 655 on board) when HMS Hampshire struck a German mine on 5 June 1916.

On the 44 feet high cliff-tops of the Mull of Oa, at the southern end of Islay, stands a stone built tower to commemorate 256 American soldiers who drowned when their troopships Tuscania and Otranto were torpedoed and sank on 5 February 1918.

The dramatic events and the locations have made these monuments of much historical interest as well as being simply war memorials. Regretably another major event has not been suitably commemorated. No monument at Quintinshill, near Gretna, has yet been put up to

mark the railway disaster when a troop train collided with a Welsh coal train and an express train on 22 May 1915. Men of the 7th Battalion Royal Scots from Leith were en route to Gallipoli but were to die before they had even crossed over the English border. A granite cross in Rosebank Cemetery (where they were buried) at Leith was erected to commemorate them and a plaque was also placed in Leith Hospital (it is now closed) but only the name 'Quintinshill' on a railway siding provides any link with the disaster.

Most memorials do not recall a drama which happened at or near that site but instead commemorate men who died on the far-off battlefield. Most memorials do not have grandiose settings but instead are to be found in very ordinary locations. They frequently stand quietly by the roadside as at Ballachulish, Kirkcud, and Killin or at road junctions like those at Gifford, Traquair or Kingarth on Bute and at cross-roads such as those at Lockerbie, Lauder and Newmains.

No matter where they stand be it in a quiet country road or an island amid a torrent of traffic the site was once given much careful consideration. Often the matter of selection could be pleasantly and welcomingly short-circuited if the local landowner decided to make a gift of a specific site such as at East Kilbride but also as at Airth, Berriedale and Douglas. Local authorities were often eager to allow the memorial to be sited on land already in public ownership. The memorials on the gardens at Wellington Square, Ayr and in the public parks at Falkirk, Cambuslang and Whiteinch are examples of this with perhaps the George Square Cenotaph being one of the most publicly visible monuments in the country. Some authorities even allowed the monument to be placed on the walls of a public building - the Nicholson Institute, Stornoway, and the Tolbooths at Canongate and Tain.

Occasionally there was even a dramatic change of site. In Buckie after the Town Council had inspected the site for the memorial where they had previously widened the road to accommodate the foundations

and which were now in place, they had a change of heart and were "unanimously in favour"¹⁹ of finding another site for it. They then decided that it would be too congested to have the memorial on the original site. Had they put up a replica as Rutherglen had done they would have been earlier aware of the problems and would not have incurred the expense of the works which proved to be abortive.

Some sites required additional work, not only for a memorial to be erected, but to make them not only better monuments but simply more accessible. Motherwell's memorial was set within the Duchess of Hamilton Memorial Park but it required a new driveway to lead directly to it and as Dundee's memorial was set on the top of a hill it too required a new road. This particular roadway was constructed by unemployed labour as an attempt to relieve distress among those hitherto out of work.

Many memorials required some landscaping such as paving and planting, while others required fencing, railing, hedging or walling to form the boundary of the site. Others required ramps and steps for memorials were meant to be visited not just looked at from a distance.

War memorials did not exist in isolation - they were sited in communities and by communities. Although a small committee had possibly decided the issues they were in fact only part of a team of craftsmen and workmen who had to perform all the necessary tasks to transform a chosen site into a place of remembrance. The monument in its chosen site had to be a worthy reminder in a locality of those from that district who had died in the carnage which was the Great War.

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CHAPTER NINE

.....AND WITH WHICH INSCRIPTION?

i. A Worthy Epitaph.

ii. Details & Differences.

These were ours in the days of their boyhood
And their names have become our heritage. ¹

They died for liberty, they died for us.
They are at rest. ²

1. Inscription on the War Memorial at Strontian, Argyll.

2. Inscription on the War Memorial at Aberlour, Moray.

CHAPTER NINE - PART ONE

A WORTHY EPITAPH

Great granite stone, speak what our love enrolls,
The glorious passing of heroic souls.
We do not number them among the dead.
They rest in many fields where valour bled,
Serving the right, they fell, yet still in life
They serve the God of Right beyond the strife. ¹

1. Inscription on the War Memorial at Torphins, Aberdeenshire.

Apart from having to select a design for a specific monument to be erected on a specifically selected site, each War Memorial Committee had also to give serious consideration to the appropriate inscription to be carved on the face of the memorial. This was not likely to have ever been a real problem but it was an important task nonetheless. All monuments may be symbols with meanings whether stated or implied but it is the inscriptions on monuments which transform them from being simply architectural or sculptural objects into being memorials. Monuments are about art and craftsmanship but memorials are nothing without the words of inscription. We do not know the reasons behind the Fyrish Hill-Magapatam monument because it lacks an inscription to tell us what it is supposed to commemorate.

The choice of wording for memorials was therefore a very necessary duty. Committees had to ensure that the monument they proposed to erect on the site of their choice was also a satisfactory memorial for their community.

Priestley has pointed out the sort of results that could arise if insufficient thought was applied to the problem. His example was one in which two quite flawless sentiments which were to prove popular with countless committees and yet when juxtapositioned on the same memorial were conflicting and confused. Priestley had written¹:

"I saw a certain War Memorial not long ago; and it was a fine obelisk, carefully floodlit after dark. On one side it said "Their Name Liveth for Evermore"; and on the other side it said "Lest We Forget".

These two ideas reflect the basic problem of commemoration. The monuments present two faces. One, a public face of grief and glory; the other a hidden agenda of fear and guilt. The message of the monuments is that we will not forget and yet the stone itself is to remind us not to forget. We want to remember but we are afraid we

might forget. Death has robbed us of those we love but we are scared to let go. All death presents us with this dichotomy.

The obelisk at Dalmellington has got both of Priestley's inscriptions but for the most part Scottish war memorials managed to avoid such ill-considered and blatantly contradictory statements. An examination of the inscriptions on war memorials reveals a surprising, even if somewhat limited, variety of inscriptions which the various committees decided to place on their own particular memorial. There is not much one can say about death and suffering which is not sentimentally banal or wretchedly platitudinous.

Almost all memorials have an emphasis on the concept of "remembering" and rightly so, for the whole purpose of memorials was to honour and keep alive the memory of the specific event which was the Great War and of those who had lost their life in waging that war. The official history of the British Legion Scotland is entitled "We Will Remember".² In 1980 when the Western Front Association was inaugurated "to further interest in the period 1914-1918"³ it chose as its motto "Remembering" and that, too, is the aim behind war memorials. The inscription on the war memorial at Hume in Berwickshire commences with the plea "Remember the men of Hume Parish who gave their lives".⁴ The function of war memorials was, even if they had no other function was to make people remember those who died in battle and presumably to make us remember that loss for all time. One, of course, supposes that those who lost loved ones would have 'remembered' in any event but those in authority decreed that monuments were necessary. To that extent they must be seen as socialising agents with a role of indoctrination as much as being simply substitutes for tombstones.

Fewer memorials bear the inscription "Lest we Forget"⁵, than "Their Name Liveth For Evermore" which appeared on countless memorials nationwide. The latter had been the verse Rudyard Kipling had selected for the Stone of Remembrance to be placed in the Imperial War Graves Commission's Cemeteries. Kipling, however, had

preferred a fuller version of the text from Ecclesiasticus and indeed the full verse was one of many examples given in a little booklet Inscriptions Suggested for War Memorials which the Victoria and Albert Museum had published in association with the War Memorial Exhibition which they had mounted in the Summer of 1919. Bridge of Earn was one of the few places which opted for the full verse ⁶:

 Their bodies are buried in peace,
 but their names liveth for Evermore.

The architect, Edwin Lutyens had been a little critical of that particular inscription for the Stone of Remembrance. He said ⁷:

 "I don't like 'Their bodies are buried in peace but their names liveth for evermore'. Someone will add an S and it will read pieces".

Certainly, in the sure knowledge that so many bodies had been blown to smithereens, it would indeed have been factually accurate to have altered it to "pieces" but war memorials were intended to present a 'sanitised' and acceptable version of facts and not be brutish and realistic.

With Inscriptions Suggested for War Memorials - the V & A felt that it might be of value to those who would have to select suitable inscriptions and the book gave 228 examples. While it would be difficult to comprehend the appropriateness of some of them, the book did illustrate the range available and in any event was meant to provide food for thought rather than be a tablet of stone in itself. Its compiler hoped ⁸:

 "...memorialists should pay closer attention to the subject matter of the inscriptions placed upon War Memorials, and should either arrange for such inscriptions to be specially written with due regard to style and the importance of the occasion, or, if this were impossible, that a selection should

be made from the vast stores which are available in English Literature".

The booklet therefore provided some examples to "illustrate the wealth of the material which should be available".⁹

The little book was printed "for official use only" and thus reflects the Establishment's aims of indoctrination of the populace but as it was not put on sale to the general public it may be that it had very little impact. Certainly its wise counsel as to the rich variety of possible inscriptions would seem to have largely gone ignored although its doctrinaire tones were adopted hook, line and sinker. Originality or even variety of thought and expression were to be seldom evident in war memorial inscriptions and for the most part inscriptions were almost identical and only the sad roll call of the Fallen and the name of the town or village make each different from all others.

After any death those bereaved pose the question "Why?". The inscriptions on war memorials were composed in order to in some way explain "Why?"; young men had been killed in their thousands and a few of them from each village had been killed - the question had to be answered. The answer, as far as committees were concerned, was simply that "They Died For King And Country". Courage and duty were ever the requirements of those who wage war.

Among the few examples quoted in the book which found favour was M.R. James' text which, as we have noted, formed the words of the memorial scroll given to the next of kin. James had suggested ¹⁰:

"These at the call of King and Country, left all that was dear to them, endured hardship, faced danger and finally passed out of the sight of men by the path of duty and self sacrifice; giving up their own lives that others might live in freedom. Let those that come after see to it that their names are not forgotten".

That inscription or an abbreviated version of it can be seen on the face of a dozen or more memorials strewn across Scotland from Firth in Shetland to Saltcoats on the Firth of Clyde.

Of the more poetic examples quoted only Binyon's brief lines found much support. They were to remain popular ¹¹:

They shall not grow old as we that are left grow old;
Age shall not weary them, nor the years condemn,
At the going down of the sun and in the morning
We will remember them.

That verse can be seen on the memorial of the wall of the British Museum (where Binyon worked) as well as on many monuments including those in towns like Ayr, Fraserburgh, Inverness, Stirling, Troon and in rural areas such as Boat of Garten, Speyside and North Knapdale, Argyll.

From Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress came the adapted ¹²:

So they passed over and the trumpets sounded
for them on the other side.

Only Peterhead seemed to find it an acceptable inscription. Milton's Samson Agonistes provided ¹³:

Nothing is here for tears, nothing to wail
or knock the breast, no weakness, no contempt,
Displease or blame, nothing but well and fair,
And what may quiet us in a death so noble.

It was not popular, however, and only found favour at Denny and Dunipace.

Abraham Lincoln's great Gettysburg Address provided ¹⁴:

We here, highly resolve that these
dead shall not have died in vain.

It was largely ignored and only little Contin in Ross-shire opted for that inscription.

"Dulce et Decorum est" had been the great favourite for the South African War Memorials but it found little favour in the post 1914-18 world. Though both Portpatrick and Kilmuir-Easter in Ross-shire seemed to really still believe that it was "sweet and meet" to die for ones country. Patriotism itself had not perished and "Pro Patria" appeared on a few memorials, Glasgow and Ballater for instance.

In an age that was more God-fearing and religious than ours it is *not surprising* that the little book should have given a number of suggested inscriptions culled from The Bible. The text from I Samuel xxv, 16, for example ¹⁵:

They were a wall unto us both
by night and day.

was one of the few to have found any ready acceptance. It can be seen on Irvine War Memorial as well as at Dailly, Kiltarlity, Tillicoultry and Resolis. Another approved text was "Death is swallowed up in Victory" from Isaiah xxv, 8. ¹⁶ and it can be seen at Ancrum, Fyvie and Loch Awe. Inverary had chosen a text from Revelation vii, 13-14. which declared ¹⁷:

These are they which came out of great tribulation.

It was perhaps surprising that the one Biblical text which was to be most often quoted on War Memorials was omitted from the V & A booklet. It was the well known passage from John xv, 13. which is about sacrificial death ¹⁸:

Greater love hath no man than this, that
a man lay down his life for his friends.

It can be seen on thirty or more Scottish memorials from Tingwall in the Shetlands to Kelso in the Borders and including places such as Tignabruich, Monzievaird, Largs, Buchlyvie, Kilmaurs, Stewarton, Whittinghame and Footdee. East Kilbride selected the variant "He that loseth his life for my sake" from Matthew x. as its inscription.

Perhaps in case "For King and Country" was deemed insufficient for so great a slaughter, stronger reasons were devised. The suggested inscription by Canon Rawnsley was ¹⁹:

In honour and ever grateful remembrance of the
men (of) ... who served and fell for God and King,
for Right and for Peace in the Great War 1914-1918.

It may not have been widely used but it provides a good example of the propaganda type of inscription which gave a reason for British involvement in the war. They were frequently both nationalistic and pompous and include such sentiments as - "For God and King" and "For Right and for Peace". This type of inscription found a variety of means of expression. Much of it in highly blown phrases such as "the sacred cause of righteousness, liberty and freedom" (Ackergill), "For God, King and our Country" (Alloway), "For God and Right" (Newburgh and Croy), "For the Glory of God and Good of Humanity" (Dundonell), "For God and Country" (Ormiston) and that "Right might prevail" (Drummadrochit).

That it had all been a noble action was a popular conception, examples being "For Liberty and Justice" (Tarbolton and Crosshill), "For righteousness and liberty" (Newton St. Boswells), "for freedom and humanity" (Galston), "for honour and freedom" (Balfron), "for right and freedom" (Comrie and Seil), "for truth and freedom" (Wester Wemyss), "for justice and freedom" (Wormit), and "for King

and liberty" (Munlochy). Garmouth, not to be outdone, went one better with "for justice, freedom and national honour".

Girvan believed the men had fallen "in defence of their country's righteous cause"; Montrose reckoned it had been "a great cause"; Birsay declared that the men had "died for us and truth in the nation's service" while Watten went in for an all embracing "for righteousness, liberty, honour and the uplifting of the oppressed and downtrodden".

Clearly committees felt the great need to explain in stone why the sons of the village would not be back and that it had truly been a great cause in which they had perished. Not all, however, saw it as quite such a crusade, some regarded it more of a defensive action to protect the homeland. "In defence of King and Country" was how Carnwath had regarded it all, while others had seen it as "in defence of their country's rights" (Portknockie) and "for their country's honour" (Kennoway). Still others viewed it on a more *humble note*; "for home and freedom" (Wick nand Whitletts), "for home and liberty" (Alves), and "in defence of home and country" (Crossford).

Some were merely factual. There is a simple honesty about the *statement at Netherton where it stated they had died "for their country's sake"*. Others of this ilk include "to secure and serve their country" (Auchterarder) and "to further their country's cause" (Dundee). Perhaps best of all was the no-nonsense, "died serving their country in the war" which was placed on the memorial at Sanquhar.

Not all memorial committees were content to only record the fallen, some wished to widen the scope as at Denholm where the text reads

In honour of those who fought
In sympathy with those who suffered
And in grateful remembrance of those who fell.

Most, however, regarded the war memorial as being commemorative of the Fallen, those who had "at the high call of duty" (Roberton) gone to fight and die. The little Highland village of Farr exhorted us to remember those who "answered the call from here and overseas". Menock in Dumfries-shire desired to commemorate its "village lads" who answered Lord Kitchener's call to arms and who "fought in Britains far spread battle line". Stonehaven had it that "one by one death challenged them" while at both Kinghorn and Abernethy they had been "faithful unto death". Kintore begged us "to remember the love of them who come not back from the war" and the people of Shiskine and Scourie both erected memorials to their "unreturning brave". Weem was doubtlessly not alone in believing that "their fame alone has returned". "Our Glorious Dead" was to prove one of the most popular of inscriptional texts - it can be seen at Aberdeen and Cardross for example- and Banff had a minor variant in that it had the more chivalrous "Our Gallant Dead". As almost all who had died were young men Sanquhar declared "they lived in deeds not years". Woodwick in Orkney stated on their memorial -

They heard the mothers call and were not slack
to rush forth to her aid. They came not back.

One may not care much for the poetry but one can scarcely flaw the sentiment. The simple honesty of Glenbuck's stone is surely, however, without equal -

These went forth but returned not
to the land of their fathers.

No sabre-rattling, no high-flown verbage just a bare paternal fact.

There was also a widespread view that lives had been sacrificially given - "gave their lives" or "laid down their lives" being the common phraseology. While very many inscriptions state that the men "gave their lives" Keir Parish in Dumfries-shire has it more sacrificially that they "gave up" their lives. Some, however, went

a little deeper as at Kirkurd where "lives (were) given for others", at Gifford and Aberdour where they had "died for us" and at Ballater, Kilmartin and Burntisland where they had died that "we might live". Stoneburn rather starkly has it that "we died for you".

The memorial at Glenbranter which commemorated Captain John Lauder records that he "gave his life not imprudently but for a cause he deemed the best in the world". Dundonald's monument stated "these counted not their lives dear unto themselves" while at Darvel "they gave themselves a living sacrifice" and at Catrine they reckoned that the men had been "supreme in sacrifice". Luncarty's declared they gave "life itself" for us, truly a sacrificial statement if ever there was one.

Peace rarely got a mention but Tannadice in Angus managed to combine sacrificial death with the onset of peace. It had it that -

Men loving life but not afraid to die
They are at peace who gave us peace.

While at Callendar the memorial stated;

They gave their youth for honour and for God
and so they grow not old.

Humes's declared that they had been "true to the end".

It was, however, frequently held that by so dying the Fallen had gained immortality. Inveresk had it that they "by dying live". Both Fourdon and Lugar believed that "they do not die who live in the hearts of those who love them".

Auchinleck viewed it all on an impressively high plain -

They died the noblest death
a man can die, fighting for God
and right and liberty and
such a death is immortality.

Dalmally reckoned that "they shall be remembered in all generations"
while Inverness had it that -

In three continents and
in the deep they lie
but in our hearts these
deeds for ever are remembered.

In the more religious atmosphere of the 1914-18 world God too had a
hand in the victory. Lairg had it that -

Thanks be to God who giveth us the Victory.

Ardrossan's memorial declared "Thine O Lord is the Victory."

Muthill had a more cautiously realistic view;

Thankfulness to God for the Victory
their valour helped win.

Glen Barr's had simply stated "Servants of God, Well Done".

No doubt the Germans also believed God was on their side. Bob
Dylan's song springs to mind ²⁰:

The First World War came and it went
the reasons for fighting I never did get
but I learned to accept it with pride
You don't count the dead with God on your side.

....

The Second World War came to an end
The Germans now too have God on their side.

Maybe God was on no one's side in any of these wars or indeed in any war and maybe He was on the side of those who were ever endeavouring to bring about peace. Yarrow, however, did give "a gratitude to God for Victory and Peace" while Halkirk saw it in more bitterly realistic yet homely terms -

Gentle peace returning
wi' mony a sweet babe fatherless
and mony a widow mourning.

The Speyside village of Advie viewed it in strict Presbyterian perspective. Having given "humble and hearty" thanks to God for his aid in defeating the enemy cautioned us all -

Many we remember that the safety
of our Empire is not owing to the
strength of men but to the power of God.

Some memorials also had an aggressive touch and without the hand of the Almighty being involved. It had after all been a victory. One of Shieldaig's memorials stated:

They waxed valiantly in fight, they put
to flight the armies of the aliens.

That at Innellan stated:

Who through the fiery gates entered their rest
Greet them as conquerors bravest and best.

while Dunkeld's memorial has these words carved on its face -

Ye are more than conquerors, who rest
triumphant unforgotten.

Whether the men had died "for King and Country" (Aberfeldy) "to uphold liberty and justice" (Scone) or in "the cause of freedom" (Aberdour) memorials also had often to lay an obligation on future generations. "See ye to it that these shall not have died in vain" was how Prestwick stated the duty while Forres believed that -

They died that we might live
May we be worthy of their sacrifice.

Mewmiln's memorial stated:

May they sleep in honour unbetrayed
and we in faith and honour keep
that peace for which they paid.

People at Kirriemuir believed that their memorial was not only "a tribute of homage to the fallen" but also "an abiding inspiration to posterity". Grangemouth opted to use a few lines from John McCrae's renowned "In Flanders Fields":

to you with falling hands we throw
the torch be yours to hold it high.

The Glasgow Academy War Memorial concluded its inscription with these words -

in the confident hope that the memory of their sacrifice will
be an inspiration to all who come after.

There were few memorials which were pacific in sentiment. Torridon was one of the few:

O, Lord, hasten the day when nations
shall not rise up against nation.

The little obelisk at Shieldaig is also of interest for not only does it commemorate the men of the district but also Margaret McKenzie who was lost with the sinking of the SS Lusitania and it bears the following inscription:

O Lord hasten now the day when nation
shall not rise up against nation, when
they shall not learn to war any more.

but continues in a realistic note:

.... and we thank
Thee that meantime Thou hast provided us with
instruments of defense against our enemies.

Douglas in Lanarkshire has not only a very fine memorial but has a worthy text:

And the leaves of
the tree were for the
healing of the nations.

No matter the inscription, however, the sentiments were much the same. The words as adequately as people could express themselves delivered a nations gratitude and a village's sorrow to all those who had met a tragic end while serving their country. The Fallen were perhaps not all glorious or heroic but it had still been an unselfish sacrifice. Edzell's war memorial had aptly put it -

we owe more than tears to those dead men, than time shall see us pay.

It is necessary to conclude this brief examination of epitaphs with the modest yet honest words of the Llanbryde War Memorial - for in spite of the fine language of many other memorials this was, in reality, all that could be truly claimed -

They went from the vicinity to the
Great War and gave their lives.

It was a sad but simple fact. Yet the last word must surely go to Ettrickbridge where the people also saw the need to give thanks for "those who returned in safety to their homes". Everybody wanted their loved ones home; nobody wanted to have their name on the war memorial.

Just as there had been no golden rules for war memorials there were to be none for their inscriptions. Committees selected the one or the ones they liked - it was a matter of personal preference or of committee decision. The profusion of inscriptions at Inverness was perhaps due to too many folk wanting a text of their choice incorporated. The Glasgow Herald in its review of the V & A booklet on suggestions for inscriptions gave a few examples of ones it considered of note. It claimed to be "deeply moved" by ²¹⁻

Went the day well? We died and never knew;
But well or ill, England, we died for you.

Another which caught the paper's eye was ^{22 -}

You came from England : Is she England still?
Yes, thanks to you that died upon the hill.

These fine words, although they could have been readily adapted to a Scottish situation, did not seem to fire the imagination of anyone in Scotland and do not seem to appear on any Scottish war memorials. The last example is rather a puzzle for its obvious Christian

symbolism, one would have thought, would have made it particularly appropriate given the religiosity of the times.

Inscriptions may not have reflected the real mood of the time but they reflect a mood and reflect the message which committees wished to convey and to be the lasting one. The memorials are monuments to the national application of Establishment indoctrination and for its nation-wide acceptance by the committees if not by the general public. They are patriotic 'sermons on stone'. They are monuments of the Right even if they were not considered to be the right monuments by everyone.

They cannot however be simply viewed as propaganda. Words turn monuments into memorials. War memorials also reveal the sense of sorrow and the extent of loss that each community suffered. The words were the imperfect expressions of those charged with erecting memorials in each neighbourhood and even if they have failed to satisfy everyone at least seemed to satisfy most. Everyone wanted to believe, and the existing social structure required, that those who had died had done so gloriously and in a worthy cause. War memorials were intended to bolster these concepts. They were required to reflect pride as well as sorrow.

CHAPTER NINE - PART TWO

DETAILS & DIFFERENCES

This memorial
Erected by
The inhabitants of ...
and Friends as a lasting token of thanks
to the sailors and soldiers of this
district who gave their ungrudging
service and in grateful memory to
those who gave their all to their country
in the Great War. ¹

1. Inscription on War Memorial at Footdee, Aberdeen.

At a memorial service during which the names of the Fallen had been read out in strict alphabetical order, Lily Vernon, Isherwood's war widow, thought to herself ¹:

"Why couldn't they have read out the officer's names first? She had heard that the names on the Memorial were put in the same way. That was really disgraceful, because in fifty year's time, nobody would know who anybody was".

Even though she had found it "ugly and brutal" to have the names read "alphabetically without any preface or title"² this in fact was to be the pattern for almost all Great War war memorials. The list was generally alphabetical although many also give the rank and regiment of each individual. Unlike many South African War Memorial most of the new breed have an equality of treatment i.e. all the letters are same size and seldom put in order of rank. There were, of course, exceptions. At Ratho and West Calder, for example, the officers were placed first and in strict descending order until the names of privates are reached. Crook of Devon had Brig. General W. Scott Moncrieff heading the list of the Fallen while Lt. Col. A.F. Douglas Hamilton VC, Commander in Chief of 6th Battalion Queens Own Cameron Highlanders, headed the list on Muir of Ord's memorial. After his name all others are in alphabetical order and without ranking. It may be because he had been awarded the VC as much as for his lofty status that he had been placed first.

Sometimes the names were given under regimental headings and where a particular parish covered a vast tract of territory the names were often given under village headings and therefore reflect the losses of various smaller communities. There were numerous permutations for listing names. Innellan's memorial has the N.C.O.'s on one side and privates on the other. The Whitehouse, Kintyre and Gairloch, Flowerdale memorials both have the names of the sons of the local landowner given pride of place at the top of the list. Many landowners had erected monuments at their own expense and while they were to commemorate their sons they were also co-incidentally to be

the local war memorial and commemorate all those of the district who fell. They nevertheless desired the most prominent place for their son's name. Some of the wealthy did not wish their sons to share a memorial with others and so Captain Lauder at Glenbranter and Kenneth MacKenzie at Dolphinton have memorials all to themselves.

Some memorials also gave additional information about those commemorated. The most usual was to state the exact date and place where each individual had fallen. Some others give the date of birth and this in a very real way gave substance to the view that it had all been a tragic waste of young lives.

Some memorials were not content to simply commemorate the Fallen and in a sense were to commemorate the living. At Whitehouse, for example, the monument stated "Erected by Peter Jeffrey Mackie of Glenreasdale 1918"³ as a memorial to his son and the three privates who had died. That at Flowerdale had it that it was "Erected by Sir Kenneth and Lady MacKenzie" in memory of their son and the other Gairloch men who had died and as we have noted, their son was given a prominence denied the others.

The new art gallery built at Kirkcaldy bore the following legend:

This building was gifted to the town by
John Nairn, Linoleum Manufacturer, as part
of the Kirkcaldy Memorial to those who
fell in the Great War 1914-1919.

Other memorials, because they were not erected by individuals had a more democratic inscription - that at Glenbuck states "Erected by the people of Glenbuck 1923" while the Hallside memorial had simply been "erected by neighbours and their friends" while Nigg's was "Erected by public subscription".

Symbolic foundation stones were occasionally given a specific inscription if they had been laid by some august figure. Princess

Arthur of Connaught, the Duchess of Fife, laid the ones at Dufftown and Macduff while that at Banff had been laid by the Princess Royal. The stone at the little temple-like shrine which is Cullen's memorial has the following inscription:

This Foundation stone was laid by
Nina, Countess of Seafield
4th August 1920.

The Earl of Seafield's name was among the names of the fallen and the Countess had been a major contributor towards the memorial.

The sites for war memorials were often gifted by the local landlord and, in turn as an act of appreciation, often the donor of the gift was to have the act commemorated. At Causewayhead, in the shadow of the majestic Wallace Monument, the memorial had this inscription;

This site for Causewayhead and
District War Memorial was
generously gifted free of all
burdens by William A. Younger Esq.
Abbey Craig Park.

The one at Airth had it more simply: -

This site was gifted by
the trustees of the late
Colonel Graham of Airth.

The details of the unveiling of a memorial were, however, the most common inscriptional item after the dedicatory one and after the list of names. Some were quite simple: that at Millport states:

Cumbrae War Memorial
Unveiled
15th October 1922.

Others added a little more information. Some telling who had actually performed the unveiling. That at Footdee was -

Unveiled by
James Tulloch J.P.
16th August 1919.

That at Tarbert, Loch Fyne was "Unveiled by Lady Ileana Campbell 6th August 1921". The name to appear most often on memorials was of course Field Marshall Earl Haig. Stirling, Cupar and Alloa were among the many memorials unveiled by Haig and at Galashiels the twin problems of foundation stone/unveiling stone were overcome by the one tablet on which it states:

The inscribed stone
laid in the presence of
H.R.H. Prince of Wales
3rd December 1924
Unveiled by
Field Marshall Earl Haig
of Bemersyde
4th October 1925.

As the memorials had for the most part been erected by committees they were often then handed over to the local authorities for safekeeping and this aspect too was often deemed worthy of commemorating. Peterhead's memorial stated: -

Unveiled 6th August
1922
and handed over to the custody of
the Provost, Magistrates and Councillors
of the Burgh of Peterhead.

The War Memorial at Falkirk has, on a tablet on the step of the memorial, the following inscription:

Unveiled by his Grace
the Duke of Montrose
C.B., C.V.O., V.D., R.N.V.R.
Handed over to the
Town Council of Falkirk
by the Lord Ashmore
Sunday 10th June 1926.

Occasionally not only was the site gifted but the entire monument given by a prosperous landed figure; the monument at Berriedale and Braemore is inscribed:

This monument is erected by
William Arthur
Sixth Duke of Portland K.G., G.K.V.O.,
Lord Lieutenant of the County of Caithness
MCM XIX

and on the paving below is stated:

This memorial was given to
the County of Caithness by
the Duke of Portland 1920.

Sometimes the additional commemorative item recalled a somewhat weak historical fact, one that today scarcely seems worth commemorating and yet, in the 1920's, must have been deemed to have been important. At Cupar, for example;

Queen Mary
placed a wreath
here on August
30th 1923.

The Berriedale memorial was one of the few which proudly gave the name of its designers - "Sir Ernest George R.A. and Alfred B. Yeates - Architects". Another was the monument at Findochty which stated;

Designed by
Major Jas. Wood
M.C. A.R.I.B.A.
Findochty.

On the rear of the magnificent memorial at Alloa not only did it boldly declare that it has been "Unveiled by Earl Haig on Sunday 20th September 1922" but also the fact that its creators were -

Sir Robert Lorimer K.B.E., A.R.A., Architect
Pilkington Jackson, Sculptor.

It was a rare occurrence to give lasting praise to those whose skill and artistry produced the war memorial.

In the large towns, where the number of Fallen were considered to be too great to commemorate them by name on that specific war memorial, they were to be commemorated in the collective and general. Falkirk's memorial, for example, has it that -

Over Eleven Hundred
Falkirk Bairns
died
for their King and Country
and
in the cause of Freedom.

Aberdeen's memorial quite simply declared on the outside "To Our Glorious Dead" yet inside, within its domed hall in a glass case rested 'the Roll of Honour'. Stirling, on the otherhand, had on its memorial the following statement:

The Book of Remembrance containing
the names of the 672 Fallen men
is kept on view in the Public Library.

Stirling Central Library is situated just across the road from the memorial so it was, and remains, a convenient place to see the book. Not quite so straight forward was the opportunity at Dingwall. The memorial to the Seaforth Highlanders - the rough hewn cairn with tall wooden cross on top of it - stands near the railway station and on a little metal plate can be found the following inscription:

The inscribed muster roll
and war record of the
battalion may be seen in
the Town Hall on application
to the Town Clerk there.
A History of the Battalion
priced £1.1/- can also be
purchased through the Town Clerk.

By the 1980's, however, not only was there no Town Clerk but the District Council Offices had no history of the battalion for sale and the staff could not recall when they had last been on sale - the little metal tablet had become merely another interesting historical relic.

Some memorial committees were anxious to tell not only of those who fell but to proudly tell of the town's total involvement in the war effort. In Inverness, the war memorial was smothered in words but among them all was this worthy statement:

During the war
upwards of 5,500 men of the Burgh
and Parish of Inverness
went out on active service
and duly upheld the honour of their country.

Of those gallant men 717 returned no more.
To their memory this memorial was erected
by a grateful community and unveiled on 16th December 1922
by Col. The Mackintosh of Mackintosh
Lord Lieutenant of Inverness-shire.

Apart from having the main war memorial inscription some places decided to have an additional dedicatory stone. At Newburgh for example a stone in front of the statue's plinth states that it was;

A token of respect and affection
from those who were spared to return
to those whose names liveth for evermore.

while at Freuchie a little stone had these few words -

In memory of
our fallen comrades
from the ex-servicemen
of Freuchie.

and on the two seats adjacent to the Sandhead Memorial on the Rhinns of Galloway bronze tablets state:

Presented by the
Ex Servicemen of Stoneykirk
in memory of
those comrades who gave their
lives in the Great War
1914-1919.

Canon Rawsley's suggested inscription, previously referred to, had the war as "the Great War" and that indeed was to be the name that we have long made special to what has since become known as the First World War. Inscriptions on war memorials often had different ideas as to what the title of that great conflict should have been

called. Some of them had it as "the war for civilization" (Crossford), "the European War" (Stromness), "the Great European War" (Garvald), and the "war of the nations" (Kilmelford) while Crudie, very sensibly, had its memorial to the men "who fell in the battlefields of Europe".

A score or more of memorials list all the theatres of war with perhaps the fullest list to be found on the Gordon Highlander's Memorial at Keith where each battle is given and the Gordons certainly had a proud record. Most memorials, however, offered a simplified list of the well known arenas. Golspie was fairly typical and the list there is simply

France
Belgium
Egypt
Italy
Russia
Palestine
East Africa
Dardanelles
Mesopotamia
At Sea .

At Rutherglen the sculptor sent a similar "list" of battles to the committee and they simply approved it and agreed to add it to the memorial.⁴

One of the main differences in Scottish inscriptions was the fact that in the West Highlands and the Hebridean Islands memorials have, either in whole or in part, a Gaelic inscription. Loch Carron, for example, has a Gaelic inscription to the face of the memorial and an English translation at the rear while at Poolewe and Kilearnan the inscriptions are partly in Gaelic. One suspects that the Celtic fringe had as much a dearth of originality of ideas and expressions

as the rest of the nation but merely had the benefit of a different language in which to say it.

Perhaps one of the most surprising of all the parts of the inscription was the dating of the war. Most memorials have the dates "1914-1919" with very few giving 1918 as the end of the war. One place where 1919 was particularly apposite was Stornoway where the sad little monument erected outside the town near the rocky coastline commemorated the HMY Iolaire which sank on its homeward journey with the loss of almost all its passengers/returning soldiers and sailors back from the horrors of war in January 1919. They had survived the battlefield yet were to drown a few yards from their homes - 1919 was indeed to be the end of their war.

Another rather unique memorial is that at Makerstoun in the Borders where the parish memorial has the dates 1914-1920. The reason was apparently quite simple and is self-evident when one examined the names of the fallen. Included in the inscription was the exact date of death of each of the men and as one had died in 1920, presumably due to war-wounds, that, for this parish at least did in fact herald the end of the war.

The little Lanarkshire village of Greengairs was to be perhaps the most specific in the dating of the war and in a sense it really was the most accurate - "August 1914 - November 1918". Whiting Bay, Arran has been more specific than most as to as to the role of her dead - "members of the Imperial and Colonial Forces who fell in the Great European War". Few monuments considered those from beyond the parish boundary.

All these little quirky variations and subtle differences give lie to the over-simplification and generalisation that only the different names of the fallen and the different name of the locality distinguished one memorial inscription from another. These little differences merely reinforce the paradox that, no matter how similar the monuments and the inscriptions, each memorial was unique. They

were unique in the fact that each was the only public focus for all the people's sorrow from that locality and yet alike in that the same weight of loss was felt in Highland glen, village square or city street. Mere words had to express that sorrow or that loss.

The little village of Coln Rogers in Gloucestershire was rather rare for its war memorial listed the 25 men and one woman who served in H.M. Forces and noted the fact:

All of whom by God's Great Mercy
returned safely. Thanks be to
Thee O God.

Sadly Colm Rogers was to the exception and the many hundreds of Scottish war memorials bear witness to the tragedy and waste. The inscription are but attempts for localities to find words to express their sorrow and gratitude in what had been after all a major sacrifice.

Although war memorials are by-and-large very similar, indeed some are almost identical being from the same pattern book, it is not simply the list of names but all the subtle details and differences of the inscription that make each memorial unique. The words not only made a memorial out of monumental object but they ensured that it has a special place in the heart of a community.

In the end such details and differences do not matter. The study of war memorial inscriptions offers no fascinating data on regional variations and no slick conclusion. Words used in Highland glens (albeit part of their text is written in Gaelic) are equally to be found in Lowland village or urban square. Inscriptions for all their minor diversity simply reflect the mood of the time and of society at that time. In an imperialistic and patriotic age and in a class-bound hierarchical society war memorials and the words which form their inscriptions mirror that age and that society. Memorials recall the sacrifice given "For King & Country".

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CHAPTER TEN

A DAY TO REMEMBER

- i. Safe Words & Safe Hands.
- ii. Public Display & Private Grief.

They drop out of the twilight, slack rifled,
their eyes tired to stone, their bayonets green.
Around them an insane loom of light.

....

Sleepwalking, they pass our tall statues
Poppies fall on their heads, They don't halt
They march under the foam of speeches.

Ian Crichton Smith,
from 'World War One'.¹

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CHAPTER TEN - PART ONE

SAFE WORDS & SAFE HANDS

"It will stand here in our midst, an emblem of duty bravely done - an emblem of service nobly rendered, an emblem that will whisper to us of suffering, death and glory. So will our monument speak its message".

Rev. Dr. William Robertson,
at the unveiling of Newmains War Memorial,
4 December 1921. ¹

1. Wishaw Press & Advertiser, 9 December 1921.

The artist Stanley Spencer loved his home village and it figured in many of his paintings. Such a notable event in the village's history was the "Unveiling of Cookham War Memorial" that it became the subject of one of his large canvases. Although few other artists have recorded the event, and Spencer may be unique in the fact that he painted his home village's memorial, it was nonetheless an important day in the life of every village. Certainly the day of its unveiling was the most important one in the career of any monument.

The unveiling was generally carried out very soon after the completion of its erection, indeed there was often a touch of panic to ensure that it was ready on time. On not a few occasions did the plans for the unveiling have to be temporarily shelved so that mason and sculptor could put the finishing touches to their memorial and a later date had to be set aside for the ceremony.

The choice of the person who was to perform the actual act of unveiling the memorial was generally selected from a somewhat narrow range of what must have been considered suitable options. Often they were unveiled by widows whose husbands had been killed or by bereaved mothers whose sons had fallen or by old men whose sons' young lives had been brutally cut short by enemy action. The greater the family sacrifice the more likely it was for a sad parent to be involved in the ceremony. The lady who unveiled the memorial at Ballantrae had lost her husband at the Somme while the mothers who carried out the unveiling at Lerwick (Mrs Hardy) and Taynult (Mrs McBean) had each lost three sons while old Mr Duncan Macrae who did the honours at Kilmarnock had lost four sons.

At Kirkcaldy, Mrs Selkirk who had lost four sons did not in fact unveil the memorial but she was the first to place a wreath after its unveiling. At Sandbank Mrs Brown who did unveil the memorial was a "proud mother" because she had five sons who had been in the services ¹; she was no doubt also a happy mother for she had been fortunate that all the sons seem to have survived the ordeal. Sheer

numerical strength of family involvement in the war was not the only criterion for a major role at the ceremony. The Kingarth War Memorial on Bute was unveiled by Professor Sir William McEwan whose son-in-law had been killed but perhaps he was seen as too important a local figure not to be asked to carry out the duty. Two children who had lost their father in the war unveiled New Elgin's memorial. At Dunscore, in Dumfries-shire, Mrs Johnston, wife of Brigadier-General W. Johnston, unveiled the memorial but she did so because they had lost their only son.² Aberuthven's little cross was unveiled by Miss Graeme, sister of Colonel Graeme "whose name heads the list of the fallen".³

Those who had fought were also occasionally asked to perform the unveiling duty - at Aboyne a "disabled soldier" unveiled the tablet in the Shrine⁴ while at Ballatar Corporal Law, "the first local man wounded in the war" unveiled the memorial.⁵ At Sauchie, Privates James Archibald and James Wickham carried out the duty even if they did so under the watchful eye of Major J. Stewart⁶ while at Kirkmichael in Perthshire Lachlan McIntosh unveiled the war memorial simply because he was "the oldest resident in the Strath".⁷

In the main, however, war memorials were unveiled by those who might be considered to be members of the ruling elite - Lord Lieutenants of Counties, members of the local landed gentry and nobility, local and national political figures and, of course, leading military figures. They had probably made a hash of running the war but they were determined to be fully involved in the commemoration. Perhaps it was as much a sense of guilt or shame. Attrition had finally won the war rather than great tactical skill. Many were unveiled by Earl Haig. Wolff has remarked that after the war "only Sir Douglas Haig was given nothing to do".⁸ He was in a very real sense perceived as a scape-goat as much as hero. Haig it was said⁹:

"...concealed his emotions behind a mask of stone, toured the land and made speeches concerning duty, sacrifice and service,

became active in veterans' affairs, unveiled any number of memorials".

War memorials sprinkled across the length and breadth of Scotland were unveiled by Haig - Alloa, Coldstream, Cupar, Drymen, Galashiels,, Minto, Peebles, St. Andrews, Stirling and even over the Border at Berwick-Upon-Tweed. Many war memorials in England were unveiled by Haig and he did not even confine his activities to Britain. He toured Canada and South Africa. The township of Harrismith in the Orange Free State had its little granite soldier unveiled by Earl Haig. Haig was, as will be discussed later, the man who unveiled the Cenotaph in Glasgow as well as the Cameronian Monument in Kelvingrove Park. As we have already noted, if Haig did unveil a particular monument this was generally acknowledged for all time coming by being stated in bronze on the monument itself. The Harrismith memorial's black lead letters proudly tell that the Earl had unveiled it.

Another popular Scottish military figure had been General Sir Ian Hamilton who had led the ill-fated assault on Gallipoli and he unveiled memorials at Ardrishaig, Doune, Dunoon, Fraserburgh, Grangemouth and at Glasgow Academy, Kelvinbridge. He also officially opened the Memorial Hall at Lanark. For sheer volume of unveilings one suspects that the G.O.C. of Scottish Command, General Sir Francis Davies must have held the record - Annan, Ardgour, Bridge of Weir, Causewayhead, Colinton, Dumfries, Fauldhouse. Gifford, Kinfauns, Milnathorp, North Berwick, Prestonpans and Tullibody being among his impressive total. His successor, General Sir Walter Braithwaite performed a similar duty even if not a similar number, at places like Airth, Bo'ness and Johnstone. He placed a wreath on the Glasgow Cenotaph at its unveiling even if Haig performed the actual unveiling.

Without doubt the military were to carry out most unveilings and were to play a major role at almost every unveiling. It was perhaps not surprising that the army should have been so involved for it had

been chiefly a soldiers' war and in the past war memorials had been regimental before they had become territorial. Service involvement was not, however, restricted to the army. The so-called 'Senior Service' was not forgotten. Lord Wester Wemyss who had been First Sea Lord at the Admiralty unveiled local memorials at Buckhaven, Kirkcaldy, and at Wester Wemyss itself. Even the newest of the services the Royal Air Force was not neglected, Air Chief Marshall Sir Hugh Trenchard unveiled memorials at Ayr, Mauchline and Kilmarnock. An Ayrshire-man Trenchard was also Colonel of the local regiment - the Royal Scots Fusiliers - so that may have been the real reason why he unveiled memorials and not because of any real desire to involve the Air Force. Nearby Turnberry had been a RAF Flying School but its memorial was unveiled by the Marquis of Ailsa.

Even when an ordinary mortal carried out the unveiling it was customary for a military figure or one of the landed gentry to give an address to the crowd. Lt.Col Sir Aymer Hunter-Weston MP was not content with unveiling memorials at Beith, Dalry, Darvel, Stewarton and West Kilbride but gave an address at Largs and Fairlie. As the Member of Parliament for the constituency which embraced all these places he was obviously a difficult man to exclude. Lt.Col. J.M. Arthur of Airdrie not only designed the Airdrie memorial but was to unveil the Glenboig one. At Ballater Col. Farquarson of Invercauld presided over the affair even if wounded Corporal Law performed the unveiling duty.

Politicians were a 'popular' choice and generally as was the case with Weston it was the local MP who was asked to perform. Walter Adamson MP unveiled the memorials at Hill of Beith near Lumphanans in Fife. Tarbolton's memorial was unveiled by John Brown MP for Ayr South while Ian McPherson MP unveiled the Invergordon one. Major Walter Waring MP for Berwick and East Lothian unveiled the monument at Coldingham and Major Robert Glyn MP for East Stirlingshire and Clackmannan unveiled the one at Laurieston near Falkirk and gave an address at the unveiling of the Slammanan one. It is perhaps of interest to note the number of former officers who represented

Scottish constituencies. In Glasgow Lt.Col. Sir John Gilmour was MP for Pollok and he unveiled the memorials at both Pollokshields and Pollokshaws, both within his constituency. None of the new Labour and 'Red Clydeside' MPs seem to have been asked to carry out war memorial duties. They had been, of course, identified with the anti-war groupings during the war and, therefore, presumably their patriotism regarded as being somewhat suspect. At a time of fear of a spectre from the Left unveiling days provided a chance for not only right thoughts but Right ideas to prevail. Those who believe in conspiracy theories might even look back on those days and suggest a little tacit collusion had ensured that it was all in safe hands.

Sir Robert Horne, MP for Glasgow Hillhead as well as Minister for Labour, unveiled the memorial at Edinburgh George Watson's School. Sir Robert Munro, the Secretary of State for Scotland, unveiled memorials at Alness, Hawick and Selkirk as well as the Hearts Football Club's memorial clock tower near Haymarket Station. He also gave the principal address at the ceremony at Jedburgh. His successor Viscount Novar who had become Scottish Secretary in 1922 unveiled the Burntisland memorial. The then 'rising star' on the political firmament was Captain Walter Elliot, Under Secretary of State for Scotland and Conservative and Unionist MP for Lanark. He unveiled many memorials in his constituency including those at Crossford, East Kilbride, Law, Stonehouse and Symington. The former Prime Minister A.J. Balfour also unveiled memorials at East Linton and Whittinghame both near his family home.

Examples of the landed gentry's involvement are legion and it will suffice to simply give a few examples. The Duke of Buccleuch unveiled memorials at Canonbie, Langholm, Newcastleton and Thornhill; the Duke of Argyll those at Campbeltown, Inveraray and Southend, Kintyre; and the Duke of Richmond and Gordon those at Huntly, Fochabers, Aberdour and the two memorials at Keith. The Marquis of Ailsa unveiled those at Annbank, Crosshill and Turnberry while his wife unveiled the Saltcoats memorial. The Earl of Airlie

performed the duty at Alyth and Auchterhouse while his mother, the Dowager Countess, unveiled the one at Kirriemuir. The Earl of Ancaster unveiled those at Cargill and Burrelton, St. Fillans, Madderty and Muthill while the Marquis of Breadalbane unveiled those at Dalmally, Loch Awe and Killin. The Earl of Home unveiled the memorials at Coatbridge, Douglas, Hamilton and Lesmahagow while the Marquis of Bute unveiled the memorial at the pierhead of Rothesay. Great aristocratic families owned vast tracts of land and towns and villages within their sphere of influence and control looked to them for leadership in these more deferential times.

Lord Lieutenants of Counties were probably the most over-worked group as far as unveilings were concerned. They were the local deputies for the monarch and as King George V had decided that the only memorials he would personally unveil were those on royal estates it was likely that his deputies would be called upon to take part in lots of ceremonies. The only Scottish memorial unveiled by the King was that at Balmoral. His representatives, who were almost always retired officers, unveiled near countless memorials and again only a few examples of the duties of Lord Lieutenants will be necessary. The Duke of Montrose, in Stirling-shire, unveiled those at Balfron, Denny, Dennyloanhead and Dunnipace, Falkirk, Kippen and Strathblane. In Perth-shire, the Duke of Atholl unveiled those at Bankfoot, Blair atholl, Dunkeld, Luncarty and Meigle. In Caithness, General Lord Horne unveiled the memorials at Ackergill, Canisbay and Wick as well as venturing outwith the county to do those at Helmsdale and Kirkwall and to perform the duty at Marwick Head where Kitchener's Memorial Tower graces the cliff tops. In Fife, Sir Ralph Anstruther; in Inverness-shire the Mackintosh of Mackintosh; in Ayrshire, Sir Charles Fergusson of Kilkerran and in Wigtonshire Sir Herbert Maxwell all performed at the unveiling of war memorials as part of their many and various ceremonial duties of their Lord-Lieutenantships.

Often the landowner who had gifted the site for the memorial also performed the unveiling. Sir Kenneth Mackenzie at Gairloch unveiled

the memorial (and as we know, he had paid for it and his son headed the list of those from Gairloch estate who had fallen). Major Edward Pullar unveiled the Bridge of Allan memorial and he had gifted Pullar Park to the town some years earlier. In Pitlochry Mrs Butter unveiled the one for which she and her husband had gifted the site. The Duke of Abercorn gifted the site for the Duddingston War Memorial and the Duke of Portland not only gifted the site and the monument at Berriedale but also unveiled it. The Earl and Countess of Home gifted the Douglas War Memorial and he also unveiled it.

Like all rules there were exceptions but they are exceptions by degree rather than substance. The novelist John Buchan, later Lord Tweedsmuir, unveiled the memorials at Daniel Stewarts's College in Edinburgh but also the one at his home village of Broughton in Peebles-shire. The memorial at Fettes College was unveiled by Major General W.G. Macpherson, an old Fettesian. The memorial comprises of a statue of a fallen hero entitled "Carry On". "Carrying On" had been the title of one of Ian Hay's books and Hay, the pseudonym of Major-General J.H. Beith MC who served in Flanders, had been a language master at Fettes before the war. Perhaps not surprisingly the US Ambassador Mr A.B. Houghton unveiled the Scots-American Memorial in Princes Street Gardens.

In the urban and industrial areas it was often the local civic dignitary, local manager or company director of mining or manufacturing firm that performed the role the landed interest had carried out in the country. Provost Mitchell unveiled Greenock's Broomhill memorial while Edinburgh's Lord Provost Thomas Hutchison unveiled the one at George Heriot's School and the statue of Haig on the esplanade of the Castle. The granite soldier at Ferniegair was not only erected by miners from Hamilton Collieries but was unveiled by Mr. Thos Arnott, manager of the collieries and Convener of the Middle Ward of the County Council. The site for the monument had been given by the Duke of Hamilton. The Duke had also given columns from his recently demolished palace to be the feature of Auchentibber's memorial. Mr. C.B. Balfour, owner of Balgonie

Colliery, gifted and unveiled the memorial to the men of the village who had fallen. The obelisk at Shotts was unveiled by Mrs Matthew Brown, wife of the manager of Shotts Iron Co. James Hamilton Houldsworth presided over the unveiling of the Newmains War Memorial which men from his Coltness Iron Works had helped construct. He also gifted the 3.5 acre park for the nearby Cambusnethan War Memorial.

The clergy were always present and unless the memorial was specific to another denomination it was the Church of Scotland minister who had the major role. They dedicated the memorial and led the short act of worship which was always part of the ceremony. Clergymen from the other branches of the Christian church frequently had supporting roles in the service. Occasionally clergymen were asked to perform more ceremonial roles. Obviously the presence of the Archbishop of York was just too good an opportunity to miss and therefore he gave the address at the unveiling of the Killeen and Kilchenzie War Memorial at Glen Barr, Kintyre. The Rev. Dr. W. Robertson carried out the unveiling at Newmains and gave an address while no less than three other ministers assisted at the service. Dr. Robertson had recently retired from being minister at Coltness Church and presumably was an admired local figure as well as being one whom Houldsworth knew to be a reliable and safe 'apolitical' speaker.

At Grassic Gibbon's 'Kinraddie' the Reverend Colquhoun conducted the entire memorial affair almost single-handedly apart from having old John Brigson hold the ropes of the cloth draping the memorial. The Standing Stone at Kinraddie, as has been noted, had been re-erected to commemorate four men who had been killed. The following brief passage was the concluding part of the sermon on the topic "For I will give you the Morning star".¹⁰

"So lest we shame them, let us believe that the new oppressions and foolish greeds are no more than mists that pass. They died for a world that is past, these men, but they

did not die for this that we seem to inherit. Beyond it and us there shines a greater hope and a newer world, undreamt when these four died. But need we doubt which side of the battle they would range themselves did they live to-day, need we doubt the answer they cry to us even now, the four of them, from the places of the sunset?"

Gibbon informed us "the folk stood dumbfounded, this was just sheer politics" ¹¹ and of course that was a fictional account, in reality unveiling ceremonies were patriotically right rather than politically left. Lest commemoration be open to differing interpretations those in authority who had organised unveiling day had made it into a patriotic pageant not a political debate. The plinth of the war memorial was to carry a Celtic Cross not as a platform for a political soapbox.

War memorials were put up to commemorate the dead not as monuments to signify change. They were erected as buttresses to support, not tokens of disaffection with, the old system. Elsewhere the Old Order may have been swept away but here it remained in control and in place. The Great War may have given it a shake but it had not been beaten. Britain, under the Old Order, had emerged victorious even if the victory had been costly. War memorials were tokens of respect and thanksgiving by a society that had been rescued.

Unveiling ceremonies were displays of the old traditional social order not a harbinger of a new one. War memorials were there to reinforce an existing structure and not to create a platform for reform let alone revolution. All those who participated could be safely trusted to say the right thing in public, to rock no boats nor upturn any applecarts and use old cliches.

Unveiling Day was a unique occasion. There would be few such opportunities to address such large public gatherings and such near captive audiences. People in bereavement are at their most vulnerable state: well chosen words carry much weight. Gibbon's

minister and his ceremony were flights of fancy not an actuality - maybe he said what ought to have been said but no one, or at least few, dared utter these words at unveilings. Commemoration was ritualised and sanitised. Memorials may not all have been imposed from above but all reflect the Establishment values. Unveiling Day was the opportunity to reinforce these values. War memorials were symbols with meanings just as surely as the events of the unveilings were an enactment of a drama which allowed the ruling elites to articulate their views. Upholding traditional values was the order of the day and in safe hands safe words were spoken. Unveiling day was an important one for it was a show of strength, not of weakness, for there was to be no new world.

CHAPTER TEN - PART TWO

PUBLIC DISPLAY & PRIVATE GRIEF

With what nice irony she lays a wreath of poppies
Against that futile stump, the Cenotaph.

William Plomer,
from 'Armistice Day'.¹

1. Kenneth Baker, (Ed.), I Have No Guns But I Can Spit,
(London: Methuen, 1982), p.144.

All unveiling ceremonies were pretty similar and one committee learned from another. Many simply copied what others had done beforehand and there came to be a near standard format. The military had been unveiling memorials for ages and knew how to do it in what had become a highly formalised ceremony. Places without that tradition soon learned from others. Rutherglen War Memorial Committee's records reveal that Rutherglen gathered all the details, press cuttings, programme, etc., for the Airdrie unveiling. It also merely adapted the Paisley souvenir programme as its own with place and date changed to suit but with all the other details left intact¹ - it was plagiarism for a worthy end.

Frequently the ceremony at the war memorial was preceded by an act of worship in the local parish church as was the case at Crosshouse and Stewarton, or in the Town Hall as was the case in Darvel. More often than not the entire ceremony was conducted at the monument where a large crowd assembled to listen to the proceedings and join in where appropriate. Plate No.9 depicts the the unveiling of Rutherglen War Memorial; a typical scene with vast crowds and a sea of uniforms.

There was much military precision as well as a strong military presence at the unveilings. One is tempted to suggest the top-brass were better able to conduct such ceremonies than fight battles. Unveiling Day allowed the military to show their skill in marching and piping and display their Colours. There was also frequently a parade of local Territorials and of ex-servicemen with a Guard of Honour inspected by the leading military figure who had been invited to be present. At Kilmarnock, we are told, a rather unique march-past took place²-

"About 300 ex-servicemen were on parade... there was no differentiation between officers and men...in the ranks, majors and captains stood and marched shoulder to shoulder with privates and NCOs. All wore the ordinary dress of civilian life and the vast majority wore all their medals on

their breasts. A splendid spirit of brotherhood permeated all ranks; there was a genuine recrudescence of that old spirit of camaraderie which alone made tolerable the life in the trenches".

All those on parade together with the Territorials and Cadets were inspected by Sir Hugh Trenchard, Air Chief Marshal. It was a big day out for the military even if just a spectacle for the public.

At Newmains the love of uniforms was given full vent. Boy Scouts, Ex-servicemen, and the Red Cross formed the Guard of Honour. The local Scout troop provided the pipe band and Coltness Silver Band was also in attendance.

The ceremonies usually commenced with music - "The Dead March" from Handel's oratorio "Saul" was the ever popular choice for the occasion. The Times believed "no man has ever done a greater thing in art"³ for that piece of music said ⁴:

"...all that we wish to feel about the dead and in such a manner that our feelings are uplifted to its own height, and we forget the personal loss in our quickened sense of the nobility of man. It is music for all the dead, high or low, young or old, so that when we hear it we feel their equality, and it is music for the hearts of all those who mourn them, so that they too seem to be equalled in their grief".

In Dunfermline the town's military band played the voluntary "In Honoreum" which had been specially composed by Mr. David Stephen, the musical director of the Carnegie Dunfermline Trust. The "Hallelujah Chorus" was another popular and triumphant feature of many services.

The format of the ceremony was rather standard - the chairman (it was rarely, if ever, a female role) presided over the days events, made a few opening remarks and generally led the way through the

programme. His chief function was to introduce the principal guest who was to perform the actual unveiling. Both very graciously thanked each other for kind remarks for it too was an exercise in camaraderie and good spirits. The unveiling was followed by a short service although at Newmains, perhaps because of the high clerical input, the unveiling was preceded by an act of worship. After the singing of Psalm 23 to the tune Wiltshire, prayer by Rev. J.A. Nicholls and a scripture reading by Rev. Alex. Gillies the ceremony of the unveiling of the monument was carried out by the Rev. Dr. Wm. Robertson.⁵

Dr. Robertson spoke of the memorial being of rock-hewn granite and enduring bronze which would "bear a message to the generations that are to come". He believed the message of the memorial was that it was placed there "as a landmark of History - a monument to commemorate an outstanding period in the history of our land" when a great war left its mark on national life, a war for the "freedom of mankind".⁶

He also regarded the monument as being a "lasting memorial of a Noble Patriotism" to tell others of the 264 men of the district "who went forth from this little corner never to return". Robertson continued ⁷:

"Are we not proud of that record today? We do well to keep names in remembrance. Therefore we have carved them on granite. We set up this monument on this spot and when the sunlight rest upon it, men will come and read the long array of honoured names and they will look to it with reverence for it will stand here in our midst an emblem of duty bravely done ... of service nobly rendered".

He believed that the monument was also a "Tribute of Sacred Remembrance" for the "men whose names it bears were our very own". Dr Robertson continued ⁸:

"To us, these are more than names ... men and women of this place will come back to this spot and with tear dimmed eyes will read names that will stir them to the very soul as they think of empty places now in their homes today. Here the mother will come with her children and point them to their father's name....and with sad but proud heart tell them of that father who was brave and loyal and true.... Yes, we place it here as a tribute of affection and honoured remembrance of our own loved and lost".

Dr. Robertson then drew aside the Union Jacks which draped the memorial and read out the inscription on the front panel. Another clergyman then dedicated the memorial -"to the Glory of God and in proud and grateful and loving memory of those who fell" - and then offered a prayer of dedication. After the singing of a Paraphrase, two buglers from Hamilton Barracks sounded "The Last Post", the pipers played "Lochaber No More" and then the buglers sounded Reveille. The entire ceremony closed with Dr Robertson pronouncing the Benediction, another hymn and last, but by no means least, was the National Anthem.

The unveiling at Newmains was largely the standard format. Perhaps Robertson was better than most, for his were apt words - they were ministerial, healing and comforting, not belligerent or provocative. For though there may have been a consensus that the commemoration should be sacred there was frequently the opportunity taken by speakers to use the occasion for more didactic purpose.

In Dunfermline, the Chairman of the War Memorial Committee Ex-Provost Norval invited the Lord Lieutenant for the County of Fife, Sir Ralph Anstruther Bart., to unveil the memorial but before doing so Sir Ralph took the opportunity to address the crowd. He spoke of "duty" and how those who had answered the call had "eagerly pressed forward to support their King and Country". He went on to say ⁹-

"The instinctive consciousness which they had that right and freedom were at stake fired all hearts, not let us remember, only in those men whose lives were to be given but also in those who returned whole, or alas, as in many cases, maimed, to resume their place in the national life. In some ways it seems to me those who died had a better fate. Death must come sooner or later to all mortals and what nobler end can there be to life than that of the patriot warrior".

He reckoned those of the town had good reason to be proud of their now departed fellow citizens and continued ¹⁰:

"You have rightly combined to place this memorial in their honour. Though we look upon war as a disaster, we cannot but admire the spirit which stood up and triumphed over evil. Courage and self-sacrifice are altogether admirable. Do you not see in the conduct and career of these men an example to be followed?...For let me urge upon you that courage and self-sacrifice are the true springs of right-living and may be practised with as good a result in the avocations of peace as in the surroundings of war. Indeed, we see every day records of actions as heroic as any that won distinction in the field... the practice of these virtues...must tend to the advance of our people, whether morally or materially, and will help to unite us all...into one harmonious whole".

But it was not all to be a statement on the needs of good citizenship, Sir Ralph then spoke of the sympathy and consolation due to the relatives of the fallen and urged them to cherish the memory of "their gallant dead". He then expressed his admiration for the work of the committee and of those who were commissioned to carry out the work. He then declared ¹¹:

"You have here a beautiful memorial of the war which is in keeping with the old walls around and will be an addition to your ancient monuments, I hope, for many centuries to come".

After its unveiling and dedication, pipers played "The Flowers of the Forest" and "Lochaber No More". The "Last Post" was then sounded by two buglers and, after a period of two minutes silence, "Reveille" was sounded.

Ex-Provost Norval then formally handed the memorial into the custody of the Corporation of Dunfermline and in so doing thanked all who had been involved in its construction, the architects Messrs Taylor and Young of Manchester, Sir John Burnet who had been the assessor and had selected their design in the competition, the local government officers who had been associated with the construction and lastly the builder Mr. Stewart. Norval also expressed his thanks to all those who had helped raise the necessary funds.¹²

Norval declared that he hoped the corporation and their successors "would watch over (the memorial) for all time coming and would keep it free from damage by any sacriligious hands".¹³

Provost D.A. Fraser in accepting the memorial on behalf of the Town Council stated ¹⁴:

"(They) accepted custody of the memorial as a sacred trust, and they would regard it as a solemn duty to the dead to uphold the memorial permanently in that environment where there were the greatest and best memories attaching to the history of the town. May the memorial remain with them for posterity a reminder of the obligation to those who saved their country".

The ceremony was concluded with another Psalm, the Benediction and the National Anthem, after which Sir Ralph Anstruther placed a wreath at the base of the monument. The memorial service having drawn to a close a "steady stream" then filed past the cenotaph to pay their respects.

At Symington, Lt. General Sir Charles Fergusson offered words of

sympathy to the bereaved but then expressed his concern for the future ¹⁵:

"Are we altogether worthy of these men, are we doing all we can to be worthy of their example?... if we are not worthy then these precious lives have been wasted, if we are not trying to play our part these men have died in vain. That is a terrible suggestion to make, the suggestion that all heroism, that boundless self-sacrifice should avail nothing, and that the world be not one whit better today for all the blood that has been shed...there is much that we can see in national life today that is disappointing, that is unworthy...one is tempted to wonder whether after all we are going to be guided by the voices of the men who died for us and who speak to us today from this memorial and who speak to us of good-fellowship, comradeship, love and self-sacrifice".

Sir Charles then spoke of his fear that people may be led by other voices "which grate on our ears and preach to us of jealousy, suspicion, envy, class hatred, sedition and even revolution".¹⁶

Recognising that there were "many social and industrial problems at home and abroad" Fergusson believed that the "general good must come first" and that "personal interest must take second place". In the trenches, he believed, there had been "no class hatred, jealousy, and petty meanness...the spirit of comradeship, self-sacrifice had won the war and will ensure the peace".¹⁷

These three examples of memorial unveilings were typical of both form and content of most. Slight variations, however, did occur. At Kilmuir easter in Ross-Shire the Countess of Cromartie unveiled the memorial but the "dominie" Mr. Meldrum read out the roll of the fallen,¹⁸ rather like the scene in Mary Symon's poem where the old schoolmaster recalls his pupils, now sadly gone. Mr. Meldrum had also doubtlessly taught most of these young men in the local school and now they too had gone.

At Stewarton, after the unveiling the Provost turned to the inscription, now visible for the first time, and read out the names inscribed there. The local press captured the event ¹⁹:

"As the last word was uttered a single call rang out, and the words of command were heard 'Ready,- present - fire!' and the silence was shattered by a sudden volley of rifle fire. Three volleys were thus fired - the salute to the dead - and then the pipes took up the mournful strains of the 'Flowers of the Forest'".

Wreaths were then placed at the foot of the obelisk and the Kilmarnock Standard reckoned that the ceremony of placing the wreaths was "one of the most touching of all the day's proceedings for many who took part in it were shaken by the uncontrollable emotion of grief".²⁰

The entire ceremony concluded thus ²¹:

"The Last Post" - the symbol of the day's work done and rest well earned - was sounded by the buglers and the Rev. Mr. Ogilvie pronounced the Benediction. Then a gladder, more inspiring note was heard as the bugles sounded the Reveille - the call to the living to be up and doing, to "carry on", and in relation to the dead the symbol of a glorious Resurrection...the assembled company joined in singing the National Anthem, and the ceremony was at an end".

The ceremony over ²²-

"...the townsfolk in great numbers crowded around the memorial...to inspect it at close quarters and to look for certain well-loved names upon it, and on every hand one heard expressions of appreciation and pride in this, the parish's tribute to the memory of its twentieth century martyrs".

The Stewarton ceremony reveals the militaristic atmosphere of the ceremonies for they frequently had all the atmosphere and taste of the parade ground and regimental burial. Regiments had long had a ritualised formula for treating their fallen comrades, Farwell has stated ²³:

"The dead were handled somewhat more efficiently than the suffering living. Death was common enough in peacetime; on active service it was more common still. It has been said that there are two things which the British army can do to perfection: attempt the impossible and stage a funeral. Certainly a funeral was treated seriously, with suitable ritual and in a practical manner.

"A battalion usually paraded in dress uniform for a funeral. Every available officer was present, arms were reversed, and en route to the cemetery the band played a slow march (often the 'Dead March' in Saul). In Highland regiments there was the mournful wail of a lament on the bagpipes and 'Lochaber No More' was played over the grave; a service was read by a chaplain, a bugle played 'Last Post', and three volleys (for the trinity, though few knew the significance) were fired over the grave.

"The corpse buried, duty done, the mood was swiftly changed as the band struck up a quick march - often the tune of the latest music-hall song - and the battalion was marched quickly back to its quarters".

With little noticeable difference war memorials were unveiled. The unveiling ceremonies were a surrogate funeral and at least the latest music-hall song was omitted. Certainly Symington's unveiling ended with more decorum. After the unveiling Sir Charles Fergusson stepped from the mound on which the memorial stood and shook hands with and spoke a few "grievous words of sympathy and comfort to each

of the relatives of the deceased - a kindly thoughtful act that was appreciated by all".²⁴

One imagines that those present at the ceremonies were so trapped up in their private thoughts and personal grief that they took little real notice of what was being actually said in the speeches. Most people hear what they want to hear. Each would take their own meanings out of the days' events. Isherwood's war widow Lily Vernon was at the unveiling of her village war memorial and she may have been pretty typical ²⁵⁻

"She closed her eyes, fastening the eye of her brain upon a needle point of concentration.

Richard, she thought, Richard.

The Bishop's voice, so beautiful, so confident, with such precise modulations, rose and fell:

'To the Honour and Glory of God and in memory our brothers who laid down their lives for us, we dedicate this Cross in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy ghost. Amen.'

Lily opened her eyes. She saw the Bishop, with his linen sleeves and the medals on his scarf. She saw the tall monument, the work of a good Manchester firm, tastefully executed and paid for by the large, easily afforded subscriptions of grateful businessmen. But Richard isn't here, she thought - she knew, with horror: Richard isn't anywhere. He's gone. He's dead".

They had all gone. All the sad but fine words that would be spoken so eloquently at all the unveiling days would not alter the fact that sons, husbands, lovers had died in the tragedy of the Great War. It would take a number of years before that pain and that sorrow would ease. No amount of pomp and ceremony, no amount of political propagandising, no amount of military window dressing could conceal the tragic waste of life. Unveiling days were a time of self pity - a public display of private grief. Gordon has noted

"death is for the living" ²⁶ and the ceremonies we enact at funerals are the response of the living in attempting to come to terms with death. Unveiling day was simply one of its greatest and most public shows.

Aries has remarked that "in places where there is no monument to the dead, there can be no commemoration and therefore no celebration".²⁷ The war memorial was, like the churchyard and the cemetery, a place to which the living could go to remember the dead.

The Dean of Westminster recalled, when the black marble slab was laid over the tomb of the Unknown Soldier, that it was "a great day for Westminster Abbey".²⁸ It could with equal justification, be claimed to have been also a great day for Newmains, Dunfermline, and Symington and indeed for every town and village, the day their war memorial was unveiled. That was why Spencer painted Cookham's. It was a big day.

Reginald Fairlie, the architect of Auchtermuchty War Memorial, was present at its unveiling and he recorded his comments - one of the few contemporary accounts we have available of personal feelings at unveilings. On 17 October 1920 Fairlie wrote - "A piper...played Lochaber No More. It was the first time I had heard it. I was touched very much by the music".²⁹ The Solicitor General unveiled the memorial and Fairlie reckoned his speech had "held the attention of the audience" for he was a "beautiful speaker".³⁰

Fairlie did not record what was actually said but it nevertheless impressed him. One suspects that what was said did not much matter for people's thoughts drifted to their own recollections of lost loved ones. The right thoughts seemed to be uttered by the speakers. It was not a day to find fault or to look for, let alone heed, Right-wing propaganda. One imagines that most of those who attended the various ceremonies were, like Fairlie, equally impressed and moved by the experience. It was a day of sadness and sorrow but also one of comfort and joy. It was also a day of pride

- perhaps it truly had all been a great sacrifice for a great cause. It was a day when an orgy of patriotism coalesced with the needs of bereavement.

It was an important day and for each community it was a special day. It was a day when crowds gathered, bands played and bugles sounded, when speeches were made and prayers offered, when psalms were sung and pipes lamented - it was a day to remember.

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