

UNIVERSITY OF STRATHCLYDE

bcn 386/k

MONUMENTS TO THE FALLEN
SCOTTISH WAR MEMORIALS OF
THE GREAT WAR

VOLUME TWO

GILBERT TORRANCE BELL

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

Thesis Submitted for Degree
of Doctor of Philosophy

1993

CHAPTER ELEVEN

SECOND CITY SOLUTIONS

i. Battles and Bruises.

ii. Plans and Problems.

iii. Design and Delay.

iv. Cenotaph and Ceremony.

I worked in a great shipyard by the Clyde,
There came a sudden word of wars declared,
Of Belgium, peaceful, helpless, unprepared,
Asking our aid: I joined the ranks, and died.
I gave my life for freedom - This I know :
For those who bade me fight had told me so.

W. N. Ewer,
from 'Five Souls'.¹

1. Thomas Moulton (Ed.), The Cenotaph.
(London: Jonathon Cape, 1923), pp.44-45.

CHAPTER ELEVEN - PART ONE

BATTLES AND BRUISES

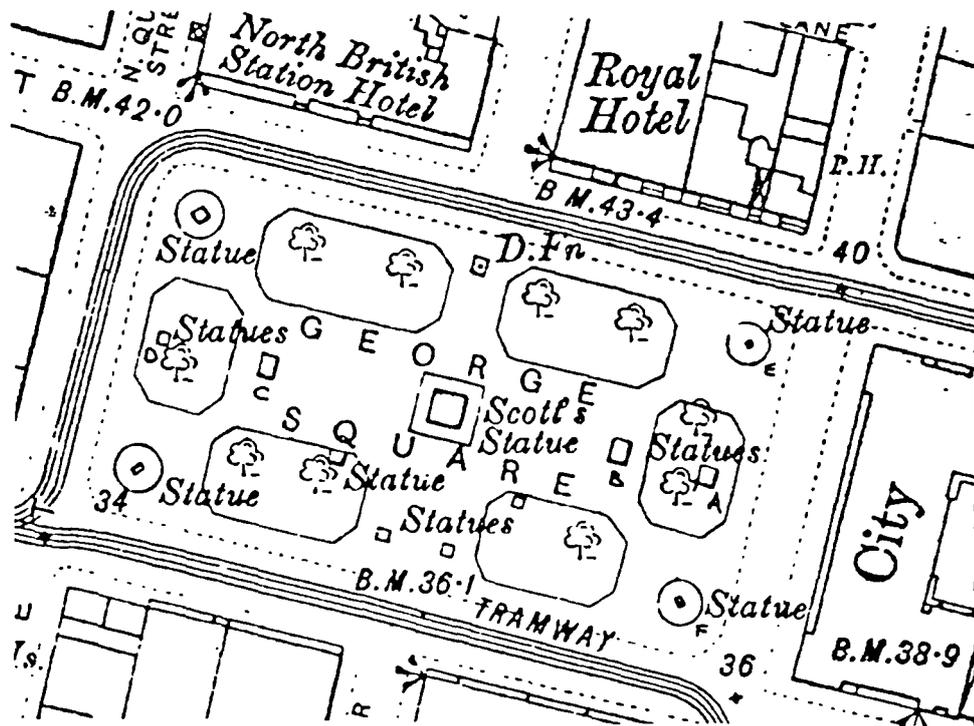
"We look on all their force with scorn and contempt. Our Unity is stronger than their armaments."

"We are on the eve of Victory! Hold on!"

from The Strike Bulletin.¹

1. The Strike Bulletin, 3 February 1919,
Quoted in Glasgow 1919,
(Glasgow: Molendinar Press, nd.)

Map No. 2. George Square in 1913.



Map No.2. Plan of George Square, Glasgow in 1913.

(The following statues are referred to in the text -
A. Gladstone; B. Prince Albert; C. Queen Victoria;
D. David Livingstone; E. James Oswald; F. Thos.Graham).

Having looked at the broad picture of war memorials erected in Scotland in the aftermath of the Great War it seemed both desirable and sensible to examine, in some detail, one particular memorial and how it came to be erected. In the preceding chapters a broad overview of the general problems of deciding on the form of memorial, on selecting a suitable design, on choosing a satisfactory location and considering which inscription should grace the finished monument have all been examined - here we shall examine the problems of one single monument.

Doubtlessly the problems encountered were the same sort of ones which faced all war memorial committees and these problems had to be tackled in order to carry through the project from inception to completion. It is unlikely that Glasgow was ever all that unique in the solutions to her problems. Certainly the problems were not unique to Glasgow. The story of her war memorial may not only reflect a narrow Scottish perspective of memorial making but also mirror the universal problems of erecting public monuments and civic statuary. Differences would be in degree rather than substance.

The Glasgow War Memorial was chosen to be examined because Glasgow was, in 1918, at her very zenith. The Cenotaph in George Square was to become not only the most prominent piece of monumental art in the City Centre but a major monument erected in those heady days when Glasgow was the Second City of the British Empire - a title which she had proudly held for about 150 years (and only losing it by "about 1951" according to Oakley).¹ In 1918 Glasgow mattered. She was a most important city and a "workshop of the world". The Cenotaph merits attention not simply because it is powerfully symbolic of those years but because it has continued to have a role, both real and visual, at the centre of things and will doubtlessly remain an important architectural and sculptural monument for the years to come.

Before delving into the story of the war memorial itself, it is desirable to add a little about the site which was so readily

accepted as being the ideal location for the Cenotaph. George Square, as we have noted, had for generations been a site for monuments and a dignified open space at the heart of the city. It had come to be regarded as Glasgow's Valhalla and Hall of Fame due to its rich and varied collection of bronze figures. Plate No.10 depicts the Square as it was at the end of the nineteenth century while the plan (Map No. 2) shows the Square as it was in 1913.

The Square was not simply a collection of dead bronzes. It had for much of its life possessed much vitality. It had also rightly been labelled "an oasis of history".²

The Square had long been the scene for public meetings, assemblies and demonstrations but these had been banned before the war due to ever mounting industrial agitation. In the post 1914-18 world, however, it was to have perhaps its finest hour. George Square was to be centre stage for events which if they did not rock the establishment at least caused it to panic and added to the growing mythology of "Red Clydeside".

"The Forty-hour Strike" (a strike for a forty hour working week) had begun on 27 January 1919 and it had led to a flurry of highly dramatic and colourful activity. The Square witnessed what the Glasgow Herald considered to be "scenes unparalleled in the civic history of the city".³ The Red Flag was unfurled in the crowded Square; Sheriff Mackenzie, who read the Riot Act from the steps of the Municipal Buildings, was assaulted; the Chief Constable was struck by a missile; the police baton-charged the crowd. Like all good revolutions, be they real or imaginary, part even acquired the sobriquet "Bloody Friday" and indeed fifty three people had been injured in the "unprecedented scenes of violence and bloodshed".⁴ The Government response was swift and decisive. Thousands of troops were brought into the city and the city centre was "occupied by military forces"⁵ to demonstrate that the Government meant business. Official response may also have become embroidered in the legendising of the episode but it has been claimed that on the

morning of 1 February there was "a howitzer at the City Chambers and machine gunners manning the Post Office".⁶ Certainly coils of barbed wire and machine guns were at the ready, fully armed patrols of soldiers marched along city streets, soldiers with fixed bayonets guarded the City Chambers and other public buildings ⁷ and, according to Middlemass, "six tanks, cumbrous and grimly out of place, lay waiting in the meat market". ⁸

By 10 February, however, the strike had petered out and the ringleaders incarcerated. The troops, tanks, baton-charges and general over-reaction gave it a popular success which it lacked in reality but the episode became part of the romance of Red Clydeside.

The story of Red Clydeside, no matter how fascinating it may be, is not the route to be retraced here. To return to the war memorial path one significant, even if rather mundane, event of 1919 needs to be stated. In the summer of 1919 the Square was placed wholly under the control and supervision of the Parks Department of the Corporation. Bringing it into civic control may have had little if any effect in permitting magistrates to facilitate the rule of law and order but it certainly meant that the Parks Committee would be involved in all discussion on the Square's future.⁹

As we have noted, the roots of a flourishing war memorial industry were to be found deep within the war but it was only with the peace that steps could finally be made to firm-up the ideas and plans formulated during the war. There had been much interest and discussion on the form the Glasgow memorial should take but we can perhaps, with some justification, start our story on 9 January 1919. On that date the Lord Provost of Glasgow, unperturbed by political events outside (or maybe in reaction to them) wrote to prominent citizens. The letter read thus ¹⁰:

"Dear Sir,

"Proposed War Memorial for Glasgow

"I am taking steps to arrange for the establishment of a memorial to mark in a fitting and permanent form the heroism and self-sacrifice of those of our fellow citizens who have fallen in the war, but preparatory to calling a public meeting of citizens I am desirous of forming an influential General Committee to whom the matter might be remitted. I shall feel much obliged if you can see your way to join the Committee.

"I am,

"Yours faithfully.

"(signed) J. W Stewart

"Lord Provost."

The general public were thus to be excluded from the real decision making and only a hand-picked group would decide what was best for the city. The prominent citizens who responded to Stewart's letter were in turn invited to a subsequent meeting held on 18 September and in the letter requesting their attendance they were referred to as being members of the "Grand Committee".¹¹ At that meeting the Lord Provost suggested that the timber cross cenotaph which had been erected on Glasgow Green as part of the Peace Celebrations and which had met with apparent universal acclaim should be "reproduced" in a permanent form for George Square.¹² One suspects, in a more religious age than our own, that the public liked the wooden cross not simply because of its powerful symbolism but also because it was both a simple and effective memorial rather than for any real aesthetic qualities which it might have had. No one may have openly criticised the cross but then no one seems to have been asked their views on the matter - certainly no survey was conducted to ascertain the wishes of the populace. They were obviously regarded as being inexperienced in such matters and therefore their opinions not valued and not worth receiving. A Chartered Accountant as well

as a pragmatic politician, Stewart added a note of caution as well as express his own increasing doubts as to the real lasting worth of the cross.¹³

"Some other form of monument would also be required but the decision on the character of the memorial to be left to a later date once it could be accurately established what funds might be available."

As funding had now become an issue it was thus deemed expedient to involve the general public for generous contributions would be required. It was proposed to have a public meeting as soon as convenient and to which ordinary citizens would be invited to attend.

The pace of promoting the memorial was not fast enough for one man, William Sinclair, who, in early February 1920, urged the Lord Provost to call a public meeting in order to determine the most suitable war memorial "worthy of ourselves and the Great City".¹⁴ By the time Sinclair's letter had appeared in print the Provost had already called his public meeting - it was to be held on 13 February.

The meeting was basically a window-dressing exercise offering a veneer of involvement to those who had turned up. Although it had been decided to have a memorial in order to carry the citizens with the proposals two important resolutions were approved at that meeting. These were ¹⁵-

"That this representative meeting of the citizens of Glasgow desires to mark in a fitting and permanent form the heroism and self sacrifice of the officers, non-commissioned officers and men of the Navy, Army and Air Force belonging to Glasgow who fell in the Great War and the deep sense of admiration and gratitude toward them by their fellow citizens and accordingly hereby resolves that a worthy memorial should be provided.

"That this meeting hereby resolves to inaugurate a Subscription Memorial Fund for the purpose of carrying out the foregoing Resolution, and appoints ... a committee with power to add to their number to determine the form of memorial and thereafter to raise an appeal for funds and to take all steps which it may deem to be necessary and fitting for raising the fund and administering same".

At that meeting a Committee of One Hundred was appointed to decide the form of the city's memorial. A letter from HRH Prince Albert was read and in which he suggested as a suitable memorial "an institute for the disabled"¹⁶ and thus the utilitarian concept was early introduced into the discussions.

The Committee, once formed, seemed to waste little time in pursuing its objective. By 20 February it had decided on three issues.¹⁷

"1.that a cenotaph of artistic design on a site carefully selected would form the most appropriate and permanent memorial to commemorate the self sacrifice which our heroic dead had so willingly made in the sacred cause of righteousness, and to the provision of which the funds subscribed should be primarily dedicated.

"2.that thereafter the funds be devoted to the maintenance equipment and extension of the Prince Albert Workshops for the Training of Disabled Sailors and Soldiers.

"3. that any funds remaining after the requirements of Nos 1 and 2 are met be devoted to such other schemes as the Committee approve".

A letter appealing for funds was then issued and there was an aggressively hard-sell approach in that letter. The recipients of the Provost's letter were informed ¹⁸:

"I have much pleasure in appealing for funds for the establishment of a war memorial for Glasgow... A sum of at least £100,000 is aimed at and I annex a list of subscriptions already intimated. It (would) be a pleasure to me to add your name to it. I feel sure that the response to my appeal will be both generous and prompt.... Contributions to be sent to the Hon. Treasurer Sir John S. Samuel, City Chambers, Glasgow".

The response was indeed generous and prompt: when the first list of subscribers was published on 3 March the sum stood at £45,681. The largest single donation was £5,000 from the Glasgow Branch of the Soldiers and Sailors Society. Former Provost and bakery proprietor Sir William Bilsland, the warehousemen Messrs Arthur & Co., and the armaments manufacturers Messrs William Beardmore & Co., of Parkhead each gave £1000 to the appeal. Miss Jean Drummond gave £1.¹⁹

By the 29 October Sir John Samuel could announce that the "fund stood at £102,409.²⁰ The target had been reached and had been reached speedily. The substantial sum raised was sufficient to give Glasgow a memorial of truly monumental quality- the magnificent Ashton Memorial at Lancaster had cost £87,000 in 1909 and reveals the sort of calibre of monument which could, inflation permitting, be provided for that sort of money. Glasgow was not to get the truly monumental, however, a dramatic (and inexplicable) shift in emphasis had taken place in the Committee's thinking.

Sir John reported that of the total sum gathered "£57,940 had now been earmarked for Prince Albert's Workshops".²¹ The Committee then considered the question of the sum to be set aside for erection of the cenotaph. The Committee Minutes reveal that the "general feeling was expressed that a sum not exceeding £20,000 should be adequate for (that) section of the memorial".²²

This change in thinking is striking. No longer was the monument of artistic design to be the first priority with the workshops and

other schemes obtaining the residue. The workshops were now to get the lion's share with over half the total sum subscribed while the cenotaph's funding was reduced to around one fifth of the total sum gathered.

This shift in emphasis seems to have been readily accepted by not only the Committee but by the citizenry as a whole. No real or loud dissent ensued. The fact, however, remained that funds for the cenotaph were now severely restricted whereas the fund as a whole had been generously and amply provided for.

The next question to which the Committee addressed itself was that of siting the proposed memorial and that was to cause them quite a problem. The Committee had unanimously agreed that the most suitable location for the cenotaph would be George Square.

On 4 November 1920, Sir John Samuel, on behalf of the Executive Committee, wrote to the Corporation asking them:

"...to grant permission to erect in George Square a cenotaph of artistic design to commemorate the self sacrifice of our heroic dead during the late war (and) preferably on the site in front of the City Chambers on which the Gladstone Statue now stands".²³

The site was the most important one within the square. Gladstone stood directly opposite the main entrance to the Municipal Buildings for Gladstone had been a popular figure. Strike leaders had stood on the plinth of the Gladstone statue in January 1919 and crowds had gathered in front of it to hear and cheer them.²⁴ The statue may have acquired a symbolic role in their fight for improved conditions. Officialdom on the otherhand, in the guise of the City Council, may not have desired to have that reminder of unrest and violence on their doorstep and may not have been too sorry to see Gladstone banished from their sight. Some may have preferred a

contemplative war memorial than a revolutionary platform on their threshold.

The Parks and Gardens Committee of the Corporation decided that a special Sub-Committee should look into the proposal although Councillor Rosslyn Mitchell proposed a counter motion (seconded by Councillor Drummond) that "the site suggested be not entertained".²⁵ Mitchell, it is worth noting, had been not only a pacifist during the war ²⁶ but was a solicitor and who had appeared in defence of the strike leaders in 1919.²⁷ The original motion was carried by 14 votes to ten but when the special sub-committee was formed Rosslyn Mitchell was one of its members. The war memorial was assured a rough passage. At its meeting on 24 December the Sub-Committee concluded that it was "inexpedient to remove the Gladstone Statue".²⁸ The Gladstone Statue had been the most recently erected figure in the Square, having only been placed there in 1902 but its location was without doubt the prime site. The Sub-Committee recommended an alternative site ²⁹:

"...an area of ground on the north side of the square opposite North Hanover Street, that site being one which (would) not in any way interfere with the existing statues in the Square".

At the subsequent War Memorial Committee meeting on 9 February the letter from the Town Clerk intimating the Corporation's views was discussed. They, as to be expected, found these to be unacceptable. They decided to not only write to the Parks Committee but also to send a deputation in an effort "to get them to reconsider".³⁰

On 2 March, Sir John Samuel's letter was read to the Parks Committee after which the deputation - Lord Blythswood, Sir Archibald McInnes Shaw, Sir Robert McKenzie and Sir John S. Samuel - addressed the Committee stating their reasons why the site on the north side of the Square was "unsuitable". The deputation was politely thanked and advised that "their representations would receive careful consideration".³¹ When the deputation had left the Parks Committee

duly considered the matter. After heated discussion a motion was proposed that consent be given to erect the war memorial on the site of the Gladstone Statue but an amendment was also moved to the effect that "it was inexpedient to move the Gladstone statue" and "recommended the site opposite North Hanover Street".³² There were to be 15 votes for the motion and 16 for the amendment. The vote was getting very close - but Gladstone by the skin of his teeth was still to remain in place!

The Corporation, however, felt that the entire issue should be remitted back to the Parks Committee "for further consideration"³³ and when next on the agenda to be discussed at that Committee the Lord Provost (now Thomas Paxton) attended and he spoke strongly in praise of the Gladstone Statue site as being the ideal site for the cenotaph. It was then moved that that site be accepted although there was an amendment moved that the "parks Committee recommendations be adhered to".³⁴ When the votes were counted the amendment had been defeated by 8 votes to 16. That "the motion was declared to be carried" was entered in the minute book. The War Memorial Committee had at last won the day but Councillor Mitchell refused to give in quite so readily. When the issue was again raised at the next full Corporation meeting he moved that it be again "remitted back for further consideration" but his amendment was accordingly declared to be "negatived" when it was defeated by 39 votes to 28.³⁵

It had taken much persuasion but at least Samuel was able to inform his Committee on 20 April that the Corporation had granted permission for the erection of a cenotaph on the site of their choice.³⁶ Samuel then wrote to the Council thanking them "for having granted the said site and for the removal of the Gladstone Statue".³⁷

The removal of the Gladstone Statue, therefore, now became a problem for the Corporation. The Parks Committee set up a small Sub-Committee of six members including, perhaps surprisingly,

Councillor Mitchell and it was "to consider and report on the removal of Gladstone's statue and its erection on a suitable site".³⁸ At its first meeting it was proposed that the statue be erected at the top of the steps at the entrance to Queen's Park, on Glasgow's South Side, a site far removed from George Square.

Queen's Park, an elegant park laid out by the renowned landscape architect Sir Joseph Paxton in the mid-nineteenth century, has within it a small rather plain yet nonetheless attractive neo-classical house, Camphill House, dating from around 1800. At the top of the hill or drumlin around which the park is located had been the site of a military camp used during the Battle of Langside, fought on the slopes of this hill or at least fought in its vicinity. The house and the park owe their names the Battle and to Mary, Queen of Scots who fought her last fight here. One of the most impressive features of the park is the great granite stair leading up to a splendid terrace - it would have made an ideal location for any statue. The park had no monument within its bounds although the Battlefield Monument lay just beyond its south-western corner. The park, however, already had one link with the Great War for located near its main walkway was an oak tree planted by Belgian Refugees immediately after the war.

Queen's Park was, nevertheless, destined to remain monumentless. At the same meeting it was also suggested that Gladstone "be erected on the north side of the Square, fronting North Hanover Street".³⁹ There were to be two votes for the Queen's Park proposal and three for the George Square amendment. It was thus decided, by the narrowest of margins, that the site in the Square which had been previously suggested as the site for the war memorial would now in fact be the site for the displaced Gladstone.

An elated Sir John Samuel was able to report to his Committee that the City was "resolved to give permission to this Committee to erect a cenotaph on the site of the Gladstone Statue".⁴⁰ It had been an uphill struggle but in the end perseverance had won - they had

gained the best and most prestigious site. Having thus now secured their desired site the Committee could now focus its attention on obtaining a design for the now agreed figure of £20,000 maximum. They had now to find a monument worthy of the site.

CHAPTER ELEVEN- PART TWO

PLANS AND PROBLEMS

Patriots have toiled and in their country's cause
Bled nobly; and their deeds as they deserve
Receive proud recompense.

William Cowper.¹

1. James McFarlane, George Square: Its History, Statues & Environs, (Glasgow: Aird & Coghill, 1922), p.37.

With £20,000 set aside and with the prestigious site opposite the main door to the City Chambers secured the Committee now began to plan how to obtain a war memorial worthy of the City.

The Committee considered advertising for competitive designs to be submitted in the hope of getting the best possible scheme. Realising they were quite inexperienced in matters artistic they decided to bring some professional expertise to their deliberations, so the President of the Glasgow Institute of Architects and the City Engineer were invited to join them. It was also decided to invite the former Lord Provost J.W. Stewart, whose term of office had just terminated and who had been instrumental in getting the project moving, to serve on the Committee in a personal capacity.

James Watson Stewart ¹ was not only an accountant but ran an insurance company in the City. His particular interest had been housing but he was also a Governor of the West of Scotland Agricultural College. Before entering Glasgow City Council he had served on Dumbarton County Council and for some time had been its Vice-Convener. After his eventful term as Provost he was looking forward to receiving the knighthood as the customary honour and reward for services to the City. He was a busy man and used to decision making. He was on the Board of the Clyde Navigation Trust at a time when the Clyde was a very busy river and the Navigation Trust had an impressive office with magnificent boardroom at the Broomielaw designed by, and recently extended by, one of Glasgow's leading architects - John James Burnet.

Thomas Nisbet had become Master of Works and City Engineer in 1914 and one of his major achievements in the post-war world was to tackle slum clearance in Garngad where he had built cottage flats, an early attempt at 'homes for heroes'.² He had also carried out an extension to the charming little library building at Elder Park which had been designed by John James Burnet. Under his predecessor as City engineer, he had supervised the erection of the Gladstone Statue, the last to be placed in George Square.

William B. Whitie had recently become President of the Glasgow Institute of Architects and had executed some notable buildings in the city - including the Metropole Theatre and Grand Central Cinema - but his chief claim to fame was his competition winning design for the Mitchell Library,³ an Edwardian Baroque building of great dignity and much pomposity. His smaller Springburn Library was a much cosier less fussy affair. Whitie also designed Springburn Public Hall, an handsome Italian Renaissance-style building. He had therefore carried out a considerable amount of work for the commercial sector in the city as well as work for Corporation Departments. His work was solid and stolid.

The idea of obtaining competitive designs had not met with universal acclaim. Sir John Stirling Maxwell believed that a "monument of simple and austere form would interpret public feeling ... better than anything elaborate or ornate"⁴(Perhaps he was thinking of his anything but elaborate or ornate memorial at Pollok). He believed that order to achieve that monument it would be wisest to simply employ a leading architect rather than advertise for competitive entries. It became the accepted view of the Committee that rather than throw the scheme open to competition it would be "better to select a small number of prominent artists and invite them to submit designs".⁵

It was then decided that Sir George Frampton RA, Sir Edwin Lutyens RA, Sir John James Burnet RA, and Sir Robert Lorimer RA be each invited to submit a design and that those who submitted the unsuccessful schemes would each receive 100 Guineas towards expenses - the winner would, of course, see his project realised and receive the appropriate fees. The Lord Provost was requested to make a direct approach to these artistic gentlemen to ascertain their willingness to participate in the grand plan. He was also to inform them that "a sum of £15,000 but not exceeding £20,000 would be paid for the cenotaph"⁶ and that the monument should be ready for unveiling on Armistice Day (11 November 1921). The decision to invite these men was not made until 25 April 1921 so it was ever a

forlorn, if optimistic, hope that all would be ready in barely six months. The Committee were clearly inexperienced in monument-making.

The four artists deemed worthy of the accolade of even being considered for the designing of Glasgow' Cenotaph were all leading figures in their professions. All had an impressive array of work to their credit.

Frampton (1860-1928)⁷ had been Director of the LCC's Central School of Art and was Master of the Art Workers Guild. Among his best known works were Peter Pan in Kensington Gardens and the recently completed memorial to Edith Cavell situated near the National Gallery, off Trafalgar Square. He had had a few commissions for work in Glasgow and these had received much praise. He had put the sculptural decoration to the new Glasgow Savings Bank building which Sir J. J. Burnet had recently designed. Frampton had also executed the splendid St. Mungo group at the staircase at the park-facing entrance to Kelvingrove Art Gallery - without doubt one of the most notable pieces of statuary in the City.

The other three were all architects and all had been appointed Principal Architects to the Imperial War Graves Commission.

Lutyens (1869-1944)⁸ was the youngest of this trio and he was to design what is possibly the finest of the Monuments to the Missing, that at Thiepval on the Somme. He had, of course, designed the elegant and simple Cenotaph in Whitehall and he had a flourishing country house practice as well as being the architect for the Country Life offices in London. His greatest work was, however, still to come - it would be at New Delhi where the Viceroy's House and All India War Memorial Arch are splendid monuments to his genius.

The Edinburgh architect Robert Stoddart Lorimer (1864-1929)⁹ had a vast number of Scottish country mansions to his credit, Ardkinglas on Loch Fyne, Rowallan Castle in Ayrshire and Formakin near

Bishopton being among his finest West of Scotland ones. He had also carried out restoration work at Dunblane Cathedral and Paisley Abbey and designed the exquisite little Thistle Chapel for Edinburgh's St. Giles Cathedral. He executed a vast number of war memorials and was to restore St. John's Kirk, Perth as the Perthshire War Memorial.

Sir John James Burnet (1857-1938)¹⁰ was the eldest of the group and he was the son of a distinguished Glasgow architect. Burnet Senior had designed the Glasgow Stock Exchange as well as churches and banks and J.J. Burnet had trained in his father's office before becoming his partner. J.J. Burnet was the only one of the three to have a Glasgow office as well as a London one. Although he had failed to win the prestigious Municipal Buildings competition his output of work in Glasgow had been immense. It included the Elder Library in Govan and the Clyde Navigation Trust Office as well as the Alhambra Theatre (now gone), the Fine Art Institute (now gone), and various commercial buildings of which the finest was the renowned McGeoch's Building (since demolished). While in partnership with another notable Glasgow architect John A. Campbell he had given the city the great cathedral-like Barony Church (now Barony Hall, the Graduation Hall of the University of Strathclyde). In London his work included the famed Kodak Building and the impressive extension to the British Museum for which he had received his knighthood. The great lions for the entrance to the museum had been carved by George Frampton.

Burnet had, however, one other very great asset as far as the City administration was concerned - his wife was the daughter of Sir James Marwick, former Town Clerk of the City of Glasgow.

By 9 May, Frampton, Burnet and Lorimer had responded to the Provost's challenge by declining to accept the invitation to submit a design. Burnet and Lorimer stated that they could not do so on the grounds that "the rules of the RIBA required its members not to enter a competition in which no professional assessor had been appointed".¹¹ Lutyens, on the otherhand, replied stating that he

did not think it possible to design and complete a permanent memorial within the time allowed and that all he could hope to do would be to submit his Whitehall Cenotaph design "with such amendments and revisions as the Glasgow site demanded".¹² The Committee decided to seek some clarification from Lutyens to ascertain exactly what he was proposing and to learn how it might differ from the London one. Clearly they did not want simply a replica.

A rather aggrieved letter appeared in the Glasgow Herald - it was signed simply 'J.S.McK' and thus was possibly by the local architect James McKissock - it complained that "one of the gentlemen of title" should have been appointed as assessor and the competition thrown open to all.¹³ The Committee, however, was undeterred but it was to meet a major stumbling block even within its very limited competition - pride. Lutyens replied stating that if the monument was not required for that specific Armistice Day "he would be glad to submit fresh designs"¹⁴ but he did add, somewhat tersely, that he was not prepared to enter into competition whether an assessor was appointed or not. Both Lorimer and Burnet were also adamant that they too would not be prepared to enter a competition. In their brief responses both rather vainly concluded ¹⁵:

"They did not consider there was any architect higher than themselves to whom they could submit their design for adjudication".

The Committee had begun to tire of what was now becoming a pointless exercise and swiftly decided that it would depart from any idea of having a competition limited or open. Because it was not making much headway with their current proposals the Committee at this point made a decisive step. It agreed to tentatively approach Burnet alone and "to ascertain his view as to the form of which the cenotaph might take".¹⁶ His response must have been satisfactory for a few weeks later it was decided that he should be offered the commission for the erection of the cenotaph "for a sum not exceeding

£15,000".¹⁷ No longer was the upward ceiling of £20,000 mentioned. What had hitherto been the bottom line was now the maximum to be spent on the City's war memorial.

The Glasgow Herald was certainly delighted that Burnet had been selected: it enthusiastically claimed the Committee had made "an excellent choice" and it was also well satisfied with the choice of site, one which it viewed as being "the inevitable site in George Square, the centre of civic administration, and erected there the cenotaph (would) be a shrine".¹⁸

On 8 June the Committee met Burnet and he told them that in his view the memorial "should express not only grief for the fallen but the spirit of sacrifice and achievement".¹⁹ Although a somewhat woolly sentiment he promised that he would have some preliminary sketches to show to the Committee in a month's time. At last some progress was promised.

Whether there were one or two sketches produced unofficially or not is unclear but what was clear was that it was not until 16 November that drawings were examined by the Sub-Committee. Whatever the delay they now "generally approved" of the proposed scheme and invited Burnet to come and give an explanation of his proposals. At their next meeting the Committee listened attentively as the architect outlined the project. It then became apparent that another statue might cause a bit of a problem. Although it was generally accepted that the equestrian statue of Prince Albert "now impeded the war memorial site" it was nevertheless agreed to recommend that the Executive Committee should still "generally approve" of the scheme as it stood.²⁰

Burnet later attended the full Committee gathered together to discuss his scheme. As his proposals included an open vaulted area the fear was aired that it would become a haunt for undesirables and miscreants but this, Burnet brushed aside believing it to be not an insurmountable problem - "heavy bronze gates (could) be provided at

the end of the Cenotaph" and these could be kept closed except for special occasions.²¹ One of the other suggestions of the meeting was that the statues of James Oswald and Thomas Campbell which were perhaps also too near the cenotaph site should also be removed. The Committee, having had a battle to move Gladstone and perhaps preparing itself for another battle-royal over the impending removal of the Prince Consort, took cold feet. It was, perhaps wisely, decided that rather than move Oswald and Graham they simply "resolved to delay the matter".²²

In April 1922 Sir John Burnet presented a scale model of his proposals as well as the working drawings for the project to the Committee. After a brief exchange of views they approved the scheme. Someone, however, did suggest that the vaulted area in front of the cenotaph might be omitted and that the cenotaph alone be created. On a vote being taken it was agreed to seek the Corporation's approval for the scheme which lay in front of them and without alteration.²³

One of the Square's historians, writing in 1922, declared the design to be "striking, impressive and appropriate"²⁴ but having a scheme and getting everyone to agree to it are different matters.

CHAPTER ELEVEN - PART THREE

DESIGN AND DELAY

....and sculpture in her turn
Gives bond in stone and ever-during brass,
To guard them, and to immortalise her trust.

William Cowper. ¹

The best laid schemes o' mice and men
Gang aft a-gley.

Robert Burns, from 'To a Mouse'.

1. James McFarlane, George Square: its History, Statues
& Environs, (Glasgow: Aird & Coghill, 1922), p. 37.

The War Memorial Committee were delighted. They had obtained the services of the man regarded as the city's premier architect and he had now produced a pleasing design for a war memorial to be erected on the site of their choice.

It might be appropriate at this juncture to provide a brief description of the proposals envisaged by Burnet. The scheme was widely reported and the following detailed and verbose statement appeared in the press ¹:

"The monument occupies the present site of the Gladstone Statue in front of the main entrance to the Municipal Buildings.

"It consists of an open vault 50' x 27' stretching West into the Square, from the East end of which rises the cenotaph to a height of about 30' above the level of the Square, the front of the cenotaph showing to the Square.

"The vault, the door of which is about 7' below the level of the Square, is entered by steps on each side of the cenotaph.

"The centre of the floor is occupied by a slightly raised stone bearing a Palm leaf, a Wreath, and the word "Peace", and the walls are surmounted by a frieze of bay leaves interrupted by panels bearing the names of the various countries in which the war was carried on.

"The 'Great' or 'War' stone is placed at the foot of the cenotaph a few steps above the floor of the open vault, and bears on its face the words 'Their name liveth for evermore.'

"The cenotaph, which is extremely severe and simple in its lines, rises from the floor of the vault, and carries on the upper part of its western or front face a gilt Sword used as a cross, and on the lower part a free interpretation of the Arms

of the County of the City of Glasgow, with the dedicatory inscription.

"A broad border of grass on the surface of the Square surrounds the copestone or cornice of the open vault, the lines of the cope being terminated at the East end at the turn of the stair before referred to, by sculptured lions, and at the West end a platform and parapet wall affords spectators a closer view of the Monument.

"The whole conception arises from the conditions imposed by the site, which made it imperative that the main or ceremonial entrance to the Municipal Buildings should not be unduly screened from the public view by a Monument of any great breadth or height of base, and, moreover, it seems not unfitting that such a Monument should distinctly differ from other public monuments in so far as an attitude of reverence is secured by an eye being drawn down before the whole Monument is seen.

"It is suggested that the North, South, and East sides of the cenotaph should bear the official list of Battles and Other Engagements fought by the Military and Naval Forces of the British Empire in the Great War that in all time the immensity of the war in which the men of the County of the City of Glasgow should be fully realised.

One supposes this statement was intended to reflect "the grief...and spirit of sacrifice and achievement"² which Burnet had promised would be the aim of his design.

Sir John Samuel wrote to the Corporation informing them that his Executive Committee had now selected a design and he enclosed drawings "showing the position and character thereof" for their consideration. He expressed the Committee's hope that it would meet

with their approval. Throwing caution to the wind he also pointed out that "the scheme involves the removal of the statues of the Prince Consort and Queen Victoria" but that he hoped that consent would also be granted for their removal.³ This was a request which was almost bound to be recipe for further conflict

The Parks Committee, after an examination of the proposals and brief discussion, unanimously decided that it would recommend to the Corporation that the design be "not approved" and that the request to remove the two regal statues "be not entertained".⁴

The Town Clerk intimated the Council's view's to the Committee stating that they "had not seen their way to approve the design... as submitted" nor had they granted permission for the removal of the statues of Queen Victoria and the Prince Consort.⁵ The Executive Committee had no alternative but to return, albeit with much reluctance, to their architect and ask him to prepare a revised scheme omitting the great open vault. They also stressed that they required a speedy response for although it was now mid May the memorial's unveiling was "still to be 11th November".⁶ The aim of course was now for 1922 whereas the original intention had been to have it built for 1921. Six months, no matter how it was to be viewed, did not give much time for revised plans and submission of tenders let alone provide ample time for construction.

By late June, the architect had submitted his new design and now without the much criticised vault feature. He also offered two alternative proposals for the cenotaph itself: it could either face east, towards the Municipal Buildings, or face west with its back to the Municipal buildings. The committee decided on the westward facing idea and resolved that it was now their aim "to lose no time"⁷ in getting the monument constructed. Sir John Samuel immediately wrote to the Corporation seeking their approval of the amended design.

In due course, the Parks Committee carefully scrutinised the

revised scheme and while it did accept the new proposals, it only did so after a vote. There was still opposition. Councillors Mitchell and Drummond proposed and seconded an amendment that it "be not approved".⁸ On a show of hands fifteen were for the proposals and five against. A few days later a meeting of the entire Corporation was held and again the project was discussed. It was proposed that the scheme be approved but the two councillors who had opposed it at the committee stage still held their ground. They moved that not only should it be remitted back for further consideration "but that the City Engineer should be instructed to construct a full scale model in wood...of the cenotaph now proposed" and that it be erected on the exact location of the proposed monument.⁹ When the vote was taken 43 approved of the proposals while 27 voted for the Mitchell-Drummond amendment. The decision was, therefore, far from unanimous but, nevertheless, the War Memorial Committee had at last got their majority. They now had the consent necessary to put their monument on the site of their choice.

The Committee was now, at long last, able to contemplate the task of constructing the Cenotaph. It decided to invite four Glasgow firms of contractors - Messrs P. & W. Anderson Ltd., Messrs Robert Murdoch & Co., Messrs Alex Muir & Sons, and Messrs Scott & Rae - together with Messrs W. Kirkpatrick Ltd. of Liverpool to provide competitive tenders for the project. It also agreed that Mr. Purdie, of the well-known Glasgow firm of quantity surveyors Messrs John Dansken & Purdie, be appointed as the measurer to provide schedules of the proposed work. Mr Nisbet, the City's Master of Works, was also asked to obtain estimates from appropriate firms for the removal of Gladstones's statue and for its re-erection elsewhere. The costs the statue's removal were to be paid for as a separate item: the £15,000 previously earmarked for the memorial remained intact.

As in many building projects a little lobbying for work took place. The manager of the Hoptonwood Stone Quarry of Derbyshire requested that his firm be given the opportunity of quoting for supplying

their stone for the Cenotaph but his efforts were unsuccessful. Local lobbying met with a little more success. The Secretary of the Scottish Master Monumental Sculptors Association asked that the memorial be executed by a Glasgow firm where it "would be a considerable help in the relief of unemployment".¹⁰ The Secretary of the Building and Monumental Workers Association of Scotland begged that the memorial might be "cut in Glasgow with the view of giving work to some of their unemployed members".¹¹ He also requested that some of his members be allowed to come in person and state their case to the Committee.

Messrs Scott & Rae and Messrs W. Kirkpatrick Ltd were unable to quote and therefore Burnet had invited another Glasgow firm - Messrs John Emery & Sons - to give their estimate. Burnet was able to inform the Committee that Emery had in fact submitted the lowest tender. The figures quoted by the architect for erecting the memorial in different materials were ¹²⁻

Kenmay & Creetown granite.....	£19,714. 5/9d.
Ravelstone freestone.....	£17,786.14/4d.
Blaxter freestone.....	£14,271. 4/3d.

These figures were all inclusive of the architect's fees and those of the surveyor but also of a salary for a Clerk of Works to supervise its construction.

Messrs J. & G. Mossman, an old established firm of monumental masons and sculptors in Glasgow, had erected the Gladstone Statue in 1902. They were now asked for their estimate for taking it down and re-erecting it on a new site, between the Sir Walter Scott Column and the little granite McCrum Fountain on the north side of the Square. They offered to carry out this work for £276.¹³

Although the cost exceeded their £15,000 ceiling, the Committee agreed to proceed with a granite memorial. The figure was still under, albeit just under, their original maximum figure of £20,000.

Having now set the Cenotaph project on its way Burnet turned his attention to its possible inscription. He submitted his idea to the Sub-Committee who at one of their meetings considered the matter: little discussion took place and the proposals were approved. The following was to be adopted as the inscription for the Cenotaph ¹⁴⁻

West or Front

Pro Patria 1914-1919
To the Immortal Honour of the
officers, non-commissioned officers
and men of Glasgow who fell
in the Great War this memorial
is dedicated in proud and
grateful recognition by the City
and County of Glasgow.

East or Back

Pro Patria 1914-1919
Imperial Army
Total Forces Abroad and at Home
5,386,943
Fallen 908,371
Wounded 290,212
Prisoners 191,652
Of this number the County of
the City of Glasgow raised
100,000.

Unveiled on September - 1923.

by-

North Side

These died in War
That we at peace might live
These gave their best
So we our best should give.

South Side

Greater love hath no man than this
That a man lay down his life
For his friends.

The inscription seemed intended to encapsulate Burnet's hope that the memorial would reflect "grief....and a spirit of sacrifice and achievement".¹⁵

At a later meeting Sir John Samuel reported that he "had since ascertained from official statistics that the number was really over 200,000"¹⁶ and thus the Sub-Committee instructed that that number be inserted in the inscription rather than the 100,000 previously approved.

At the time of this approval being granted it was obviously hoped that the Cenotaph would be complete for September 1923 although the person who would carry out the act of unveiling had not been decided upon. Work on the memorial was not finished by September and on 5 September the architect suggested some further alterations to the inscription and these were approved by the Committee.¹⁷

There was to be no further minuted discussion on the inscription thus we might reasonably assume that such slight variations as did occur were those suggested by Burnet under less formal procedure. These were of a limited nature and were possibly confined to the inscription at the rear of the monument.¹⁸

Pro Patria 1914-1919
Total of
His Majesty's Forces
Engaged at Home and Abroad
8,654,465
Of this number
The City of Glasgow
raised over 200,000.

One suspects that Sir J.J. Burnet's advice would undoubtedly have been in regard to the actual style of lettering of the inscription or on the tidier simplification of the text since he had now had much experience of other war memorials. It is unlikely he could account for the rather sudden and spectacular increase of over 3,000,000 more men in His Majesty's Forces.

In May 1923 Sir John Burnet had reported that construction work had begun and foundations were being prepared and that he "had every expectation that it would be ready early in September"¹⁹ and the Sub-Committee expressed their "strong hope" that it would be completed then. They were no doubt becoming rather tired of the endless delays.

With the end hopefully in sight the Committee considered who might carry out the unveiling. After some discussion it was agreed that the Lord Provost would write to the King's Private Secretary to see if it would be possible for His Majesty King George V to perform the opening ceremony in September. It was also wisely decided that if it transpired that the King would be unable to accept the invitation then Field Marshall Earl Haig of Bemerseyde was to be approached to see if he would perform the duty.²⁰

The King's Secretary, Lord Stanfordham, was to reply promptly ²¹:

"Owing to the vast numbers of war memorials established throughout the country it was not possible to accede to the

numerous approaches for the King's presence at their unveiling and His Majesty therefore decided only to perform the unveiling of the National Cenotaph and of these memorials erected on his own properties....His Majesty (was) therefore unable to accede to the request made to him".

The Lord Provost was soon able to confirm that he had been in touch with Earl Haig who had agreed to unveil the memorial on 15 September 1923.

While the arrangements for the unveiling seemed to be going smoothly, the construction side of the proceedings had hit a snag. On 2 July, Sir John Burnet reported to the Committee on the general progress to date but pointed out that due to an accident at the quarries the delivery of the stone had been delayed and it was thus "extremely improbable that the whole scheme for the erection of the Cenotaph would be complete by 15th September".²²

The Committee decided to adjourn their meeting to allow the architect and contractor - Mr. John Emery had been present at the meeting - to make enquiries at the quarries and to report back without delay giving the earliest possible and definite date for the completion of the entire monument.

When the Committee re-convened on 4 July a telegram from Aberdeen was read out. The message was simple ²³:

"Your letter received.

"Arrangement was Friday 11.30.

"Cannot be there before that time.

"Emery"

The Committee was somewhat surprised at the telegram as they had been firmly under the impression that their request for a meeting to be held that day had been clearly understood at the earlier meeting at which both architect and contractor had been present. Much

angered, they could do little more than merely record their disappointment that "owing to the absence of the contractor the report which was expected could not be made as to the date when the completed cenotaph could be ready".²⁴ All they could do was adjourn the meeting.

By the end of the month letters from architect and contractor had been received and these reported on the results of their enquiries at the quarries regarding the delivery of granite. It was not good news. The Committee sadly noted that due to ²⁵

"....unforseen difficulties and accidents it would be impossible to fix a date for the completion of the work and the unveiling of the Cenotaph earlier than the end of February of next year".

The Sub-Committee therefore had to come rather "reluctantly to the conclusion"²⁶ that it had to abandon all prospects of unveiling on the date originally fixed. They were now confronted with a 1924 completion date rather than a 1923 one.

It was left to the Lord Provost to acquaint Earl Haig with the problem and cancel his engagement for 15 September but also to express the hope that he would be able to come to Glasgow to perform the duty at a suitable date in the future. It was hoped that he would be informed in plenty of time and as soon as a definite date could be confirmed. The Committee requested that both architect and contractor report back in one month's time to keep them informed as to further progress and the prospects for its completion.

It was at that meeting that Sir John Samuel had reported, with much pride, on the number of Glasgow men involved in the war as being over 200,000 rather than 100,000 as first believed. It is worth noting that that was a staggering one-fifth of the total population and was undoubtedly a figure which gave immense pride to the Committee. It is little wonder they were anxious to have the figure

inserted into the inscription. At least construction delays had permitted more thought to be given to the inscription.

In September Mr. Norman Dick, the partner in charge of Burnet's Glasgow office, attended the meeting because of Burnet's inability to attend (perhaps he was now too embarrassed to attend!) and he submitted a letter from Burnet. In the letter he explained that a meeting with Mr. Emery had been held and they had carefully examined the position. They now had a "definite promise" from the quarry and that "all stone would be delivered to him by the end of January".²⁷ It was therefore anticipated that the memorial would be complete by the end of February and the site cleared and with any necessary garenning work which might be required being done by the end of March. As Mr. Emery had also requested that he have "one month in hand for contingencies"²⁸ it was proposed that the finished memorial would be handed over to the Council at the end of April.

The Sub-Committee were nothing if not realistic when they recorded the architect's proviso ²⁹:

"those dates (were) subject to final confirmation at the end of January when, if the quarrymaster keeps his promise, the work will be entirely in the hands of Messrs J. Emery and Sons and their Sub-Contractors".

The Committee nevertheless expressed their "great disappointment at the repeated delays" although Mr. Dick assured them that these had all been "unforseen and unavoidable".³⁰ In order to demonstrate that the architects were still keenly pursuing the project he suggested some slight alterations to the inscription but as these were passed without discussion it perhaps reflects the weariness of the Committee rather than the bright ideas of its architects. By this time, one suspects, the Committte would have agreed to almost anything in order to get the Cenotaph completed.

At the end of January 1924 the architect wrote to inform them that the memorial would be complete by the end February, with the site cleared and any ancillary work complete for the end of March. It all sounded just too promising to be true. There was one minor hiccup - "the lions (would) not be ready till the end of April"³¹ - but even with that problem the contractor still reckoned that he would be able to hand over the memorial "complete in every way" at that time.

The architect also reported that the Cenotaph would be protected from the weather in order to keep it clean for its unveiling and he asked that it be kept under cover for as long as possible. The Committee at last saw the end in sight and was able to "fix provisionally" the date for the unveiling - it was now to be 31 May 1924 and the Lord Provost was advised to contact Earl Haig.³²

CHAPTER ELEVEN - PART FOUR

CENOTAPH AND CEREMONY

"I need not expatiate on the loss the army
and his country have sustained by his death".

General Hope,
on the death of Sir John Moore.¹

1. Thomas Somerville, George Square, Glasgow,
(Glasgow: John N. Mackinlay, 1891), p.96.

Having now dealt with all the problems of the Cenotaph itself the Committee again turned its attention to the problem of the Prince Consort. His statue was now visibly and obviously rather too near the Cenotaph and they now considered that Albert really would "interfere with the dignity and amenity" of their memorial.¹ The Corporation were to be approached once more and asked for the removal of the Prince and also for the removal of the Queen Victoria Statue so that she too could be located elsewhere and again placed in relationship to her beloved Prince Albert. The Provost wrote to the Corporation telling them of the date of the proposed unveiling and to relate the Committee's view ²:

"The statue of the Prince Consort is in too close proximity to the Cenotaph. They desire the consent of the Corporation to remove this statue and also the statue of Queen Victoria and re-erect both on the centre plot at the west end of George Square at the expense of the War Memorial Committee".

The Parks Sub-Committee considered the request and, no matter how reluctant they had been in the past, were now generally of the opinion that the statues would require to be taken down and re-erected on some suitable site either within the Square or elsewhere. They were not willing to do too many favours for the War Memorial Committee: they decided to delay consideration of the subject matter until after the unveiling of the Cenotaph".³

The War Memorial Committee were not satisfied with this response and so the Lord Provost was compelled to press the issue further. He again wrote to the Parks Committee asking that they "be allowed to remove the statue of the Prince Consort at once and store it until after the ceremony of unveiling as it (would) interfere with the ceremony".⁴ There was much discussion in the Parks Committee but they conceded that the statue's removal was all but necessary and added that "the question of a site for its erection...be continued until after the unveiling of the Cenotaph".⁵

No doubt the War Memorial Committee were delighted and relieved just to get their way once more. By now they probably did not much care what happened to Albert as long as the Parks Committee got him out of the way of their long-cherished project.

No longer were estimates to be sought. Messrs J. & G. Mossman were now urgently requested to take down the equestrian statue of the Prince Consort and remove him to the safety of their yard in Cathedral Street. Their account for that work and which included all necessary carriage, scaffolding and barracading was to amount to £198. 10/-.⁶ The Mossmans had recently acquired quite a reputation for moving royalty having not long before moved King William's statue from Glasgow Cross to their yard (for the sum of £164.10/-⁷) and, had they but known, were soon to be asked to move Queen Victoria as well.

The next time the War Memorial Committee met the problem of monuments and statues and even of the constructional aspects of the Cenotaph could all be forgotten for the time being: the former had been dealt with as far as was necessary at that point in time and the latter stood complete before their eyes. Even Ernest Gillick's lions were now magnificently in place. The Committee could therefore turn its focus to the minutiae of timetables and procedures of the unveiling ceremony itself. It debated whether the Royal Scots Fusiliers or the Highland Light Infantry should be guard of honour at the ceremony. The R.S.F. were at that time stationed in Glasgow while the H.L.I. were in Belfast - the fledgling Northern Ireland was then, like now, deep in one of its periods of 'Troubles'. It was agreed, however, that "due to the H.L.I.'s long association with Glasgow"⁸ it should be asked to bring the requisite number of officers and men from Ireland to perform guard duty. For a cost of about £150 it was possible to bring them home to Glasgow.

The B.B.C. requested permission to broadcast the speeches and this was granted but they were to be asked if they could also install

loud speakers in various halls to allow the speeches to be heard by those citizens who could not be present in the Square; the number which could be accommodate in the Square being somewhat limited. The Clerk was also requested to inform the press that at the ceremony decorations and uniforms were to be worn by those entitled to wear them. The Departments of the Corporation were also informed that they could place a wreath on the Cenotaph.

On the afternoon of Saturday 31 May 1924 a vast crowd had gathered at least an hour before the unveiling ceremony was due to begin. The Glasgow Herald fully described the scene in the Square.⁹

"(It was) packed to the corners, the crowd overflowing into adjoining streets particularly on the north side where the rising ground afforded an admirable view. Row upon row of faces looked from the windows overlooking the square while more daring spectators had clambered to the roofs".

In order to accommodate the maximum possible number of people within the Square and without them destroying the flower beds and grassy plots these had been boarded over. This allowed some of the crowd to be at a more elevated level than the others and allowed them to see over the heads of those in front. The closely packed crowd "formed a black mass ... broken here and there by uniforms and the fresh blooms of the wreaths held clear of the pressure".¹⁰

Like countless unveiling ceremonies it was a day for the military to show its skills and its colours. Before the ceremony began a programme of music was provided by the Band of the 1st Battalion Royal Scots Fusiliers. The Guard of Honour which had been drawn up in front of the City Chambers with the Band and Pipes of the 1st Battalion H.L.I. (the City of Glasgow Regiment) on either flank was then inspected by Earl Haig before he made his way to the platform.

It was an important day in the city's life and every opportunity was made to to allow as many as possible to hear the ceremony. On the

platform a microphone had been installed so that the day's events could be broadcast throughout the city. Apart from the ceremony being relayed to various public halls the Marconiphone Company had set up installations at the bandstands of both Bellahouston and Springburn Parks. It was reckoned that several hundred listened to the proceedings in Bellahouston with about 500 in Springburn but the singing "was not clear" and indeed was often "drowned at times by a male voice which seemed to be monopolising the microphone".¹¹ The actual speeches of the ceremony however could be clearly heard and the sounding of the bugle "could not have been heard better in George Square".¹²

The ceremony commenced at 3 p.m. with the Cathedral Choir leading the singing of Rudyard Kipling's "Recessional" with its now familiar lines¹³:

Lord God of Hosts, be with us yet,
Lest we forget - lest we forget.

The Lord Provost and Lord Lieutenant of County of the City of Glasgow, Mr. M.W. Montgomery, chaired the proceedings and he spoke of the response to the memorial appeal as having been "gratifying in the extreme" and of the site of the memorial as being both "appropriate and central". It was one that countless citizens would see day by day and they would be "reminded of, if indeed they could ever forget ... those who made the supreme sacrifice".¹⁴ He concluded by quoting a verse which, he believed, seemed to sum up the country's attitude after the Crimean War and an attitude which he hoped would not be repeated.¹⁵

When War is declared and danger is nigh,
God and the soldier is all the cry,
But when peace is declared and all things righted
God is forgotton and the soldier slighted.

Lord Haig was then asked to unveil the memorial. He "spoke simply and eloquently with words of consolation to those who had been bereaved and of tribute to the Army of the Dead".¹⁶ He reminded the audience of the fact that those who had died had been "inspired by high and noble motives" and he trusted that¹⁷:

"...in the memorial would be found an example and encouragement if in later years peril again surrounded our country to those who in their time were called to take up the burden these dead comrades of our carried so bravely and so well".

He concluded by recalling the duty owed by society to ex-servicemen. He pleaded for "a more active spirit of comradeship and of mutual helpfulness among all classes of the Community". Nothing was said about his involvement in the wholesale slaughter.¹⁸

He then proceeded to unveil the Cenotaph in these words ¹⁹:

"I unveil this memorial to the enduring memory and lasting glory of the brave men and women of Glasgow who gave their lives for the honour and safety of their country and that their countrymen might live in peace".

Handing monuments in to local authority care was ever a principal part of such ceremonies. Lord Blythswood as Chairman of the War Memorial Committee formally requested that the Lord Provost accept the custody of the memorial on behalf of the Corporation and the citizens and the Provost willingly accepted the monument. The Minister of Glasgow Cathedral, Rev. L. Maclean Watt, was invited to dedicate the monument. In his long dedicatory prayer, he too spoke of the men having given "their lives in supreme sacrifice for the sake of their fellow-men and the homes and hearts dear to them".²⁰

The Establishment were clearly anxious to stress that it had all been a most noble sacrifice. Every speech at every unveiling

expressed sorrow for those who had died but no remorse for the senselessness of it all.

The prayer was followed by the Lord's Prayer, after which one minute's silence was observed: the beginning and end of the period being marked by a single 'G' sound from the bugler. The flags on the City Chambers and other buildings were lowered to half mast.

The Glasgow Herald reported the scene thus ²¹:

"...as the flags fell from the white granite of the Cenotaph leaving it nobly set off against the weathered facade of the City Chambers, a hush fell on the vast assembly and when the buglers sounded the note for the one minutes silence the stillness deepened and was only cut across by the murmurous roll of distant traffic."

After the second bugle call the Band of the Royal Scots Fusiliers and the Cathedral Choir led the crowd in the hymn "The Supreme Sacrifice", which contained the lines ²²: -

O Valiant hearts, who to your glory came
Through dust of conflict and through battle-flame:
Tranquil you lie, your knightly virtue proved,
Your memory hallowed in the land you loved.

Proudly you gathered, rank on rank, to war,
All who had heard God's message from afar;
All you had hoped for, all you had you gave,
To save mankind - yourselves you scorned to save.

Even the very hymns stressed the sacrifice! The Hymn over two buglers sounded "The Last Post" and Pipers played the lament "The Flowers of the Forest". The buglers then sounded "The Reveille". Thereafter the official wreaths were placed on the Memorial by Mrs. Montgomery on behalf of the citizens of Glasgow, by Countess Haig on

behalf of the British Legion and the other ex-servicemen's organisations and by Lieutenant General Sir Walter P. Braithwaite K.C.B. on behalf of Scottish Command.

The entire ceremony concluded with the National Anthem.

The ceremony over, the incised letters on the Cenotaph summed up the event ²³:

Unveiled
on
Saturday 31st May 1924
by
Field Marshall Earl Haig of Bemersyde
O.M. K.T. G.C.B.
Commander in Chief of the Expeditionary
Forces in France and Flanders
1918-1919

The Glasgow Memorial, however, bears one or two other inscriptions. On the Stone of Remembrance in front of the Cenotaph was inscribed the ever popular "Their Name liveth for Evermore" and on the raised dais not only is there a symbolic feather and laurel wreath but the one word "PAX". Few of those who erected memorials seem to have ever considered that Peace was worth commemorating. Few of the participants at unveiling ceremonies even thought it worth mentioning!

If Glasgow's case had been a typical example then debate on the wording of the inscriptions was virtually non-existent. When a committee had decided on an inscription for a memorial there the matter rested and the monumental mason merely set to work to put the words on the face of the memorial. And there they remain. One or two adjustments here and there have brought many memorials up to date when another World War demanded another list of fallen heroes and another appropriate inscription but Glasgow's was to remain a

sombre memorial to those of the City who had lost their lives in the Great War.

The story of Glasgow's memorial had revealed all the problems likely to have been faced by other committees as they too tackled their own memorials - Glasgow's had perhaps more problems than most!

POST SCRIPT.

For some time after the ceremony people flocked to the memorial - "throughout the afternoon and evening a continuous stream of people" passed in front of the monument ²⁴ but then the crowds disappeared and there only remained the problem of Albert.

For some time the statue of the Prince Consort was kept in storage at J. & G. Mossman's yard and indeed in April 1925 they sent an account for £120 for storing him.²⁵ King William was also kept in storage for some time and he was charged £6 per month for his time at the Mossman's before being located in Cathedral Square Gardens.

In the summer of 1925 Queen Victoria's statue was taken down and Prince Albert removed from the yard and both were re-erected at the west end of George Square on either side of David Livingstone. Mossman's account for that work amounted to £915 with the five ton electric crane and its operator costing an additional £145.²⁶

Later, as we have already noted, Livingstone's statue was removed from the Square. He was banished or promoted to Cathedral Square and his site given over to a rather incongruous and hideous timber and glass pre-fabricated and flat-roofed structure which for some time served as the City's Information Bureau. It has since been removed and its site has now been transformed into a flower bed. From time to time there are rumours of impending alterations or 'improvements' to the Square with views expressed that the Cenotaph may be transferred to the other end of the Square, to the old

Information Bureau site, where it would be well away from the City Chambers' entrance which it for so long has partially obscured.

As statues and their removal had long dominated the thoughts of the War Memorial Committee it was perhaps not surprising that even at its last meeting, for which minutes are available, statues should again dominated the discussion. At the meeting of the 14 January 1926 the proposal that the statues of Oswald and Graham, to the right and left hand side of the Cenotaph, and the plots to the North and South be curtailed in size to allow for more room for troupes and other gatherings of people to assemble on Armistice days and on other occasions. They decided, however, that it was inadvisable to alter the size of the plots and to re-erect the statues.²⁷

One tends to think of the statues in George Square as being permanent fixtures yet as we have seen they have been moved like chess pieces on a giant board and some like Sir Walter Scott have simply been lucky (or too costly) to escape being taken off the board. Map No.3 shows the present layout of the Square.

It would be remiss to end this account of the creation of the Cenotaph without further comment on the one man who, more than any other, had done his best to thwart the proposals. A word or two on Rosslyn Mitchell may, therefore, not be out of place.²⁸

He had become Councillor for Springburn with housing, and parks and sports facilities as being his special interests and was to be nicknamed the 'Slum Smasher' and the 'Children's Champion' for his work in these fields. In 1910 he had stood unsuccessfully as Liberal candidate for Bute but during the war, as a member of the Union for Democratic Control, opposed to the secret diplomacy which they believed had caused the war, he had been in alliance with other anti-war movements, not the least of which was the Independent Labour Party. He had joined the ILP in 1918 and as a well known Glasgow solicitor, his left-wing sympathies had led him to represent

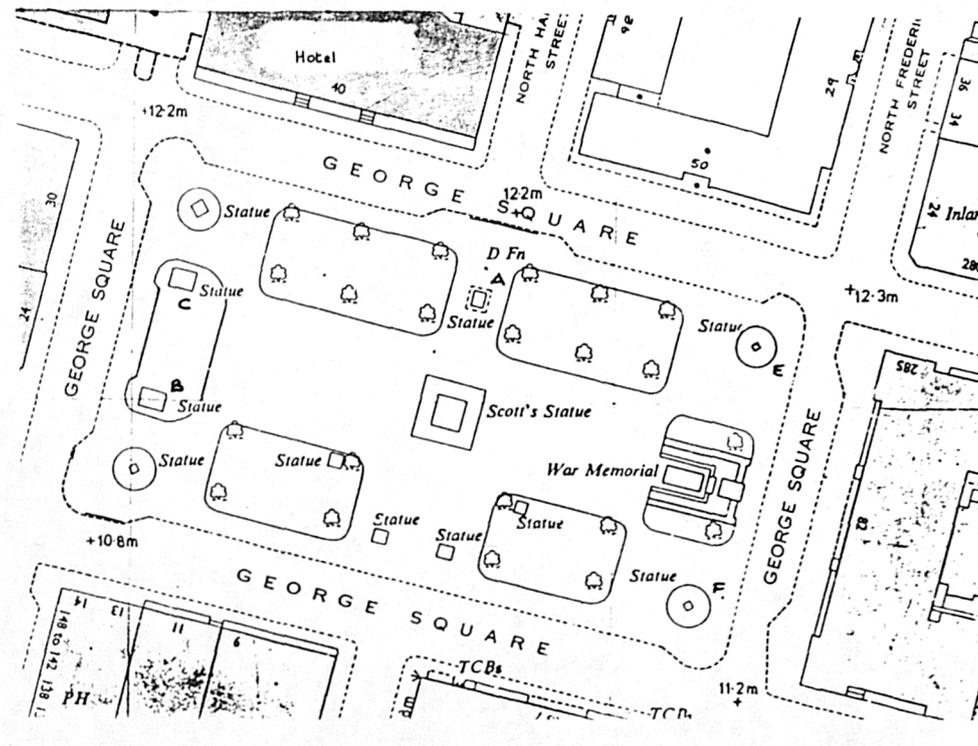
the Red Clydesiders in their trials following the 1919 George Square debacle.²⁹

In the 1922 election Mitchell stood in Glasgow Central when the Prime Minister, Andrew Bonar Law, managed to comfortably retain the seat but on Bonar Law's death Mitchell came within a few hundred votes of capturing it from Sir William Alexander, the Conservative candidate. In 1924, however, Rosslyn Mitchell did manage to unseat the veteran ex-Prime Minister H.H. Asquith at Paisley. After a brief spell at Westminster he returned to George Square in 1929.

Mitchell therefore had been opposed to the war: it is little wonder he was opposed to the war memorial as well. One suspects no war memorial would have been to his liking and that he would have found any excuse to oppose this Cenotaph and to thwart its progress in any mischievous way. The Glasgow Weekly Herald was later to say of him that "he has always been a rebel - a rebel against inertia and lethargy in local and national government".³⁰ In the Cenotaph episode he was possibly quite at his most rebellious.

A City Centre site was necessary for the war memorial and George Square is the centre of the City. The Cenotaph may or may not be the ideal memorial for that location but it is a fact of life and a remarkably fine monument. (Plate No.11).

Map No.3. George Square in 1993



Map No.3. Plan of George Square, Glasgow in 1993.

(The following statues are referred to in the text -
A. Gladstone; B. Prince Albert; C. Queen Victoria;
E. James Oswald; F. Thomas Graham.
The statue of David Livingstone (D on the 1913 plan)
had been removed to Cathedral Square in 1959).

NOTES AND REFERENCES

PART ONE - BATTLES AND BRUISES.

1. C.A. Oakley, "The Second City",
(Glasgow: Blackie, 1967), p.255.
2. G.T.Bell, "The story of George Square - an oasis of history"
Glasgow Illustrated, September 1963, p. 62-63.
3. Glasgow Herald, 1 February 1919.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid., 3 February 1919.
6. Allan Massie, Glasgow: Portraits of a City,
(London: Barrie & Jenkins, 1989), p.87.
7. Glasgow Herald, 3 February 1919.
8. R.K. Middlemass, The Clydesiders,
(London: Hutchinson, 1965), p. 94.
9. Glasgow Corporation Minutes, 11 July 1919.
10. Lord Provost's File on Establishment of Glasgow War
Memorial.
11. Ibid.
12. Minutes of Glasgow War Memorial Committee, 18 September 1919.
13. Ibid.

14. Building Industries, 14 February 1920.
15. Minutes of War Memorial Committee
16. Glasgow Herald, 14 February 1920.
17. Minutes of War Memorial Committee, 20 February 1920.
18. Lord Provost's File.
19. Minutes of War Memorial Committee, 3 March 1920.
20. Ibid., 29 October 1920.
21. Ibid.
22. Ibid.
23. Ibid.
24. William Gallacher, Revolt on the Clyde,
(London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1978), p.222.
25. Corporation Minutes - Parks & Gardens Committee
1 December 1920.
26. G.T. Bell, "The Anti- War Movement in Glasgow",
Unpublished Dissertation, p.84.
27. Gallacher, Revolt on the Clyde, p.102 & p.233.
28. Ibid., 24 December 1920.
29. Ibid.
30. Minutes of War Memorial Committee, 9 February 1921.

31. Corporation Minutes - Parks Committee, 2 March 1921.
32. Ibid.
33. Corporation Minutes, 17 March 1921.
34. Corporation Minutes - Parks Committee, 6 April 1921.
35. Ibid., 14 April 1921.
36. Minutes of War Memorial Committee, 20 April 1921.
37. Corporation Minutes - Parks Committee, 4 May 1921.
38. Ibid.
39. Ibid., 29 June 1921.
40. Minutes of War Memorial Committee, 20 April 1921.

CHAPTER ELEVEN - PART TWO.

1. Glasgow 1919,
(Glasgow: Molendinar Press).
2. Elizabeth Williamson et al, Buildings of Scotland
Glasgow, (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1990), p.74.
3. Ibid., p.279.
4. Minutes of War Memorial Committee, 20 April 1921.
5. Ibid.

6. Ibid., 25 April 1921.
7. Susan Beattie, The New Sculpture,
(New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983), p.243.
8. Margaret Richardson & Colin Amery (Eds.),
Lutyens, (London: Arts Council, 1981).
9. Peter Savage, Lorimer & the Edinburgh Craft Designers,
(Edinburgh: Paul Harris, 1980), pp.49-64.
10. A. Stuart Gray, Edwardian Architecture,
(London: Duckworth, 1985), pp.128-131.
and Andor Gomme & David Walker, Architecture of Glasgow,
(London: Lund Humphries, 1968, pp.267-9.
11. Minutes of War Memorial Committee, 9 May 1921.
12. Ibid.
13. Glasgow Herald, 27 April 1921.
14. Minutes of War Memorial Committee, 6 June 1921.
15. Ibid.
16. Ibid., 9 May 1921.
17. Ibid., 6 June 1921.
18. Glasgow Herald, 8 June 1921
19. Minutes of War Memorial Committee, 8 June 1921.
20. Ibid., 16 November 1921.

21. Ibid., 22 November 1921.
22. Ibid.
23. Ibid., 20 April 1922.
24. James McFarlane, George Square: Its History, Statues & Environs, (Glasgow: Aird & Coghill, 1922), p. 36.

CHAPTER ELEVEN - PART THREE

1. Quarterly Illustrated, No.1, Spring 1922, pp.14-15.
2. Minutes of War Memorial Committee, 8 June 1921.
3. Corporation Minutes- Parks Committee, 28 April 1922.
4. Ibid.
5. Minutes of War Memorial Committee, 16 May 1922.
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid., 29 June 1922.
8. Corporation Minutes, 30 June 1922.
9. Ibid., 6 July 1922.
10. Minutes of War Memorial Committee, 19 June 1922.
11. Ibid.
12. Ibid., 11 August 1922.²

13. Account Book of Messrs J. & G. Mossman.
14. Minutes of War Memorial Sub-Committee, 7 February 1923.
15. Ibid., 8 June 1921.
16. Ibid., 7 September 1923.
17. Ibid.
18. The Inscription on the Glasgow Cenotaph.
19. Minutes of War Memorial Committee, 17 May 1923.
20. Ibid.
21. Ibid., 2 July 1923.
22. Ibid.
23. Ibid., 4 July 1923.
24. Ibid.
25. Ibid., 27 July 1923.
26. Ibid.
27. Ibid., 7 September 1923.
28. Ibid.
29. Ibid.
30. Ibid.

31. Ibid., 10 March 1924.

32. Ibid.

CHAPTER ELEVEN - PART FOUR

1. Ibid.

2. Corporation Minutes- Parks Committee, 19 March 1924.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid., 10 April 1924.

5. Ibid.

6. Account Book of Messrs J. & G. Mossman.

7. Ibid.

8. Minutes of War Memorial Committee, 30 April 1924.

9. Glasgow Herald, 2 June 1924 .

10. Ibid.

11. Ibid.

12. Ibid.

13. Order of Proceedings for Unveiling of City of Glasgow
War Memorial.

14. Glasgow Herald, 2 June 1924.

15. Ibid.
16. Ibid.
17. Ibid.
18. Ibid.
19. Ibid.
20. Order Of Proceedings.
21. Glasgow Herald, 2 June 1924.
22. Order of Proceedings.
23. Inscription on Glasgow Cenotaph.
24. Glasgow Herald, 2 June 1924.
25. Account Book of Messrs J. & G. Mossman
26. Ibid.
27. Minutes of War Memorial Committee, 14 January 1926.
28. Glasgow Weekly Herald, 13 July 1935.
29. Wm. Gallacher, Revolt on the Clyde, p.222.
30. Glasgow Weekly Herald, 13 July 1935.

CHAPTER TWELVE

SOME SCOTTISH MEMORIALS

THE MONUMENTS OF RENFREWSHIRE & DUNBARTONSHIRE

- i. Why These Two Counties?
- ii. The Lennox - West Dunbartonshire.
- iii. 'Dunbartonshire Detached' - East Dunbartonshire.
- iv. The South Bank of the Clyde- Renfrewshire.

We gathered in excited scores
With uniform and kit,
To sail at once for hostile shores
To do our little bit.

W. Kersley Holmes,
from 'Waiting Orders'.¹

1. W. K. Holmes. Ballads of Field & Billet,
(Paisley: Alex. Gardner, 1915), p.111.

CHAPTER TWELVE - PART ONE

WHY THESE TWO COUNTIES ?

Let us toast the brave men
Of the mountain and glen,
Who died in defence of our isle,
New glory and fame
Will shine round their name
To honour, each gallant Argyll.
Let us sing them aloud
Their Country is proud
To toast them still higher and higher
And we'll let the world know,
When their record we show
That we're proud o' the lads o' the shire.

Duncan Mathieson,
from 'The Lads o' the Shire'.¹

1. S. Perks & M. Cleare, The Great War - Impact on Dumbarton,
(Glasgow: Jordanhill College, 1978), p.40.

Some of the most haunting images of the Great War have been provided by the War Artists. Paul Nash, in particular, has captured for ever the blighted landscapes. What he had seen had horrified him and he wrote home ¹:

"I have seen the most frightful nightmare of a country, more conceived by Dante or Poe than by nature, unspeakable, indescribable...no glimmer of God's hand is seen anywhere".

What had once been flat and peaceful countryside had been churned up into a fiendish lunar landscape. One of his works was euphemistically entitled 'Dumbarton Lakes'. The site had been so cynically nicknamed by Scottish soldiers for what had once been a forest had been so fought over that only remnants of trees stood amid the waterlogged terrain. So horrendous was the scene of devastation that when Country Life published a print of the painting it did so under the heading 'Landscapes of Hell'.²

General Sherman had once said "war is hell" ³ but war memorials were not meant to capture or remind people of the hellishness of war. War memorials were to satisfy the needs of grief and glory; indeed they were meant to make for thoughts of heaven rather than hell. Robert Graves divided the country into two Britains - the Fighting Forces and the others whom he lumped together as "the Rest".⁴ It was "the Rest" who required war memorials. The Fighting Forces had fought and died in the morass of 'Dumbarton Lakes', "the Rest" had to get on with their lives and come to terms with their grief in Dunbartonshire and in every county.

Having looked in some detail at the story of the Cenotaph in Glasgow's George Square to examine how one place, albeit Scotland's major city, had tackled the problem of its war memorial the aim here is to broaden the horizon. It seemed desirable to look beyond the city limits to see how other committees, in towns and villages responded to perceived needs to have their own war memorials.

In the post 1914-18 world Scotland had thirty two counties and while almost all would have given a fair cross-section of urban and rural settings it was decided that little gain would be achieved by taking any two counties at random merely to give a geographical spread when it might not only be more useful but certainly tidier to select two adjacent counties. It was also felt that by studying one small corner of Scotland and its memorials the opportunity was thus created for the study of other areas at a later date and at a more leisurely pace. There is probably a need for the systematic study of other parts of Scotland, and the Imperial War Museum's inventory project would infer the need for such a study nationally. The fact that one area had been covered might prove that a study of all Scottish memorials was not too daunting a task. The examination of these two counties and their memorials might also help focus on issues and problems encountered nationwide.

It was also the intention that by studying these two counties it would be made more specific the general points raised in Chapters 6,7,8,9, and 10 without getting involved in the more detailed analysis of the one particular monument as in Chapter 11. The aim here is to briefly examine a greater variety of monument types, to look at the various issues which confronted those who sought to erect them and to examine the results of their labours.

Let us therefore turn our eyes to the Counties of Renfrewshire and Dunbartonshire. Map No. 4 and Map No. 5 show the location of the places which have war memorials and also show the boundaries of the counties as they were in 1918.

Local government reform which came into effect on 16 May 1975 (Local Government (Scotland) Act 1973) transformed the political map of Scotland and only with minor tinkering it has thus remained. In order to study an area with a broad range of styles in war memorials, however, it is desirable to revert back to the boundaries under the old local government structure for that was the way things had been in the post 1914-18 world. Even by that time the

parish had long since ceased to be of any real relevance but it nonetheless still remained the basis for the creation of so many war memorials in the countryside.

It was also decided that although this was an historical incursion into old counties the fact that war memorials still exist in today's political climate (albeit that it may again change) it seemed imminently sensible to adopt the present local government boundaries and yet, at the same time, have some regard for the old county boundaries.

To that extent, therefore, "Renfrewshire" is regarded as the present Inverclyde, Renfrew and Eastwood districts and "Dunbartonshire" as Dumbarton, Clydebank, Bearsden and Milngavie, Strathkelvin, and Cumbernauld and Kilsyth. Thus memorials will be referred to by the two county names even if, to be strictly accurate, they were in fact erected in a different county but happen to be presently within one of these districts. Bishobriggs, for example, was formerly one of the Lanarkshire small burghs but it is now linked with Kirkintilloch in the district of Strathkelvin and parts of the old Stirlingshire now lie within both Cumbernauld & Kilsyth and Strathkelvin districts. In 1925, in one of its bursts of annexation Glasgow had gained the former Renfrewshire villages of Nitshill, Pollokshaws and Yoker.

As it has become a District Council function to maintain war memorials it also seemed more appropriate to abide by their boundaries rather than too rigidly follow the historical boundaries of the former county council territories.

Accepting the former Dunbartonshire and Renfrewshire boundaries, even if rather loosely, conveniently managed to entrap some large burghs which though they had been politically independent in the past had been set within their midst. These too are now set within and are part of the present districts. This has allowed for a

broader cross section of community size to be studied. Everywhere - villages, small towns and large towns - erected war memorials.

Selecting these two former counties also had the virtue that while both were firmly in the populous Central Lowland belt of what was then industrial Scotland both also had large tracts of open countryside. They offered a wide range of rural and urban environments together with not only a taste of Upland, almost Highland scene, but coastline and lochside as well. The quiet villages, the seaside resorts and bustling towns perhaps suggest that these two counties are as representative as any former county areas might have been as to range of size of the various centres of population as they ascend from small village settlement to large burgh. The scope for monument making has invariably been a direct consequence of available finance which is itself a correlation of population size.

Neither county was particularly large in area and being conveniently accessible to Glasgow meant that it proved possible to visit all the memorials in each without too much difficulty. Being adjacent to each other and forming the two banks of the River Clyde allowed for one part of Scotland to be examined in some depth as to its war memorial provision.

In the pre 1914-18 world the total population of Scotland was 4,760,904⁵ whereas the combined total population of these two counties was 454,383 (Dunbartonshire: 139,831, Renfrewshire: 314,552)⁶ and thus about 10% of the Scottish population resided in these two counties. The monuments are therefore those erected by one tenth of the Scottish populace to commemorate their war dead. Having visited most places in Scotland and seen almost every war memorial it can be stated, without fear of contradiction, that these memorials are entirely representative of those erected throughout the country. It is also likely that the problems encountered, the costs met and the procedures adopted were all similar. One can safely assume that Scotland was, by and large, merely these two

counties writ large as far as war memorials were concerned and that they were but a microcosm of Scotland as a whole.

Perhaps one criticism which might be levelled against this rather tidy solution to the problem of defining an area to study and setting limits to its scope is the fact that these twin counties both lack a truly Highland or Island dimension. It will, however, be obvious from the points made earlier that with the exception of having a Gaelic inscription the memorials of the North and West are much like those of any other part of rural Scotland. Monuments in the Highlands are thus much like those in rural Dunbartonshire or rural Renfrewshire. It is also, of course, the case that these two counties have a richer variety of styles and types of memorial for the North and West tended to largely adopt simple granite crosses or obelisks as their memorials. The poor rural economies of the Scottish Highlands and Islands were merely a sadder more diluted version of the Lowland rural economies as found on the hills of Highland Dunbartonshire but with the added problems of being more isolated and less populated.

One suspects that 1914-1918 was but a further sad nail in the coffin, in a more than figurative sense, for remote agricultural based communities; just another time when male population was forced to work away from home; the only real difference being that on this occasion many more were destined never to return. The Highlands had long supplied soldiers and sailors for the British Army and Navies, this time it supplied many more and fewer came home. The Highlands and Islands economic story is one of a string of disasters as one great hope after another came to flounder - black cattle, kelp, sheep, deer and herring. Each false dawn only resulted in another catastrophe and more human tragedy in a gloomy catalogue. Trying to make economic rationale out of the area has ever been a problem. The Great War was just another part of their sad story but this is not the place to re-tell the Highland tragedy although it may be that in real terms its impact was greater proportionately in the remote straths and glens. From a purely war memorial perspective

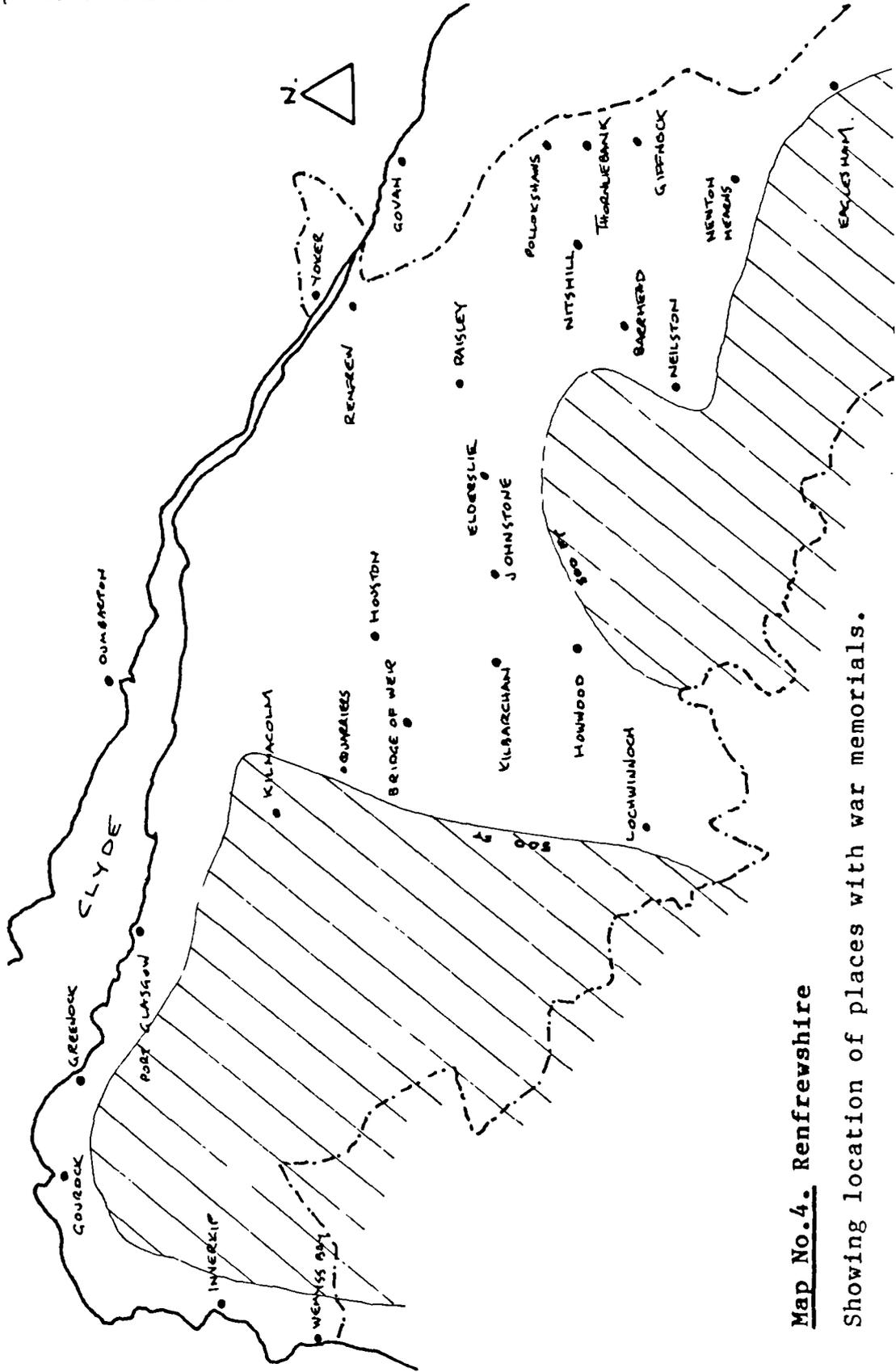
there was to be little difference in thinking between Wester Ross and West Renfrewshire or between Tarbet, Loch Lomond and Tarbert, Isle of Harris. The same sense of loss was felt in Maryburgh as it was in Helensburgh.

Let us, therefore, turn to the war memorials of "Dunbartonshire" and "Renfrewshire" or at least the present District Council areas which are basically the component parts of these old counties. For ease of treatment and because the Clyde has ever separated the two counties it seemed desirable to deal with each separately. As Dunbartonshire was historically split into two it also seemed wise to continue to deal with both parts separately. Old maps referred to the eastern part as being "Dunbartonshire detached" - thus it remains in this study.

Our memorials are, therefore, in three distinct groupings-

- a. West Dunbartonshire (comprising Dumbarton, Clydebank, and Bearsden & Milngavie Districts)
- b. East Dunbartonshire (comprising Strathkelvin District and Cumbernauld and Kilsyth District)
- c. Renfrewshire (comprising Renfrew, Eastwood, and Inverclyde Districts)

Map No.4. Renfrewshire.



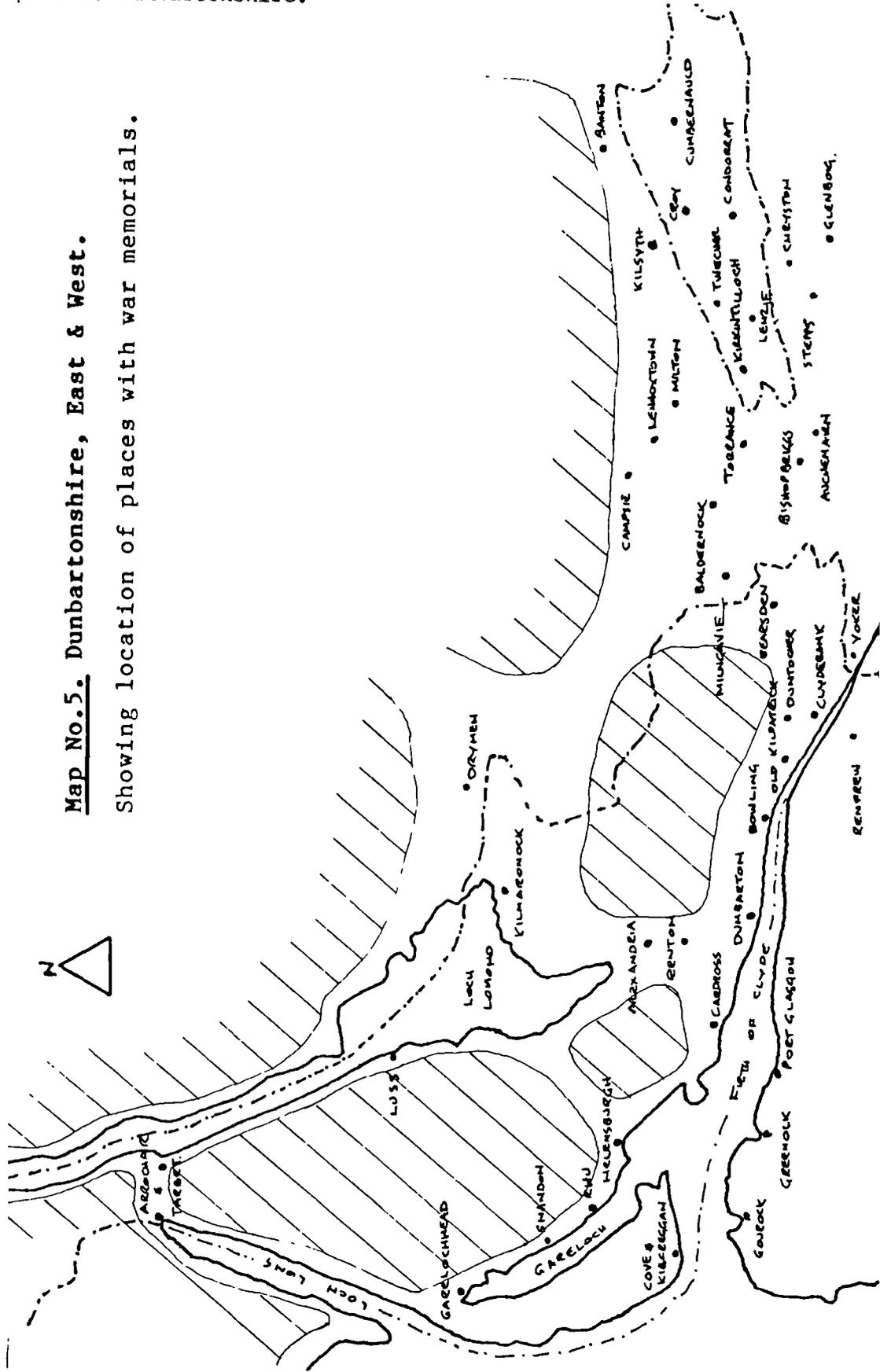
Map No.4. Renfrewshire

Showing location of places with war memorials.

Map No.5. Dunbartonshire.

Map No.5. Dunbartonshire, East & West.

Showing location of places with war memorials.



CHAPTER TWELVE - PART TWO

THE LENNOX- WEST DUNBARTONSHIRE

Five hundred lads and more
Gathered on Leven's shore,
Marching from Renton!
Some who will ne'er come back,
Stricken they lie, alack
Out on the Flanders track
Far, far from Renton.

G.Q.,
from 'The Renton Lads'.¹

1. S. Perks & M. Cleare, The Great War: Impact on Dumbarton,
(Glasgow: Jordanhill College, 1978), p.39.

In front of the old Municipal Buildings in Dumbarton stands a red granite celtic cross commemorating those of the area who died in the South African War or Anglo-Boer War of 1899-1902. Almost all the other war memorials in the area owe their origin to the Great War.¹ This is true of almost every village and town throughout the UK. With few exceptions the only other memorials erected are to commemorate victims of the Second World War although normally additional names were simply added to the earlier memorial rather than put up new monuments for that purpose.

The war memorials of West Dumbartonshire are also generally typical of the styles of monument to be found throughout Scotland. Before examining the typical let us briefly consider the few exceptions in order to thus simplify the exploration.

As was the case elsewhere most churches and many public buildings have their own war memorial. It was generally a marble, bronze or oak tablet - there is, for example, a brass tablet between platforms 3 and 4 of Dumbarton Central Station - but for the sake of this study memorials within buildings will continue to be ignored and only those 'alfresco' will be considered. The one at the station is under the station roof or canopy although not, strictly speaking, indoors.

On the outer face of Garelochhead Parish Church is an oak memorial tablet which commemorates the twenty-one men of the village who died (and the seven who were to later die in 1939-45) but it is an unusual memorial being more akin in style to those generally found within buildings than to those normally found outdoors.

Another example of the wall tablet type is that found just inside the entrance gate of Dumbarton Castle. There, a bronze plaque commemorates men of the 9th Battalion (the Dumbartonshire) Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders who fell in the Great War. Unlike most war memorials this one has only the Commanding Officer Lt. Col. James Clark - he was killed at Ypres in 1915 - mentioned by name,

all the others who died were all just "Officers, Non-Commissioned Officers and Men" in the collective. All the other memorials to be examined attempt some sort of equality of treatment for all who died and all others are also free-standing stone built monuments standing in public places or by the roadside.

As elsewhere the most common form of memorial was to be the stone or granite celtic cross and at Bowling, Cove and Kilcreggan, Old Kilpatrick, and Rhu are examples of this type while simple yet distinctive stone crosses serve at Luss, Shandon, and Tarbet and Arrochar. The Shandon one is of particular interest for not only does it give the names of those who fell but it also refers to the 36 men of the district who served and returned safely. Formerly set in the grounds of Shandon Church (the former UF church) and although ostensibly simply another stone cross it is quite special for not only is it of fine red sandstone, rather than grey granite, but it has, carved on its shaft, a symbolic tree and the rather unusual inscription - "the leaves of the tree were for the healing of nations". Usually originality of expression or individualistic design treatment are rarely seen on Scottish war memorials. The architect A.N. Paterson was obviously so impressed by the text he also used it on the Douglas War Memorial. The sculptors were Messrs Muir & Sons of Glasgow while Paterson, a Glasgow based but Helensburgh resident architect, was one of the most prolific and capable of war memorial designers. The two officers who are commemorated were the sons of the minister of the church. The monument was re-located when the church was recently converted into flats.

Possibly the most interesting of the cross type of monuments to be found in Dunbartonshire is the Kilmarnock War Memorial, near the village of Gartocharn. It has a cross on top of a tall shaft of Peterhead granite set on a cairn of local stone built by local builder Robert Currie (the granite work was executed by Thomas Ross of Stirling, a firm now part of the J. & G. Mossman empire). Set by the roadside, amid shrubs and almost hidden it seems almost

naturally at home in the countryside. It has a simple dignity, devoid of any ostentation or show. Designed by one of Scotland's most gifted artists of the day, Sir D.Y. Cameron, it was perhaps not to be unexpected that it would be head and shoulders above the more usual crosses. Cameron together with his friend, the architect Ernest Bell of Stirling, produced this splendid rural monument and they also combined their talents on memorials elsewhere - at Morvern for example - but their finest was undoubtedly the Bonhill Parish War Memorial in Christie Park, Alexandria. A handsome cenotaph with Welsh slate panels set into its chaste Auchenheath stone sides, it was built by local contractors Messrs J. & A. Paton & Sons. It has a classical dignity and the Lennox Herald said of its design that "simplicity is the key throughout"² and certainly its uncluttered detailing and elegant proportions make it especially noteworthy.

Not every war memorial type was to be erected in West Dunbartonshire: no granite soldier, with reversed rifle and head bowed, graces a village green and no surrogate mercat cross stands in a town square but the other popular forms such as obelisks are, however, to be seen in profusion. At Renton, a slended stone obelisk, to a design by Messrs Boddy and Dempster of London, stands by the main road at the end of the village. It is a pleasant enough if pretty nondescript piece of masonry and one wonders why a London firm of architects was needed when one suspects that almost anyone in the area could have come up with a more inspired design. The Chairman of the Memorial Committee, on unveiling day, stated that he believed the architects deserved "nothing but praise" for their "excellent job".³ Clearly, therefore, taste is, and was, a very personal thing and yet without doubt the memorial was erected with much pride and pleasure even if mingled with much sadness. Renton had answered the country's call and had served the nation well⁴;

Five hundred lads and more
At the first sound of war
Rallied from Renton;

.....
But, while a cheek grows wet,
Never shall we forget
Renton, O, Renton.

Messrs Thaw & Campbell of Glasgow were the contractors of the Cullaloe stone monument which is 25 feet tall and set within a little railed enclosure. One of the earlier proposals had been to put memorial panels on the base of the nearby Smollet Monument. Thankfully that idea did not take root and while the war memorial may not be an epic in design it would have been a travesty to have interfered with the old Tuscan column. Tobias Smollet might not be favourite bedtime reading but he remains one of the area's most famous sons. His sixty feet high monument displays the skill of the craftsmen of 1774 and stands in worthy comparison to the work of the men of 1922 who put up the war memorial. In 150 years, it would seem, little had been learned in the art of monument making.

Not all memorials demanded much input from monumental mason but simply required a little imagination. Using a natural stone boulder, from some nearby hillside, was to become an appropriate idea for a memorial for villages located at the foot of hills. Milton, at the west end of the Kilpatrick Hills has its boulder set within a little railed enclosure in front of a public building - the primary school. No doubt the men commemorated had formerly attended that school. It is a rather unusual little monument for while inscriptions everywhere else, in highly emotive words, recall the self-sacrifice and express the sorrow, Milton's without fuss has the list of names (presumably of those who fell) and the initials "BEF" (British Expeditionary Force). The village of Milton had obviously no Milton of poetic turn of phrase but equally she did not slavishly follow fashion by adopting the usual over worked sentiments. There was a simple honesty about the approach at Milton. It truly does appear as if the men quite simply did their duty - no more, no less and no humbug!

In a sense Milton may have been right: perhaps no words could adequately express the sorrow, or outrage or whatever emotions were bottled up in the community. It was as if the loss was private and the thoughts personal.

One of those officers who survived the Great War was Captain Alexander D. Hislop. He had become a noted Glasgow architect before the war and when it was over, he was to design the handsome stone pylon with its fine incised letters which forms the Cardross memorial. Giant bronze urns terminate its flanking walls and small bronze panels, set into the walls, record the names of the Fallen - two V.C.'s among them. This simple robust yet dignified monument exemplifies his work - his only other war memorial was the even simpler little celtic cross at Aberuthven; its small scale eminently suiting its village setting.

Siting memorials in public parks and at seafronts were popular choices made by committees for towns which had such locations available to them. Dumbarton was doubly fortunate - it had both. Thus on the seafront of the town's Levensgrove Park stands a stumpy stone obelisk with a cross carved in bold-relief to its park-facing side. Below stands a small bronze (now black-painted) figure of Peace - her height is only about 3 feet or 900 mm - and she holds a laurel wreath, representing sorrow, and a palm branch, indicating peace. The sculptor of the fine little figure was G. H. Paulin who had some more impressive, albeit larger, monuments to his credit. These can be seen at Denny, Dollar and Rutherglen although the one at Kirkcudbright was without doubt his finest - a colossal male figure protecting a child. The architect for the Dumbarton War Memorial was the great Sir J.J. Burnet of George Square Cenotaph fame. Dumbarton sought out talent when it desired its memorial and the contractors, Messrs R. Aitkenhead & Sons of Greenock, turned a good design into a fine memorial; a fitting plinth for a charming little piece of sculpture. Both the obelisk and its flanking walls are of Cullaloe stone with sturdy silver painted cast iron railings

surrounding it. Sadly the gates are now usually locked but it remains easily seen and its virtues can be readily appreciated.

When the debate on the form of the Dumbarton memorial was taking place there were many suggestions put forward. These included a suggested town improvement scheme and for a new burgh hall. While such utilitarian ideas had no doubt much to commend them one cannot escape the notion that if either new hall or civic improvements had been necessary they were necessary out of necessity and not because of a need for war commemoration. This handsome memorial has amply demonstrated that a monument which is purely commemorative and artistic has a valuable role to play in the community for works of art in public parks delight the eye as well as serve as another feature of interest.

The memorial in the Burgh of Milngavie was another of those executed by G.H. Paulin and it depicts, on a granite pedestal, a kneeling female figure holding a lamp in her outstretched right hand. She obviously holds the "lamp of liberty" for the inscription on the bronze tablet states "Nobly they kept alight the lamp of liberty" and perhaps the maiden had picked it up because the poor men commemorated had let it fall.

Milngavie was not alone in opting for symbolism in its commemoration. Neighbouring Bearsden has its bronze statuary with its own heroic iconographic message. There a winged female representing Victory supports a fallen soldier (Sacrifice) and it had been the sculptor Alexander Proudfoot's stated intention to apply the classical "Greek idea of the winged Victory of Samothrace to a modern conception".⁵

Proudfoot lectured at Glasgow School of Art and one of his students, the future Queen's Sculptor in Ordinary for Scotland, Benno Schotz, has given a detailed account of Proudfoot's problems with his Bearsden memorial.⁶

"He (Proudfoot) asked an assistant in his Department, Archibald Dawson, to build the group for him. This he did. He did not build it up to last a lifetime, for Proudfoot assured him he would complete it quickly. He did not. Being Head of the Sculpture Department, and a bachelor, he was fond of socialising. He took a long time over it, perhaps hoping for other commissions to follow, while showing this one in the studio. He did in fact receive another.

"It was still not finished when one morning as he opened his studio door, he found that the whole group had collapsed, and was lying in pieces on the floor. A year's work must have gone into it, if not more, and I can well imagine how he felt. He told me that he did not even enter his studio, but sat down on the front step of the door, not knowing what to do. On the whole, sculptors are long suffering individuals. Dawson refused to take the blame, for he had done what he was asked to do. Had he known that Proudoot would take as long to complete the group, he would have made the armature stronger.

"It was then that Proudfoot turned to me asked me if I would build up the group for him again. When I pointed out that I was working in John Brown's office, he said, 'Chuck it. It is time you did'".

Benno Schotz took the advice and became a full-time sculptor, and working as Proudfoot's assistant he set to work rebuilding the group. Schotz has written ⁷:

"I spent six months there, building up his group of a soldier being held up by an angel. He must have had great trust in my ability, for he let me carry on without assisting me, or making suggestions. There came a time when I felt that I had done as much as I could, and that it was ready for Proudfoot to take over. We then said goodbye to one another".

Not all memorials were to be free-standing ones and, in largely built-up urban centres, it was often difficult to find a suitable location. Putting memorials on public buildings had long been a solution for such a problem. The committee in Clydebank decided to incorporate its war memorial on the walls of the tall clock tower of its recently constructed Municipal Buildings (now largely used as the local history museum) which architect James Miller had designed for them in 1902. He was again employed and imaginatively set on his building a modernistic bronze life-size figure of a robed female who carries a lamp in her right hand, shielding the flame with her left hand. Instead of a flame, however, there is a small child so one can perhaps conclude that it could be labelled "Liberty protecting life" or "Victory protecting freedom" but what one has to conclude is not so much has it powerful symbolism but that it is such a superb piece of work. It is a rare thing - a piece of modern sculpture used in a war memorial context. It is set in a black marble niche at the base of the tower and a new clock, chimes and bells were all added as part of the war memorial ensemble. The memorial, therefore, combined a utilitarian function (clock) with an aesthetically pleasing role as memorial.

Messrs John Emery & Sons, who had constructed George Square's Cenotaph also built the Clydebank memorial while Walter Gilbert (of Birmingham) provided the statue at a cost of £400. Messrs Gillett and Johnston of Croydon supplied and installed the clock, bells and chimes.

Perhaps the finest of Dunbartonshire's many fine memorials is the magnificent domed Helensburgh War Memorial in Hermitage Park. It was also, no doubt, the most expensive for it cost £5,000. Dunbarton's South African one had cost a mere £130 and the stone obelisk at Renton £700. Designed by A.N. Paterson it was built by Messrs Trail of Helensburgh - both had worked together on the Luss memorial- it is a handsome freestone monument. Set in attractive water gardens and with magnificent wrought iron gates this Garden of Remembrance is a true classic and its monument truly classical.

Unfortunately, like Dunbarton's own memorial, the gates are often locked but this seems to be par for the course in an age when vandalism is rife. It also, no doubt, provides great disappointment for those who simply wanted to admire rather than inflict injury on monuments.

As was noted at the outset that some memorials are of more recent vintage than the Great War, for the peace did not last. Some war memorials even became casualties when hostilities were renewed. The one at Hardgate and Duntocher, first erected in 1921, (a grey granite cross by Messrs Scott & Rae), got blown to bits in the Clydebank Blitz of 1941 and had to be replaced. Local people had subscribed for the original one but the replacement cross was paid for by the War Damages Commission and it was unveiled on 11th November 1951 and with Robert Gray as its sculptor and J.M. Whalley as architect.⁸ The Blitz also resulted in the fact that Clydebank acquired another monument in the town centre but also one in Dalnotter Cemetery where the victims were buried.

Although fighting in the First World War took place miles from Dunbartonshire it too had its local wartime disaster. In the little cemetery at Faslane stands the memorial erected near the scene of a disaster at sea. The monument commemorates the men who drowned when the K13 - HMS Submarine K13 - sank in the Gareloch on her maiden voyage on 29 January 1917. Another memorial to the tragedy stands just inside Govan's Elder Park, opposite Fairfield Shipyard where that class of steam powered submarine had been built. It had been while undergoing trials prior to being accepted by the Admiralty that disaster had struck and thirty three men had lost their lives. The little obelisk at Faslane is set between two rows of standard Imperial War Graves Commission stones for most of the men killed had been naval personnel. The monument at Govan, incidently, was paid for by workers in the shipyard for six of those who died had been their workmates, they were shipbuilders rather than submariners. The K13 had a future denied her crew - she was raised from the seabed and redesignated as K22 she returned to active service. Both

the memorials at Faslane and Govan came out of Robert Gray's Glasgow yard.

Dunbartonshire monuments, like those erected elsewhere, were the subjects of public meetings to discuss their format as well as to raise funds. In this respect the Burgh of Cove and Kilcreggan has provided an interesting example of the apathy often encountered by committees. When a meeting of subscribers was held it was reported that there had been "a meagre attendance" nevertheless it was decided to use the £720 raised in two ways - firstly, that one third should be spent on a monument and two-thirds on a rates relief assistance scheme for those who suffered bereavement.⁹ The latter idea was not followed up and instead only a war memorial cross erected.

The little cross at Old Kilpatrick provides another example of the work of Robert Gray but its design was gifted "free of charge" by the very distinguished Scottish architect Dr.P. Macgregor Chalmers. The site was also gifted to the Committee by Major Blair Erskine.¹⁰

Apart from a mere handful, the unveiling of West Dunbartonshire's memorials was to be very much a one-man exercise. The Lord Lieutenant for Dumbarton, Lt. Col. Sir Ian Colquhoun of Luss unveiled at least eight of them. The exceptions being Shandon where Miss Miller did the honours and she was the daughter of the minister of the church, in front of which it was located, and also sister to two of the men commemorated. At Old Kilpatrick Henry M. Napier JP, of a famous Clyde shipbuilding family, unveiled the memorial; at Rhu Mrs Jas. MacDonald of Invergare performed the duty while at Duntocher Sir William Raeburn MP unveiled the cross. At Renton Major Geo. H Christie of Levenbank and the 9th Argyll & Sutherland Highlanders carried out the unveiling while at Milngavie Brig.General Douglas Campbell CB of Mains performed the duty - both of these officers gave the sort of speeches which had become the norm for such occasions. Major Christie told his audience that "no village in Scotland had responded more nobly to the call of duty"¹¹

but one could have echoed such a sentiment in every village. General Campbell was more patriotic than parochial when he claimed "no finer troops fought than those sent from Scotland"¹² but one suspects that in English villages there was a ready willingness to believe their's had been the finest! Certainly the sad roll call of those who perished on each village memorial has testified to the fact that each community paid dearly and the men died undeservedly and probably unselfishly in their country's service whether they were the finest or not.

As Sir Ian Colquhoun had unveiled so many of the county's memorials it is perhaps appropriate that he should have the last word. At the unveiling of the memorial erected on the sea-front at Cove, a replica of Iona's St. Martins Cross, he declared that it commemorated "the gallant deeds, the brave lives and heroic aims of those who had made the supreme sacrifice".¹³

It was a fine statement, and one that might have been made at any one or indeed all war memorials. War memorials were to remind people of the sacrifice and not the waste. Sad mothers desperately wanted to hear that their sons had nobly answered the call of duty, had fought bravely and died in a worthwhile cause.

CHAPTER TWELVE- PART THREE

DUNBARTONSHIRE DETACHED --"EAST DUNBARTONSHIRE"

"The last fight was the worst of all. I was at the extreme end of the last village where the enemy had possession of some ruined houses. As we approached we were met with a murderous hail that would have frozen the blood of the hottest men. For a moment or two our men wavered. I doubted if they were equal to it. Then a fellow sprang forward. The strains of the "Campbells are coming" broke out once more".¹

1. Kirkintilloch Herald, 26 July 1916.
quoted in A. Round et al,
The Great War: Impact on Kirkintilloch,
(Glasgow: Jordanhill College, 1979), p.59.

In the past the north-western tip of Lanarkshire and the southernmost part of Stirlingshire had a common border north of Glasgow. This four to five mile stretch separated the main body of Dunbartonshire from its small eastern section, the "detached" piece of Dunbartonshire. Historically East Dunbartonshire consisted of the parishes of Kirkintilloch and Cumbernauld.

Five miles was never likely to have made much difference in war memorial provision but nonetheless there were one or two variations and a few details that were sufficiently different to warrant comment.

On the handsome bandstand on Kilsyth's Burngreen are two granite tablets commemorating members of various bands whose members fell in the Great War. Also on the Burngreen is the Kilsyth War Memorial which takes the form of a grey granite celtic cross. Thus three war memorials are within a few metres of each other and that certainly makes Kilsyth quite unique for most towns and villages have simply one memorial to commemorate all who had "laid down their lives in the Great War"¹ and if places had more than one memorial a much greater distance separated them. Other towns and villages also had bands and yet Kilsyth seems to be the only place to have commemorated them on the bandstand where they had once played.

As in other districts celtic crosses predominate the war memorial scene - Auchenairst, Bishopbriggs, Cumbernauld, Stepps and Twecher all have one and even St. David's Church in Kirkintilloch erected one for its own congregation. Milton of Campsie did not even have a war memorial until 1980 and then it too erected a grey granite cross just like those erected sixty years ago by other communities. They put up a monument which they regarded as being what a typical war memorial looked like.

The other most popular war memorial type was the granite obelisk and East Dunbartonshire has one of these within its bounds - in the little village of Torrance.

A few of the area's monuments deserve closer examination. Doubtlessly, as elsewhere, there was discussion on the utilitarian versus monumental role as to what form memorials should take. In the village of Gartloch a utilitarian idea triumphed - a home for the district nurse was provided. The monumental aspect, however, was not to be totally ignored for bronze commemorative tablets were fixed to the gate piers of the property. The problem with utilitarian principles is that needs change over time. By 1983 the resident district nurse had retired and her departure had meant that the house had fallen vacant and was thus placed on the market. New owners therefore acquired not only a pleasant little cottage but also the war memorial at the pavement edge.

Not simply a change in use but a change in degree of emphasis can also occur with the passage of time. Condorrat built a War Memorial Hall but it has now become the local Social Club and only the bronze tablet set in its cast iron frame, the flagpole overhead and the dates '1914 -1918' on the face of the building remind us of its original memorial function. Those who now do their socialising there are unlikely to give its commemorative role as much as a second thought and only those waiting for the Glasgow-bound bus with nothing better to do read the bold relief letters on the tablet.

Another utilitarian idea was employed at Croy where the local mining community - almost entirely Roman Catholic - erected a tower complete with belfry for their church. In their spare time miners built the tower to a design supplied by the parish priest, Father Charleston.² The lady who had gifted the stone for its construction, Mrs Duncan, was given the task of unveiling the memorial while the Archbishop of Glasgow dedicated it.

Sadly as a monument it did not last for the tower was demolished but more recently a small marble Pieta - owing much to Michaelangelo's Pieta in St. Peters, Rome - has been erected in front of the church as the new Croy War Memorial. The original work of the local men

did not last "for evermore" and indeed it was one of the few memorials to quite simply have disappeared. Attractive though the little Pieta is, it nonetheless seems scarcely a suitable substitute for mens' hard work and time generously given, over and above the great human sacrifice that the community had suffered by the war.

Another vaguely utilitarian role was given the Campsie Parish War Memorial at Lennoxton. It is the impressive stone-built arched entrance gateway to Lennoxton Cemetery and it was another of those designed by A.N.Paterson. A purely monumental role was allotted the Chryston War Memorial at Muirhead. Set in front of the public hall it is an attractive memorial within a semi-circular bay with stone parapet topped wall and it is to a design by Gavin Lennox of the Glasgow architectural practice of Lennox and McMath. Both memorials were in locations much favoured by war memorial committees.

Kirkintilloch had been early on the scene to get its war memorial organised. On 13 January 1919 the Town Council agreed to set up a War Memorial Committee with representatives of the Town Council and from a selection of other local bodies serving on it. By 10 April approval was given for a memorial to be sited in the public park and the Town Clerk was asked to invite architects to submit designs. These were to be received by 17 May 1920. The Council, perhaps rather parsimoniously, warned aspiring designers that "no premium is offered but if your design is accepted you will be entrusted with the carrying out of the work".³ In the autumn of 1919 it had been suggested that the memorial might take the form of "a tower to be erected in the park" and be sixty feet in height with a museum in its basement.⁴ It was all, however, not to be quite so quickly and easily resolved. Loughborough may get a bell-tower cum museum but not Kirkintilloch.

In March 1922 a subscriber to the war memorial appeal fund complained that he had given £50 two and a half years earlier and that so far nothing had been done and he assumed nothing was going to be done. He therefore wished to have "his money back with

interest in 21 days".⁵ It was not until 1925 that Kirkintilloch gained her war memorial - a magnificent ornamental gateway to Peel Park and to a design by Provost William Shanks.

The marble for its construction had been gifted by the Fletcher Construction Co. of New Zealand because James Fletcher had been a native of Kirkintilloch before emigrating and becoming a successful building contractor. The great cast iron gates of the monument had been specially manufactured by the local Lion Foundry. The gift of the marble obviously was a major factor in ensuring that the memorial cost only £1800 - well within the target expenditure of £2000. Few could dispute that it is a superbly elegant monument and at such a bargain price. Perhaps it had even been well worth waiting for.

East Dunbartonshire, like elsewhere, got those of the military and landed interest to perform unveilings but, unlike the western part, was given a lion's share in the duty. At Muirhead, Lord Lamington carried out the unveiling. At Lennoxton, General Sir Charles Munro, Bart., performed while at Baldernock it had been General Stirling of Keir and Cawder. Sir Archibald Edmonstone of Duntreath unveiled the memorial at Kilsyth. Kirkintilloch enlisted the service of Major W.B. Armstrong and the little village of Twecher had Captain Buchanan to fulfil the duty.

The site for the memorial at Stepps had been gifted by Col. Sir Alex. Sprott, Bart., the local landowner and MP, but due to illness he had been unable to carry out the unveiling so his son-in-law, Col. Sir George Stirling of Glorat, stepped in as replacement. When Milton of Campsie acquired its war memorial in 1980 it was to be unveiled by Miss Stirling of Glorat. The unveiling of memorials had obviously become an ongoing family tradition. Clearly only a very select breed have ever been deemed capable of performing such a duty!

CHAPTER TWELVE - PART FOUR

THE SOUTH BANK OF THE CLYDE - RENFREWSHIRE

Listen! Can you hear them say,
True love by life,
True love by death is tried?
Live ye for Scotland.
We for Scotland died.

Ex-Provost John Robertson,
at the Unveiling of Paisley
War Memorial, 27th July 1924. ¹

1. Paisley & Renfrewshire Gazette, 2 August 1924.

Inside the gates of the churchyard of Neilston Parish Church stands an ornate celtic cross which commemorated three men from the parish who had died during the war in South Africa. Neilston is, however, almost unique among villages in having no outdoor war memorial erected in the aftermath of the Great War. The parish memorial is apparently sited within the church. Almost every other Renfrewshire village, like almost every village in Scotland, had a war memorial erected in a prominent public place in the early 1920s.

At the other end of the county, overlooking the Firth of Clyde at one of the most famed panoramic viewpoints in Scotland stands the unique Cross of Lorraine on Greenock's Lyle Hill. Unveiled in 1946 this anchor-like Cross with its twin cross members was erected to commemorate ¹:

the sailors of the Free French Naval Forces
who sailed from Greenock in the years 1940-1945
and gave their lives in the Battle of the Atlantic
For the liberation of France
and the freedom of the allied cause.

Between the little cross to commemorate those of 1899-1902 set in a churchyard and the impressive cross of 1946 set on a hillside Renfrewshire has its bulk of memorials - those erected to commemorate the Fallen of the Great War. The range in types varies enormously even within its narrow field. The simplest of these is the granite tablet on the street-facing wall of the steeple of Eaglesham Parish Church. It was set there in 1920 to commemorate the thirteen men of the village who died as they "upheld the cause of liberty and justice in the Great War".²

Of the twenty three war memorials in the county seven of them are crosses, including one in the cloisters of Paisley Abbey which is an adaptation of Sir Reginald Blomfield's Cross of Sacrifice which can be seen in so many cemeteries. Inside Paisley Abbey now stands the ancient Barochan Cross which the historian Ludovic Mann had

suggested should be the model for many war memorials and at Bridge of Weir the architect Andrew Balfour did indeed reproduce that cross as the local war memorial. At Barrhead, on the otherhand, the war memorial placed in Cowan Park was to take the form of another ancient sculptured stone, the local Arthurlie Cross.

For the most part, however, Renfrewshire's home-grown historic old crosses did not capture the imagination or the enthusiasm of memorial makers. Instead they opted for celtic crosses and a pretty standard one serves as the Lochwinnoch War Memorial. For Wemyss Bay's pierhead Sir John J. Burnet produced an elegant stone cross which had, instead of the usual celtic tracery and knotwork, emblems of war and a laurel wreath while its low flanking walls contain a seat. It is simply a more up-market version of an old theme.

Two of the most elegant of the county's crosses are those at Houston and Kilmacolm where Peter MacGregor Chalmers and James Austin Laird respectively had designed fine memorials with a super-abundance of celtic detailing. So proud of their work at Kilmacolm encouraged both Laird and his sculptor William Vickers to add their names to its base. At Houston, Chalmers and Robert Gray, his sculptor, resisted the temptation but it equally merits our attention even if it is largely ignored these days.

A writer on the history of the area has sung its praises ³:

"The Memorial at Houston is perhaps one of the most elaborate in Renfrewshire, yet it never fails to induce a certain feeling of pathos. There it stands, a slender shaft of medium height, at the top of a steep hill leading down into the village. It goes almost unnoticed for most of the year and neither the children who play on its steps when the school comes out, nor the hikers who sit on the low stone wall to consult their maps, pay any attention to the 29 names inscribed there".

Twenty one of these names were of those "who fell in the war 1914-1919".

Perhaps because of the tardiness on the part of the local committee to erect a memorial as much as a desire to go it alone prompted Barrhead Parish Church to put up its own war memorial. In September 1920 Messrs Scott and Rae erected, in the church grounds, a red granite obelisk with a bold relief soldier carved to its face. The town had to wait until the end of 1922 before it acquired its celtic cross in the public park.

By the sea front at Inverkip stands another little obelisk of grey polished granite and which commemorated the 24 "young men of the district" who fell. It is a routine sort of monument but is of particular interest because it not only gives the names of those who fell but also the theatre of war in which they fought and the date of their death. Seventeen died on the Western Front, two died at Gallipoli and one each in both Mesopotamia and Palestine. The sea claimed one victim while another died "on home service".⁵

As the war had claimed young lives it had become a popular choice to site the memorial in front of the school. Generally memorials commemorate young men who not many years earlier had left the local school. Thornliebank placed its monument - a granite doric column with a cross on top of it and set on a square base - in a little garden area in front of the school. Perhaps to ensure that the memorial did not get cluttered with wreaths a small granite tablet was placed in front of the memorial. It states ⁶:

Please Deposit
All Wreaths
on Ground Level.

Until 1984 the Newton Mearns Memorial was also set in front of the school but then it "was moved to a more prominent position" ⁷ in a little garden further up the main road. It takes the form of a

mercat cross on an octagonal base. Mercat crosses in the past were at the centre of things; this one is now at the fringe of things.

The architect W.J.B. Wright and sculptor Robert Gray also produced granite mercat crosses for Govan and Millport but it was others who provided Renfrewshire with her finest new ones. At Kilbarchan a slender tapered shaft with a unicorn on top was erected "to Kilbarchan's honoured sons".⁸ Although a local historian has stated of the county's memorials that "all carry the same message - 'Lest We Forget'",⁹ Kilbarchan's memorial is, in fact, one of the few to have that inscription. Designed by Alex Wright and Edward Wylie of Glasgow, the sculptor of the mercat cross was Alex Proudfoot with the builderwork being undertaken by the local man, Thomas Gray. When erected its location was of significance for it was sited at the tramway terminus but as trams have disappeared off Scottish streets - the Transport Museum in Glasgow being the only West of Scotland location for them these days - the monument just nestles by the roadside and buses take the by-pass with no sense of history or interest in the monumental.

Without doubt the finest of the mercat crosses is the one at Renfrew - in fact it puts most of the real mercat crosses to shame for it is truly a work of art. Great antiquity has made Scotland's mercat crosses worthy of our attention but Renfrew's war memorial deserves our attention because it is a fine monument and of sound craftsmanship. Built of cream freestone and octagonal in shape, it has a chamber within its drum base and a column rises from that base to a height of 25'0". On top of the shaft a lion rampant holds a shield bearing the coat of arms of the town and there are other coats of arms on the projecting turrets of the chamber. Granite panels bear the names of the fallen but perhaps what makes it truly magnificent are the two symbolic bas-relief stone panels - "Duty and Defence" has a kilted soldier while "Our Glorious Dead" depicts a figure of Peace laying a wreath at the grave of a soldier. Glasgow Herald thought the monument was "quietly impressive"¹⁰ but the local newspaper did not believe in beating about the bush; it declared it

to be "one of the finest in the whole country"¹¹. James Young, who had carried out stone work at Paisley Abbey's restoration, carved those two panels but Messrs. Scott & Rae had erected the memorial to a design by local architect Hamilton Neil of Paisley who had won the architectural competition for the memorial. When the competition was announced it had been suggested that the memorial might be a "figure or symbolic figure and that the monument be in granite with a bronze figure or entirely of granite".¹² The memorial also had to cost "not more than £1200 including foundation and erection".¹³ The successful competitor was to be entrusted with the work but the one who came second was to receive a prize of £10. We should perhaps be most grateful that the committee's original idea remained simply a suggestion and that they opted for this most handsome of mercat crosses.

Such crosses had fulfilled a function in historical times being both the symbolic commercial centre as well as the social and political focus of small towns but by the 20th Century their role had become purely visual. Any war memorial type mercat cross would therefore be monumental rather than utilitarian. Renfrewshire, however, was to gain two war memorials which were functional in intent. One of these is at Broomhill, a suburb of Greenock, where there stands a grey granite arched memorial with red granite drinking trough cum fountain to its face. Neither seems to operate these days although it remains a handsome enough feature of the street scene.

The people of Howwood, on the otherhand, decided to provide a home for their district nurse and a gift of the cottage 'The Neuk' was made for that purpose. A small stone was also set up in front of that cottage exclaiming its memorial intent. The main part of the war memorial funding was to be used to provide an endowment fund for the nurse. Today the original war memorial panels remain to tell us of its function as a nurses' home and as a memorial to those who died "in the cause of honour and freedom" but as needs change over time another little panel tells us¹⁴:

"The house originally provided for the nurse being no longer necessary and no further use being found for it, it was resolved to demolish it and that the site be laid out as a Garden of Remembrance".

The merely monumental type of memorials are well represented by the architectural ones at Gourock, Giffnock and Port Glasgow. Gourock's granite obelisk was located on the seafront and had the Glasgow architect Colin Sinclair as its designer. Peter Macgregor Chalmers had acted as assessor and had declared that Sinclair's design "promised the best results" although he did suggest some minor amendments.¹⁵ Chalmers was a gifted architect but he had a very high regard for his own abilities, even if largely justified, and he clearly felt Sinclair had a bit to learn.

Another Glasgow architect but one who resided in Giffnock was John Watson and he was entrusted with the design for his local war memorial. Set in front of the church near Eastwoud Toll it is a prominent and elegant sandstone cenotaph which bears the inscription "they gave their youth that we might grow old in peace"¹⁶, surely one of the most realistic assessments of the sacrifice. It is worthy of note that Giffnock's memorial is one of the very few which records a vastly greater number of men who fell in the Second World War than in the Great war. Giffnock was such a growth area in the Inter-War period being a wealthy suburban dormitory for commuters from Glasgow and while 38 men died in 1914-18, 137 died in the later conflict. All are commemorated on bronze tablets affixed to the stone flanking walls of the cenotaph.

Where the adjacent walling at Giffnock's memorial seemed to provide an in-built facility for future commemoration this was not to be the case at Port Glasgow. There, near once great shipyards, was placed a Portland stone obelisk to the design of A.F. Duncan of Glasgow. Its bronze panels on all sides of the memorial commemorate 319 men of the town who died - over 3000 men had enlisted. The design of the memorial had thus not made any provision for a second war and

therefore when the time came a new World War Two Memorial had to be built at the rear of the enclosure in which the original war memorial had been sited. The granite panels of the later memorial commemorate 164 men.

Using salvage building material was occasionally a convenient way of gaining a war memorial. At Quarrier's Homes, near Bridge of Weir, the war memorial consists of a granite tablet set within a stone arch. The stones of the arch were taken from the house in Greenock in which the philanthropist William Quarrier had been born. On its demolition and on the centenary of his birth they were rebuilt as the war memorial. As the memorial only commemorates those who fell in the collective rather than by name it remains as much a monument to William Quarrier than to any one else.

Although Dunbartonshire did not have one, many counties have a bronze or granite soldier and Renfrewshire's is located in Johnstone. There a splendid life-size bronze kilted soldier - a private in the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders complete with rifle and knapsack - set on a handsome stone pedestal stands in the town's main square, Houston Square. The architect for the base was W.J. Bain of Glasgow while the statue was by Kellock Brown who taught in the Glasgow School of Art. It had been the hope of John Cochran of the local War Hero's Committee that the memorial "would not only be worthy of the town but worthy of the sacrifice that had been made".¹⁷ One cannot help but conclude that his wish had indeed come true.

An interesting detail about the Johnstone War Memorial was that as it had been "found impracticable to include all the names of the Johnstone fallen on the memorial" it was decided to write their names together with a "a short appreciation of their heroism and a history of the memorial" on vellum and enclose it in a jar and build it into the memorial.⁸ Johnstone's memorial has therefore an unseen list of all the names: truly an interesting interpretation of the text 'Known unto God'.

The simple elegance of that kilted soldier stands in direct contrast to the complex Greenock Memorial in Well Park. There a great granite obelisk on a massive plinth has not only an inlaid red granite celtic cross to its face but in front a prow of a Viking ship on which a bronze Victory holds a wreath of victory and a palm branch of peace. It is an impressive monument and it is little wonder that it cost £7,500. Messrs Wright and Wylie's design had been successful in the competition held and it was the assessors Pittendrigh MacGillivray and George Washington Browne, two of the RSA's original Committee, who had selected the site. Alexander Proudfoot's Victory graces the memorial while one of his colleagues at the School of Art Dorothy Carleton-Smyth, an expert in Celtic art, had designed the cross. The monument was constructed by Messrs. Matthew Muir & Co of Kilmarnock.

Without doubt the chief glory of Renfrewshire as far as war memorials is concerned has to be that at Paisley. It has been described, and with much justification, as "one of the finest" of Scottish war memorials.¹⁹ As early as 10 September 1918 the Town Council had decided to erect a memorial and the competition which it organised attracted 195 entries. The celebrated architect Sir Reginald Blomfield and distinguished Scottish artist Sir D.Y. Cameron acted as assessors and there were three prizes - £250, £200 and £150- offered for the best schemes. It was anticipated that designs would be examined during January 1922 with the result intimated on 27 January. This early rapidity seemed to quickly grind to a halt. In May 1923 the winning architect Robert Lorimer told the Committee that "another year" would be needed although "everything was progressing well".²⁰ There had been some opposition to the choice of location and when work eventually started on site in late February 1924 it was reported that there "was great interest in the work; stimulated by the controversy which still rages as to the suitability or otherwise of the site".²¹ While various other locations had been suggested no one could seriously dispute the real merits of the site selected - it was "at the heart of the burgh and placed where everyone may see it".²²

A great grey pylon of Shap granite, it stands on a 45 feet square platform. The local Paisley Daily Express gave a full account of its design and it is worth quoting this at some length. 23

"The massive pylon is full 25 ft. high and carries on the top magnificent bronze figures representing a Crusader on a charger in Coat of mail and bearing aloft his pennon. On each side are two figures of British Soldiers in full war kit, wearing shrapnel helmets. The height of the bronze to the crest of the horseman is 10 ft. 6ins., so that the total height of the monument is 35 feet. The idea which the group is intended to convey is that our men in the Great War in their splendid determination were animated by the same spirit as the Crusaders, and were striving towards an ideal similar to that which stimulated them.

"On the front of the pedestal is carved in relief a sword of the old Scottish type with a scroll bearing the dates 1914-1919, the Paisley Coat of Arms being superimposed on the sword. Flanking this are shields, that on the dexter side bearing the St. Andrew's Cross and that on the sinister side the Cross of St. George.

"On the east and west sides are sunk panels showing palm branches with a crown on top, and carved below in raised lettering are the names of the countries in which the men fought. On the plinth underneath is inscribed 'to the glorious memory of the 1.953 men of Paisley who gave their lives in the Great War'".

The original model which had won the first prize in the competition had been entitled "The Spirit of the Crusades" and was executed by Mrs Gertrude Alice Meredith-Williams. Enlarged it was to become the crowning glory of the Paisley monument. The Edinburgh-based James Clark did the modelling so that Messrs J. Singer of Frome could cast the bronze group. The builderwork was executed by Messrs. Neil

Macleod & Sons and the carving undertaken by Messrs. Allen & Sons, both of Edinburgh. The Clerk of Works for the project was John Wornell who had also acted in that capacity under Lorimer during the ongoing restoration of Paisley Abbey. Under the watchful eye of Lorimer this formidable team created this superb monument. One cannot but wonder at reasons for the opposition to it or why it met with such obstinacy. A canvas and wood replica had even to be erected to "give the general effect" in order to win round the waverers.²⁴ Today there must be few critics; it is by every standard a work of art of the highest order.

Mrs Meredith-Williams' small bronze maquette (Plate No.12.) still graces the staircase of the main hall of the National Museum of Wales and a glance at it shows why it was such an obvious winner in the competition. In a way one has to go to see the maquette to really appreciate the sculpture for set on top of its lofty pylon it is just too high and too remote for its symbolism to be fully comprehended or for its true artistic nobility to be appreciated.

Paisley, like most other places, followed the same well-trying formula at its unveiling even if it did offer an air of democratisation. The memorial was unveiled by Mrs McNab, "a working class widow who lost three sons in the war" ²⁵ while at Greenock the task was performed by Mrs John Forbes, wife of an ex-Baillie, who had also lost three sons. Kilmacolm tried a slightly different tack and had four children, who had each lost their father in the fighting, to jointly carry out the unveiling. The site at Kilmacolm had been gifted by Sir J.P. Maclay, Bart., who had incidently lost two sons in the war. The local MP Joseph Johnstone unveiled the memorials at Eag|esham, Giffnock and Howwood while Lady Grey, wife of Col.Sir J.W. Grey MP, unveiled the one at Lochwinnoch. Col Grey. of course, addressed the crowd and while the Lord Lieutenant Sir Hugh Shaw Stewart unveiled the Port Glasgow memorial his wife unveiled the one at Newton Mearns and where he gave the principal address.

The landed gentry were, as ever, firm favourites at unveilings. A.A. Haggart Spiers of Elderslie unveiled the one at Houston for which he had gifted the site and much of the money, and he also unveiled the one at Yoker. Lord Blythwood unveiled Kilbarchan's memorial and the Marquis of Graham unveiled the one at Wemyss Bay. Provost Mitchell was a rare exception since he unveiled the memorial in the Broomhill area of Greenock. Military figures were again popular - Major F. W. Flews unveiled the one at Barrhead, Lt.Col J. Coats at Barrhead Parish Church, Col. Walter Brown at Renfrew and because Col. Darroch was too ill, Mrs Darroch had to unveil the memorial at Gourrock.²⁶ Indeed Colonel Darroch was not to survive long and was himself to be commemorated on the war memorial at Torridon where it records the fact that he died on 22 May 1923 of "wounds received at Gallipoli". Major General Philip R. Robertson of the Lowland Area, Scottish Command unveiled the one at Thornliebank while General Sir Francis Davies, GOC Scottish Command, unveiled the Bridge of Weir memorial while his successor Lt. Gen. Walter Braithwaite unveiled Johnstone's bronze soldier.

The military, of course, always had more than simply an officiating role, they not only provided Guards of Honour to be inspected but their buglers were ever called upon to play 'The Last Post' and 'Reveille' while their pipe bands contributed laments such as 'The Flowers of the Forest'. It was a day for the army to show its colours and express its sorrows.

Before the erection and unveiling however the usual problems had to be overcome and often there had been debate about the type of memorial. At Bridge of Weir it had been suggested that it ought to "be useful and beneficial to the inhabitants" and so a public hall was proposed.²⁷ Others suggested a public park. Among the ideas put forward at Kilmacolm were for an YMCA Institute, a cottage hospital or for a fund to provide for widows and children of the fallen but in the end it was decided that they would "erect an artistic memorial" and once it had been erected "the question of erecting some utilitarian building in addition might be considered providing

sufficient funds were available".²⁸ Before Howwood opted for its nurse's home it pondered over various schemes. Apart from erecting a memorial it considered laying out a children's playground, assisting with the reconstruction of housing or even providing a new housing scheme, and of funding to endow beds in Johnstone and District Hospital.²⁹ What was finally agreed was to be quite different in scale from these discussions. At Kilmacolm it had been agreed to erect a mercat cross³⁰ but the actual final product turned out to be a celtic cross. Instead of a mercat cross in the village centre they got a less expensive celtic cross on a wayside hillock. One of the suggestions for the Paisley memorial was for a bandstand in Barshaw Park and from which regimental and other bands might entertain the public although Bailie McGeorge who had proposed the idea was against Sunday concerts.³¹

Many places acquired captured German guns and tanks or even redundant British weapons as war memorials and Paisley's Barshaw Park had for a time a tank on display. It was regarded as a "harmless exhibit" until two boys went inside and discovered two shells and thinking them to be "duds" put one in the muzzle which they then fired. Children and others had for some time been putting litter down the barrel of the gun and thus when the shell exploded the rubbish was blasted into the air. Mr John Maitland, who was passing by, was bombarded in the face with some of this litter and so powerful was the force that he lost sight in both eyes.³² Without doubt the erection of so many war memorials would result in a few accidents but this had been the most seriously wounding. It is thus not surprising that guns and tanks quickly went out of vogue as a medium of commemoration. Perhaps they also erred a shade too much on the glorification of war, or at least celebrated victory rather than commemorated loss.

In order to raise funds committees ran a variety of functions. Lochwinnoch had a sports meeting and a series of concerts at which the artistes "had a splendid reception and had to respond to encores".³³ Johnstone held a Victory Ball in aid of its War Heroes

Fund and it was the earnest hope of its promoters "that everything (pointed) to a great success" with the Town Hall decorated for the occasion and "to suit guests from Paisley a car (would) run to the Cross in the early morning".³⁴

Raising funds was seldom an easy task and more often than not the money was slow to be gathered. At Houston the total cost of the memorial was to be £662 yet only £594 had been raised and it required an anonymous cheque to make up the balance.³⁵ At Greenock it was believed the bulk of the money had come from the local leading industrialists with the "response from the general public so far being disappointing".³⁶ The speed, or rather the lack of it, at which the Kilbarchan War Memorial Committee moved was anything but impressive as far as one of the subscribers was concerned and he, as early as Spring 1921, asked "What about the war memorial?", pointing out that a "considerable sum was raised sometime ago and yet there was still no sign of the war memorial". The writer wondered if it was to be "left to the next generation to erect it" and asked for an explanation of the delay.³⁷ By early October 1921 Kilbarchan got its handsome mercat cross war memorial. Whether the impatient complainant was finally satisfied is not known.

One of the important aspects of the unveiling day was the handing over of the custody of the memorial to the local authority. At Paisley the Chairman of the War Memorial Committee Ex-Provost John Robertson handed over the memorial to to the Town Council. His successor Provost Glover in accepting it on behalf of the Council remarked that he was "sure that he and his successors in office would regard it as one of the most sacred trusts".³⁸

The war memorials have been in local authority hands ever since and though the political boundaries have changed and the names of the authorities has changed the monuments themselves are ever likely to remain a responsibility of local government. It is to their great credit that most memorials are well, maintained and to their great shame that a few are not as well cared for as they ought to have

been. In Renfrewshire the rich legacy and impressive variety of its memorials have been well treated and with much respect. One or two of them are not only fine war memorials but are also superb pieces of monumental art in their own right.

A few additional bronze tablets or additional carved lettering brought the memorials up-to-date after the renewed hostilities of 1939-45. Greenock did acquire, as Clydebank on the north bank, a new monument in the cemetery to commemorate victims of the Blitz. Air-raids of 1940-41 claimed many Greenock citizens and it was thus appropriate that a memorial for those not engaged in the fighting but who were the innocent victims of the war be also commemorated. Robert Gray of Glasgow was entrusted with the monumental work of the Blitz memorials in both Clydebank and Greenock.

Not everywhere did get a memorial in the aftermath of the Great War and it was not until recently that Elderslie got hers. A handsome polished granite monument was set against one of the perimeter walls of Abbey Road Cemetery. Modern in concept, its stainless steel sculpture depicts a rifle with bayonet and some other weaponry together a fighter plane adorned with leaves. It does not seek to glorify war but it does have a realistic approach as to how the victims had met their fate.

The people of Elderslie presumably had felt that they had missed out by not having a war memorial: that real villages and real communities had them at the centre of things and to be a real place they needed one also. Cemeteries had been regarded as a fit site for war memorials in the post 1914-18 era so Elderslie folk, perhaps rather sensibly, erected their memorial in the cemetery beside all the other folk who had once been near and dear to them.

The war memorials of the two counties are not only very similar in themselves but are typical of the war memorials spread nationwide. Every local community in the land had lost those near and dear to them and all desired to erect war memorials to express their grief

and to remember their dead. The loss had been national. Across Scotland, in all her counties, war memorials reflect that national grief and national pride which was but the sum of local sorrow and sentiment.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

CHAPTER TWELVE - PART ONE

1. M. & S. Harries, The War Artists,
(London: Michael Joseph, 1983), p.56.
2. Country Life, 19 January 1918.
3. Pat Hodgson, Talking About War
(Hove: Wayland Publishers, 1979), p.60.
4. G. Kavanagh, "Museums, memorials and minenwerfers" in
Museums Journal, 84 (2), September 1984, pp 65-70.
5. S.G.E. Lythe & J. Butt, An Economic History of Scotland,
1100-1939. (Glasgow: Blackie, 1975), p.244.
Figure based on 1911 Census.
6. Report on the 12th Decennial Census of Scotland.
(House of Commons Accounts & Papers 1912-13)
1911 Census.

CHAPTER TWELVE - PART TWO

1. This section is an expanded version of an earlier paper
"The War Memorials of the Lennox", Lennox Guardian,
April 1985.
2. Lennox Herald, 4 June 1921.
3. Ibid., 9 September 1922.

4. S. Perks & M. Cleare, The Great War ; Impact on Dumbarton,
(Glasgow: Jordanhill College, 1978), p.39.
5. Glasgow Herald, 11 July 1957.
6. Benno Schotz, Bronze in my Blood,
(Edinburgh: Gordon Wright, 1981),p.81.
- 7, Ibid., p.82.
8. Letter from Central Library, Clydebank to writer.
23 December 1982 (Collection of writer).
9. Helensburgh & Gareloch Times, 25 May 1921.
10. Glasgow Herald, 12 September 1921.
11. Ibid., 4 September 1922.
12. Ibid., 18 September 1922.
13. Ibid.

CHAPTER TWELVE - PART THREE

1. Inscription on Kilsyth War Memorial.
2. Bulletin, 17 October 1922.
3. A. Round et al, The Great War: Impact on Kirkintilloch
(Glasgow: Jordanhill College, 1979),p.68
4. Building Industries, 16 September 1918.
5. Glasgow Herald, 14 March 1922.

CHAPTER TWELVE - PART FOUR

1. Inscription on Cross of Lorraine, Lyle Hill, Greenock.
2. Inscription on Eaglesham War Memorial.
3. D. Parker, "Messages of the monuments", in Renfrewshire Rambles,
(Perth: Holmes MacDougall, 1972),p.50-51.
4. Inscription on Houston War Memorial.
5. Inscription on Inverkip War Memorial.
6. Inscription on Thornliebank War Memorial.
7. Glasgow Herald, 7 April 1984.
8. Inscription on Kilbarchan War Memorial.
9. Parker, Renfrewshire Rambles.
10. Glasgow Herald, 7 August 1922.
11. Paisley & Renfrewshire Gazette, 5 April 1922.
12. Ibid., 5 March 1922.
13. Ibid.
14. Inscription on Howwood War Memorial.
15. Gourock Times,18 February 1921.
16. Inscription on Giffnock War Memorial.

17. Paisley & Renfrewshire Gazette, 1 November 1919.
18. Builng Industries, 16 August 1924.
19. Paisley 500, (Paisley: Renfrew District Council, 1988).
20. Paisley & Renfreshire Gazette, 12 May 1923.
21. Ibid., 23 February 1924.
22. Ibid., 9 February 1924
23. Ibid., 28 July 1924.
24. Bulletin 19 April 1922.
25. Paisley & Renfrewshire Gazette, 2 August 1924.
26. Glasgow Herald, 13 March 1922.
27. Paisley & Renfrewshire Gazette, 22 February 1922.
28. Ibid., 22 March 1922.
29. Ibid., 22 February 1922.
30. Ibid., 24 May 1919.
31. Ibid., 23 October 1920.
32. Ibid., 20 March 1920.
33. Ibid., 25 October 1919.
34. Ibid., 22 March 1919.

35. Ibid., 26 November 1921.
36. Glasgow Herald, 19 April 1920.
37. Paisley & Renfrewshire Gazette, 12 February 1921.
38. Ibid., 2 August 1924.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

ECONOMIC CONSEQUENCES

"Kings had fallen and nations perished, armies and cities been ruined for this and this alone: that poor men in stinking pubs might have a great wealth of memory".

Eric Linklater,
from Magnus Merriman.¹

1. Alan Bold (Ed.), Scottish Quotations,
(Edinburgh: The Mercat Press, 1985).

Apart from communicating the values of those who erected them war memorials have had their impact at various levels and in varying degrees. Firstly, they had an emotional impact for they commemorate in stone and bronze loved ones who died far from home fighting for their country. Memorials were thus a focus of much local pride as well as grief. Secondly, their impact has been visual and aesthetic (or otherwise) and at differing levels of contact. Some people visited them, others looked at them with some interest while others simply glanced and passed by. At a more mundane level they had short term impact as a major pre-occupation for those who organised their funding and supervised their erection. These committees also had to plan the celebratory events for their unveiling which provided a focus of community interest on that day and for some time thereafter.

War memorials also had, over and above what might be termed their social or socio-political impact and their artistic merits or demerits, an economic impact. Individually they may have only mattered to each local community but overall they amount to a sizeable chunk of economic activity. Not only monumental masons but many others also engaged in the building industry and architectural profession were employed to design and construct them. The work of many hands went into their creation.

Many people desired to have them built but many simply wanted to build them. Some may have wanted to do so out of a sense of duty as as their gesture of thanks to those who had fallen on the nation's cause but many wanted to do so for some personal glory or for economic gain.

The architect Robert Lorimer came in for considerable criticism on account of his methods in trying to procure commissions for them by offering a 'package deal' for designing and constructing them. The sculptors Pittendrigh Macgillivray, Birnie Rhind and Harry S. Gamley protested to the Royal Scottish Academy at Lorimer's nomination for

election as an Academician "on the grounds of practices outside the recognised etiquette of his profession".¹ It was their view ²:

"His behaviour in dealing with commissions for works of Sculpture is doubtlessly quite legal, but, according to our information is not such as can be tolerated within the ranks of an Academy of the Fine Arts".

Lorimer, nevertheless, survived the attack and was successfully elected. He was also singularly successful at obtaining commissions for memorials. According to Savage, "one single account book includes one hundred and sixty seven commissions for them".³ Many of these were for memorial tablets placed within public buildings, schools and churches as well as for other commemorative items of church furnishing but a goodly proportion, however, were for stone crosses, now to be seen in villages scattered across Scotland.

As we have noted monumental masons advertised widely and many had booklets to distribute to interested enquirers. Others had agents and representatives in the field to push sales. Clearly there was much effort expended into securing commissions and endeavouring to capture a sizeable part of the market. It was a keenly competitive marketplace.

It is perhaps impossible, in very precise terms, to state the amount of men or man-hours devoted to war memorial production for they were but part of the total monumental art industry. There has been an almost steady decline in that industry overall since the Second World War and an almost total collapse of the industry in Aberdeen. McLaren ⁴ has charted its sorry subsidence. In 1914 Aberdeen had ninety yards, 48 by 1930, 23 in 1962 and reduced to only three by 1987. At its peak the Aberdeen granite industry had employed 1881 men - 1606 journeymen and 275 apprentices. Before the Great War somewhere between 800-1000 men had been employed but by 1987 this had been reduced to about 120. Many yards had employed as few as half a dozen men but at the other end of the scale some were

employing over 100 men and boys. Around 1914 Messrs Bower & Florence (McLaren's firm) had about 100 employees in their yard but in 1964, on amalgamation with Messrs Stewart & Co, the yard closed its gates permanently. Messrs Beattie & Co. had 15 to 20 men in the aftermath of the Great War but in 1990 it had but one monumental mason working on imported granite memorials. The example of Messrs Wippell & Co. Ltd, long engaged in most aspects of memorial art, in a sense mirrors the story of the decline in monumental art as an industry. Their present Managing Director has summed up the story 5:

"During the 1920's we employed 12 metal engravers capable of not only cutting in any given style but hand carving into the metal and inlaying enamels and waxes. We also employed four masons and 12 wood carvers. Following the Second World War the engraving staff had reduced to six, masons to two and wood carvers to 8. By 1962 the demand had all but disappeared and we closed down the engraving and masons sections and currently purchase this type of work from without the company".

Many factors such as the rise of crematoria as a major funereal activity, further mechanisation, a desire for less ornamentation and the increased use of imported and finished memorials are all likely to have more greatly contributed to the general decline of the monumental masonry industry rather the sharp fall in war memorial production after the brief boom. The industry itself would not have expected demand to continue. War memorials were simply a fillip to their success rather than the source of it.

Without doubt, the absence of war memorial orders would to a greater or lesser degree have mattered in varying degrees to each firm. As Messrs Beattie & Co. had produced 75 war memorials in toto ⁶ it is possibly fair to assume that war memorial work was a valuable contributory factor to their earlier success. Messrs Scott & Rae supplied 73 public war memorials, Messrs Robert Gray executed some 30 memorials and Messrs J. & G. Mossman were involved in supplying

eleven war memorials as well as being, as we have noted, long participants in the seemingly endless saga over the George Square statues. Although Messrs J. Hood and Son of Wick and Golspie can only clearly be identified with something in the order of 11 memorials their almost unique location in the far North and their work subsequently done to at least 29 others would suggest that their total involvement in war memorial work in the aftermath of the Great War may have been considerably greater than Mr. Hood was able to recall in 1985. When supplying his list of war memorials Alexander Hood added "...and I am sure many more of which we have no record".⁷ An absence of records prevents firm conclusions as well as leaving large gaps in our knowledge of the industry as a whole and in war memorials in particular.

The fall in war memorial production for many of these firms was possibly a severe blow for war memorials were doubtlessly a sizeable part of their total monumental output whereas firms like Messrs Axford of Irvine who only supplied one or two memorials (that at Dreghorn is possibly their sole war memorial) the closure of that market simply meant the absence of selling just another 'stone', perhaps only slightly larger than their norm. In every business every order is of some importance: firms can survive without them but they cannot survive without any.

Graph No.1. shows the spectacular rise and rapid decline of the war memorial industry and was based on the unveiling dates of approximately 500 Scottish war memorials. The total production would simply be a larger version of this graph. Graph No.2. depicts the output of Messrs Scott & Rae and is based on their production records. The output of other firms involved in the industry would doubtlessly produce a similar rise and fall even if the curves were not to reach these heights. Messrs Scott & Rae were simply the most successful of the entrepreneurs.

By the Summer of 1922, by which time the bulk of memorials had been erected, the Aberdeen granite industry had provided something in the

order of 1000 memorials at a total cost of £250,000.⁸ This was regarded as being a very important contribution to the industry at "a time of depression, unequalled in its history".⁹ War memorials therefore in toto had a useful contribution to make to the local Aberdeen economy even if they had little or no economic impact on the localities in which they were erected.

Many newspapers carried reports on war memorial developments and many also reported on what they had cost in monetary terms as well as in human sacrifice terms. Access to a few records of firms and individuals involved in the work has given accurate costings for many memorials. The general accounts and reminiscences of some of those involved has also added to the overall picture and has put some flesh to the story. These have also added to our knowledge in more specific and personal terms.

These records also provide an indication of the costs of the various component parts which combined to form the war memorial - the raw material (the stone), the embellishment or work required to make raw material into monument, and the lettering cut into the stone or placed on its face to make a memorial out of the monumental. They also inform us a little of the labour and labour-force involved.

The work was hard and dirty, the hours long and the remuneration not over-generous. Mr Morren's recollection of the period was that in 1919 his firm's men were paid £3.10/- for a 64 hour week with polishers receiving 2d less per hour.¹⁰ This hourly rate of 1/1d can be compared with the figures Powell has given for London craftsmen in 1920 being paid 1/8d per hour and he added "in 1924, when the postwar peak had passed, the hourly rate for highly skilled stone carvers was said to be 1/9d".¹¹ Powell had labourers at that time on a rate of 1/2½d. The 1/1d rate of Morren's may not be far away from the average Scottish rates for Mossman's in 1920 charged their clients 3/3d per hour for their men's time.¹² On the basis that one third would be for wages and the remaining two-thirds split between overheads and profits the hourly rate seems to be exactly right. In

1940 Messrs Bower & Florence paid the agreed minimum wage of 1/7½d to granite cutters, 1/6½d to polishers and 1/4½d to leading sawmen.¹³

Office boys have always been notoriously poorly paid. McLaren has related the story of their office boy in the years following the Great War who was sent on an errand and took rather longer than was thought necessary. He was summoned before Mr Bower who severely reprimanded him. The boy retorted "Do you expect a flash o' lightenin' for five bob a week?" McLaren has stated how matters were swiftly brought to an end. "But of course the Boss had the last word and the laddie was out of the office - like a flash o' lightenin'".¹⁴

David Morren has told that in 1919 locally available granite varied in price from 2/6d to 8/- per cubic foot depending on its suitability for carving and polishing. By 1939 the costs had risen little although "very little local (stone) available".¹⁵

Although Mr. Morren reckoned that the 1919 price of lead letters had been 3d each and V cut letters at 2d each¹⁶ this does not seem to equate well with the records of both Mossman and Beattie who both had charges for the lettering of between 9/- and 17/- per dozen with the average being about 13/- and with little variation over the 1919-1924 period.¹⁷ It is likely, however, that Mr. Morren's recollection was the cost to purchase these from the manufacturer and not the price paid by his clients. Mossman et al were charging retail prices and not wolesale so there would be a considerable mark up in any event. Mr. Morren believed the cost of each letter had risen to be 7d in 1939. If we accept one face of Scott & Rae's Dunvegan memorial as being a near normal application the eighteen names with rank and regiment comprise on average of eighteen letters and if 13/- per dozen letters the cost per individual is approximately 20/-. That being so all the 100,000 Scots who fell might have their names on memorials at a total cost of approximately £100,000.

It is now well-nigh impossible to obtain an accurate costing for every memorial. The costs of many are known and while very many are very similar none are identical. The number of letters which comprise the 'Roll of Honour' on the face of each is the most obvious difference. Prices of memorials also varied as there were variable costs - transport, site conditions etc. as well as perhaps elements of war-induced inflation. While the cost of each memorial was different it is possible to arrive at an approximate cost for each. The few examples of actual costs make it possible to derive the likely average costs for monuments raised in each locality.

In most small villages and rural parishes the cost varied from around £100 to around £400 but with the norm being around the £200 mark. It may thus be reasonable to assume £250 as being the average cost. Indeed the Aberdeen output of 1000 memorials gives an average cost of £250 for each memorial and although these figures do not take in to account local costs such as lettering, erecting, etc which would have varied enormously - from 10% to 25% being the range - the cost of each memorial was around £300. Ludovic Mann, as we had earlier noted, had estimated the cost of his replica Barochan Cross to be £200- £300 and that would in fact seem to be what Committees seemed to be prepared to pay.

In the small towns or burghs about the £2000 mark seems to have been the ceiling - it is there the bulk of the bronze soldiers and 'Iron' Maidens are to be found. It is possible to conclude that for the most part the costs varied from around £1500 to £2500 with the average being clearly at £2000. The figure is well supported by the fact that the stone architectural pylon or cenotaph-type monuments which were constructed in other places also cost in the region of £2000. Major towns had an average cost in the region of £5000. The cities, and indeed so often did many towns, had decided to combine a public monument with a more utilitarian idea and therefore limited the amount spent on the memorial so that more could go towards the relief of the distressed or some other good works. Dundee spent

£12,000 on her monument alone whereas the war memorial part of Aberdeen's Art Gallery was in the region of £20,000.

To conclude it would seem that the average cost for a small village memorial was about £250, for a small town about £2000 and for a large town or city upwards of £5000 with perhaps the average cost in the order of £10,000. If we assume these averages to be a fairly likely cost of the memorials for which we do not know the actual cost it should be possible to arrive at an approximate total cost for memorials in each District Council area as well as a possible probable total cost for providing Scotland with all her Great War memorials. The total cost was probably something in the region of £625,000.

This figure compares somewhat unfavourably with £66,000,000 worth of ammunition ¹⁸ purchased by the Army Ordnance Department from the National Projectile Factory, Georgetown, near Bishopton (now known as the Royal Ordnance Factory), and only one of the nation's suppliers. Although each of the great cities collected substantial sums for their War Memorial Fund not all of it was actually spent on a monument per se: much went towards a more functional use or the war memorial was simply a smaller part of a larger scheme - Aberdeen's Art Gallery extension for example. It seems likely that the total spent on the major city war memorials in Aberdeen, Dundee, Edinburgh and Glasgow was less than £75,000 and this compares with under half the cost of building one destroyer on Clydeside ¹⁹ or half the the cost of one 24R airship. ²⁰

When all is said and done therefore the sums spent on war memorials bear little comparison to the vast sums expended on the war itself. At the very outset we noted that 100,000 Scots laid down their lives in the Great War - they were thus commemorated at approximately £6. per head. It seems life was little valued.

At Renfrew the very handsome Mercat Cross was erected at a cost of under £1200 ²¹ and it commemorates 181 men who had laid down their

lives - it therefore, at approximately £6.5 per head which seems to be almost in line with the national rate. It is possibly a futile exercise trying to find one that actually does coincide with the £6 rate - it may not exist.

Like all generalisations, however, the £6 per head figure may only contain elements of truth and conceal a wide range of variations and differences in costings. No two war memorials are identical even though some have great similarities. Just as their costs varied so also did their per capita cost in human life terms. Blackness's clock memorial cost £200²² and thus the men from that village are commemorated at £25 per head. Rutherglen's War memorial cost £17,000²³ and commemorated 900 men²⁴ who had died and who are thus commemorated at the rate of approximately £19. Auchtermuchty's £500 monument²⁵ commemorated 26 citizens and therefore at about £20 per head. Springfield in Fife erected a cross at £400²⁶ and thus the 30 names are remembered at £13 each. Little Banton's memorial to its 20 heroes cost £190²⁷ and thus they are commemorated at about £9.50p per head. Airdrie's £2000 memorial²⁸ was erected to commemorate 500 men and therefore commemoration cost £4 per head while Cowdenbeath's monument cost £1000²⁹ which works out to be a commemoration rate of under £4 per head for the 265 commemorated.

Most memorials bear the names of the fallen and therefore it has been possible to easily assess, albeit rather crudely, the cost in cash terms against their cost in terms of human sacrifice.

Glasgow's Cenotaph does not have the names of all who fell but it does rather proudly boast of the 200,000 from the city who had served during the war. The monument cost about £22,000³⁰ and thus their service is commemorated at around 2/3d (about 11p) per head. If only the war dead were to be considered (the City's Roll of Honour was regarded as 20,000³¹ in 1924) then they are commemorated at a rate of £1. 2/- per head. The total funds gathered by the City Council for war memorial purposes (the bulk of which had gone, as has been noted, on the short-lived utilitarian

concepts of Prince Albert's Workshops and other Ex-Servicemen's charities) had been in excess of £100,000 ³² but that only allows us to establish a commemoration rate of about £5 per head for those who had made the supreme sacrifice.

There had been a wide variation in the costs of monuments and thus few conclusions can be drawn other than the obvious one that war memorials were comparatively inexpensive. Lives were cheap.

In the years after the Great War economists, economic historians and others endeavoured to compute a total cost of the war and it was considered that \$338 billion was a likely figure. ³³ Others were eager to put a financial value on each life lost and it was reckoned that each British soldier killed was worth \$4,140 or about £1000.³⁴ Thus the 100,000 Scottish losses were, accepting this figure, worth in total £100,000,000. That being so, one might ask why were they commemorated at a total cost of under £1 million?

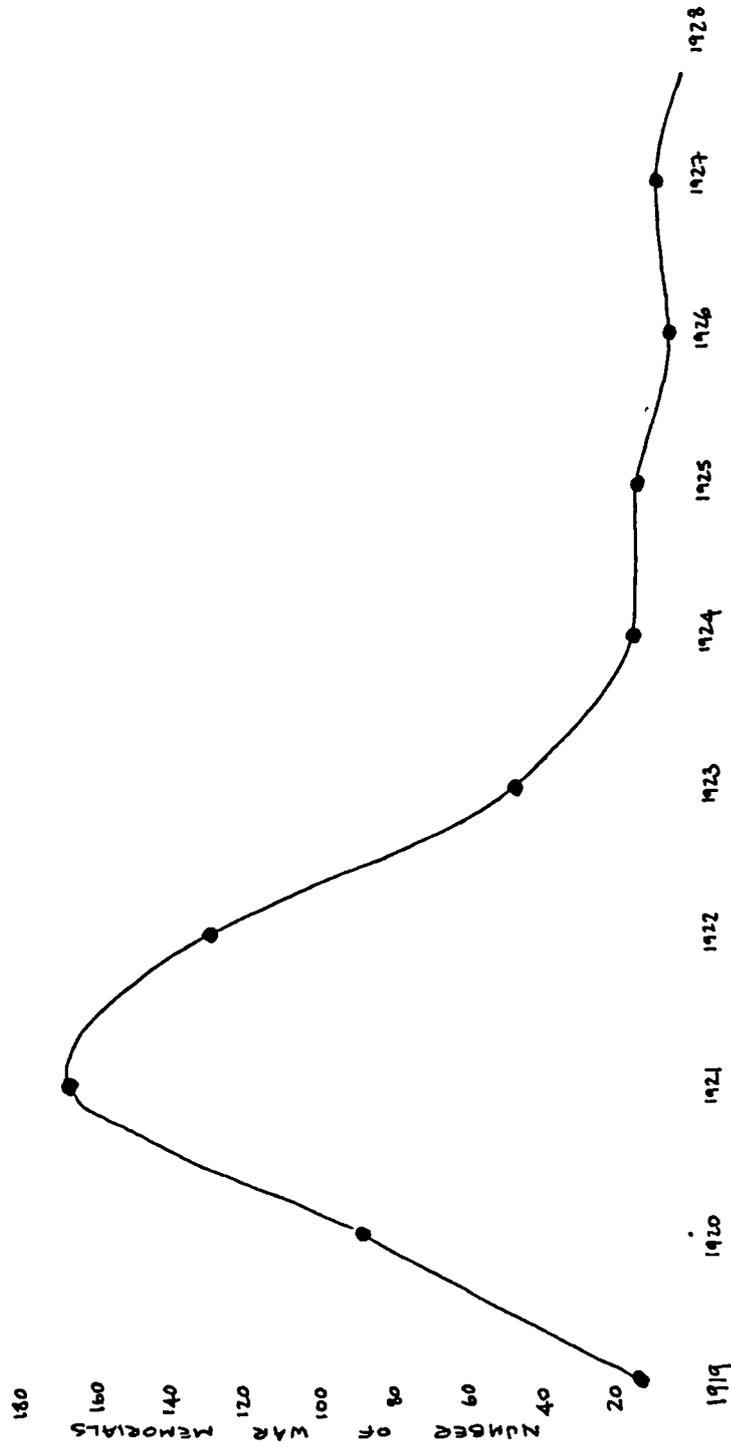
War Memorials, it must be concluded, were monuments on the cheap. Bargain basement art is never going to be very great art or ever highly valued. Those in authority who compelled British manhood to lay down its life on the mud at Flanders might have at least ensured that something truly worthwhile was erected to commemorate the men. The costs in human life were great in all sectors of society but only those with a sufficiency of wealth who had survived the war were in a position to provide us with the war memorials we and the dead so richly deserved and in this respect we and they were ill served. Britain as a nation, for the most part, put the commemoration of those who had died fighting for the nation as of low import. That Scotland is no different from other parts of the United Kingdom is not a cause for satisfaction.

War has ever been particularly wasteful in life and resources. With the Great War costs had been simply so much greater than hitherto. This nation, and one suspects all nations, did not really waste too much money on war memorials. If the so-called Victors were

parsimonious in their commemoration then the vanquished could hardly be expected to commemorate in style.

Memorials were a very small part of total war expenditure. In each community they were simply an added cost in financial terms and a lasting reminder of what the war had cost in real terms.

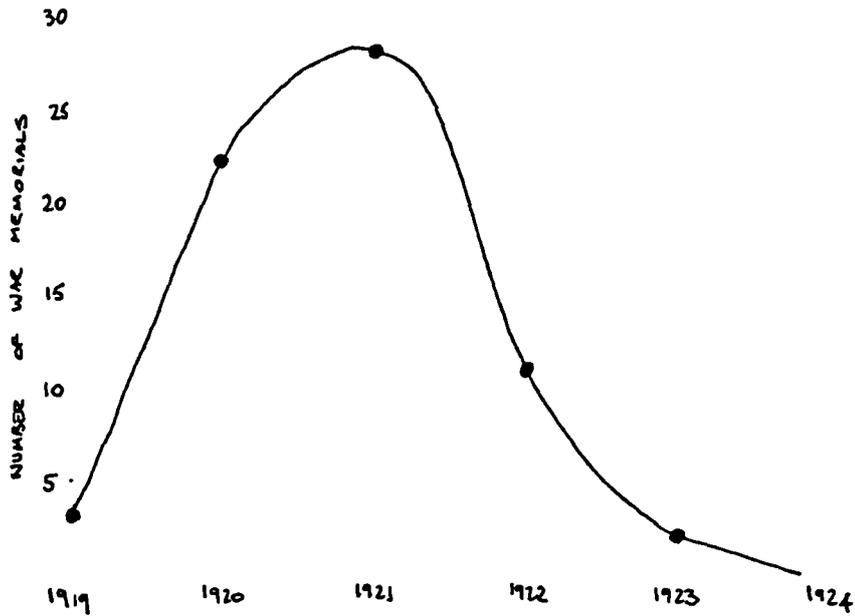
Graph No.1



Graph No.1. War Memorial Production 1919-1927,

Graph based on information on unveiling dates of 500 memorials (i.e. almost half the Scottish total).

Graph No.2.



Graph No.2. War Memorial Output of One Firm, 1919-1923.

Graph based on records of Messrs Scott & Rae.

NOTES & REFERENCES

1. E. Gordon, The Royal Scottish Academy 1826-1926,
(Edinburgh: Chas Skilton, 1976), p.186.
2. Ibid.
3. P. Savage, Lorimer and the Edinburgh Craft Designers,
(Edinburgh: Paul Harris, 1980), p.133.
4. J. McLaren, Sixty Years in an Aberdeen Granite Yard,
(Aberdeen: Centre for Scottish Studies, 1987).
5. Letter from G. Miller to the author, 6 May 1992.
(author's collection).
6. Carlisle Journal, 30 June 1939.
7. Letter from Alex. Hood to the author, 4 February 1985.
(Collection of author).
8. Aberdeen Daily Journal, 15 August 1922.
9. Ibid.
10. Letter from D. Morren to the author. 16 January 1985.
(Collection of author).
11. C.G. Powell, An Economic History of the British Building Industry 1815- 1979, (London: Architectural Press, 1980),
p.116.
12. Office Records of Messrs J. & G. Mossman.
13. McLaren, Sixty Years in an Aberdeen Granite Yard, p.22.

14. Ibid., p.11.
15. Letter from D. Morren.
16. Ibid.
17. Office Records of Messrs J. & G. Mossman,
and Messrs Beattie & Co.,
18. Figure quoted in W. R. Scott and J. Cunnison,
The Industries of the Clyde Valley During the War,
(Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1924), p.109.
19. The cost of building one destroyer was in the region of
£200,000. See J.R. Hume & M.S.Moss,
Beardmore-The History of a Scottish Industrial Giant,
(London : Heinemann, 1979). p.140.
20. Beardmore's built the 24R airship for £161,683. Figure
quoted in Hume & Moss, Beardmore, p.129.
21. Renfrewshire & Paisley Gazette, 5 March 1921.
22. Glasgow Herald, 26 December 1922.
23. Minutes of Rutherglen War Memorial Committee.
24. Bulletin, 24 October 1924.
25. Fife News Almanack, nd. but 1920.
26. Ibid.
27. Office records of Messrs J. & G. Mossman Ltd.
28. Airdrie & Coatbridge Advertiser, 30 June 1925.

29. Dunfermline Journal, 4 August 1921.
30. Minutes of Glasgow War Memorial Committee, 25 October 1925.
31. Glasgow Herald, 2 June 1924.
32. Minutes of Glasgow War Memorial Committee, 26 May 1919 .
33. Gerard Hardach, The First World War 1914-1918,
(London: Allen Lane, 1977), p.286.
34. Alan S. Milward, The Economic Effects of the Two World Wars on Britain, (London: Macmillan, 1970), p.14.

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

ARTISTIC RESULTS

- i. War and Peace & Iconography.
- ii. War Memorials - A Dying Art.
- iiior an Art Worth Dying For.

The stone remained, and the cross, to let us know
Their unjust, hard demands, as symbols do.
But on them twine and grow, beneath the dove,
Serpents of Wisdom whose cool statements show
Such understanding that it seems like love.

Norman McCaig,
from 'Celtic Cross'.¹

1. Norman McCaig, Penguin Modern Poets No 21,
(Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1972), p.86.

CHAPTER FOURTEEN- PART ONE

WAR AND PEACE & ICONOGRAPHY

"By now you'd got to the end of the East Wynd, to the Square where the War Memorial stood, the angel that looked like Miss McAskill".

Lewis Grassic Gibbon,
from Cloud Howe.¹

1. Lewis Grassic Gibbon, A Scots Quair,
(Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1986), p.281.

War memorials were substitutes for gravestones. They were to help those bereaved to come to terms with the death of their loved ones and to express the view that it had been a noble and just cause in which they had sacrificed their lives. War memorials are symbols with meanings. They express the values of their age and contain the message which those who erected them wished to convey to future generations as well as the post 1914-18 one. The lasting values which they sought to express were, however, sometimes lost on subsequent generations.

There are few more graphic descriptions of the symbolism of war memorials than that given by Vansittart who recalled that as a schoolboy not only did "Armistice Day (come) round, curiously contemporary to Guy Faulkes Day"¹ but that they all "gathered before the War Memorial on which an embossed sword was already turning green, as if septic from the bodies it had slashed".²

Certainly, bronze swords did appear on all of Blomfield's Crosses of Sacrifice and on all its plagiarised variations as well as on many other monuments. These swords are now, in most cases, green in colour and on lots of memorials they have also 'bled' green down the face of the stonework. This verdigris staining the face of memorials has added most poignantly to Vansittart's already vivid picture. These swords are upturned and thus, in fact, become crosses - true crosses of sacrifice - and now denied any bloodletting role they are now true symbols of peace. In art, swords had frequently been an "attribute of the Christian martyr"³ as well as being the symbol of justice while the cross was not only the symbol of Christ's sacrifice but of the Christian religion. In a very real sense, therefore, the cross or sword did represent sacrifice and martyrdom in a great cause.

It is not surprising that, as in most sculpture, there was much iconography and symbolism attached to war memorials in order to make them clearly distinct from other monuments and in order to express something of both the artists and their clients views on the war and

of those who died in it. War memorials were indeed to become "sermons in stone" and had much to tell the public when erected. They may have something to say to us in this day and age but for the most part they now arouse few emotions; generally they are overlooked. It was not always so. Once they commanded much attention even if not all were greeted with affection.

It is unlikely that monuments aroused the wrath that the one in the imaginary Kincardineshire town of Segget managed to provoke. In Cloud Howe the novelist Lewis Grassic Gibbon has colourfully, and not a little disrespectfully, told of one of the war memorials of the Mearns. He has written ⁴:

"They came to the Square...(Robert) had stopped and he said 'My God, what a slummock!' And Chris saw the thing that had now ta'en his eyes, the War Memorial of Segget town, an angel set on a block of stone, decent and sonsy in its stone night gown, goggling genteel away from the Arms, as though it wouldn't, for any sum you named, ever condescend to believe there were folk that took a nip to keep out the chill....

"Chris thought it was fine, a pretty young lass. But then as she looked at it there came doubts, it stood there in memory of men who had died, folk of this Segget but much the same still, she supposed, as the folk she had known in Kinraddie....Folk of her own, these folk who had died, out in the dark, strange places of earth and they set up THIS to commemorate THEM - this, this quaen like a constipated calf!

"Robert said 'may God forgive them this Horror!.....this trumpery flummery they put up in stone!'".

For Gibbon the imagery of the memorial did not strike a chord with his perception of the reality of life in Segget or of the War and for him an angel in stone was inappropriate and meaningless. One assumes the statue was of a winged Victory or Peace. Both were

popular choices for war memorial sculpture and generally the names were interchangeable - as if Peace could ever be the same thing as Victory. One may be the product of the other but they are scarcely similar. The memorial at Montrose was of just such a winged female figure and the Builder called it "the colossal statue of Victory" ⁵ while while the Glasgow Herald informed us that "the figure which crowns the memorial represents Peace".⁶

Hall, an expert on symbolism in art, has written ⁷:

"...the personification of victory as a winged, female figure was known to the ancient Greeks and Romans. She was the messenger of the gods, a kind of angel, who descended to earth to crown the victor in a contest of arms....Victory is rarely represented in the Middle Ages, but was revived in the Renaissance when she is seen bestowing a crown, usually a laurel, and a palm branch. Or, in allegories of military victory, she is surrounded by, or reclines on a heap of weapons".

Peace on the otherhand is an allegorical figure celebrating the end of war. She is usually winged and either holds an olive branch or wears a crown of olives and may also have a dove in attendance. Hall has stated "in Renaissance and Baroque art Peace is seen with a flaming torch setting fire to a a pile of weapons".⁸

Peace therefore may be akin to Victory but is clearly not the same thing.

In art the female figure appears in many guises. Warner has written ⁹:

"...the female guardian of virtue is a familiar English figure...she is sometimes termed Peace, Victory or Fortitude, sometimes Courage, sometimes Justice, sometimes Truth, sometimes she bears the name of the town where she has been

raised to central domination....But she is always feminine in bodily form and lovely of demeanour and expression, and she is militant, expressing her potency through weapons".

In Scotland she has seldom been adorned with weaponry and we do not have the familiar Justice, as on the roof of the Old Bailey, to dominate any of our skylines but we have maidens aplenty. On top of the dome of Glasgow's Mitchell Library stands one such damsel but in her hand she holds an open book for she is Literature (or Learning). On top of the Scottish Co-operative Building at the southern end of the city's Kingston Bridge is Unity. Progress looks down from the People's Palace on Glasgow Green. Edinburgh has Fame on the top of the Bank of Scotland on the Mound. An equally virtuous damsel graces the roof of the now appropriately named Angel Building at Paisley Road Toll on Glasgow's South Side but if she was ever symbolic of anything when placed there in 1912 people have long forgotten what she was intended to represent. Not so, the powerfully symbolic Liberty at New York harbour, the winged figure of Independence in Mexico City or the dominating matronly Mother Russia figure at Kiev, an imperial matriach if ever there was one. The warlike amazon at Volgograd brandishes a huge sword and if she is not aggressive she is certainly fiercely defensive. She is a lady of action; the Scottish maidens are all truly angelic in bearing even if not by name.

Many Scottish war memorials are graced with female figures but they are more purposeful than militant. No matter what name she rejoices in, whether she be Peace or Victory or a combination of these titles as at Langholm, or Partick, or Elgin, (Plate No.13.) she is demure rather than strident. She is an angel not an amazon. At Alloa the figure represents the town herself (Plate No.14.), in Fraserburgh she is Justice personifying the British Empire and at Troon she is Britannia. Occasionally a symbolic male figure was used and Wick has a Peace and Victory in the guise of a Roman senator while both Kilmarnock and Kirkcudbright have Victors.

Frequently the imagery did not simply halt at the personification of an idea or virtue. David McGill's bronze Victor at Kilmarnock is a sadly downcast figure in a contemplative pose as he reflects on the high cost of the victory, perhaps not simply the cost as far as the town was concerned but the total cost in loss and suffering for the entire nation. It is a powerful almost anti-heroic image. Elsewhere the iconography is not only heroic but a shade self-righteous. In Fraserburgh, Justice has restrained Valour who is represented by an ordinary Scottish soldier while 'Alloa' is supported on the shoulders of four soldiers as they rise out of Flanders mud and Troon's Britannia holds Peace and Victory in her hand with the chains of bondage snapped.

There are many statues of our heroine holding a laurel wreath aloft but at Thurso she has also taken on the noble role of protecting a small helpless child. At Kirkcudbright the colossal male Victor with his great sword sword protects a child. At Halkirk in Caithness there is a mother and child - the widowed and the fatherless - with a suitable tearjerking inscription. At Ormiston a small male figure atop a lofty column has his arms outstretched and he represents the 'Sacrifice of Youth' and the young bronze lad on the Dollar monument also seems to echo that sentiment. The winged figure at Hawick, the 'Spirit of Youth', is seen as being triumphant over evil which is represented by the sword and snake at his feet. At Rutherglen a youthful Courage defiantly holds a banner and one newspaper referred to this work as being "Victory holding aloft the Banner of Hope".¹⁰ On top of that particular memorial has been placed a great bronze urn, the symbol of sacrifice although in many instances it was no doubt regarded as simply a funerary urn.

The knight in front of the Markinch memorial and the small bronze St George with the slain dragon at his feet at Kelso also suggest the triumph of good over evil. The Crusader-Knight on horseback at Paisley with four great-coated soldiers perhaps emphasised how many had regarded the war or at least how Britain liked to think of her

role in the war - a chivalrous crusade to rid Europe of an evil foe who threatened the civilised world.

Often the imagery was simple, straightforward and instantly recognisable but on occasions it was laboured and lost. At Glenelg, for example, Louis Deuchars' group consists of an angel representing Peace with the Cameron Highlander symbolic of Victory (though he is a somewhat sad figure, perhaps he too is sad at the cost of the victory and loss of comrades) and this Victory has come to the aid of Stricken Humanity, the scantily clad female figure kneeling before him. It is all just too complex and while it is doubtlessly a striking piece of sculpture it is an unsatisfactory memorial. Poor Deuchars toiled for two years on the project and Boreham has come to his aid claiming ¹¹;

"...despite the various adverse comments which have been aimed at the Rodinesque group from time to time, the locals are always quick to come to the defence of Louis Deuchars' last work for Sir Robert Lorimer".

Quite how it could be regarded as 'Rodinesque' defies analysis and yet it is one of the few memorials in the Highlands that could be claimed to be 'art' and even if one did not particularly admire it there is no escaping the fact that it is the most impressive and certainly the largest piece of sculpture in the West Highlands. In an area almost devoid of sculpture that may be damning it with faint praise, but it is praise nonetheless.

Sculpture in remote Highland villages have not been the only ones to have received adverse comment. The sculptor Derwent Wood had taught at Glasgow School of Art at the turn of the century and had enhanced Kelvingrove Art Gallery with some fine statuary but perhaps his most controversial piece was also his best known and most public. At Hyde Park Corner stands his nude David holding a great sword rather than bearing a sling. He commemorates, as Beattie has rather harshly put it, "with sickening irrelevance the dead of the Machine

Gun Corps".¹² Even the memorial's inscription - "Saul has slain his thousands, but David his ten thousands" - came in for attack and before long questions were raised in Parliament. Someone wondered "is it really the opinion that memorials to the dead in the war should contain references to the amount of slaughter?"¹³ Penney has informed us that "soon parsons were writing to the Times with suggestions for less bellicose texts."¹⁴ The officers of the Machine Gun Corps and the Office of Works largely ignored all the furore for, as has been shrewdly observed, "removing an inscription was anyway a more troublesome business than adding one."¹⁵ A veteran member of the Corps has affectionately referred to the memorial as "The Boy David" and few could deny his view that it was indeed "a fine statue".¹⁶ Though the regiment was disbanded in 1922 its ex-members, though rapidly dwindling in number, long continued to meet at the memorial annually and until recently. Presumably they did so because they held the memorial in high regard.

Derwent Wood had stated that he "felt it impossible to represent a machine gun in an artistic way".¹⁷ The sculptor J. S. Jagger did, in the nearby Artillery Memorial, attempt to treat weaponry in an artistic way and while he did toy with the idea of using a real gun he settled for a marble one - the monument is crowned with a giant 9.2 inch howitzer of white marble. The howitzer had been one of the most powerful and thus deadliest of weapons used by the Royal Artillery Regiment and yet here in chaste and beguiling simplicity it adorns the memorial. The purity of the marble is the complete antithesis of the ugliness of war. That gun and the bronze soldiers - one is actually in the recumbant position as if lying on top of his tomb just like the tombs of kings in Westminster Abbey - together with the bronze relief panels of warfare which surround the memorial do not glorify war. All are all grim reminders that war is deadly. The sculptor has attempted to depict war in stark realism for this is no monument for the faint-hearted: this a memorial about the tragedy and destruction that is war. Few Scottish memorials are so powerful or so potent in their message.

A somewhat weak comparison can be found at Pollokshields where a tall elegant cross of Peterhead granite has much iconography carved on its face including a peaceful lamb. It is also one of the few Scottish memorials which has a bold relief of victorious David complete with severed head of Goliath at his feet - representing the victory of right over evil. It is scarcely belligerent but it is certainly not condemnatory of war and warfare - it is simply symbolic and for the most part its iconography has been ignored even if understood. Few people 'read' memorials. They are the unread 'sermons in stones'.

Many of the memorials erected in the aftermath of the Anglo-Boer War were militaristic and aggressive in concept with bronze bayonets pointing threateningly at passers-by. They had received much criticism for their jingoism. Most of the 1914-18 vintage were more pacific in tone. Many like the one at Udney (Plate No.15.) have a soldier with head bowed mourning a lost comrade. Generally they are muted in their glorification of war.

The Scottish Great War memorials did not all adopt Biblical or Classical mythological figures or symbolically grieving soldiers: some were to depict idealised soldiers in action. The Cameronians (Scottish Rifles) Memorial at Kelvingrove (Plate No.16.) is a rare exception for it is episodic and seems to have captured in bronze, and for all time, a grim moment of real warfare. A machine-gunner points a lethal Lewis gun at all who venture near the Art Galleries. The bronze group is believed to depict a sergeant going 'over the top' symbolic of victory while to his right lies a sacrificial body of a young officer and to his left "a Lewis gunner covers the advancing troops, signifying the dogged determination of the men of the regiment".¹⁸ Such symbolism is certainly not instantly recognisable and it seems more realistic and heroic than a bronze lesson on moral philosophy.

Other soldiers in action can be seen on other memorials but they are not depicted in such a grimly realistic way: they are more

symbols of an idea. At Dingwall a kilted soldier thrusts forward with his bayonet in a somewhat aggressively defensive role but Cambuslang's alert young soldier is about to draw his revolver in what is undoubtedly a defensive rather than offensive act. At Kinghorn a kneeling sailor holds a shell while a soldier comrade stands behind him and at both Buckie and Largs are other groups of servicemen but the action in all cases is subdued - they are comrades in war, rather than comrades at war. Kirkcaldy's Cenotaph has decorative bronze panels depicting battleships, tanks and guns, airships and bi-planes with sailors, soldiers and airmen in action. While they are all 'stills' from violent and heroic action the fact that they are simply applied decorative panels to an empty tomb seems to have weakened their aggressive tendency. The panels in reinforcing the violent nature of war may have perhaps helped the Kirkcaldy Bereaved come to terms with their loss - a heroic and sacrificial death was perhaps not quite so wasteful.

Wars are, by their very nature, about people being hurt and about death and destruction. Some memorials attempted to convey something of the suffering and loss. Oban has two soldiers carrying a wounded comrade from the field of battle and, of course, Bearsden has her Victory supporting a fallen soldier. At Renfrew one of the relief panels has an angel of Peace laying a wreath on a soldier's grave. Coalsnaughton's bronze panel has a soldier attending a cross-marked grave and at Carnoustie a fine stone soldier lays a wreath at the grave of a fallen comrade. These few memorials are in rather a unique group for they depict the wounded, the suffering and death with no hint of excitement or glamour.

Suffering could, of course, be transformed into gallant action. At Fettes, the young officer of one of the Highland regiments cut down in the heat of the action exhorts his men to "Carry on" - such is the stuff of heroism and the Hollywood epic. At Callendar a bold relief Highlander holds aloft a Fiery Cross - an age-old call to take up arms and fight for the clan's cause and for the clans to unite to fight in a common cause - the stuff of romantic Scottish

fiction. Both memorials encourage us to be proud of the way our men had fought and died and of the way they responded to the call to arms.

This is clearly the message of the memorial in Princes Street Gardens where the youthful soldier has answered "The Call" to take up arms. He is representative of the common soldiers who had offered themselves up in their millions and one by one to fight for their country. Tait McKenzie has truly captured youthful idealism and eager willingness in his 'Spirit of 1914' figure. The Recruiting Party relief panel behind the seated figure combines with the young soldier to tell the story of the response to that call. The memorial is more about duty than militarism and the young soldier is more charming than aggressive.

For the most part sculptors of the post World War One era, if they did choose to depict a soldier, opted to make their work sadly symbolic with their soldiers having heads bowed and hands on upturned rifles - reverse order, being the military parlance - a token of mourning. Lots of granite soldiers adopt this stance and so also do the splendid bronze ones at Newmains and Penpoint. Among the saddest is the young soldier, scarcely more than a boy, who is the marble figure at Lochmaben for he too is in mourning for the loss of fallen comrades from his home village, his recent classmates in the local school, for it was young soldiers, more or less boys, who perished.

Many towns and villages chose a typical Scottish soldier and there are numerous examples in stone and bronze sprinkled across the country, from St. Margaret's Hope in Orkney to Canonbie in Dumfriesshire. Birnie Rhind's soldier in a great coat at Prestonpans, Alexander Proudfoot's Cambuslang figure (modelled on a local man Private John McAlpine), Minto's soldier by Thomas Clapperton (based on the head he had previously sculpted of the Hon. Esmond Minto, Younger of Minto, who had fallen in the war) and Alexander Carrick's soldiers at Walkerburn, Blairgowrie, Killin, Forres, and Dornoch all

reflect local pride rather than glorification of war. They are fine memorials as well as fine examples of the sculptor's art.

One of the most aggressive symbols is the British lion on top of the Grangemouth memorial. There he crushes the German Eagle rather like the scene depicted on the exergue of Memorial Plaque. There is a somewhat imperious lion at Aberdeen and another at Motherwell, a pair of rather sleepy ones at Glasgow, a charming little one at Sprouston and an elegant bronze one at Lugar but all these lions are more regal than jingoistic. Burnet had used lions on the the King Edward VII Galleries which he had added to the British Museum and stone lions had been used by David Bryceto guard the Hamilton Mausoleum but lions had long been symbolic of strength and the Resurrection as well as simply Britain's imperial might.

While doves of peace can be seen on a few memorials if one looks hard enough for them, the only bird to figure prominently is the pelican feeding her young at Tranent and at George Heriot's School. A pelican piercing her breast to feed her young with her own blood was long regarded as a symbol of sacrifice.

Try as one might and no matter how one is to view them as works of art our war memorials are, for the most part, not a particularly warlike breed. While one may lament that they ought have been more pacific one must realise they were products of their time and reflect the values of their time. They had to interpret and make sense of a great loss. Britain had emerged victorious after a bitter and costly struggle. These are the memorials the ruling elites wished us to have and depicted the message they wished to convey. If funds had not been quite so limited we might have got a few more fine ones and perhaps even a little more imagination; more quality and less quantity.

A few years ago a touring exhibition, "The Cenotaph Project - The Class of Rulers", set out to examine "the role of public sculpture as a possible embodiment of a ruling class's authority over the rest

of society".¹⁹ The two artists involved, Stuart Brisley and Maya Balcioglu, sought to do this by erecting 7'0" high timber replicas of the Whitehall Cenotaph in various locations. The Chapter Gallery in Cardiff and the Pearce Institute in Govan were among the venues chosen for the display and for discussion on its premise.

It is worthwhile to quote, at some length, from Brisley's notes in which he stated ²⁰:

"Could it be that expressions of consensus through the use of shared imagery is one of the answers preferred to the problem of 'law and order'?"

"It is worth to note that the fear of Bolshevism abroad and at home, the open dissent within the army were the real problems facing the Lloyd George coalition government at the end of 1918. Serious national problems, including economic recession and labour unrest were threatening the fabric of the democratic tradition.

"Could we argue that the relationship between the class of rulers and the rest of society, though unequal, cannot be as naked force - that naked force is inadequate to construct order and that power relationships by themselves are likely to create conflict. The exercise of authority therefore has to be mediated through commonly recognised symbols..."

".... The public monument in itself symbolises a specific set of conditions all brought to bear in the form of a monument, which also represents another set of relationships between the state, the class of rulers, and the rest of society. The Cenotaph is a typical example. It stands somewhere between the categories of architecture, monument and sculpture. It represents through its form as the 'empty tomb' all those who died in the 1st, 2nd and all subsequent wars fighting for the causes of the 'nation'".

It may be entirely feasible to claim, as Brennan has done, that "public monuments are manifestations of the authority exerted by the ruling class over the rest of society".²¹ Equally no one could flaw the artists' statement ²²:

"The Whitehall Cenotaph in London was built in 1919 as a monument to all those who had died in the First World War...it was built at a time when serious national problems faced the Lloyd George coalition government: recession, labour unrest, dissent within the army and the fear of bolshevism both at home and abroad".

While there is much that appeals in the theory, one feels that by over-stating the case it is somehow weakened. Memorials had a indoctrinatory role to instil patriotism and good citizenship and were possibly conceived as having an aim of social control even if crudely defined, it is hard to envisage too underhand a role for them.

It is surely an oversimplification to claim that they were a response to discontent as the writer to Chapter has claimed. He believed "Lloyd George commissioned the full scale monument in stone... in response to public demand and political unrest".²³ Surely the temporary plaster and wood cenotaph in Whitehall proved to be popular, as far as one could gauge its popularity, and thus in response to the perceived popularity and therefore imagined public demand it was re-constructed in stone: it is difficult to understand, and impossible to measure, how it may or may not have helped calm political unrest. All the impressive Soviet war memorials did not prevent the collapse of the Soviet Bloc. To imply that revolution could be averted by the building of the Cenotaph would suggest that the Government had things rather firmly under control and that there really had been little threat to the established order. Building war memorials seems hardly a creditable substitute for creating revolution.

The Cenotaph, indeed all war memorials, may have been the result of political expediency and indeed all may reflect the authority of the ruling class but it is surely the quantum leap to suggest they had more sinister aims and surely folly to suggest that they were successful in those aims. If there was to have been a revolution it surely would have required more than a cenotaph let alone war memorials by the barrow-load to quell it. Maybe those who search for the lost revolution have not found it in war memorials and if they have indeed stumbled on the embryonic one then the ruling elites found a surprisingly effective if cynical means of averting the real thing! It certainly does not say much for the power or the sense of the bulk of society if they were so readily and so cheaply bought off.

Lutyens believed that it was letter which he had sent to the Cabinet which induced them into constructing the Cenotaph in stone because he considered it had succeeded in capturing the nation's mood. (Quite how, he did not explain!) His wife, Lady Emily, wired him ²⁴:

"I had to send you a telegram. I was so excited over the announcement that your memorial (the Cenotaph) was to be permanent after all...I long to read your letter which moved the Cabinet so deeply. I hope you have kept a copy as it will become an historic document, something which actually moved a government to do the right thing!"

The Cenotaph had undoubtedly a simple dignity which made it so successful a memorial. Blythe has stated ²⁵:

"It was more like an altar than a tomb but it was refreshingly pure in concept and quite different to any other monument in the capital. The idea had been cool, correct and adequate, and the King had liked it from the beginning".

As a monument it has had few critics and indeed exact replicas were to be erected by Lutyens in Derby and Manchester. Lots of towns and

cities opted for a variation on the theme. Kirkcaldy, Hamilton, Dunfermline and Coldstream all have one; Alexandria in the Vale of Leven has a very fine one; Glasgow has a high profile one in its busiest square.

Teggin et al have written of Glasgow's memorial ²⁶:

"(It) has a timeless quality which may spring from Lutyens Whitehall stroke of genius. Symbolism at its purest form without any human form to compromise its abstract meaning. Only the lionesses facing the Square crouch sentinel to the memory of those that died; without aggression, proud but not dominant. In its way the cenotaph strikes completely the note of the end of an era."

The architectural historians Gomme and Walker were less than enthusiastic. They believed that Burnet should "not be congratulated on his Cenotaph".²⁷ That seems an unnecessarily harsh judgement for what is a fine monument. Perhaps it is simply in the wrong location since it partly obscures the entrance to that more powerful symbol of civic pride - the City Chambers.

Very few memorials have provoked much response, whether of pleasure or of downright dismay. Yorke has noted memorials were "invariably commissioned by a committee seeking a safe academic rendering and few have much merit as works of art, or move us by their poignancy".²⁸ One notable exception was the memorial at the University of Leeds. First conceived of as a memorial to the employees of London County Council who had died in the war its subject was to be Christ expelling the money changers from the temple. The idea was rejected by the LCC. Eric Gill speculated as to their reasoning ²⁹:

"...p'raps they took fright...or were insulted at the awful suggestion that London were a commercial city or that England

were a Temple from which a money-changer or two might not be missed".

The Vice-Chancellor of Leeds University, a noted patron of the arts, liked Gill's work and he was also "an adept organiser and able to get his ideas through University committees".³⁰ As Yorke wryly noted "he was to need all his diplomacy before the memorial was finally unveiled".³¹ Critics disliked it for a host of reasons - its modern dress, its pawnbrokers with their sign, and for its cash-book with 'LSD' written on it. Its message seemed to point at rich manufacturers who had benefited the University, lost their sons in the fighting and thus now paid for this memorial. Almost no-one saw it has depicting Gill's supposed idea of a struggle between Justice and Greed. When the sculptor published an explanation of his iconography it was regarded as both flippant and patronising and thus simply raised a few more hackles.

When eventually unveiled, Vice-Chancellor Sadler lamented in his diary ³²:

"He (Gill) departed egregiously (without telling me until it was too late) from the earlier design he had chosen. And he broke his word by publishing at the worst moment of acute controversy and sending down to Leeds, a contentious political interpretation of the Memorial's significance. The Memorial is a fine piece of work but not nearly as good as it might have been".

The monument was to continue to have a controversial career. As Yorke has noted ³³:

"This sermon in stone survived a subsequent Vice-Chancellor's attempt to choke it with ivy and its later move indoors. It is now approached down a broad shallow flight of steps into the dim foyer of the Arts Building. The work is set on the ground...making the figures dwarfish and enacting their little

drama below eye-level...and in close up the surface is now chipped and scaly. Still, there is rhythm and haste to the money changers' retreat before the vigorous swing of Christ's whip (but) one suspects it attracts few glances and no controversy today".

Seldom has the symbolism, let alone a memorial as an entity, come in for so much criticism, indeed memorials have scarcely merited discussion. Occasionally symbolism which had never even been intended could be readily accepted by those who desired to take symbolism out of it. At the unveiling of Kitchener's Memorial Tower, on the bleak clifftops at Marwick Head near where HMS Hampshire had come to grief, Lord Horne declared "the massive tower portrayed the character of Lord Kitchener strong and determined, upright and enduring".³⁴ One might equally have said it was cold, aloof, distant, stormy or temperamental! Having the same characteristics is not symbolism. Kitchener's Tower has its great appeal because of its total absence of symbolism. Its sheer austerity on its grim setting is its greatest asset as a memorial: its lack of plea to the emotions is the very key to its success. Even today it is difficult to view it and not feel a lump in one's throat. Its lack of symbolism has made it almost symbolic of tragedy, making it altogether a more satisfactory memorial than the iconographic clutter at Glenelg.

Curll has sensibly observed ³⁵:

"Allegorical figures mean little to the average person, while lugubrious angels, naked heroes in classical poses, and mock-heroic images of war can attract ridicule or induce a sense of outrage in those who have taken part in the deadly, numbing, dehumanising horrors of battle".

Much of the iconography of war memorials had been tastefully enough executed and any sense of outrage has weakened with the passage of

time. They are now simply symbols of their age and their meanings are no longer understood or acceptable.

We have been bequeathed an abundance of memorials and a few interesting tales. The Great War has left us a great legacy of monumental art, much of it rich in symbolism but the overriding question has to be - was it good art?

CHAPTER FOURTEEN - PART TWO

WAR MEMORIALS - A DYING ART

"Monumentality does not necessarily imply size; it can mean that a sculpture has the static grandeur of a monument, regardless of actual size".

Nigel Konstam. ¹

1. N. Konstam, Sculpture - The Art and the Practice, (London: Collins, 1984), p.15.

As we have already noted Geoffrey Skene's uncle realised that after the war there would "be a lot" ¹ of war memorials required. It was an accurate assessment - there were indeed to lots. Almost every village of any size was to get its very own memorial and every city and town would have at least one. Blythe has observed ²:

"...sculptors worked overtime on the great stream of commissions ...from regiments, schools, corporations, parish councils, colleges, railway stations and every hamlet, village, town and city in the country, carving in stone the names of a million dead".

A noted craftsman of the period, Peter Morton, has written of his own work ³:

"...many hundreds of memorials (were) wanted, and hundreds of thousands of letters (had) to be set out and cut...several years (were) so spent. Carving regimental badges, and incising names on tablets and panels constituted the output of many in the early nineteen-twenties".

It had been without doubt the greatest single opportunity for creating memorials to date and there was nothing and there remains nothing to suggest that a similar opportunity would ever or will ever be repeated.

War memorials were not a new art form. The Victorian art historian E. Roscoe Mullins believed ⁴:

"It will probably be found that vigorous and healthy epochs in art are generally associated with stirring times. Thus when a nation's feelings are roused in a noble cause, such as in war for self-defence, or glowing admiration for some specially noble character, then sculptors will have most scope. And the more imagination and poetry there is in a nation, the more will its feelings find vent in symbolic statuary, and its

appreciation of great leaders in monuments raised to their honour".

A more recent commentator on the arts' scene considered that since the end of our cathedral building days "there had been little sculpture produced in England except for war memorials and a few distinguished equestrian pieces".⁵

The Great War's aftermath had been a real opportunity for sculptors. There perhaps never had been a more stirring time, nor a more noble cause with so many noble characters, and yet one can only sadly conclude that there was both a lack of "imagination and poetry" in the nation. While many sculptors and architects rose to the occasion and produced some fine monuments, for the most part war memorials were to be an uninspired and mediocre bunch. Ferguson has stated⁶:

"Thousands and thousands of war memorials went up all over the country but it is hard to recall a single one of any real distinction".

That may be a trifle severe but his statement contains much truth. In the Secretary of State for Scotland's lists of buildings of architectural and historical interest precious few war memorials are 'listed' as being of architectural merit. There are possibly under two score listed in the entirety of Scotland and yet there are over one thousand memorials on the ground. One may, of course, and with some justification claim that many more ought to have been included in the 'lists' but one would be over-generous to the extreme if one pushed the tally of fine ones beyond 100. The fact remains that for the most part they are an unimpressive breed of little artistic merit.

It is impossible not to conclude that war memorials were a lost opportunity. All the good advice which had been offered in such abundance had fallen on deaf ears and had been largely ignored.

Committees set about doing their own thing in their own way and within the strict financial constraints of the sums of money they had ingathered. The ruling elites who supposedly gave us these to thwart revolution should be damned for their sheer tastelessness and meanness rather than for their astuteness. If the general public had been bought off by mere war memorials it deserves to be damned for having been bought off without much opposition and by such second-rate monuments.

Procuring a war memorial was without doubt a difficult task and it may be that many committees would have preferred other options, monumental or functional, had the money been available in greater quantities. The results of all their efforts are still there for all to see. It is what is that counts not what might have been. It would seem that in the art of monument making very little had been learned in spite of its long pedigree. Perhaps, quite simply war memorials were an impossible subject. All that had been learned was simply how to make more of them, i.e. how to mass-produce them in order to meet the high demand. Perhaps if every village had not opted to have its very own memorial we would not only have had fewer monuments but we might have got some finer ones. "If" is always the problem. We, however, have to deal with what happened rather than what might have happened 'if' things had been otherwise. It is also, however, interesting to speculate on the possibilities.

Isherwood's war widow Lily was present at the unveiling of her local war memorial and at which there was the usual sniffing and clearing of throats. The writer tells how Lily ⁷;

"...with an effort withdrew her attention from these sounds and fixed it upon the Cross. She liked the design, and would have liked it a good deal better if there hadn't been so much ornamentation on the shaft. But it was in very good taste compared with the granite atrocities they were putting up in the neighbouring villages. She wondered what Richard would have thought of it".

This criticism of the abundance of unattractive granite memorials was not to be limited to the lay public as represented by Lily. It was possibly Isherwood's view and the noted art historian Eric Underwood also lamented the fact that sculptors were given few commissions. He bemoaned ⁸:

"...yet that horrible anachronism the outdoor tombstone is still with us, disturbing the cool greenery of many a country churchyard, and the 'monumental mason' thrives. It is to be assumed that he is mainly the author, too, of the mass-produced War memorials which disfigure our villages, and which for the most part consist of some sort of cross stuck up somehow, usually without any regard for environment or the appropriateness of material or manner".

The monumental mason had indeed been the author of very many memorials and as we have already noted they were mass-produced. Many were simply lettered and erected locally with the monument itself being supplied direct from one of the yards in Aberdeen, a city long established as the nations 'granite city', and long the source of supply for so many of the monuments and tombstones for cemeteries and churchyards. Some war memorials were but little better than the more elaborate of tombstones: many are aesthetically much worse. It is the routineness, the drabness, the lack of imagination and lack of artistic skill and even integrity that has made war memorials what they are. Perhaps the fact that there was an 'industry' making memorials be they tombstones or war memorials made it inevitable that they would be less artistic and merely more easily produced.

The Aberdeen granite yards saw a demand and went all out to supply it. It is possible to admire their entrepreneurial skill and industry even if one cannot find much to applaud in their aesthetic outpourings. They either produced what people wanted and cornered the market or an unknowing and ill-advised public looking more for durability and permanence as well as cheapness was coaxed into or

advised into buying a product which was skillfully and successfully marketed. Certainly artistic merit had not been high on the agenda.

The workmen in the granite yard cut to other mens' designs and as Van Zeller has noted "work done to another man's blueprint will inevitably lack something of the creative impulse which gives it life".⁹ He believed that any piece of sculpture should be the work of one man who would see it "through all its stages from the mental picture to the removal van".¹⁰ He also criticed the craftsman who had reduced himself to simply stone cutter. Such a man ¹¹⁻

"...carries out his own designs, (and) does not get a hack to do the manual side of the thing for him, (but who) may so work to a formula that it comes to the same thing in the end. The continuity is snapped not by a division of operation but by routine operation".

Van Zeller has assessed the problem of sculpture, and indeed it could well be applicable to the makers of war memorials. He has stated ^{12:}

"There are stone-cutters who have a pattern, in design and execution, from which they never depart. Carvings come away from their workshops having made no difference to them whatever. And they, the supposed creators, have made very little difference to the carvings. This is a kind of sculptural automation which often appears at the end of a tradition. If the day comes when the work of carving does nothing to the mind of the carver except awaken a desire to leave off when the hooter goes, then will the machine age have arrived indeed. Sculpture which has invoked no interior response from its creator cannot be expected to evoke much response from the spectator. At best such carving will look as if it had been done in sleep, at worst as if it had been done in hell".

Sadly, war memorials were not cut in hell, they were manufactured in Aberdeen where the yard's whistle roused men from their toil not from their sleep.

Not only in the mass produced war memorials but equally often in the one-off memorials the artist was some distance from the finished product. The Evening Standard has informed us that one sculptor, the creator of one of the most important of war memorials and who had his design executed from his model by the "uncannily skilled men who do such work (he) had to be shown how to hold a chisel and mallet when he wanted to make a slight alteration to the memorial".¹³ The sculptor Mark Batten has observed that "it is a sort of courtesy title to give the name sculptor to those who produce their work by modelling in clay".¹⁴ Be that as it may, however, this is not the place to discuss the merits of direct carving in stone: what most concerns us is the end product. It is the artistic result of the memorials which is paramount not the techniques and methods used in achieving that end product. One suspects that there will ever be debate about the virtues of direct carving and the technical and artistic skill of the carver as against those who are merely dismissed as modellers. There are very many fine pieces of statuary as well as many excellent war memorials that resulted from the hands of the modeller. There are also some pretty awful works from the hands of the direct carvers. War memorials can only be as good as the skill of the artist who created them, whatever the means.

Ian Finlay, the former Director of the Royal Scottish Museum and long considered an expert on Scottish art and craftsmanship, believed that some quality had emerged and that "in the streets of Edinburgh alone it is a simple matter to assess the advance made since the Boer war produced its memorials".¹⁵ Certainly there had been many critics of the memorials of the South African War and Weaver had remarked that they had "revealed the exceeding poverty in memorial design".¹⁶ It is difficult to imagine quite where Finlay had been looking - a few memorials on the streets of Edinburgh may

be better but for the most part they are are equally grim. We do not have Weaver's views on the war memorials of the Great War but it is impossible not to conclude that they are, for the most part, not a particularly inspired bunch.

Mullins has wisely noted that, broadly speaking, artists are the product of their time and their environment. They interpret values as well as express them. Mullins stated ¹⁷:

"...the sculptor only represents, as statesmen do, the feelings and thoughts of people contemporaneous with him. If they think nobly and have a high conception of the beautiful, then the sculptor will conceive noble thoughts and execute them in a beautiful way".

That being so, peoples's conception of what was beautiful was, and indeed remains, rather scant. That people got the memorials they deserved, or at least the memorials they seem to have wanted, seems to have been the hub of the matter. There were few voices raised in protest and, if anything, there was much disinterest.

In 1911, the distinguished sculptor Albert Toft believed that Britain had undergone a Renaissance in the sculptor's art. He had written ¹⁸:

"It is with the most hopeful feeling that we look around at the many workers in art today and seeing so much that is excellent in their work, we have no fear that any decadence will set in, but rather rejoice in the prospect that it will continue to hold the high position it now occupies in the world's achievement".

It was undoubtedly a personal and somewhat biased viewpoint. He may well have considered it an accurate assessment as far as sculpture was concerned but as a practising sculptor, and the artist of the South African War Memorial at Cardiff, Toft may have been a little

prejudiced as well as a trifle bombastic. The war memorials were not all to be by sculptors although one has to admit that those created by sculptors were generally of a superior artistic mould than those produced by granite yards. They were also generally more expensive. Funding largely dictated the shape of the memorial. Sculptors were only able to execute the memorials they were permitted to and not the amount they would have liked.

It is difficult to reach any other conclusion than that as far as war memorials were concerned the the Great War was a lost opportunity. The few very fine memorials have given a taste of what might have been. The hundreds of mediocre and dull monuments show the paucity of skill and imagination.

Mullins has possibly come up with the explanation for this. He had written many years earlier ¹⁹;

"...it is impossible for the people of any nation to learn discernment of what good art really is, if a large portion rarely see art in any form. And thus it is we find everywhere so much dross accepted for fine gold, because the public with us have not yet learnt to demand the best; and this for the simple reason they are ignorant as to what he best is.

"Let us therefore do all that lies in our power to nourish a love of beauty amongst the people: and one of the readiest means to this end is that they shall have frequent and easy accesss to the sight of beautiful things".

We can but lament the lack of discernment among those who put up our memorials. We might bemoan the fact that they have left us a legacy of few beautiful things, but yet the public is still no better informed.

The landscape architect G.A. Jellicoe was later to state that there was "a lack of satisfaction" with war memorials ²⁰ but this was due

to people not expressing what they wanted for the artist to interpret. He stated ²¹:

"The artist cannot, by creating a beautiful thing, make a war memorial. He may create a beautiful thing in bricks and stone, but in order to be a war memorial it must convey the people's idea".

There may be an element of buck-passing but the artist does not live in an ivory tower but is part of humanity and ought to be aware of people's needs and be able to interpret them in artistic ways. That the general public ought to be better informed is an insufficient reason for the artist to sell them anything short of the best.

Aberdeen granite yards provided the bulk of Scottish memorials and from similar pattern books fairly standard designs were accepted. Originality, imagination and vision were overlooked. Mass produced memorials satisfied the demand by a public which had never been educated to appreciate art or quality. Celtic Crosses which in such abundance come out of Aberdeen were accepted as being what was, if not best, at least fashionable in the realm of monumental art by an unknowing and undemanding public.

There was much that was unimpressive about the war memorials of the past and yet there have been fine memorials of all ages. Perhaps the sheer volume of numbers in the aftermath of the Great War was just too great and the mass-produced variety the only means of readily satisfying the demand. A few Great War memorials are of the highest artistic creativity but most are humdrum. The range of monumental designs was never very great, the post 1914-18 world truly revealed the lack of artistic vocabulary. Perhaps, after all, war memorials were an impossible subject. Whittick in 1946 suggested "in the English Cenotaph there is a tacit admission that the task of expression was too big".²² The nation was bankrupt in a very visual sense.

CHAPTER FOURTEEN - PART THREE

....OR AN ART WORTH DYING FOR.

"For artists, no more than politicians, can be above their age, except in very rare instances, but they will, as a rule, take colour from the time in which they live, and only in a small degree can they raise or lower the taste of the age".

E. Roscoe Mullins. ¹

1. E. Roscoe Mullins, A Primer of Sculpture,
(London: Cassell & Co., 1889), p.108.

The architectural historian James Stevens Curl was, in 1985, able to claim ¹:

"...memorials have long been out of favour among certain elderly pundits who still believe in the attitudes affected in their youth. Those attitudes have been handed down to younger generations: monuments and memorials do not enjoy favour in contemporary British society, for death and its celebration are taboo subjects works of the noblest conception and finest execution, like the Royal Artillery Memorial at Hyde Park Corner, have been ignored or else sneered at and ridiculed".

Certainly that particular memorial has had more than its fair share of criticism. Lord Curzon's evaluation of it was that it resembled "a toad squatting, which is about to spit fire out of its mouth....nothing more hideous could ever be conceived". ² The art critic Geoffrey Grigson later borrowed on that derisory comment when he contemptuously dismissed the mighty monument as "a squat toad of foolish stone".³ Since then there has been a little reversal in its fortune. Charles Sergeant Jagger's work was resurrected from neglect by a major exhibition held at the Imperial War Museum in 1985.

It was unfortunate that such a fine memorial should have had so much scorn heaped upon it but at least it did provoke response, even if of a negative variety. Most war memorials do not rate a second glance or a spot of ink let alone arouse any feelings. Very few memorials have warranted the justifiable praise that has now been lavished upon this memorial. Curl has written⁴:

"The Royal Artillery Memorial is exactly right, for it is crowned by a mighty gun, familiar to all artillerymen; it is free from sentimentality; its reliefs have the vigour yet the control of an Assyrian hunt or a Hellenistic battle scene; like many of the most successful monuments of history it has

elements of a pyramidal composition; and the sublime, serene, and wonderfully balanced composition suggests might, terror, sacrifice, resignation, and homage. This is no 'toad of foolish stone': it is a work of the highest quality and distinction".

Whether ours is "a generation that loathes monuments, commemoration, or any attempt to record death or suffering"⁵ it is certainly true that all generations since the Great War have largely shunned its war memorials. Whether they are shunned because they are poor art or because of what they stand for is the problem. It may be that what they represent is no longer acceptable and they simply no longer have any relevance. Few names on any memorial now matter to anyone.

One can assume that they have, by and large, been ignored by art and architectural historians because they are in the aggregate a pretty abysmal lot monumentally and artistically. There are just so many awful ones that, perhaps not surprisingly, even the few notable ones have got overlooked. Individually there are some very fine memorials but in toto they are mediocre to the extreme and they reveal all that is worst in monumental art.

Being so numerous they were all treated as commonplace and thereby almost all were ignored by everyone. In the general revulsion, however, art historians have overlooked some notable examples of the architect and mason's skill as well as some fine pieces of sculpture. In throwing out the bath water they have also discarded some beautiful babies.

The sculptress Kathleen Scott was present at the unveiling of her Huntingdon War Memorial and her diary provides one of the few records of an artist's feelings about their work in this field. At the unveiling, she noted ⁶:

"...my brooding Soldier was looking down kindly on it all. It was terribly moving. I never dared to hope my Soldier would look so fine and such a beautiful birth. The folk were lovely to me about it, and indeed it does look well".

In Scotland there are some excellent soldiers who do indeed 'look well'. Among the finest are Kellock Brown's soldiers at Inveraray, Johnstone, Kilmaurs and Penpoint. Alexander Carrick has a whole string of both bronze and stone figures including those at Dornoch, Forres, Killin, Loch Awe, St. Margaret's Hope and Walkerburn. Birnie Rhind, who had began his career carving the great Black Watch Memorial at Aberfeldy in 1887, executed fine soldiers at Kelty and Prestonpans as well as the group of servicemen at Buckie and the heroic 'Carry On' statue at Fettes. The bronze soldier at Newmains, supplied by the Messrs Gaffen & the Carrara Marble and Granite Works (Frontispiece), is especially fine as is Alexander Proudfoot's soldier at Cambuslang.

The Border Sculptor, Thomas Clapperton executed superb bronze soldiers at Minto and Canonbie and of the latter, a soldier with bowed head, Clapperton has stated: "the idea (was) to represent an infantryman, just back from the firing line and paying a personal tribute at the grave of a fallen comrade".⁷ Less reverential but more excitingly dramatic are Arthur Walker's kilted Gordon at Keith, the bayonet-wielding Seaforth at Dingwall by John Stevenson, and, of course, Phillip Lindsay Clark's Cameronian group at Kelvingrove. These last three memorials were the work of English sculptors but those from the South of the Border were by no means more militaristic in their thinking than those on this side of the divide. English sculptors like Henry Fehr (at Lockerbie and Langholm), F. Doyle Jones (at Partick), Walter Gilbert (at Troon and Clydebank), all produced Peace or Victory type figures as did their Scottish based counterparts - Pilkington Jackson (at Rothesay), Harry Gamley (at Cupar and Montrose), George Paulin (at Denny and Milngavie), Percy Portsmouth (at Elgin and Thurso) and Alexander Proudfoot (at Greenock). Possibly the most impressive of

all the statuary are the two allegorical items at Fraserburgh and Kirkudbright where Alexander Carrick's 'Justice Restraining Valour' and Paulin's 'Courage Protecting Innocence'.

The monumental mason Robert Gray, having secured the commission for the Rutherglen War Memorial, wrote to the Secretary of the Committee inviting them to visit George Paulin's studio to see for themselves the statue of Courage which was destined to be placed on their memorial. In Gray's view the sculptor had done a fine job - "I consider the figure a masterpiece and I feel sure your committee will be thoroughly satisfied".⁸ When the statue was put on the memorial he expressed his view that "the figure is particularly good and I feel sure it will give satisfaction".⁹ Many of our war memorials are particularly fine and many have indeed given satisfaction but too few opportunities were given to sculptors and others to create many more fine monuments. These fine memorials merely give a foretaste of what might have been the norm rather than the exception had things been otherwise.

An innate timidity and conservatism on the part of committees may have meant they played safe. There may also have been a comparative dearth of talent, or an unwillingness to use certain talent.

Apart from a most handsome little stone cross on the site of the battlefield, the Battle of Hornshole of 1514 was commemorated by a splendid equestrian statue sited on Hawick's High Street. It depicts one of the Hawick Callants who holds aloft the English standard captured when English marauders were routed not long after the Battle of Flodden. The statue had been erected just before the Great War - in fact, it had only been unveiled on 4 June 1914. It was the work of William F. Beattie who rose through the ranks to become a major, was awarded the Military Cross, and while serving in France was killed in 1918. A native of Hawick, this was to be Beattie's only known piece of public sculpture and therefore that memorial was also in sense a memorial to his artistic prowess. Who can tell what fine war memorials he might have produced had he

survived the war if it represents the sort of things he was capable of doing before the war. We, as a nation, are undoubtedly much poorer for the loss of such a talent.

In 1914 a disillusioned Charles Rennie Mackintosh foresook his native city and went South but in England the commissions, which he had hoped would come his way, were to largely elude him. Among the saddest of the items in the Archives of the University of Strathclyde are the few drawings Mackintosh produced of war memorials for an undisclosed village or town. They are quite simply entitled "a war memorial in a public place" and "a memorial fountain in a public place".¹⁰ He, no doubt, hoped that he would be able to tout for business by showing them to interested parties and thereby obtain a war memorial commission or two. Whether he did submit these ideas to any war memorial committee is not known but in any event they were never built. There are no C.R.Mackintosh war memorials although the few extant tombstones together with these sketches show that we are all the losers. In recent years Glasgow has acquired a new Mackintosh house (the Art Lover's House in Bellahouston Park) and a few of his designs for street lighting columns have been turned into reality and now grace parts of the city but no one has seen fit to build one of his war memorials. The Falklands and Iraqi wars even provided more recent opportunities for their execution. In his lifetime Mackintosh continued to be disappointed and dispirited and thus, with few commissions, he left England for Port Vendres on the Mediterranean in 1923. When he did return, in the autumn of 1927, he was dogged with ill health and died in December 1928. It had been a sad and unproductive end to what had begun as a glittering career.

Many architects entered competitions for war memorials and these had been a popular method of obtaining designs. All architects were not successful. Paisley's J. Steel Maitland designed a scheme for his home town but it was not the one to be built. Until recently the perspective of these proposals graced the public office of the architectural practice which had become his successor but alas both

they and the perspective have gone. Like so many street-level premises it has become building society offices. No longer can that splendid drawing be seen through the window. Steel Maitland's impressive Russell Institute - at the corner of New Street and Causwayside Street - is a memorial to the Russell Brothers erected by their sister and though utilitarian - it is a clinic - it has much in the way of monumental quality that it well merits attention. The bronze statuary over the entrance door and the sculptural decoration, are by Archibald Dawson, all add to its general appeal and suggest that Scotland is somehow the poorer in not having a war memorial by Maitland. Although he had made the original model for the Proudfoot's Beardsen monument, Dawson seems to have only executed the panel on Balfron's memorial; he was capable of much more and not harnessing his talent seems another irreparable loss.

Mackintosh and Maitland were perhaps rather exceptional for almost every architect of the day seems to have a war memorial to his credit, even if not all the memorials are exactly creditable. A vast number of architects' offices produced designs for war memorials; some are very fine monuments. Lots of the great and famous were involved in the activity as well as many who are now almost as long forgotten as the names on the war memorials. Perhaps architect Major James Wood realised this likely outcome and therefore put his own name proudly on the Findochty memorial. The senior partner in the firm of Messrs Hislop and Welsh, Captain Alex. D. Hislop MC, designed the war memorials at Cardross and Aberuthven but he did not sign the work and he, too, has been sadly forgotten.

Having been a serving officer may have assisted in the securing of a war memorial commission but it was not an automatic way to ensure a busy war memorial practice. Sir Robert Lorimer had never been in uniform yet he carved a very busy career out of war memorials. Even if we are never to know how profitable it all was for him we can assume that, if nothing else, at least it may have opened a few doors for other and larger commissions if it was not a profitable

venture in itself. Most of the architects who had been successful prior to the war continued to enjoy success in the post-war world but that did not mean they were untouched by the war. They had witnessed their staff disappear into khaki and they had seen commissions dwindle to a trickle and thus a few war memorials would have been very welcome even if only to relieve the monotony.

George Washinton Browne designed many war memorials, including those at Haddington, Duddingston and Larbert, but he lost his three sons in the fighting or due to the effects of the war, and thus he had a very personal share in the nation's grief. He was not alone for James A. Morris of Ayr was to design memorials for Alloway, Dailly, Prestwick and Girvan but he lost his only son in the war. His personal loss was thus infinitely greater than any resulting financial gain or job satisfaction. He may have derived some income from the projects but, with some justification, he may have regarded any reward as less than just payment for architectural services rendered. The war memorials had exacted a heavy penalty.

A. Marshall Mackenzie of Aberdeen, the designer of Aberdeen's splendid art gallery extension, which incorporated the lion and colonnade of the war memorial, as well as fine memorials in Fochabers, Grantown-on-Spey, Nairn and Strathpeffer, lost his youngest son in 1916. His middle boy lost a leg in battle and only poor eyesight had kept his eldest son away from the Front line. Mackenzie may have thus put a little personal grief into monument making - he had paid a high price and one from which his family-run practice never recovered.

There are several examples of war memorials of note designed by architects and, of course, erected by others. It is a brief but impressive list both in variety and style. These include the richly classical Corinthian columned monument at Coatbridge (Mrs Burnet Hughes), the striking ruined temple on its headland site near Stonehaven (architect unknown but possibly Marshall Mackenzie), the dignified Roman gateway at Tayport (J. Donald Mills), the hilltop

Baronial towers at Forfar (T. R. Souter) and Stornoway (Hinton Gall). There are also handsome cenotaphs at Grangemouth, Hamilton, Alexandria and Coldstream and fine stone crosses at Ardrossan (P. Macgregor Chalmers) and at Douglas (A.N. Paterson). The many stone crosses by Lorimer, Reginald Fairlie and Geo. Washinton Browne have a chaste dignity that sets them apart from the granite ones produced in Aberdeen.

Monumental masons have deservedly had much criticism levelled against their work but they too were capable of doing some fine work when given the opportunity. Much of their better work was executed in alliance with architects and/or sculptors but nonetheless it illustrated what they could aspire to when not left to their own devices and to the lowest common denominator. Messrs J. & G. Mossman produced the handsome cross at Douglas, Messrs Scott & Rae created the excellent Mercat Cross at Renfrew and the handsome monument at New Stevenson. Robert Gray built the base for Paulin's Kirkcudbright group as well as Rutherglen's memorial. There are also a few pretty impressive granite soldiers around - the one at Inverurie being without doubt the finest but Robert Morrison's work at New Elgin, Tarland and elsewhere should not be underestimated.

Monumental masons do not and did not exist in a vacuum. They provide a service - they do not and did not operate with no regard to clients' needs. They provided memorials which people wanted and at prices for which they were prepared to pay. Cemeteries are sadly, if that is the word, full of their hideous stones because people have been prepared to pay for such nondescript pieces of granite. Our cemeteries today remind us of the low ebb to which an honourable craft had descended. If it could be derided in the past then how much greater the derision is currently due to that industry for 'monumental art' is a misnomer for something too ghastly to contemplate. It had regressed to the very depths. War memorials for all their limited worth merely mark the death throes of the monumental masons' craft. Monumental masonry was ever, so to speak, a dying art but now it has gone beyond the stage of being moribund ;

it may have itself died and its death has been both unlamented and ignominious.

The men who lost their lives and the loved ones they left behind paid dearly for the memorials erected in their honour. It is, therefore, all the more sad that memorials inadequately express the collective grief of a town or village and that not all monuments are of artistic merit. Too few memorials were worth shedding blood for let alone giving a life for: too many are little better than mediocre; many are much worse. Too few memorials are works of art. They once mattered because the names on them mattered. Now they have no relevance and people regard them with irreverence.

There are however a few monuments which are outstanding. The noted architectural historian Christopher Hussey has said of those at Paisley and Galashiels that they are "the two most memorable equestrian war memorials"¹¹ but this was surely an understatement. They are without doubt the two most memorable war memorials in Scotland and such is their artistic value that they would figure highly in any international list of such monuments.

The praise of Paisley's superb monument has already been sung. Mrs Meredith Williams had exhibited her small terracotta group 'The Spirit of the Crusades' at the Royal Scottish Academy in 1921 and Lorimer had seen its possibilities as a war memorial. Their entry therefore won the competition at Paisley. One can do little better than quote Hussey who declared ¹²:

"...the bronze group consists (of) a mounted crusader around whom are closely packed four heavily-accoutred khaki-clad soldiers of today. Footsore and crushed by heavy kit they press doggedly forward, the rhythm marked by the planes of their mackintosh sheets. The vertical lines of the mounted figure are in strong and uplifting contrast. The whole has unity and force. It is unfortunate that exigencies required the raising of Mrs. Meredith William's magnificent group so

high above eye-level. However, its architectonic qualities are not lost. On the contrary, the four corner figures act as finials to the corners of the lofty pedestal 25 ft. high. This is set on a level platform the south side of which projects in a bold curve raised above the sloping Place".

Though it is set high above eye-level and thus one can never truly appreciate the details of the crusader-knight and soldiers the overall massing is such that one can still appreciate the artist's skilful design and its rich iconography. It is a real work of art and one cannot praise it too highly.

The other memorial which well merits inspection as well as praise is that at Galashiels. H. V. Morton's In Search of Scotland is one of the few pieces of travel literature which has dealt with a war memorial in any meaningful way. In his praise of this memorial Morton has given us a fine piece of prose, almost poetic in its eloquence, and one which merits quotation in some detail. He has described the scene of his arrival at dusk one evening ¹³:

"I came in this hive of woollen mills on a thing of such beauty and strength that it might have been the vision created by a mind obsessed by the history of the Scottish Border...

"A perfect peel tower rises up in the night, a building of grey stone crowned with a triangular roof. There are narrow slits in the walls. The stone is new. The building is modern, but it is so good a reconstruction of a Border keep that it seems at first sight as though one of the many ruined towers along the Scottish Border had come suddenly to life and had marched into the square of Galashiels. Cut in front of the tower is a shrine lit by concealed lights which cast a golden flush over a bronze tablet containing the names of the men of Galashiels who died in the war. By some strange freak of light and shade two shadowy wings rise from the shoulders

of the sculptured figure of a woman who stands above the roll of honour bearing in each hand a laurel wreath".

If that were all it would have still have amounted to a very fine monument but as Morton has stated there is much more ¹⁴:

"But, magnificent as the tower is, strong and arresting as it is, the figure of a horseman on a plinth, set far enough from the main building to form a silhouette against the dimly lit shrine, simply takes the breath away. He is a Border 'reiver' in helmet and breastplate. An English eye would find him like one of Cromwell's Ironsides; a Scot's eye sees in him the ancient knight of the Borderland round whose daring deeds fully half the songs and stories of the Border have been sung and written. A sword hangs from his left thigh; a long lance is carried over his right shoulder. He has just reined-in his horse, almost on its haunches. He sits, a perfect, lifelike thing, his body easy in the saddle, his mind alert, and his eyes fixed on the distance. He is vivid: he is alive! As you look at him you half expect him to leap from the plinth towards the thing he sees so far off, or else suddenly to wheel his horse about and disappear in a waste of heather".

Though he is larger than life, though of bronze and though static the sculpture is nonetheless full of life and depicts heroic action so vividly that this monument has to be set apart from the others. Morton has continued ¹⁵:

"This superb inspiration is the tribute which the town of Galashiels has paid to the 'braw lads' who did not come home.

"If there are still towns in England engaged in planning war memorials I suggest that committees should visit Galashiels and learn a lesson. This memorial is the most imaginative I have seen, and I have inspected, with varying emotions, hundreds from one end of England to the other.

"But Galashiels has surpassed itself. If a vote were taken for the most perfect town war memorial in the British Isles mine would go to the peel tower and the horseman at Galashiels. It is so good that it should put this town....right on the tourist map. No one motoring into Scotland over the Border should miss this memorial".

Regretably there are few memorials about which one could write so rapturously. It is also regrettable that Morton felt no need to inform his readers of the men who had carried out the work to make this monument so much worthy of so much praise. It was perhaps one of the hazards of being a sculptor and as we noted at the beginning if this section sculptors frequently only achieved publicity in the form of criticism. Jagger has summed up the problems of being a sculptor¹⁶:

"He has chosen the most exacting, the most arduous, and the least appreciated of all the arts. Financially, the future will be a gamble, with the odds against him. Physically, he will need to be strong, because his mistress is without mercy and will demand every ounce of vitality he possesses and more....He must be prepared to spend a year upon a single work, and when it is finished hear it damned".

H.V. Morton ought to have credited Thomas Clapperton for the splendid horseman but today Clapperton has not been forgotten in the town which he did so much to adorn. As we have noted, a room in Old Gala House has been set out to display some of his work and tell us much about the man. His real memorial however is the dashing moss-trooper in front of the tower. Few sculptors have had their work praised so lavishly and so deservedly - no sculptor could want more. It truly was art worth dying for.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

CHAPTER FOURTEEN - PART ONE

1. P. Vansittart, Voices from the Great War,
(Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1983), p.xi.
2. Ibid.
3. James Hall, Hall's Dictionary of Subjects & Symbols in Art,
(London: John Murray, 1984), p.294.
4. Lewis Grassic Gibbon, A Scots Quair,
(Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1986), p.230.
5. Builder, 1 May 1925.
6. Glasgow Herald, 2 June 1924.
7. Hall, Subjects & Symbols, p.321.
8. Ibid., p.238.
9. Marina Warner, Monuments & Maidens; The Allegory of the
Female Form, (London: Picador, 1987), p.54.
10. Glasgow Herald, 27 October 1924.
11. Louise M. Boreham, "Louis Deuchars" in
Journal & Annual Report, of the
Architectural Heritage Society of Scotland, 1988, No.15.
12. Susan Beattie, The New Sculpture,
(New York: Yale University Press, 1983), p.236.

13. Nicholas Penney, "English Sculpture and the First World War", Oxford Art Journal, Vol. 4. No. 2. November 1981, p. 36-42.
14. Ibid.
15. Ibid.
16. Geo. Coppard, With a Machine Gun in Cambrai, (London: Macmillan, 1986), pp. 135-6.
17. Penney, "English Sculpture".
18. Glasgow Herald, 11 August 1924.
19. Tim Brennan, "The Cenotaph Project- the Class of Rulers", Variant, No.5. Summer/Autumn 1988.
20. Ibid.
21. Ibid.
22. Publicity Leaflet for "The Cenotaph Project", Chapter Gallery, N.d.
23. Chapter, No. 17., November 1988.
24. Clayre Percy and Jane Ridley (Eds.), The Letters of Edwin Lutyens, (London; Collins, 1985), p.37.
25. Ronald Blythe, The Age of Illusion, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983), p.7.
26. Harry Teggins et al, Glasgow Revealed, (Glasgow: Heritage Books, 1988), p.14.

27. Andor Gomme & David Walker, Architecture of Glasgow,
(London: Lund Humphries, 1968), p.235.
28. Malcolm Yorke, Eric Gill; Man of Flesh & Spirit,
(London: Constable, 1981), pp.220-225.
29. Ibid.
30. Ibid.
31. Ibid.
32. Ibid.
33. Ibid.
34. Glasgow Herald, 3 July 1926.
35. J.S. Curl, "The Royal Artillery Memorial at Hyde Park
Corner" in C.S. Jagger: War & Peace Sculpture,
Anne Compton (Ed.), (London: Imperial War Museum, 1985).
p.88.

CHAPTER FOURTEEN - PART TWO

1. R.H. Mottram, The Spanish Farm Trilogy,
(Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1979), p.235.
2. Ronald Blythe, The Age of Illusion,
(Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983), p.7.
3. Peter Morton, The Carvers' Craft,
(London: A. & C. Black, 1958), p.67.

4. E. Roscoe Mullins, A Primer for Sculpture,
(London: Cassell & Co., 1889), p.108.
5. Cyril Gerber, Elizabeth Frink,
(Glasgow: Compass Gallery, 1990), p.2.
6. John Ferguson, The Arts in Britain in World War 1,
(London: Stainer & Bell, 1980), p.112.
7. Christopher Isherwood, The Memorial,
(London: Triad Grenada, 1978), p.66.
8. Eric Underwood, A Short History of English Sculpture,
(London: Faber & Faber, 1933), p.10.
9. Dom Hubert Van Zeller, Approach to Christian Sculpture,
(London: Sheed & Ward, 1960), p.179.
10. Ibid.
11. Ibid., p.180.
12. Ibid.
13. Terry Friedman, The Hyde Park Atrocity,
(Leeds: Henry Moore Centre, 1988), p.26.
14. Mark Batten, Stone Sculpture by Direct Carving,
(London: Studio Publications, 1957), p.8.
15. Ian Finlay, Scottish Crafts,
(London: G.Harrap & Co., 1948), p.47.
16. Lawrence Weaver, Memorials & Monuments,
(London: Country Life, 1915), p.7.

17. Mullins, A Primer for Sculpture, p.13.
18. Albert Toft, Modelling & Sculpture,
(London: Seeley Service, 1911), p.85.
19. Mullins, A Primer for Sculpture, p.104..
20. Journal of Royal Society of Arts, 15 June 1944.
21. Ibid.
22. Arnold Whittick, War Memorials,
(London: Country Life, 1946), p.15.

CHAPTER FOURTEEN - PART THREE

1. J.S. Curl, "The Royal Artillery Memorial at Hyde Park Corner" in Charles Sergeant Jagger: War and Peace Sculpture Anne Compton (Ed.), (London: Imperial War Museum, 1985), pp.81- 98.
2. Nicholas Penny, "English sculpture & the First World War" Oxford Art Journal, Vol. 4 No.2, November 1981, pp.35-42.
3. Curl, Royal Artillery Memorial.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.
6. Kathleen Scott (Lady Kennet), Self Portrait of an Artist, (London: John Murray, 1949), p.222.

7. G.D.R. Cruickshank, Thomas Clapperton, the Border Sculptor,
(Edinburgh: Edinburgh City Museums, 1973), p.12.
8. Letter from Robert Gray to Town Clerk of Rutherglen,
Rutherglen War Memorial Committee Minutes.
9. Ibid.
10. Jas. S. McGrath, "Mackintosh Drawings at the University of
Strathclyde", in Newsletter of C.R. Mackintosh Society,
No.50, Winter 1988-89. p.9.
11. Ibid.
12. Christopher Hussey, The Work of Sir Robert Lorimer,
(London: Country Life, 1931). p.63.
13. H.V. Morton, In Search of Scotland,
(London: Methuen, 1929), pp.128-9.
14. Ibid.
15. Ibid.
16. Charles Sergeant Jagger, Modelling & Sculpture in the
Making, (London: Studio, 1935), p.9.

CHAPTER FIFTEEN

MEMORIALS ABROAD - THE SCOTTISH DIMENSION

Take up our quarrel with the foe:
To you from failing hands we throw
The torch; be yours to hold it high.
If ye break faith with us who die
We shall not sleep, though poppies grow
In Flanders fields.

John Macrae,
From 'In Flanders Fields'.¹

1. J.Silkin (Ed.), The Penguin Book of First World War Poetry, (London: Penguin Books, 1979), p.81.

By the late summer of 1922, by which time most war memorials had been erected, the Aberdeen granite industry could with pride claim its memorials had gone "far and near".¹ Certainly war memorials had been sent to far flung parts of the Empire - to British Honduras, to Johannesburg, to Prince Edward Island and to Newfoundland - as well as to the Isle of Man and many English towns from Aikton, Barnstable and Cambridge to Walthamstow, Worksop and York.²

Scottish involvement with war memorials clearly did not stop at the Scottish Border. Messrs D. Morren and Co. contributed eleven monuments to the Northumberland area³ as well as half a dozen figures carved by their Robert Morrison to other parts of England.⁴ Messrs J. & G. Mossman executed the market cross type memorial for Maryport in Cumberland as its lonely, if nonetheless worthwhile, contribution to the English scene. Granite soldiers and celtic crosses from Aberdeen grace many English village greens. But several dozen (or even several hundred) memorials in England and barely a handful abroad does not amount to a vast trade or impressive economic activity let alone artistry on a grand scale.

War memorials, as we have noted, were an international phenomenon not a Scottish peculiarity. Although Scots were involved in the international as well as the national yearning to commemorate those who had died in the Great War the contribution at a global level was slight.

Sir J.J. Burnet and Sir Robert Lorimer were among the principal architects of the Imperial War Graves Commission and they designed many of the cemeteries along the shores of the Mediterranean. Burnet's work can be seen in Egypt, Gallipoli and Palestine while Lorimer's is in Italy and Greece although he also designed monuments in Germany as well as the Naval Memorials at Portsmouth, Chatham and Plymouth. Burnet's finest monument is the one at Port Said where sculpture work by C.S. Jagger adds to its dignity. Jagger was also to be sculptor for realistic soldiers on the

memorials in Brussels and at Paddington Station designed by Burnet's partner, the Paisley-born Thomas. S. Tait. This latter monument, for the Great Western Railway, incorporated much Aberdeenshire granite.

Although many Scots were commemorated by the War Graves Commission actual Scottish contribution the building of their monuments was limited to the architectural input. Although by April 1920, it had been reckoned that "500,000 headstones were required for France alone"⁵ the supply of Scottish head stones was limited. John S. Morren of Elgin seemed to be one of the few appointed to supply some stones for cemeteries in Northern France ⁶ and McLaren can recall his family firm, Messrs Bower and Florence, making headstones for the War Graves Commission but it seems most of these stones were for domestic consumption and that non-granite (i.e. English) stones formed the bulk of the headstones erected overseas. Any visit to the Western Front can confirm this - the headstones are not granite. McLaren also gives confirmation of this but adds to the Aberdeen contribution. He has stated that his firm's headstones⁷:

"...were mostly erected over the graves of soldiers buried in this country, but there were also a number despatched to certain areas overseas where due to severe climatic conditions it was deemed necessary to use granite because of its durability".

Perhaps the major visibly Scottish contribution to the war memorials of the Western Front today is the splendid bronze kilted figure at Beaumont Hamel. Executed by G.H.Paulin it commemorates the men of the 51st Highland Division and was erected on what had been the front-line of one of the bloodiest battles of the Somme. The soldier stands on top of a great cairn of granite supplied from Messrs Garden & Co.'s yard in Aberdeen while the casting of the soldiers and two bronze lions, which sit sentinel on either side of the cairn, had been undertaken by Messrs McDonald & Creswick of Edinburgh. It was not, however, to be an entirely Scottish

production for Messrs Soille Freres of Brussels were the contractors and A.G. Bryett of London was architect to the project.⁸ The memorial was unveiled by Marshal Foch on 28 September 1924.

One fact about the memorial is of more than passing interest. It had been anticipated that the memorial would cost £10,000 when an appeal for funds was launched in November 1920. Although various means of raising money had been tried, including Flag Days which raised £1,400, the total raised was only £8,300 and yet this proved to be ample "owing to the fall in the cost of labour and material since the scheme was first mooted".⁹

Scottish architectural input to the English scene was also slight. The Market cross at Maryport in Cumbria, designed by Galloway and Gibb of Glasgow, is a creditable small town memorial. Lorimer designed the monuments at Carlisle and Workington which are both of a standard of excellence to be expected of the man. Bennet Mitchell supervised the erection of the West Hartlepool Memorial after the death of its architect and F.W. Deas designed the Stockwell War Memorial. There would undoubtedly have been others but it was unlikely to have ever amounted to a mind-blowing abundance of work.

Our sculptors fared little better. Scots born but London-based Sir J. Reid Dick executed the superb Edith Cavell Monument near Trafalgar Square as well as the Bushey War Memorial. Edinburgh's Alexander Carrick allowed his expert craftsmanship to spill over the Border to Berwick Upon Tweed. Paul Montford and J. Massey Rhind were expatriot Scots who carried out substantial and splendid war memorials in their new homes of Australia and Canada. Scotland seems to have been more successful at exporting sculptors than in exporting sculptures.

Few sculptors' works were as far travelled as those of Thomas Clapperton for one of his war memorials was destined for Oamaru at North Otago, New Zealand (where his uncle was resident) although another simply and less exotically went to Sheney in Hertfordshire.

Although the work of the Imperial War Graves Commission may not have had much economic impact on Scotland, it has nevertheless been a constant source of interest to many Scots. Many people visit the cemeteries to pay respects to loved ones or to trace the graves of long-forgotten relatives. They have long been places of pilgrimage and have now become 'tourist attractions' as part of battlefield tours and excursions for both the amateur and professional military historian.

The cemeteries are very models of perfection in the art of layout and design and the Monuments to the Missing are among the grandest funereal buildings erected by man. Their impact to the emotions is strong. One old soldier who revisited the Thiepval Memorial at the time of one of its remembrance ceremonies considered it "the most moving experience of my life".¹⁰ On his later return to the battlefield he believed that "any normal person visiting these battlefields cannot fail...to be deeply moved".¹¹

Many cemeteries in the United Kingdom are now little more than a disgrace. Glasgow's Craigton is one such example. There monuments have been smashed and toppled, others have graffiti scrawled on their face and many are hidden among long grass and rubbish. They have become examples of how not to commemorate rather than of how to remember. This has not been the case of the CWGC cemeteries. For the most part their cemeteries and monuments are well and lovingly cared for with little lessening in respect with the passage of time. There have been examples of petty vandalism and during the Second World War the enemy destroyed a few monuments but man and time have generally exercised care and concern for these monuments to the dead. Neatherley, however, in his re-visit lamented that in "this present age were falling standards ...visitors books and registers have been defaced and some entries were derogatory and in disquieting bad taste".¹²

For the most part a visit to any of the cemeteries and certainly to all the Monuments is a never-to-be-forgotten experience. The scale

of the sacrifice and the extent of the sheer waste of human life can be best understood when one sees the sea of uniform headstones or the near countless names of the Missing carved on the face of these magnificent Monuments. It is moving to the extreme but it is a sad epitaph on Man's failure to find satisfactory and non-aggressive means of settling disputes without recourse to violent action on a grand scale.

The 100,000 Scots who fell in the battlefields of the Great War have been handsomely commemorated in the cemeteries and memorials erected in Picardy and Flanders, Gallipoli and Mesopotamia, and in all the other theatres of war. They are remembered in well ordered and carefully tended fashion. As an official governmental agency with an international face the Commonwealth War Graves Commission had set and maintained high principles. A uniformity of treatment and universally high standard of care and maintenance are the hall marks of the Commission's work.

Back in Britain the collective acts of remembrance were piecemeal and haphazard by comparison. The sheer professionalism and financial security of the Commission stands in stark contrast to the amateurish and parsimonious nature of the ad hoc local committees.

If our war memorials at home reflect little credit on our nation then our cemeteries and monuments abroad are a credit to the nation and remain delightful if poignant memorials to all who fell.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Aberdeen Daily Journal, 15 August 1922.
2. Ibid.
3. Building Industries, 16 August 1919.
4. Letter from D.Kynoch to G.T.Bell. 6 November 1990.
(collection of writer).
5. Glasgow Herald, 28 April 1920.
6. Bulletin, 10 January 1920.
7. John McLaren, Sixty Years in an Aberdeen Granite Yard,
(Aberdeen: Centre for Scottish Studies, 1987), p.15.
8. Col. C. McL Robertson, (Ed.), 51st (Highland) Division
War Memorial - Beaumont-Hamel (Somme).
Souvenir Booklet, (N.P., 1924), pp. 6-7.
9. Ibid.
10. V.A. Neatherley, Return to the Battlefields,
(Leicester: Herbert Pace Ltd., 1978), p.10.
11. Ibid., p.29.
12. Ibid.

CHAPTER SIXTEEN

A NATIONAL MEMORIAL & A CONCLUSION

Farewell to Lochaber, farewell to the glen.
No more will he wander Lochaber again.
Lochaber no more! Lochaber no more!
The lad will return to Lochaber no more!
The trout will come back from the deeps of the sea,
The bird from the wilderness back to the tree,
Flowers to the mountain and tides to the shore,
But he will return to Lochaber no more!

Neil Munro,
from 'Lochaber No More'.¹

1. Thos. Moulton, The Cenotaph, (London: Cape, 1923), p. 61.

Although Scotland has been geographically joined to England for ever, regally since 1603 and politically since 1707 she has still retained a separate identity. There is a Scottishness about most aspects of life and not just in the key elements of church, law and education or in the tokenism of coinage and postage stamps. Even in these key elements one could reasonably argue that they were just simply different from English practice rather than special, in spite of nationalistic bombast to the contrary. The important fact, however, is that they are simply different. Scotland may not be independent but she has a degree of independence, even if it is more a state of mind than a state of realpolitik.

Given this feeling of being 'different' and of having a separate Scottish identity it is not surprising that although there was to be a national British Cenotaph in the nation's capital it would be considered insufficient for Scottish needs. There would thus require to be a Scottish National War Memorial in her capital city. It should, of course, be noted that Wales and Ireland also acquired their very own national memorials in Cardiff and Dublin respectively and thus Scotland was not alone in the then component parts of the United Kingdom in wanting her own memorial.

The Scottish National War Memorial has had much written about it and its architect has been well served by the numerous studies on his work. There is no requirement to give another detailed account although doubtlessly there is more that could be said. The intention here is simply, even if somewhat superficially, to give a little background information and, even more superficially, to describe the monument. Not to have included the memorial would have been unthinkable for it is the Scottish war memorial and it commemorates every Scotsman (and Scotswoman) who has died in war since the Great War as well as being built to commemorate all those who fell in the Great War. Whether commemorated on the village war memorial, church plaque or simply on the Roll of Remembrance in the local library the name of each of the Fallen is also recorded in the National War Memorial.

The Scottish National War Memorial is different from all other memorials which have been examined in this study. It is a building and while other buildings were excluded there was really no way this one could be omitted for this building has purely a memorial function. Other buildings which are memorials combine a utilitarian purpose with a memorial one. As has been noted, over time this latter aspect has become weakened as people have tended to view such buildings as, for example, more of a library than as a war memorial. A village hall erected as a monument to fallen heroes and even one which does have a bronze plaque in the vestibule bearing the tragic roll-call of those who died "For King and Country" serves the community as simply a village hall in our day. Memorials which serve no purpose other than being a memorial are as good as forgotten: it is not surprising that the memorial aspects of utilitarian memorial buildings have certainly been long overlooked.

In the Spring of 1917 it was proposed by the government that a National War Museum be set up to commemorate the war. It was also desired that smaller local museums should be established as off-shoots of the national one. The Duke of Atholl believed that Scotland should have had its own collection housed in Edinburgh Castle. It was to be "a fine memorial to the memory of those who have fallen in this war".¹ It was from this suggestion that it transpired Edinburgh Castle was to obtain not only a national museum but a national memorial. The fact that the garrison stationed in the Castle was likely to be withdrawn with the cessation of hostilities (and moved to Redford Barracks) also indicated that a possible site for a museum/memorial might be available within the Castle.

A Committee was set up with Lord Atholl as Chairman and with Sir J.J. Burnet as one of the members. The Committee agreed that Edinburgh Castle ought to be the location for the memorial and that a memorial chapel should be part of the scheme. Atholl wrote to the Secretary of State for Scotland (Robert Munro) reporting on the committee's deliberations and suggested that the site of the ancient

garrison church, then occupied by a building known as the Billings Building, was the ideal site for the inter-denominational chapel proposed. Few buildings are named after their architects. This one had been named after its designer, Robert W. Billings but the building had become not highly regarded as a feature of the castle's architecture. Billings had also been the author of a famed book of engravings of old Scottish buildings but his book was more valued than his building.

Out of a short list of six Sir Robert Lorimer was selected to be the architect for the project and was instructed to "approach the whole problem in a spirit of reverence for the importance of Edinburgh Castle".² Initially Lorimer had the "gravest of doubts as to the suitability of any ... scheme at the castle"³ but undaunted he produced his first scheme. He had tried to please too many differing views and it was not met with much enthusiasm: Savage has wryly observed of these proposals that "if ever a building was designed by a committee, it was the Scottish National War Memorial".⁴ In that scheme cloisters were to be located on the site of the Billings Building with a 45 foot high octagonal shrine erected as the memorial building. The complexity of its design, its cost and fear that it would mar the Castle skyline ensured that there would be critics in plenty. A revised scheme followed with the cloisters giving way to an enclosed gallery. Scaffolding was erected to show the impact of the proposals on the skyline and this further fuelled the opposition. Sir John Stirling Maxwell has informed us that Lorimer's finest design was rejected due to ⁵:

".... the reluctance of his fellow countrymen to accept any change in the outline of the Castle rock. Though tenacious of his own opinion he always kept an open ear for disinterested advice. When the octagon was turned down, suggestions poured in on him and the new design was actually based on some of these".

Stirling Maxwell was perhaps being a trifle modest for the final design owed a little to his thinking. He had thought that it ought "to be possible, in order to placate public opinion, to retain the exterior of the old barrack building...and to build the shrine up against it".⁶ Lorimer therefore largely retained though greatly transformed the old Billings Building and added a memorial shrine to the rear of it and which projected northwards and a porch to the south. On 31 July 1923 the Cabinet gave approval for the new scheme and work began on site that autumn.

Later Lorimer had an idea of introducing an open lantern from the gable from which a light might shine in perpetuity but this merely led to further protest about the harm envisaged to the skyline and about the cost of the electricity. The idea of the lantern was abandoned. Even the concept of having a museum as part of the scheme was dropped due to the expense involved but even in its simplified form the Scottish National War Memorial was never short of critics. One of the most vociferous was to be the Earl of Roseberry who contemptuously referred to it as "the jelly mould"⁷ while an Edinburgh solicitor Alexander Blair dismissed it as "a pseudo-Gothic excrescence".⁸

In spite of all the adverse comments, work proceeded and on 14 July 1927 HRH the Prince of Wales officially opened the memorial. It was opened to much acclaim, indeed few buildings seem to have been so warmly praised.

Scrymgeor of the Sunday Post stated that it was "the most wonderful memorial in the world...Scotland's tribute to her heroes...is supreme"⁹ and the noted traveller H. V. Morton, who must have seen countless monuments, reckoned "Scotland has built the greatest war memorial in the world".¹⁰ Another writer believed that the memorial's bold exterior was so in harmony with the castle that it looked as if it was "something for which the Castle had been waiting all these years - a crowning glory".¹¹ The Colonel of the HLI had "not heard one single carping word regarding the memorial.

Enthusiasm for it was undoubted".¹² General Sir Alexander Godley stated "I went prepared to be critical but could find nothing that I did not wholeheartedly admire. You (Atholl) and Sir Robert Lorimer ... have earned the gratitude of millions".¹³ Lord Esher simply declared that it was "the most moving and beautiful thing in the world".¹⁴

The memorial bears little resemblance to the somewhat austere barracks from which it had near miraculously developed. It is without doubt a splendid piece of architecture and it has enhanced the Castle rather than detracted from it.

Internally each regiment has its own memorial and within the Shrine on a Stone of Remembrance rests a shining casket - a gift of the King and Queen - in which is contained the Roll of Honour of all Scotland's dead heroes. The building is a mass of fine craftsmanship - stained glass windows by Douglas Strachan, sculpture by Phylis Bone, Alexander Carrick, Alice Meredith Williams, Percy Portsmouth, Pilkington Jackson and others, fine carved stonework by Messrs Allen and Sons, Thomas Beattie and Messrs Donaldson and Burns, and superb ironwork by Thomas Hadden. The entire building has a richness and quality about it that makes it is not only a worthy national monument but, as it was his last major work, it was a fitting climax to Lorimer's distinguished career.

It is certainly the only Great War war memorial in Scotland (and, for that matter perhaps anywhere) to have had a guidebook almost permanently in print and it is the only Scottish memorial which continually and substantially attracts visitors. An Annual Service is held at the memorial and with each new conflict the names of the newly fallen get faithfully added to its Roll of Honour. It is still a powerful monument and still seems to satisfy and serve the commemorative needs of the Scottish nation. While it might be a criticism that most of those who visit it these days seem to be Canadian, Australian or American expatriates who 'do' it as part of their whirlwind tour through the 'Old Country' it clearly still has

an emotional pull. It is emblematic of old values as well as commemorative of old friends and distant relatives.

The Scottish National War Memorial was possibly the last memorial to be erected in the aftermath of the Great War and it was opened long after the Armistice - about ten years after it. It therefore in a sense seemed to mark the end of an era and brought to fitting conclusion almost a decade of monument making. The history of the building of Scottish outdoor war memorials more or less began on the Castle Esplanade at Edinburgh. It is perhaps fitting that it should end within Edinburgh Castle. The history of Scottish war memorials began with those in regimental chapels: how fitting that it should end at the site of the Garrison Church.

There are something in the order of 1050 war memorials in Scotland and while of varying quality all are part of the fabric of the nation. They are all part of Scotland's heritage even if few are treasured as part of the architectural and artistic heritage. They represent a vast amount of craftsmanship even if not always of the finest and they account for a massive amount of time and effort as well as represent an unprecedented toll of human sacrifice.

The Builder in 1920 remarked that memorials were also "monuments to the living" ¹⁵ because they were not only commemorative of those who had fallen but also acted as memorials to the craftsmen and designers who created them. One writer has noted ¹⁶:

"now even the craftsmen and architects who designed them and created them have gone, and the monuments remain not only as memorials to the war's fallen but as memorials to the departed architects and craftsmen. The monuments too are really also sadly monuments to dead craftsmanship".

War memorials are also likely to be not only the major but the only piece of monumental art to be found in a village or town. They are likely to be the only piece of public sculpture on display in any

locality and they frequently notable features of the landscape. That memorials are for the most part rather humdrum and unimaginative as well as being things of no great beauty has told as much about the society and its times than it has done about those who simply created them. The artists and craftsmen only provided a service. They did what was asked of them and for an agreed fee. He who pays the piper has ever called the tune. We have the memorials that our forebears were prepared to pay for and erect.

Many of the craftsmen and architects gave of their best and many fine memorials bear witness to their artistic skill and flair in design. As time has reduced the emotional impact of memorials it is possible now to view them simply as outdoor art which has an ever weakening memorial function. It is as works of art that many are seriously flawed. If one were to award points for artistic merit on a sliding scale of 0 to 5, very few war memorials would merit 5 points and very many would get none at all. We are, however, compelled not simply to regard them in an artistic way for all are also memorials to not a little suffering and death. All reflect sorrow no matter how artistic or otherwise the monument might convey it or no matter its much it had cost in cash terms. Bell has noted 17.

"Even the most mediocre of monuments was erected with the same sense of loss as the most magnificent - the grief was no less real at the £200 granite cairn in the poor mining village or quiet glen than the bronze soldier in prosperous and populous localities".

In spite of having the Cenotaph in London, the burial of the Unknown Soldier in Westminster Abbey and the Two Minutes Silence and in spite of the Scottish National War Memorial at Edinburgh Castle and a war memorial in every village there was still a feeling as the decade of memorial making came to an end that somehow it had all been inadequate.

Mottram expressed his desire that ¹⁸:

"...before the generation of the War has passed, there may arise a real Cenotaph, a true War Memorial - a record, at which gazing, our children may be able to imagine a way of settling disputes more intelligent than maintaining, during years, a population as large as that of London, on an area as large as Wales, for the sole purpose of wholesale slaughter".

A truly lasting memorial would be a lasting peace.

Aldington though that it required more than a 'real cenotaph'. He regarded the deaths as symbolic and considered ¹⁹:

"...somehow or other we have to make these dead acceptable, we have to atone for them, we have to appease them. How, I don't quite know....Two Minutes's Silence once a year isn't doing much - in fact, it's doing nothing. Atonement - how can we atone? How can we atone for the lost millions and millions of tears of life, how atone for those lakes and seas of blood? Something is unfulfilled, and that is poisoning us....What can we do? headstones and wreaths and memorials and speeches and the Cenotaph - no, no, it has to be something in us. Somehow we must atone to the dead - the dead, murdered, violently-dead soldiers. The reproach is not from them, but in ourselves. Most of us don't know it, but it is there, and poisons us. It is the poison that makes us heartless and hopeless and lifeless - us the war generation, and the new generation too....The whole world is blood-guilty....Somehow we must atone, somehow we must free ourselves from the curse - the blood-guiltiness".

These authors were expressing a sincerely held view that while war memorials in themselves may have been fine what was also needed was a change in attitude. Some may have felt that the Great War was a catharsis with a national purification taking place by its mourning

of the Fallen. Some of this thinking may be expressed by Admiral of the Fleet Lord Chatfield who said "You cannot go into...the beautiful Scottish Memorial on Castle Hill, Edinburgh, without feeling when you come out just a little better than when you went in".²⁰

In a sense however all war memorials were about making people feel better for they were meant to be a focus for grief, to help those bereft of loved ones to come to terms with that death. Their message was that those who had fallen had fought nobly and died sacrificially for the nation's cause and that it had all been worthwhile. They were as much to aid the grieving process as to commemorate the Fallen. They were the answers in stone to the question "Why?"

Without doubt what the Fallen would have wished for would have been a lasting peace. What they got were lasting memorials. Indeed, the war memorials have lasted even if the values which they represent have diminished.

Perhaps as much as commemorating the dead War Memorials ought not to have had their indoctrinatory patriotic role but ought to have been 'sermons in stone' to demonstrate the waste that is war and that peace has to be better than war. As Benjamin Franklin had so rightly claimed "there never was a good war or a bad peace". War memorials will have fulfilled a noble role if they encourage us to take the way of peace rather than the warpath.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Duchess of Atholl, Working Partnership,
(London: Arthur Barker, 1958), p.106.
2. Jim Cassidy, "The battle for the war memorial",
in Scots Magazine, October 1987, pp.22-27.
3. Ibid.
4. Peter Savage, Lorimer & the Edinburgh Craft Designers,
(Edinburgh, Paul Harris, 1980), p. 147.
5. Sir John Stirling Maxwell Shrines & Homes of Scotland,
(Edinburgh: Chalmers, 1937), p.208.
6. Savage, Lorimer, p.147.
7. The Bulletin, 10 January 1923.
8. Cassidy, "The battle for the war memorial"
9. Norval Scrymgeour, "The story of Scotland's Shrine",
Supplement to The Sunday Post, 11 November 1928.
10. H. V. Morton, In Search of Scotland,
(London: Methuen, 1929), p.54.
11. "Allan Junior", The Scottish National War Memorial,
(Dundee: Valentine & Co, n.d.), n.p.
12. Atholl, Working Partnership, p.163-4.
13. Ibid.

14. Ibid.
15. G. T. Bell, "The war memorials of the Lennox",
in Lennox Guardian, Autumn 1985, pp.15-21.
16. Ibid.
17. G.T. Bell, "Scottish war memorials; a forgotten legacy",
in Newsletter & Year Book, of
Scottish Society of Art History, April 1987.
18. R. H. Mottram, The Spanish Farm Trilogy. (1927)
(Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1979), p. 177.
19. Richard Aldington, Death of a Hero,(1929),
(London : Hogarth Press, 1984),p.35.
20. Lord Chatfield, speech at Conference on War Memorials,
27 April 1944., in Journal of Royal Society of Arts,
15 June 1944.

SECTION THREE

THE CONTINUING STORY

What more fitting memorial for the fallen
Than that their children
Should fall in the same cause?

Osbert Sitwell,
from "'The Next War'.¹

1. I.M.Parsons (Ed.), Men who March Away,
(London: Hogarth Press, 1987), p.179-180.

CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

POST 1945 - A NEW WORLD & NEW MONUMENTS

- i. Wounds of War.
- ii. New War: New Memorials and Old Ideas.
- iii. "For Our Freedom and Yours".

"We must see to it that the memorials of this war are worthy of the sacrifices which they will commemorate and that, in so far as they take visible shape, they are well designed, finely executed in good materials and set in harmonious surroundings".

W.S. Morrison,
Minister of Town & Country Planning. ¹

1. Conference on War Memorials, 27 April 1944,
Report of Proceedings in
Journal of Royal Society of Arts, 15 June 1944.

CHAPTER SEVENTEEN - PART ONE

WOUNDS OF WAR

"Remember, no tears".

Lieut. Ian Mackenzie Anderson,
Last letter to his mother. ¹

1. Quoted by Mrs Evelyn Mackenzie Anderson in her 'Foreword' to
Garth & Glen Lyon, (Stirling: SYHA, 1968), p.3.

During the Second World War the Guards' Memorial at St. James Park, London was damaged by a German bomb giving it, as its sculptor Gilbert Ledward rather sardonically remarked, "the appearance of having been in battle itself".¹ When the memorial was later undergoing repairs Ledward begged the Ministry of Works to leave a few of the "honourable scars of war"² on it. To this day the memorial bears the marks of the later conflict.

The Victoria and Albert Museum has, on its Cromwell Road side, the wounds due to bomb damage caused by enemy action during the Blitz. Part of the wall has been left in an unrepaired state and an inscription informs us that it was so left "as a memorial to the enduring values of this great museum in a time of conflict". All memorials are about 'values' even if this is the only one which seems to mention the fact. All memorials were intended to be lasting and their values "enduring". The nations wage war because men are willing to stand up for some so-called values and are prepared to fight and die for them. Others erect memorials because they too consider the values to be important if not sacrosanct.

Perhaps the real tragedy of the Great War was that, apart from having been so bloody with perhaps twelve million dead³, it was also not conclusive. The Peace Treaty of Versailles with its famous 'fourteen points' did not bring a lasting peace. Instead Marshall Foch was to be proved prophetic when he had declared "This is not peace. It is an armistice for twenty years".⁴

This study is not the place to condemn the Treaty if indeed it has to be condemned. Nonetheless, despite its hopes, it did not bring a lasting peace. Whether anything could have done given the advent of the twin evils of Fascism and its even uglier sister National Socialism is another matter. The Treaty-makers in 1919 had no crystal ball to foresee what lay ahead but, nevertheless, the fact remains that the Treaty was perceived as being vindictive and, twenty years after the end of the Great War, Europe was again caught up in a civil war which ignited into World War Two.

German declaration of war on the USA again meant that the USA had to decisively intervene to bring about peace. Post-war Europe was to become radically different from the pre-war one. Finland and Austria were to remain independent but all the new nation states of what had been called the 'cordonne sanitaire', set up in the aftermath of 1914-18 were absorbed into the Soviet Union (Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania) or became screened by that Iron Curtain which had descended across Europe. All these countries remained more or less firmly within the Soviet Bloc as members of the Warsaw Pact (Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania and Bulgaria). Until recently the bloc remained rock solid. Yugoslavia also became a Communist state but chose to follow a more independent line while little Albania beat its own narrow isolationist Marxist -Leninist-Stalinist path. Germany herself was to be seemingly permanently divided between East and West. The same fate befell her capital and West Berlin was a little land-locked bastion of colour and capitalism amid the bleakness of the German Socialist Republic and an unsightly wall formed more than a visual barrier between two conflicting ideologies.

The noble 'self-determination' of Versailles had simply given way to Soviet Imperialism and defeat in war meant that Russian rather than German hegemony held sway in Eastern Europe. Real war was replaced by Cold War. This has all, of course, had a remarkable transformation within the past few years when the seemingly unthinkable and unimaginable has really occurred. The wall came down; Germany was re-united; democratic parties hold power instead of party dictatorships; tyrants have been toppled. But nationalism and faction have pulled some of the newly liberated countries apart and blood has been spilled afresh. In the Balkans the strong centre has collapsed and many national aspirations and petty sectarianisms wish to fill the vacuum. For forty years and more the Iron Curtain had been a formidable barrier and a brutal fact of life and its raising was almost bound to open up long forgotten tensions. Perhaps no one dared realise quite what would spring out from behind the curtain.

After the Second World War and with a powerful Soviet Bloc facing it the western democracies looked to collective security in NATO and a shared marketplace. The Western European nations united to form the European Economic Community. Even if NATO forces glowered at the Warsaw Pact ones across the divide they managed to avoid hostilities. Such war as did occur in Europe was of civil proportion even if uncivil in the execution. The theatres of war since 1945, until the latest Balkan tragedy, had been non-European and apart from the Korean War (and perhaps the war with Iraq) British involvement had been largely due to her last throes of Imperialism and a reluctance to realise that she had ceased to be one of the Great Powers. Britain had found it difficult to adjust to the new world order and was quite unsure of a suitable role for herself in the changed world after 1945.

After the Second World War Britain entered a period of austerity and this, by accident or design, resulted in few war memorials. Tinkering with old memorials was easier and cheaper than building new ones. An additional bronze tablet was added to the earlier memorial or, as was more often the case, additional names were simply added in lead letters to the rear of the granite pedestal in order to bring it up to date and make it more comprehensive.

Another 's' might simply be added to the 'Great War' inscription to make it now read as 'Great Wars' (as at Clackmannan) or some other minor adjustment like 'The World Wars' (as at Sauchie) and frequently the new dates '1939 - 1945' were to appear below the old '1914-1919' inscription. The old out-dated patriotic message of the memorials was given a new lease of life.

Webster has told of the unveiling of that second list of names at the memorial in his home village of Maud.⁵

"Now that the war was over and the dust was settling, the kirk bells rang out one memorable Sunday beckoning old and young to gather round in memory of the men who had fallen.

And in our quiet way we answered the call, near every walking soul of us, went down to the granite slab that stood in the corner by the kirk. Its front was already well covered with the names of our village men who came to grief in ... The Great War of 1914-18. There were not so many names this time for the total massacre was not so vast but the field of Flanders had broadened to take in the sands of the desert and the angry fathoms of the Atlantic. And we remembered....

"A Union Jack covered the memorial as we bowed our heads and heard the minister say his say about our dear ones who had gone away without thought of self and had fought and died for the love of their country. You pondered the man's words and considered whether they had really gone with such patriotic purpose or whether it was more in the heat and spirit and compulsion of the moment, with the optimism which keeps most of us going in this bewildering world of ours".

After the hymn and the unveiling of the memorial there followed a prayer of dedication during which Webster's mind wandered and reminisced on schooldays ⁶:

"...and I was back again in the infant class of pre-war days when we lowered our eyes for an Armistice Day that was vague and distant in its image. This time we knew more about the realities, about the men who had fought in the dubs and kyirn of the battlefield till they sweated the crimson sweat of death, a sweat that does not dry away but only hardens to a crust".

For Webster that war had been real enough for though he had not participated people he had known - Sonny Barrie, Patty Gordon, Bertie Kelman, Johnnie Wallace and the others - had fought in it and died in it. An uncle and two cousins had also given their lives in its cause.

With World War II almost every village again lost some of its youth but it was often many years before the old war memorial was adapted to fulfil its enlarged 'role' and commemorate the others who had been dear to that place. It was only in 1987 that Aberfoyle got round to adding its Second World War dead to its memorial. Many places simply left the Great War Memorial intact and were content to put another tablet in the church and thus have no public outdoor memorial to World War Two.

Although there were to be few memorials after the Second World War this did not mean there was to be no discussion on the subject. In a sense the entire episode has an element of *deja vu* about it. Not simply was the principal foe Germany but the roots of war may well be found in the Great War and its so-called vindictive peace settlement. Methods of commemorating the Fallen were given much consideration and with many similar results.

Whereas during the Great War, Weaver had produced his Memorials and Monuments to give advice, 1946 saw the appearance of Arnold Whittick's War Memorials which again provided material "to help us find wise solutions and to seize fully the opportunity that presents itself to the nation".⁷ As before there were to be debates at Westminster, the Royal Society of Arts organised a conference, and a War Memorials Advisory Council was established.

The same old debate raged as to whether memorials should be functional or not. As before, and not to be outdone, a Scottish War Memorials Advisory Committee was formed and it produced a pamphlet How Shall We Honour Them and which seemed to find favour with the idea of Homes for disabled ex-servicemen. The old utilitarian versus monumental argument was back on the agenda. Whittick believed "ample provision for them (ex-service men) should be an obligation of the state and form part of a normal social service".⁸ Lord Chatfield, President of the Advisory Council, stated in the House of Lords debate of 14 February 1945⁹:

"The war memorial is not a means of relieving the State of its responsibilities to our fighting men and women after this war; nor should it be something which would in any case be provided by the State or by a local authority".

At the earlier conference Chatfield had declared ¹⁰:

"We must be careful...to see that the war memorial is not entirely indistinguishable from that which is not a war memorial. Only then will it fulfil its educative and spiritual purpose".

The Dean of Westminster, hearing the various ideas expressed at the conference, sounded the alarm ¹¹:

"I fear also that war memorials of the future - especially in view of the speeches made this morning - will be utilitarian rather than true war memorials....I hope we shall remember in the future that the first principle is that a memorial is there to commemorate the dead".

The principal national war memorial was to be the National Land Fund which sought to preserve scenically important tracts of countryside and fine buildings in the national interest. The National Trust for Scotland acquired its historic houses of Haddo House and Brodie Castle as well as the estate of Balmacara under National Land Fund procedures. The Land Fund's role was enlarged in 1980 when it was succeeded by National Heritage Memorial Fund which was established "to be a memorial to those who have died for the United Kingdom".¹² Part of its remit was to preserve and maintain "land, buildings and objects of outstanding historic and other interest"¹³ and it would be interesting to speculate how many of the old war memorials it might ever feel compelled to protect. Indeed one of the roles it might very sensibly have adopted might have been to care for the old war memorials. They have long needed a few friends.

However, to return to the commemoration of the Second World War, one of the participants at the conference expressed the view "we are against any further crosses being put up on town and country greens".¹⁴. There were indeed to be no more crosses (or at least very few). There were to be few memorials, full stop.

There were, however, to be a few new memorials but these were, by and large, as humdrum as the earlier ones had been. Nevertheless, the art of monument making was not to be totally forgotten and there were erected a few particularly fine monuments and which from an aesthetic or design standpoint are well worthy of our attention. One criticism which could perhaps be levelled at some of the new statuary was that much of it was of the social-realism school rather than that of the symbolic-pacifist variety. While it would be erroneous to label them as aggressive, as the Kelvingrove Cameronian machine-gunner and the Boer War bayoneteers were aggressive, they are nonetheless men in combat uniform who look as though they are ready for action. They may even be stoic, heroic, and a little smug at having recently defeated a known evil. In any event they show little or no remorse for loss of life shed by either victor or vanquished and seem to applaud the victory rather than the peace. Their meaning is clear. They are heroes: they have stood up to the foe. There is nothing sentimental. No longer are heads bowed and rifles upturned, these men adopt a heroic pose and if they are not offensive they are certainly defensive, and pretty aggressively so. Viewed simply as pieces of sculpture they are quite splendid - it is as war memorials that they are found wanting.

Whereas the bulk of the Great War memorials were erected within a few years of the end of hostilities the few public Second World War memorials were erected at a leisurely pace over a number of years and generally long after the end of the war. These memorials seem to fall into four convenient categories-

- a) those erected in a locality which did not already have a war memorial,

- b) those erected by regiments to commemorate their brother officers and men,
- c) those erected by other nations whose forces had been based in Scotland during the Nazi occupation of their own country,
- d) those erected to commemorate the distinguished service of a noted military leader.

An exception to this categorization is the war memorial at Hardgate and Duntocher which, as has been observed, became a casualty of the Clydebank Blitz and thus a new memorial required to be erected as its replacement. The Blitz on Clydeside was to be commemorated in the cemeteries of Greenock and Clydebank (Dalnotter) and on a memorial in the town centre at Clydebank which bears the legend:

In tribute to
the Citizens of Clydebank
who suffered and endured
in the devastation
by enemy action
on 13th and 14th March 1941

I will restore to you the years.
Joel II.25.

The tablet at the rear of the monument tells the visitor that it was "erected by Provost, Magistrates and Councillors of Clydebank"¹⁵ and unveiled on their behalf by Provost F. Downie on 11 October 1961 i.e. some twenty years after the event which it seeks to commemorate. This gives some indication of the pace at which commemoration was to take in the post-1945 world.

Many of the memorials of the Great War had also minor casualties of the Second World War; not due to enemy action but due to the requirements of waging war. Calder noted ¹⁶;

"...the most famous of all salvage campaigns was the compulsory one which steadily, from 1940 onwards, had deprived parks and gardens of their ornamental railings".

As part of the war effort iron railings in abundance had been required to provide molten metal to make shells and ships. The iron railings round many war memorials were not immune in this clamber for iron. For the most part the railings have never been replaced: one suspects they never will. At Findochty the ornate railings which were removed have been replaced by a rather ugly chain and rail barrier. The low wall on which the original handsome railings had sat is still extant and still sadly redundant. The memorial ought to have been left without any sort of fencing for surely if it could not have been done tastefully railings should have been omitted altogether. One, of course, still cherishes the hope that the present barrier is merely temporary and that reinstatement of the original railings will still be carried out! Kirkpatrick Durham and Moffat both had their railings removed and while no attempt has been made to replace the railings they are not further disfigured by having something unsuitable surrounding them.

It was surely ironic that part of the commemoration of the Great War could be sacrificed to wage the Second World War. It is a sad reflection on changed values that all have not been suitably restored having themselves been casualties of war.

CHAPTER SEVENTEEN - PART TWO

NEW WAR: NEW MEMORIALS & OLD IDEAS

"....nothing of which we have any knowledge or record has ever been done by mortal men which surpasses the splendour and daring of their feats of arms".

Winston Churchill,
at the Unveiling of the Commando Memorial,
Westminster Abbey, 21 May 1948. ¹

1. Quoted in The Commando Memorial, Spean Bridge,
(London: Commando Association, 1978).

In turning our attention to some of the new memorials erected in the aftermath of 1939-45. The most surprising aspect is possibly the fact that many were not erected many decades ago but are of very recent origin. London's statue to 'Bomber' Harris was only unveiled in 1992.

The most recent of Scottish war memorials is possibly that at Wishaw where, as late as 1986, it was decided to erect a war memorial. In 1921 Wishaw had been linked with Motherwell and therefore its real sense of community had been lost and the war memorial in Motherwell's Duchess of Hamilton Park would, no matter how well intentioned or how well worded, be regarded as a Motherwell memorial and not a Wishaw one. As Motherwell had a monumental memorial which was to serve both communities Wishaw opted for a functional memorial for its very own. Wishaw erected as its memorial a War Memorial Institute and which had been opened by Earl Haig in 1924. This clearly had not been a sufficiently tangible memorial for our times and perhaps also reinforces the long held view that when utilitarian aspects dominate the commemorative aspects are weakened. In any event an institute for ex-servicemen only served the needs of some ex-servicemen and not the needs of a whole community. A monument is sufficiently useless that nobody and everybody benefits.

Controversy had long been a key feature in monument making. This was something which did not change with the passage of time. The erection of the new celtic cross at Wishaw was not to be free of controversy. Its inscription was to conclude with the following, ostensibly innocuous statement:

Donated by citizens of Wishaw
Erected 30th September 1986
Organised by R. Robertson, Secretary
of Wishaw Ex-Servicemen's Club and Committee.

Those who seek conflict will soon find it. According to officials of the Royal British Legion "no war memorial should carry the name

of anyone who has not lost his life in the service of this country".¹ This, if it is a rule, must have been a new one for it was not a ruling from the past. It was certainly not an old rule for, as we have seen, some of those who carried out the unveiling, some who gifted the site, some of those who designed and created them and some who were involved in some other way have their names on memorials. This may simply have been the first time an Organising Secretary saw to it that he would get lasting credit for his efforts.

Wishaw's Celtic Cross was erected adjacent to the Sports Centre near the hub of things in the town centre. It was required for the simple and very practical reason that their ex-servicemen "were getting too old to make the journey (to Motherwell) and that Wishaw should stage their own parade every year".² It all seemed an eminently sensible idea. There have been much worse crimes committed in memorial making than putting a secretary's name on one.

The people of the little village of Milton of Campsie did not really have any of these problems they merely felt that it lacked a memorial. The local Community Council therefore organised the erection of its granite cross and selecting a traditional cross may have given the community a real sense of continuity and history. It was a memorial just like those erected in 1920 yet it was erected in 1982. Although Elderslie opted for a very modern treatment of its war memorial it chose the very traditional setting of the local cemetery in which to locate it.

Uddingston, in Lanarkshire, did not wait quite so long as some others but seemed to resolve that after the Second World War it would erect one to commemorate those who had fallen in the two wars. Thus in 1957 it set up its war memorial, on the main street and in front of the police station. The town of Dollar, on the otherhand, decided that, rather than have her Second World War dead commemorated on the memorial in front of Dollar Academy, it would have its own memorial. A war memorial was therefore placed in the

public park and it is without doubt the Dollar Memorial and not the Dollar Academy one. Pirnhill, on Arran, had no public memorial until it erected its red granite one after the Second World War.

A few places which already had a memorial seemed to feel the need to have another. In the cemetery at Anstruther, in Fife, a strange low monument set on a traffic island commemorates the World War II dead while the war memorial at the seafront simply remained the one for the Great War. On the tower of St. Serf's Church at Dunning a small bronze tablet, "Erected by Dunning War Comforts Committee", commemorated the thirteen men of the parish who had died in the Second World War and yet these same men were also commemorated by having their names added to the War Memorial in the village centre. Many places have two memorials but one is indoors, in the local church usually, while the other stands outdoors but both Anstruther and Dunning therefore had outdoor Great War memorials yet still felt it necessary to have a separate outdoor one for the later conflict. Churchyards and cemeteries had long been preferred locations for war memorials.

The congregation of the little Episcopalian Church of the Good Shepherd at Cardonald also erected a small stone celtic cross in its grounds to commemorate nine of its membership who had died in the war. No other church in the area opted for a public outdoor memorial, instead all have tablets inside. The church had only recently been built so the memorial may have been regarded as being a statement about its roots in the community. This church may well be the only one in Scotland to have its own permanent outdoor WW2 monument.

In front of the Inverness War Memorial, on the banks of the Ness, sits an ornately carved seat which had hitherto been located in front of houses built by the Scottish Veteran Gardens City Association. They had built many houses elsewhere and these were to become homes for disabled ex-servicemen who had been wounded in the war. The houses were a most useful utilitarian idea and veterans

housing had often been provided after the Great War. 'Homes fit for Heroes' had not been an entirely hollow promise for some ex-servicemen. The seat, however, had probably been a rather under-used utilitarian concept as well as being an unsatisfactory memorial. A bronze panel states ³;

This seat was transferred from the site
of the houses ... at
Lochiel Gardens, Hilton, Inverness
on Armistice Day 11th November 1959.

As the houses had only been presented in the 1951-53 period the seat had a very limited useful life in its old location. It was no doubt hoped that on the banks of the Ness, in a commemorative environment, it would have a new lease of functional life even if any seat would have sufficed for that purpose. Utilitarianism and remembrance, it would seem, have seldom combined satisfactorily.

Memorials are at their best when they are monumental. Two of the most photographed and most photogenic of Scottish statues happen to be war memorials. One is the splendid equestrian bronze of a Royal Scots Grey at Princes Steet Gardens - a Boer War Memorial sculpted by W. Birnie Rhind - and the other is the powerfully realistic Commando Monument, the most impressive of all the Second World War memorials. According to Neat ⁴;

"...for the last thirty five years there is little doubt that the most popular sculpture on public display in Scotland has been Scott Sutherland's Commando Memorial at Spean Bridge".

Set on a windswept hillside - "in dominant splendour on a 600 foot hill" according to Whitaker ⁵ - and set on an eight foot plinth of Bathgate whinstone the monument depicts three 9 feet tall commandos in full battle dress with rifles slung over their shoulders. They were cast by Messrs W. H. Martyn & Co. of Cheltenham whose former

managing director and company historian has graphically written of the monument. He believed Sutherland had ⁶:-

"...succeeded in portraying great strength in these figures by their size, baggy battle dress, enormous boots and the battered untidiness of their balaclava hats. Their faces are those of tired but purposeful men, rough hewn and determined".

The inscription on the base states "United We Conquer" and the men are ever ready for action as they look eternally across the foreboding landscape towards mighty Ben Nevis. The bronze tablet below them states "this country was their training ground" and the nearby mansionhouse of Achnacarry had been their Basic Training Centre. The experience has been assessed thus ⁷:

"...nobody who survived it would question the severity of this ordeal in the days when Lt. Col. Charles Vaughan OBE, at once exacting and benevolent, ruled in Lochail's place".

The old Cameron of Lochail stronghold of Achnacarry had been nicknamed 'Castle Commando' and from there 25,000 men were put through their trials. The story is told of one ex-trainee who said of the war itself that it was "nearly as bad as Achnacarry". Neat has rightly captured the spirit of the work when he stated the statue's "image is heroic and romantic but the endeavour that achieved victory against the most powerful war machine in history was heroic".⁸

Though a traditional statue in cast bronze it had a new realism in interpretation - the men are trapped in a moment of action - and it is in such an appropriate location. It is a war memorial sited where men saw action, even if it was training rather than real battle. At its unveiling in September 1952 HM the Queen Mother thought it "fitting that this memorial be raised on this majestic setting, here near Achnacarry where the Commandos trained" and she too caught the mood of memorial for it seemed to her that it

"admirably symbolised its purpose. It stood proudly commanding a wide vision and the young soldiers looked as steadfast as the stone upon which they stood".⁹

Early in 1947 a special committee had invited sculptors to submit designs for the Commando Memorial and it was from these 25 entries that this striking design was selected in October 1949. It was to take a further two years to prepare the clay and plaster casts for the foundry and another twelve months for its casting at Cheltenham. The artistry and skill of all those involved has paid dividends for it is truly one of the few memorials which is post-card material and a much admired work of art. Cars park and buses empty to allow visitors to photograph it. It seems to possess a symbolism which still communicates.

Scott Sutherland had taught at Dundee College of Art so, perhaps not surprisingly, we find that his other monumental soldier should be at Dundee - on Powrie Brae. There a single kilted figure stands on a plinth on the hillside but though a soldier he is somehow a more peaceful figure than those at Spean Bridge. He stands with his hands behind his back, alert rather than aggressive: he is just realistic. Erected in 1959 to commemorate the local battalions of the Black Watch it was also unveiled by the Queen Mother and was also cast by Messrs Martyns.

Scott Sutherland had been one of a new breed of sculptors but one of the old school was to live on and with enhanced reputation. Charles d'O. Pilkington Jackson had not only Great War memorials at Alloa and Rothesay to his credit but had also done much work on the Scottish National War Memorial. He was later to become much revered for his truly monumental Robert the Bruce equestrian statue at Bannockburn but here his two Second World War memorials are our chief concern.

Another of this new species of regimental war memorials can be seen in the gardens in front of the County Buildings in Ayr. It was

unveiled in 1961 and it is of a one and a half times life-size figure of an infantryman. He is in full battle order, rifle over shoulder and with fist clenched. Though static he is not staid: he is a real soldier as well as being a bronze one. Cast by Messrs Martyn's, he is Pilkington Jackson's depiction of a soldier of the Royal Scots Fusiliers set in the town which is home to the regimental headquarters.

On the screen wall behind the soldier, made of the same pink granite as the statue's plinth, homage is paid to the services of the regiment "in many parts of the world in peace and war" from its raising in 1678 until 1959 when it united with the Highland Light Infantry to form the Royal Highland Fusiliers.

Regiments have always been proud of their history and traditions and something of that pride has been captured in that bronze figure but for a real lesson in regimental history one needs to visit Edinburgh's Princes Street Gardens where there is, as its inscription tells, "The Monument of the Royal Scots - The First Regiment of Foot". One writer assessed the monument as being "your history in pictures"¹⁰ for it is a sort of high quality strip cartoon of Scottish history carved in stone. It has a series of inter-connected stone panels or steles set in a 100 foot diameter semi-circle and they together tell us something of the history of the regiment as well as something about the history of Scotland. It is truly a sermon in stone. The Brigade Colonel stated, at its unveiling, that it was not a war memorial; instead, it depicted ¹¹ :

"...the evolution of the dress arms and battle drill of the British infantry as personified by the Royal Scots for the regiment going back to 1633 was the oldest known unit of the British Army".

The bronze grille which visually links the free standing stone monoliths together has crests and portrait medallions upon it while

along the top, together with the inscription, are the immortal words from the Declaration of Arbroath of 1320 which state ¹²:

"It is not for glory nor riches. Neither is it for honour that we fight but it is for the sake of liberty alone which no true man loseth but at the loss of his life".

The principal monolith has not only a regimental crest but a full list of battle honours stretching from Tanger 1680 to Burma 1943-45 but with the Great War battlefields Marne, Ypres, Loos, Somme, Arras, Gallipoli and Palestine among the honoured names. The terminal wall at the far end of the semi-circle tells a little of the origins of the monument and of its unveiling while the adjacent low wall bears a panel telling of its unveiling. HRH Princess Royal who unveiled it in July 1952 declared that it "would take a high place among the most renowned architectural and artistic productions of the age".¹³

Designed by Sir Frank Mears, a team of eminent sculptors, artists and craftsmen combined talents to make it a work of art. Pilkington Jackson had been the consulting sculptor and he declared that it was "the most important piece of artistic building done in Scotland since the Scottish National War Memorial was built".¹⁴ Jackson had also executed a memorial for Devonside Mills at Tillicoultry in 1948 and it comprises of an elegant simple kneeling angel as the centrepiece of an impressive gateway - a monument of chaste design and sound craftsmanship. It can truly be classified as a war memorial rather than regimental bombast, although it has much affinity with quality cemetery monumental art.

The 51st Highland Division did not attempt any ambitious project for the chain of memorials they erected throughout the Highlands. They are simple inscribed tablets set in stone cairns and all commemorate those of the Division who fell during "the Two Great Wars of 1914-1918 and 1939-1945".¹⁵ The one at Oban was unveiled in June 1983 and had been built by members of the Royal Engineers. In unveiling

the memorial Brigadier Campbell spoke of their pride "in the good men who served with fidelity, fought with valour and gave their lives for their country"¹⁶ but he added that he hoped "the memorial would be cherished and protected". This was surely a wish we would all attach to all memorials throughout the land.

While most war memorials were to commemorate soldiers, the other services were not totally neglected. In the garden in front of the Kyle of Lochalsh Hotel a mine has been placed whose brass tablets inform us ¹⁷ that it was unveiled in April 1982 by the Flag Officer Scotland and Northern Ireland, Vice Admiral Squires, and -

This mine commemorates the
officers and men
of
HMS Trelawney
and
the ships of the First Mine Laying Squadron
who were based at Kyle of Lochalsh
during World War II.

In April 1988, Commodore Barry Clark unveiled a granite monolith at South Queensferry to those who went from Port Edgar on minesweeping services during the Second World War. That base's work continued in Royal Navy Fishery Protection duties until 1975 when it was transferred across the Forth to Rosyth. The inscription on the memorial states "let there be no way through water"¹⁸, surely a fitting description of both minesweeping and fishery protection aspects of the duties of the HMS Lochinvar site at Port Edgar as its men and ships endeavoured for decades to keep the sea lanes safe.

In the grouping of the three figures of the Commando Memorial there is a certain affinity with, and indeed it probably owes something to, the pioneering modern statue in London's Battersea Park. Being bronze the commandos have an innate realism that the stilted

stonework at Battersea lacks but Eric Kennington's statue at Battersea was one of the few 'modern' pieces of sculpture which also happened to be a war memorial. It was perhaps fitting that another Kennington memorial should stand proudly at the top of the stairs within Glasgow Airport.

A five feet tall Portland stone head of a pilot with mythological scenes of battle decorating his head-dress it is entitled "1940 Group" and commemorates Squadron Leader Archie McKellar and the members of the No 602 (City of Glasgow) Squadron of the Royal Auxiliary Air Force who had been based at Abbotsinch from 1933 to 1939. Abbotsinch later became the site for Glasgow Airport and the work had previously been sited at its predecessor, Renfrew Airport. At the time of its move to the new airport the Managing Director of Glasgow Airport stated the "restoration and positioning of the statue goes some way to pay tribute to the sacrifice of 602 members and to Squadron Leader McKellar in particular".¹⁹

McKellar, it should be noted, had won distinction during the Battle of Britain and had died in combat a few hours after its official end. Mary Armour, a renowned Scottish artist, has stated ²⁰:

"So after many years out of the public gaze this splendid sculptured memorial on its handsome stand, commemorating so many brave fighter pilots, has now been restored to a place in Glasgow Airport where it will be seen and admired by millions".

It was perhaps wishful thinking.

Although it has been set within the main terminal building it is a prominent location. It is the simple fact that it was located in such a high profile and accessible public place that it was included in this brief survey. One imagines that although thousands of people must pass it regularly it is not noticed. It may be glanced at in the passing but it not appreciated. It may be seen but it is

not admired. It does not look like a war memorial. It is not shunned because it is a memorial; it is ignored because it is art which is not understood. their attention.

There are few memorials to the RAF but one of their great figures has his own memorial. The 'Leader of the Few', as his monument states, has been commemorated by a public monument which has been erected in the public park at Moffat. Designed by Bruce Walker, the memorial consists of a triglyph of red-sandstone panels and whose central panel quotes Winston Churchill -"Never in the field of human conflict was so much owed by so many to so few".²¹ Below a bronze portrait medallion, sculpted by Scott Sutherland, is the inscription on a bronze panel telling of Dowding's role as "Architect of Deliverance" who earned "the nation's gratitude" in the Battle of Britain. The two side walls or 'wings' carry the badge of Fighter Command. Below the main inscription it adds "Born in Moffat"²² as if an afterthought but Moffat has been justly proud of her son's achievements.

Dowding was not simply to be commemorated by a monument in his birthplace but a bed in the Royal Air Forces Association Home of Sussexdown was also endowed in his memory.²³ An RAF Association leaflet has declared "The finest Memorial to the Dead is Service to the Living"²⁴ and doubtlessly the Lord Dowding Room at Sussexdown admirably serves that aim for those who seek utilitarian solutions to commemoration. The monument at Moffat is ^areal memorial while the bed in the Home is just another bed no matter how grandly we may title it.

Although Dunoon could not claim quite so illustrious a figure as its own it was nonetheless anxious to commemorate one of her sons. As befits the home of the Cowal Gathering not only was he a pipemajor and composer of pipe music but also a soldier and poet. Pipe Major John McLellan of the Argyll & Sutherland Highlanders died on 31 July 1949 and, on face of a natural rock outcrop in the Castle Gardens, a bronze tablet tells of his many compositions which included "The

Taking of Beaumont Hamel", music to recall a sad but proud episode in the history of the Highland Division during the Great War.²⁵ Music has always been a vital means of commemoration as well as a lasting means of communication.

One of Scotland's most celebrated of soldiers was commemorated by the garden and richly ornamental gates at the south of Balhousie Castle, Perth - the headquarters and museum of the Black Watch. They were opened on 4 June 1966 by Countess Wavell in memory of her husband Field Marshall Earl Wavell who was not only Colonel of the Black Watch but a distinguished military commander during the Second World War being Commander-in-Chief in the Middle East and ending the war as Viceroy and Governor-General of India 1943-47.²⁶

Just as the Black Watch commemorated their chief, so also did the Commandos. On the outer wall of the little church at Spean Bridge a bronze tablet commemorates Lieutenant Colonel Charles Vaughan 1893-1968 who was, as we have already noted, the Commandant at the Commando Basic Training Centre from 1942-45. It is right that he should be remembered far from his home but in this land where they had trained and in the place where he had briefly deputised for Cameron of Lochiel at Achnacarry.

Tablets on churches and monuments to great men more or less bring us back to where it all began. Little had changed in almost 200 years of commemoration on Scotland. Only what they represent has changed. All are symbols of their age and all of their inscriptions reflect the values of their times.

CHAPTER SEVENTEEN - PART THREE

"FOR OUR FREEDOM & YOURS"

"You opened your homes and your hearts
to us and gave us hope".

Inscription on Norwegian Memorial,
at Glenmore, Cairngorms.

The most numerous group of memorials unveiled after the war were to those of other nations who were based in Scotland while their own countries were occupied by the Nazis. While none can match the dignity, setting and panoramic views offered by the Free French Memorial of the Cross of Lorraine on Greenock's Lyle Hill all do, however, offer the same sense of gratitude to Scotland and to the Scottish people for having provided a safe and hospitable refuge during the dark days of war.

This new species of monuments were not memorials to individuals who have their name carved on their face but were memorials of an idea. They are not monuments to commemorate the dead but rather they commemorate co-operation and shared experiences. They are symbols of gratitude and expressions of friendship.

The earliest of such memorials was the concrete plinth bearing an eagle, sited near the runway of Prestwick Airport and it is dated '1945'. It commemorates the Polish servicemen who were based in a camp there and who "wanted to leave something behind to mark their stay".¹ Now unfortunately damaged by a combination of vandals and the Scottish climate it still recalls the long association with Scotland which the Poles have enjoyed and they have been generous in their appreciation by erecting a few memorials. Sadly many gave their lives fighting against Germany and in Perth Cemetery are rows of well tended graves as well as a handsome monument to commemorate their sacrifice.

In the public park at Duns a black granite cross recalls the 127 Polish soldiers, stationed at Langton near Duns during the war and who had "fallen in the battlefields of Europe". They had died, so the monument proudly tells, fighting "for our freedom and yours".² This monument was unveiled on 13 September 1981 but Duns and Berwickshire seemed to merit very special thanks for another tablet, on the Sheriff Court, was a gift, as the inscription states ³:

"To the County of Berwick
from Polish Troops
Stationed at Duns
During the War
3rd May 1941.

Fife was another location in which Poles were stationed. A fine mosaic on the walls of St. Andrews' Town Hall was the work of Polish artists and marks their appreciation for hospitality received. On the wall of the public hall at Earlsferry is located another memorial - a splendid little bold relief bronze of a Polish soldier. It is "a token of Friendship and of Gratitude" from Polish Paratroopers.⁴

Across the Tay, in the City of Dundee, on one of the stone columns of the arcade in front of the City Chambers is another bronze tablet recalling the indebtedness of the Polish Army to the citizens of Dundee for the "kindness, hospitality and goodwill" shown to them during their time in that city.⁵

Perhaps the most recent of the Polish memorials is also its saddest for it has recalled one of the truly tragic episodes in a war full of tragedy - the Katyn Massacre. The plaque is dedicated thus ⁶:

To the memory
of thousands of Polish Prisoners of War murdered
by Soviet KGB in Russian Katyn 1940.

The memorial is located on Parkgrove Terrace, Glasgow, and was unveiled by the Lord Provost in April 1984 who in his address referred to Poland's ongoing struggles for democracy but the tablet limited itself to Katyn and other episodes of the war.

Memorials to Norwegians form the next most numerous group. The earliest of these is the bronze tablet on Lerwick Town Hall which commemorates veterans of the 30th and 54th MTB Flotillas of the

Royal Norwegian Navy who were based in Lerwick from 1942 to 1945. It was presented to the town in 1967 "in appreciation of hospitality rendered".⁷ The most controversial memorial, or at least so for some time, was the one at Wormit in Fife to commemorate the Royal Norwegian Air Force's 333 Squadron. A dignified little monument it was erected on land which later was leased by the local authority to a boating club⁸ who had allowed the memorial to become almost lost in a sea of beached boats. The monument has more recently been given the respect to which to which it was always entitled and the boats have been pulled up elsewhere on the shore.

Norway's other two memorials are also worthy of comment. One at Glenmore in the Cairngorms was erected to commemorate 57 men of Kompani Linge who "gave their lives in our common cause". It was erected by the people of Badenoch and pays homage to⁹:

"the gallant company of Norwegian patriots who lived among them and trained in these mountains ... to prepare for operations in occupied Norway. By skilful and daring raids on military and industrial targets they harassed the enemy and denied him vital supplies".

It is rather an aggressive little stone in spite of its best intentions. Few war memorials tell of the exploits engaged in when waging war. The memorial also expresses Norwegian gratitude to the local people and this same appreciation of hospitality can be found on the monument in Princes Street Gardens. The stone records the gratefulness of the Norwegian Brigade and other units for "hospitality, friendship and hope during the dark days of exile" as well as being in grateful memory of fallen comrades.¹⁰

Using natural boulders had long been a convenient means of commemoration. Few memorials provide any geological information - this one is a rare exception. We are told, by its inscription, that it is an 800 million year old block of granite weighing eight tons and that it "was brought here from Norway where it was worn and

shaped from thousands of years by forces of nature - frost, running water, rock and sand until it obtained its present shape".¹¹ A combination, therefore, of the efforts of both man and nature have given Edinburgh a most interesting memorial of simple dignity.

The most impressive of the memorials to those of other nationalities who were based in Scotland is not one that was erected to commemorate those who sought refuge here while continuing the struggle but one built by prisoners of war. They were here not as friendly foes but as deadly enemies. The little Italian Chapel at Lambholm, Orkney began life as a corrugated-iron Nissen hut, part of the POW complex, and which Italian prisoners transformed into a work of art. A concrete 'Gothic' facade was put in front and inside a vaulted fresco-clad sanctuary was created. It and the nearby Churchill Barriers, which these same prisoners were used to construct, were perhaps the two most functional memorials created and yet neither was built as memorial. They were both the results of war rather than planned means of commemoration. The Barriers were designed to stop German U-Boats penetrating into the anchorage of Scapa Flow and have become the causeway link between Mainland Orkney and Burray and South Ronaldsay. The chapel was built as a place of worship for POW's and has become one of Orkney's tourists attractions. A wayside shrine, erected in 1961 near the chapel, is a token of the friendship which has developed between the town of Moena where the creator of the chapel - Domenico Chiocchetti - had his home and the people of Orkney. The carved figure of Christ was a gift from the people of Moena while the cross and canopy were made in Kirkwall to Chiocchetti's instructions.

In 1960 after he had completed a restoration of the chapel Chiocchetti wrote ¹²:

"Dear Orcadians, My work at the chapel is finished.... the chapel is yours - for you to love and preserve. I take with me to Italy the remembrance of your kindness and wonderful

hospitality. I shall remember always, and my children shall learn from me to love you".

Outside the chapel is a statuette of St. George slaying the dragon and it was erected by the prisoners and is symbolic of their triumph over defeat and loneliness while in captivity on Orkney. They had created this beautiful chapel and this fine statue in a world that had grown ugly and distorted due to war and they have enriched Orkney with their skill and provided it with one of its greatest assets. Creating beauty in a world grown ugly by war perhaps ought to have been the aim of all war memorial makers. Beginning to love one's enemies had to be the root of post-war progress and a peaceful co-existence.

At the unveiling of the Commando Memorial, the Queen Mother remarked that three battle-worn figures ¹³—

"....gaze into the distance with steady resolve as though they can discern, far away and beyond all tumult, that for which they fought and for which we all pray - peace at last".

'Peace at last' had been a long cherished dream.

War Memorials were not about peace. It may have been perceived that victory had brought about peace but it was not something the makers of war memorials had much considered. It was not a value they wished to promote yet the memorials erected by the other nations contain the seeds of such a value. Only by mutual co-operation and understanding can peace be achieved.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

CHAPTER SEVENTEEN - PART ONE

1. Peyton Skipwith, Gilbert Ledward - A Centenary Tribute,
(London: Fine Art Society, 1988).
2. Ibid.
3. John Terraine, The First World War 1914-1918,
(London: Macmillan, 1984), p.184.
4. Joachim Remak, The Origins of the Second World war,
(New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1976), p.3.
5. Jack Webster, A Grain of Truth,
(Glasgow: Collins, 1987), pp.66-68.
6. Ibid.
7. Arnold Whittick, War Memorials,
(London: Country Life, 1946), p.v.
8. Ibid., p.3.
9. Ibid.
10. Journal of Royal Society of Arts, 15 June 1944.
11. Ibid.
12. National Heritage Act 1980.

13. Ibid.
14. Journal of RSA.
15. Inscription on cairn at Graham Avenue, Clydebank.
16. Angus Calder, The People's War,
(London: Panther, 1971), p.399.

CHAPTER SEVENTEEN - PART TWO

1. Wishaw Press & Advertiser, 6 October 1986.
2. Ibid.
3. Inscription on seat at Inverness War Memorial.
4. Timothy Neat, 'Public Art' in Scottish Review,
No 30, May 1983, p.21.
5. John Whitaker, 'The Best',
(Cheltenham: Whitaker, 1985), p.117
6. Ibid., p.133.
7. Brig. P. Young, 'The Army Commanders' in
The Commando Memorial Spean Bridge & a Short
History of the Commandos 1940-1945,
(Fort William, 1978.).
8. Neat, 'Public Art'.
9. Glasgow Herald, 19 September 1952.

10. Architectural Prospect, Summer 1957, p.24.
11. Glasgow Herald, 6 June 1952.
12. Inscription on Royal Scots Memorial, Edinburgh.
13. Glasgow Herald, 28 July 1952.
14. Ibid., 6 June 1952.
15. Inscription on Memorial at Oban.
16. Oban Times, 16 June 1983.
17. Inscription on Memorial at Kyle of Lochalsh.
18. Glasgow Herald, 15 April 1988.
19. Ibid., 25 June 1987.
20. Ibid., 3 July 1987.
21. Inscription on Dowding Memorial, Moffat.
22. Ibid.
23. Air Chief Marshal Lord Dowding 1882-1970,
leaflet, (N.P. Royal Air Forces Association, n.d.) p.2.
24. Ibid., p.5.
25. Information from inscription on Memorial at Dunoon.
26. Information from memorial at Balhousie Castle, Perth.

CHAPTER SEVENTEEN - PART THREE

1. Ayrshire World, 22 January 1982.
2. Inscription on Memorial at Duns.
3. Inscription on tablet at Sheriff Court, Duns.
4. Inscription on plaque at Earsferry Public Hall.
5. Inscription on tablet at Dundee City Chambers.
6. Inscription on Polish Club, Parkgrove Terr., Glasgow.
7. Inscription on tablet at Lerwick Town Hall.
8. Dundee Courier, 30 September 1988.
9. Inscription on Memorial at Glenmore.
10. Inscription on Memorial in Edinburgh.
11. Ibid.
12. Orkney's Italian Chapel guidebook,
(Orkney: Chapel Preservation Committee, n.d.), p.12.
13. Glasgow Herald, 19 September 1952.

CHAPTER EIGHTEEN

POST MORTEM

THE STATE OF THE ART- THE MEMORIALS TODAY.

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.

Lawrence Binyon,
from 'The Fallen'. 1

1. Philip Larkin (Ed.), Oxford Book of Twentieth Century Verse,
(London: Guild Publishing, 1973), p.102.

In 1925 the war memorial which stood in the village square at Whitewell in Derbyshire got blown down during a storm and was smashed to pieces. The tall slender stone pillar surmounted by a cross had been erected only "a few months" previously at a cost of £1000.¹ and had been gifted to the village by the Duke of Portland. Perhaps we in Scotland should be glad that the handsome Caithness War Memorial which he gifted to that county has stood up to the elements rather better. Nevertheless time in the shape of man and the Scottish climate has been unkind to to many memorials.

Reginald Fairlie's elegant stone cross at Moffat, with its bronze Flying Spur - the emblem of the town - to its top, partially fell down during a gale in the early 1950's (1953 seems to be generally agreed date although no one seems to really know for sure - perhaps in itself a sad comment!). When it was rebuilt, due to the damage to the original stone, it was built in truncated form, being now two stone courses shorter. Even the work of Sir Robert Lorimer fared no better. His cross at Ballantrae got blown down and its tall shaft so badly damaged that it was quite simply ignored and thus the cross today sits uneasily and unsuitably on the plinth where once its shaft stood. Lorimer's cross at St. Andrews was also blown down in a storm in January 1968 and it was only after much pressure and after much delay did the District Council put it to rights. As late as April 1982 Hew Lorimer, the architect's son, was able to write that it had never been replaced "to my regret"² and indeed it was only restored in time for Remembrance Day 1988. It is of interest to note, in the passing, that the repairs to the shaft cost £1500 whereas the entire monument with its surrounding wall had cost £2300 in 1922.

The sandstone cross in the churchyard at Glenbervie had its top blown off in a gale but its shaft still stands topless - the cross itself lies propped against the outer wall of the kirk and with no hint of restoration on the horizon. In the grounds of St. George's Episcopal Church, Maryhill, both the granite cross and its shaft rest against the church wall and both are about to fall further into

pieces. A few yards away, in the garden in front of the church, the three steps on which it once stood sit forlornly with the two little iron prongs which once supported the memoria projecting uselessly from the top step. Whether a victim of vandalism or simply neglect the monument offers a sad comment on the changed values and diminished respect in which they are now held.

In the village of Bannockburn the granite plinth stands soldierless in its little garden - the granite soldier has now long disappeared and no one seemed to know its fate. The Memorial erected at Pirnmill on Arran has had its top severed and the granite stump which remains stands uselessly at the top of a flight of stairs. The top was presumably a cross but it has just disappeared and does not seem to be going to be replaced so it is academic to speculate on what the memorial was once like. No one seemed to know or care. It was not always so - for a while they did matter.

In 1921 Sir William Raeburn MP, at the unveiling of the Dumtocher War Memorial, expressed his hope that "men of the district would salute this memorial just as Londoners saluted the Cenotaph every time they passed it".⁴ Indeed in 1928 Cooper was able to still say of Whitehall's Cenotaph "it is the only monument in London which passers-by naturally and of their own accord salute".⁵

War Memorials have only real meaning as long as people live who can actually "remember". The passage of time has rendered them obsolete. Communities "forget" not out of disrespect but simply because they never knew. The names on the memorial had earned respect in a different age - now they are simply names and no one cares.

Times change. Values change. By the 1980's war memorials had often become uncared for, often just forgotten, often in the wrong place and frequently just ignored. They had become in many respects a bit of a problem and often they had received the wrong and very unwelcome sort of attention.

In 1985 the war memorial at Renton had its bronze plaques stolen. The Director of the local authority department charged with the maintenance of war memorials stated "I have reason to believe the plaques were taken for gain and that it was not just vandalism".⁶ He added that those responsible would probably attempt to sell the plaques as scrap. A somewhat similar fate befell the Cambuslang memorial in early 1989, the four bronze tablets with the Roll of Honour on them which had been on its base were stolen. Although the culprit was apprehended and brought to court he had already disposed of the tablets. It was therefore proposed that replacement tablets be made which would again record the names of these 308 men who had previously been commemorated. Local Regional Councillor Andrew McCowan stated "I think that the people of Cambuslang would like to see that happening because all of these men have a very special place in the town's history".⁷ It was possibly more wishful thinking than a state of fact. Few of the names would mean anything to anybody.

One of the local residents, horrified at the vandalism and lack of respect to 'the Fallen', desired their prompt replacement but was also pessimistic about that replacement. He aired his concern⁸:

"Unfortunately it may be unwise to use real bronze in the replacements - anything financially attractive is prone to vanish. It's a pity, but a sign of the times. Of course the best solution would be recovery but I fear they arepossibly melted down".

He suggested that the District Council ought to launch an appeal and donate substantially to set the ball rolling. One cannot but feel that Cambuslang had already paid dearly in sacrifice and finance to have a memorial that it would have been unfair to demand more. On the otherhand the local council seemed a rather forlorn hope and the City Planning Department had noted that⁹:

"... in times of constraints on public expenditure, however, monuments tend to assume a low priority for finance particularly when elsewhere services are being cut due to short age of funds".

Many cemeteries have been prime targets for vandalism with stones pushed over and others smashed. The Cross of Sacrifice set up in Cardonald Cemetery after the Second World War still stands proudly at the end of a row of standard IWGC stones in well maintained plots but the bronze sword which once graced the face of shaft of the Cross has been stolen.

The bronze tablet on the wall of former steelworks at Rutherglen looks as though someone has already attempted to prise it away from the wall. As the firm of Messrs Stewart and Lloyds has long ceased to exist the memorial has little or no relevance to the current owners of the property. Although it is at eye level and can be seen by all who would walk along Dalmarnock Road it is tarnished and neglected - perhaps it should be removed for its own protection and for its better preservation before it too joins the ranks of the disappeared. The Corporation Tramways memorial is now in the Transport Museum and is now safe from the hands of those who would destroy or steal such things. Would Rutherglen Museum - or even Rutherglen Library - not be a suitable place to re-site the Stewart & Lloyds plaque?

Glasgow has many monuments of all shapes and sizes, many of which are "in urgent need of repair and maintenance" and yet the Council has long claimed that it could not "afford the money for their upkeep".¹⁰ To meet that challenge they set up, in 1982, an 'Adopt a Monument Scheme' as a method of funding necessary repairs. The Council appealed to civic minded people- organisations, companies and individuals - to adopt a monument and "be responsible for its upkeep and repair".¹¹ Almost all the city's war memorials were included in its list of monuments available for adoption - Cambuslang's was among them. In October 1987 the Council was forced

to admit that "to date there has only been modest success".¹² It was perhaps an instance of civic double-talk or simply hyperbole for only one war memorial has been adopted. It is the K13 Memorial in Elder Park, Govan, and it has been adopted by the local shipyard, Govan Shipbuilders (now Kvaerner Govan Ltd), for the sound historical reason that its predecessor, Fairfields, had been the yard which had built the K13 submarine and some of its then workforce had perished when it sank in the Gareloch during trials.

New parents or guardians were therefore required for the City's other war memorials although the Cenotaph in George Square was not included in the list of monuments put out for adoption presumably because that would have been a particularly sensitive issue. As ever there is murmurings of moving the Cenotaph to the opposite end of the Square and of generally upgrading the Square itself but that is another story. The present financial climate may, at least for a further period of time, allow the status quo to prevail. If the Cenotaph was moved to the other end of the Square the statues of Prince Albert and Queen Victoria would have to be moved once again - it has all the hallmarks of an old story.

Changing values has resulted in changing attitudes to memorials. Many were not being well cared for and as a response the Royal British Legion has, since 1982 offered awards annually for the best maintained memorial in its 'Best Kept War Memorial Competition'. The aim being to foster greater public awareness of war memorials as well as to encourage higher standards of maintenance. While the results have been for the most part encouraging there seems to have been a tendency to make awards for the floral displays of the garden around memorials as much as for the maintenance of the monument itself. Any attempt at encouraging greater interest, pride and well-being of them has to be welcomed, however, as a step in the right direction. One British Legion official believed "there had been a marked improvement in the care and maintenance of Scottish War Memorials" as a result of them offering a cup for the Best Kept

one.¹³ But one cannot help feel that it is a case of bolting stable doors once the horses have gone.

The war memorial at Auchentibber near Blantyre had become almost forgotten as the village itself disappeared. For years the monument had become almost lost amid the overgrown hedgerows and weeds in its roadside site but thanks to the efforts of youths, on a Job Creation Project funded and run by the Manpower Services Commission/Youth Training Scheme, it has been resurrected. Its site has been tidied up and the monument, as far as possible, restored to something of its former state. It cannot ever be quite the same again unless there is a major injection of skill and finance. Its upper roof has long gone, its front panel was missing and the entire monument sits askew but at least it has been rescued from years of neglect and before it finally collapsed. The lads who had carried out the job were immensely proud of their handiwork and they had done as much as possible to salvage the almost unsalvageable. They had rescued a piece of history even if they have not restored a memorial.

Some other memorials had alas even got beyond the stage of rescue. In 1922 the little Ayrshire mining village of Skares had built a War Memorial Hall but unfortunately it had been built as economically as was possible of corrugated iron. Its only wall of solid construction had been the kitchen wall and it was on that wall that the war memorial tablet had been placed. In 1984 Skares itself had all but ceased to exist and the hall was declared to be in a dangerous condition and demolished. The tablet had, however, been rescued and has now been re-sited in Cumnock Old Church.¹⁴ The old lady who carried out the unveiling of the memorial in its new home was Mrs Russell who had lost two brothers in the Great War - that at least was a tradition that continued even if the War Memorial Hall had a limited life.

Sanquar had, in 1921, acquired a War Memorial Institute to commemorate the 90 men of the parish who had died. It had been built at a cost of £5000 but without adequate care halls do not

last. In 1982 the hall was demolished and a memorial garden was created in the park with the tablets from the hall relocated on a wall of the garden. A new statue of a female figure in bronze was set on a seat and she wistfully looks towards the names of the fallen. The symbolism was simply that she was ¹⁵-

"...not a war-like figure, but a sympathetic piece of sculpture....a reminder of those left behind, the daughter, the sweetheart or grandmother paying respects to the roll of honour".

The memorial was not to be short of critics and far from appreciating the iconography one critic stated that he "was horrified" with what he had seen- "a naked woman sitting on a bench".¹⁶ It was in his view simply "a monstrosity" and not only did he condemn the piece as a work of art but felt that those who considered it as a suitable war memorial "must be completely crackers".¹⁷

Some memorials have been moved to new locations and for various reasons. The grey granite obelisk at Broughton, Peebles-shire, was re-sited in a trim little garden in 1988 - hitherto it had been at an awkward road junction. For its well-being as well as that of road-users it was deemed necessary to remove it to safety.

The little granite seat at Taynult, to commemorate Lieutenant MacBean, which recently was located almost at the rear of the war memorial is now set in a little garden by the roadside. A little bronze panel tells that in 1974 it was transferred "from its original site by the River Awe to its present position at the request of the family". One assumes the family desired a more kindly environment for the memorial and one where it could more usefully serve its purpose as a wayside seat as much as a monument to a dead relative.

The Mercat Cross at Newton Mearns had been previously set in front of the school but in 1984 it was moved to a more prominent site in a public garden further along Ayr Road. Due to the fact that it had "become hidden by new development in the area" and as it could only "be visited by peopleif they gave notice to the education authority"¹⁸ it obviously seemed desirable for it to be on a more accessible site where it could be seen. The Chairman of the local branch of the Royal British Legion declared that "there were a lot of difficulties to overcome but we are delighted the cenotaph has been moved to its new site undamaged and is now there for all to see".¹⁹ Whether more people bother with it now is impossible to measure; maybe more people are able to ignore it in its high-profile location. It is difficult to see how it should have suddenly gained respect when no others have. In an area which has so substantially grown since 1920 it is incomprehensible that the war memorial can have any real meaning for anyone.

The re-siting of that memorial would appear to have satisfied everyone but it was public pressure that compelled the Menstrie memorial to be moved. A new leisure centre had been built in the town but it was considered to be too close to the 15 foot high stone obelisk and complaints from local churches and local community council led the district council to re-locate it 200 yards further down the road, at a cost of £2500.²⁰ One could argue, of course that as the memorial had existed on the original site for seventy years it was the leisure centre that had been built in the wrong place. Clearly by 1988 leisure was more important than commemoration.

Occasionally attempts to re-site memorials have been resisted. The roadside granite soldier at Ballachuilish was believed to be becoming undermined by the heavy traffic on that road. The local councillor, Mrs Jessie McInnes, stated "we want to move the memorial to the village square to save it being damaged by vibration"²¹but Major Eric Moss, a local old soldier, and whose father is commemorated on the memorial thought otherwise. He

declared "the statue is perfectly sound, it has stood there for sixty-two years without any fuss".²² In order to prevent its removal he organised a petition and obtained 145 signatures. It was his view that the money to be spent on it would be better spent providing a bus shelter at the village square. Some years on and the statue still stands overlooking the busy road but would-be passengers still stand in the rain for the bus to Fort William.

After the original had been destroyed by enemy action Duntocher's war memorial was replaced by another one but on a different site. Others have been moved over the years and for less dramatic reasons. The tall rough-hewn granite cross at Bowling was moved from its corner site near the Railway Inn - where its old base can still be seen - and it was placed on a concrete paved area in a small public park. The monument in Old Kilpatrick was moved to a new site in 1939 but there seems to be no obvious reason for the move.

Perhaps the most spectacular move of any monument, or at least the most travelled one, is the pink granite slab in front of the railway station at Dingwall, which as we have earlier noted, used to be at the railway station at Nitshill. When it was erected in 1920 Nitshill was a little mining village near Paisley but since then it has 'blossomed' (if that is the right word) into a vast Glasgow housing scheme and in order to protect the memorial from "the depredations of vandals"²³ it was decided to move it.

The stone commemorates Sergeant John Meikle VC MM who though born in Kirkintilloch lived in Nitshill and left the local school to join the then Glasgow, Barrhead and Kilmarnock Railway Company and he became clerk at Nitshill Station. In February 1915 he enlisted in the 4th Battalion Seaforth Highlanders and he was killed in action on 20 July 1918 - he had not yet attained his twentieth birthday. Apart from his undoubted bravery he was obviously a likeable young man for his workmates paid for his very own little war memorial which was unveiled on 31 January 1920.²⁴ In May 1919 a bronze portrait medallion of Meikle, executed by the sculptor Kellock

Brown, was placed in Hurler and Nitshill Public Hall. The plaque had been gifted by Messrs Percy and Hope ²⁵ and the lad's parents had been presented with an illuminated address. The plaque has now been placed in Lavern Primary School - he had been a pupil in its predecessor. The bored young hoodlums of Nitshill held Meikle in little affection, the fact that he had died nobly and fought bravely counted for little - the granite slab was just something else to wantonly waste and deliberately destroy. In Dingwall it is left untouched even if largely ignored. The unusual route of moving a memorial to the far north of Scotland - to the home of the Seaforths - suggests that very great efforts were made to ensure that Meikle's life and worth would be proudly remembered even if far from home. The monument to the great patriot R.B. Cunningham-Grahame which had been erected in Dumbarton in 1937 but it was also frequently attacked by vandals and it was removed to the safety of Gartmore in 1981. Perhaps the Meikle case had provided an example for the future.

For the most part war memorials have stood where they have always stood and for the most part they have all been quietly forgotten. The lettering on many of them has become a little more obscured with the passage of time and some degree of vandalism and lack of proper care and attention has made others not quite as smart as they once had been. For example, most of the lettering on the lower base of the Bowling memorial is missing; just the little 'dook' holes for the lead plugs of the letters tell the rare visitor that seven men from the village fell in the 1939-45 war but the men are now nameless. Elsewhere the names are simply meaningless.

We may 'remember' with our poppy wreaths on grey November days but rarely do we give a second glance to memorials as we hasten past every other day with few thoughts for those whose names we were meant to be remembering "for evermore". 'Lest we forget' has become a pretty shallow sentiment. War memorials have become grim and largely forgotten features of towns and villages.

Sadly the sites of war memorials have become quieter corners than was ever envisaged when erected - there down-and-outs leave empty bottles, drunken youths their lager cans and where children scrawl their graffiti. At Tullibody we are told to "f... off" in loud letters. War memorials have become, in lots of cases, an outdoor public lavatory for humans, perhaps they always had been so for dogs. Gibbon had told us of Seggat where ²⁶:

"...you threw a stone at a cat in the Square and watched the dog up against the angel, funny that dogs were so fond of that. They could n't want to, so often. Every day that dog of Newlands came down, as you turned in the Square to go up the close, and did that against the Memorial stone, you'd once told Robert, and he'd laughed and laughed and said the dog was a pacifist maybe. But one morning you stood and watched for the dog and sure as anything along it came, and stopped, and relieved itself by the angel".

Monuments seemingly have a strange fascination for dogs and they are no respecters of persons or their monuments. Duncan has told of the mighty Bruce at Bannockburn where even there "small dogs pee on the statues plinth". ²⁷

We can easily forgive dogs who know no better but individually and collectively we have not given our memorials the respect and care which they deserve. Bell has assessed it thus ²⁸:

All memorials, no matter how we might few them in an aesthetic sense, are reminders of those 100,000 men who laid down their lives for their "King and Country" and for "Their friends" in that muddy bloody bungle of the Great War. The memorials may not all demand our attention as works of art, but all demand our respect, and ... affection, for they are memorials to human sacrifice and not a little bravery in some selfless end".

Dr Nelson Gray has described the days when November 11th seemed to matter. ²⁹

"Between the wars, when I grew up, Armistice was made far more of than it is today. It was an occasion of solemn pomp and pageantry. We were marched to church. We sang Kipling's hymns. Then the guns boomed and the life of the entire nation literally came to a standstill. For two minutes nothing stirred in the street or office or shop. Just the slow throb of a nation's beating heart. Remembering in silence".

Now few heed the Two Minutes Silence and even although our lapels still sprout scarlet poppies each November it is an ever weakening gesture at remembrance. 'Their Name Liveth for Evermore' has become an almost empty cliché.

In his autobiography the well-known journalist Jack Webster has recalled the time when he departed from his local war memorial on the day of the unveiling of the names of those who had fallen in the Second World War. He has written ³⁰:

"So we went up the village, home to our little homes, leaving the cold grey granite with its poppies and flowers and blackprinted names that are aye ready to tell a story to those who will pause and wonder".

The memorials seem to offer fewer stories with the passing of the years and fewer memories are kindled but perhaps memorials should ever remain as places to pause and wonder. Maybe no one can 'remember' but that does not render them useless. They can be given new values and serve new roles. We ought to see to it that the memorials have a future not because of any commemorative relevance but because they are a part of the history of each community. They are an accessible genealogical and historical resource.

War memorials are uncared for because the values they stand for no longer matter. They are symbols of the past not a message for the future. The values they represent have no meaning for a society long at peace and the patriotism of which the memorials speak has no relevance in today's political climate. Television has shown the full horrors of war: it is not a great game or noble sacrifice but a bloody disaster. Revulsion has replaced romance.

Because they do not matter, however, is an insufficient reason for their destruction or neglect. Like it or like it not they are an aspect of local history and they are the only piece of civic sculpture in many communities. Some of them are quite fine pieces of art. Our values may not be the same values as those who erected them but it is not the role of historians to judge the values of the past merely to try to understand them. War memorials are a point where the past meets the present. If "the past is a foreign country"³¹ where things were done differently war memorials are part of that past. In a different age their values, real or imposed, seemed to matter. Some of our ancestors held these values to be true. We should respect their right to have held these values even we think they were misguided or wrong by our standards.

The people of the post 1914-18 era erected monuments to commemorate ideals they held to be important and as memorials to those who died fighting unselfishly. They may be concepts we cannot comfortably handle but they are not values we should condemn or monuments we should wantonly destroy.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Bulletin, 5 January 1925.
2. Letter from Hew Lorimer to G. T. Bell, 14 April 1982.
(collection of writer).
3. Letter from Dr. Robin Evetts, St Andrews University to
G.T. Bell, 1 March 1986. (collection of writer).
4. Glasgow Herald, 22 August 1921.
5. C. S. Cooper, The Outdoor Monuments of London,
(London: Homeland Association, 1928), p.20.
6. Evening Times, 15 April 1985.
7. Rutherglen Reformer, 20 May 1989.
8. Ibid., 17 February 1989.
9. David Martin, Glasgow Heritage ; Caring for the City's
Listed Buildings and Conservation Areas,
(Glasgow: Glasgow City Planning Department, 1987), p.7.
10. Bulletin, November 1982.
11. Ibid.
12. David Martin, Glasgow Heritage, p.7.
13. Letter from J.G. Offin, Branch Secretary, Royal British
Legion Scotland to G.T. Bell, 5 August 1986.
(collection of writer).

14. Ayrshire Post, 20 September 1921.
15. Dumfries & Galloway Standard, 16 April 1982.
16. Ibid.
17. Ibid.
18. Glasgow Herald, 4 April 1984.
19. Ibid.
20. Ibid., 19 August 1988.
21. Ibid., 14 July 1986.
22. Ibid.
23. Letter from J.R. Macleod, Secretary, Dingwall Museum Trust,
to G.T. Bell, no date but May 1892,(collection of writer).
24. Bulletin, 2 February 1920.
25. Paisley & Renfrewshire Gazette, 17 May 1917.
26. Lewis Grassie Gibbon, Cloud Howe,
(Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1986), pp.281-2.
27. Lesley Duncan, 'Tableau' in Glasgow Herald,
8 September 1990.
28. G.T.Bell, 'Scottish war memorials ; a forgotten legacy'
Scottish Society of Art History Newsletter/Yearbook, 1987.
29. Rev. Dr. Nelson Gray, 'Remembrance' in A Pocketful of
Saturdays, (Glasgow: Evening Citizen, 1971), p.91.

30. Jack Webster, A Grain of Truth,
(Glasgow: Fontana/Collins, 1987), pp.66-68.

31. David Lowenthal, The Past is a Foreign Country,
(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), p.xvi.

CHAPTER NINETEEN

POST-SCRIPT

i. Catching Up.

ii. Peace at Last

Why cannot the one good
Benevolent feasible
Final dove descend?
And the wheat be divided
And the soldiers sent home?
And the barriers torn down?
And the enemies forgiven?
And there be not retribution.

Stephen Spender,
From 'The War God'.¹

1. Ronald Blythe (Ed.), Writing in a War,
(Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1982), p.373.

CHAPTER NINETEEN - PART ONE

CATCHING UP

"And some there be, which have no memorial".

Apocrypha, Ecclesiasticus xlv.9.

Since the Second World War, with so few new memorials erected to mark its passing, there has been a time of relative peace. The few theatres of war that have seen British involvement have had their victims easily and cheaply commemorated by simply having another name or two added to the existing war memorial to take cognisance of these actions. Apart from the Korean War and the more recent war with Iraq all the wars have been the dying acts of a British Imperialism which refused to lie down - Malaya, Kenya, Cyprus, Aden and the Falkland Islands - and in that constant running sore which is Northern Ireland.

This basically impressive lull in major internacine strife has permitted us to do some catching up on the memorial front. The Spanish Civil War had been forgotten for the events in Spain of 1936-39 had been overtaken by the events of September 1939 which were of such dramatic proportions that the heroic activities of the International Brigade paled into insignificance.

Over fifty years ago Spain had seen herself torn apart with bitter civil war. Fifty years may be a long time and yet we are, nonetheless, frequently reminded of the events of 1936-39 in a very tangible way for the simple reason that we now have some memorials in Scotland to commemorate those from Scotland who fought and died in Spain. All the memorials commemorate members of the International Brigade though it should not be forgotten that some Scots had fought on the side of the Nationalists rather than on the Republican one. So far no one seems to have erected a memorial to the Nationalists.

While it had been the intention to only examine outdoor memorials an exception has to be being made because the magnificent banners on display in the People's Palace, Glasgow are the most important memorials of that conflict which we possess. Many churches have regimental colours but these banners are unique. They have a direct link with the Brigade and although they are indoors they are in a particularly public place - in a museum open daily and freely and

which is set in a public park, the renowned Glasgow Green. One of these banners had been the flag of the Scottish Contingent of the British Battalion of the International Brigade 1936-38 while the other banner, first displayed on May-Day 1939, bears the 'Roll of Honour' of those who died in Spain and who lived in the Glasgow area. It is thus a real war memorial as well as being an historic piece of memorabilia. Its display in building other than a church is also interesting for it is truly a secular war memorial and thus possibly truly reflects the ideas of many of those who fell.

The banners are not the only memorials and as in earlier conflicts the actual truly public Spanish Civil War memorials, though few in number, are located 'en plein air'. Like the majority of other war memorials they are also of little artistic merit. There is, however, one notable exception and it was the subject of much controversy when first erected. The Spanish Civil War had aroused political passions when fought and it was not surprising that its commemoration should inflame old animosities. The British Establishment had not lent support to Republican Spain; they were not likely to welcome monuments to those who had fought on the Republican side. Conservatives on Glasgow District Council were opposed to the memorial and there was much heated debate about the monument and its siting. Nonetheless it was unveiled on 23 February 1980 and symbolically depicts the legendary La Passionaria - Dolores Ibarruri- with arms outstretched. Ibarruri had been a noted Communist leader who had fought in Spain. Below the figure was placed part of a text taken from one of most impassioned speeches ¹:

"Better to die on your feet than
live for ever on your knees".

All inscriptions are value laden but this was perhaps the most overtly political statement to appear on any memorial. It is interesting that it was to appear when Communism was ceasing to be threat to anywhere.

On the face of the steel stanchion which carries the statue are inscriptional panels which tell of the courage of those who fought and of the 534 killed of which 65 were from Glasgow. The artist was a much respected modern sculptor, the Liverpudlian Arthur Dooley, and the statue still graces Custom's House Quay on the North Bank of the Clyde and few voices register any protest now.

The Edinburgh and Kirkcaldy memorials are identical - both are of a single stone boulder with a bronze panel set on its face. Both were erected, as the inscription states;

To honour the memory of
those men who went from
the Lothians and Fife to serve
in the war in Spain
1936-1939

and both were erected by the Friends of the International Brigade Association.

The bronze panel which is set on a plain granite slab in the garden adjacent to the McManus Art Gallery in Dundee is that city's memorial to sixteen men from the Dundee area who died "fighting Fascism". The inspirational nature of its text makes it worth quoting;

"Man's dearest possession is life but since it is granted to live but once he must so ... live that dying he can say "all my life and all my strength given to the finest cause in the world - the fight for the liberation of mankind".

Possibly the only other memorial to the war seems to be the small bronze tablet on the wall near the war memorial in Prestonpans. It is not so surprising that such a small town as Prestonpans should commemorate the Brigade for Scottish miners were among the most ardent of supporters of the Republican cause. Memorials were always

erected with as much pride as grief. In raised letters this panel proudly declares;

Dedicated to the memory of those
who laid down their lives
in defence of democracy
Spain 1936-1939

'They never fail who die in a Great Cause' - Byron

The simplicity of these memorials reflects the lack of available funding to erect anything more grand even if it had been contemplated. Erecting memorials has long been a political act and with an aim of indoctrination however mild. Monuments to the Spanish Civil War were not something for which the Establishment had any enthusiasm even if the Labour Movement itself had long cherished the memory of its support for Spanish democracy. Without Establishment encouragement monuments were almost bound to tardy and underfunded. Lack of support for monuments is also a political act.

These monuments, however, must be almost unique in the annals of memorial making for they reflect values which were not imposed from above. A grass-roots desire to have them resulted in their erection even if sites had to be made available by the local authorities. To some extent therefore even these monuments reflect the political biases of local politicians. In the absence of benevolent donors memorial making has always been due to pressure-groups. The Friends of the International Brigade found willing allies in the ruling Labour Groups in the various districts. Without such friends in high places they too would not have achieved their commemorative objectives.

None of the outdoor Spanish Civil War memorials commemorate by name any of those who had fallen. In that respect they harp back to the past but they, unlike the earliest 'war memorials', do not single out some for special treatment. The war had been about democracy

and its memorials are truly democratic for there is a basic equality in its treatment for all its victims. They are remembered not as individuals but in the collective for they had all died in the same cause.

Scotland was not alone in attempting to catch up with the need for memorials although she was not to simply follow in the wake of others. It was not until 1985 that a truly national International Brigade memorial to the British Contingent was erected and unveiled. Set on London's South Bank it was executed by Ian Walters and unveiled by Michael Foot, a former leader of the Labour Party. It was not until October 1988 that Spain acquired its first memorial to the International Brigade. Set in Barcelona it a sculpture depicting David and Goliath which in a sense brings us back full circle for David had appeared in memorials of the Great War. Memorials of both wars endeavoured to portray the fight as a battle of good over evil.

The Scottish memorials to those who fell in Spain are part of a chain of international commemoration and yet commemoration of those who fall in war had also been an international phenomenon.

One of the most important of British links with the Spanish Civil War has been the literature - the memoirs and biographies of the participants. One of these works has become a classic - George Orwell's book of his experiences in Spain Homage to Catalonia. Orwell died in January 1950 and he has, as yet, no public memorial in Scotland but Hairmyres Hospital, near East Kilbride, had been the sanitarium where he recuperated from tuberculosis while remote Barnhill on Jura was the lonely little cottage where Eric Blair attempted self-sufficence in farming. While there, in the guise of George Orwell, he put the finishing touches to Nineteen Eighty Four in 1948. Ill-health forced him to return to South but in so doing a little track on an Hebridean island got caught up in the legacy of the Spanish Civil War. Barnhill is not bombastic about its famous

former occupant but it is and remains a memorial to Orwell and to things he valued.

The volunteers who went to Spain deserve to be remembered. The high-mindedness and selfless sacrifice of those who from so many different countries fought side by side and combined to fight fledgeling Fascism is a proud part of the human story. The International Brigade had been a unique fighting force. It is perhaps a sad reflection on our values that their memorials have been so slow in appearing. It is also a lesson in realpolitik for unless Official and moneyed support is given memorials are destined to be few in number and of unimpressive dimension. Though generally of little artistic merit the memorials to those who fought in Spain nonetheless commemorate a real crusade against tyranny.

CHAPTER NINETEEN- PART TWO

PEACE AT LAST

No longer hosts encountering hosts
Shall crowds of slain deplore:
They hang the trumpet in the hall,
And study war no more.

Michael Bruce, 1781,
Scottish Paraphrases,
from Isaiah ii. 2-5

At South Bantaskine, Falkirk, there was, in 1918, erected a unique bronze fountain. By the distinguished sculptor Alfred Hardman RA it was simply erected to celebrate 'Peace' and it depicts a happy child sitting astride a dolphin. It was possibly the only monument to commemorate peace erected in the aftermath of 1914-18. It was a monument to peace not a memorial to war; a monument to life not death.

Something of the same spirit has been captured in the story of the artist Leon Underwood who made frequent flights along the Channel Coast as a pilot during the Great War. It was then that he conceived of the somewhat grandiose scheme for a war memorial or rather an anti-war memorial. Neve has told how Underwood¹ :

"... began to think in terms of a gigantic figure, related to English hill figures like the Cerne Giant or the chalk horses that proliferated in the eighteenth century. Essentially it would be an optimistic image, a figure suggesting resurgence, renewal and peace, cut into the grassy cliff top above Dover, with a clenched fist raised into the air on a colossal arm of Portland stone laid in courses and carved. The fist would symbolize non-aggression by having its thumb tucked inside the closed fingers in a gesture of strength rather than war it would reflect in a poetic way, and with some personal validity, what he had felt about the enormity of war, both as a warning in Wilfred Owen's sense and an affirmation of his own belief in the resilience of human nature".

As a project it was not to be realised for it was doubtlessly an idea too advanced for its time. In 1930 Underwood had not forgotten the idea and completed a gigantic fist carved out of half a ton of Portland stone. He entitled it 'Not in Anger'. Lady Gibberd who was later to possess the work thought it a "wonderful...clenched pacifist fist"² for it was indeed symbolic of power rather than aggression.

In the aftermath of World War Two there was to be no perceptible shift in the direction of memorial design - war memorials were about war and the victims of war and were not designed to celebrate peace. The Establishment had won a war not gained a peace.

In his preface to part of his trilogy on the Great War, Mottram had entreated that there was a need for "a real cenotaph, a true war memorial" which would encourage future generations to settle things without resort to "wholesale slaughter".³

It was not until long after the Second World War that attitudes did change, Neat had lamented⁴:

"... for post-war generations, war memorials, far from being memorials to the essentially innocent victims of the most justifiable of wars, have become almost unacceptable symbols of war itself".

A recent example of this thinking can be found at Waterside in Ayrshire where the new owner of the village hall also acquired the granite cross war memorial. It was his intention to demolish the cross because he considered it "a glorification of war" and that far from being heroes the 37 men commemorated were "murderers".⁵

With such sincerely held views around it is perhaps all the more reason why a new concept in memorial art should be welcomed. It has taken rather a long time but a new breed of memorials has now appeared and these have been set, for the most part, in their own distinct gardens - peace gardens or peace parks.

Peace Monuments are no less political and doctrinal than war memorials had been, although from the diametrically opposite view across the political divide. With a Right-wing Conservative Government at Westminster, Left-wing local authorities have seen fit to declare themselves nuclear free zones (e.g. Strathclyde) and for many district councils to embrace the concept of having monuments in

Peace Gardens. They are symbols of local authority power. They reflect disenchantment with central government policy and its erosion of local authority power as much as they are statements about peace.

Peace Parks owe their origin to the International Year of Peace of 1986 and it was in that year that they were created and dedicated to 'Peace'. One example can be found at the Burngreen in Kilsyth, not far from the town's war memorial and handsome old bandstand with its two war memorial tablets, where now stands a more recent stone monolith. On the stainless steel panel to its face in black letters it states ⁶⁻

International Year of Peace
Burngreen Peace Park
Dedicated on 13th September 1986
by
Provost James Pollok
and
Mayor Marie Therese Pivolli ⁵

The monument, therefore, also reveals a new international spirit of goodwill.

The monuments in the gardens at Dundee and Bridge of Allan tell us that they too were "dedicated to peace". The temporary, if highly successful, Glasgow Garden Festival had a United Nations Peace Garden among its many attractions. The UN Peace Garden Project has defined the role of such gardens⁷:

"(They) use the language of landscape to express and promote ideas about Peace, and opposition to forces which are threatening our future, in particular the development and deployment of weapons of mass destruction".

The intention at the Peace Garden at the Garden Festival had been to portray the Earth as a small house in which everyone has to live and share together and with "confrontation being replaced by co-operation".⁸ It had also the aim to re-establish that particular garden on a permanent site within one of the city parks for the concept was not simply applicable to the Year Of Peace but for all time.

One of the most impressive of the Peace Monuments is that at Airdrie which has impressive iconographical content. It is constructed of roll-edged steel supposedly symbolic of 'visible strength and purpose' but the memorial also incorporates⁹;

"... rivets for honesty of construction, a circular frame symbolising unity, a sculptured dove in stainless steel symbolic of the dove of peace and a laurel garland for honour and achievement".

The tablet at its base records the names of the cities and towns with which Monklands District has forged links of friendship - Airdrie in Alberta, Canada; St. Denis in France and Leningrad (now St. Petersburg) for it was the belief that Peace can be best "maintained throughout the world by establishing links of friendship with all other nations".¹⁰

Although such ideas seem to take root in the 1980's the concept had been developing over a long period and had their origins in the war. Fort William has a pioneering little monument that had been re-built on the Parade using the belfry of the ruined former Council Chambers and with granite from the old fort that gave the town its name. Its black marble tablet to its face, in both Japanese and English, states its object. The English text reads¹¹;

From the Youth of Hiroshima
in the hope that the experience
of 6th August 1945

will strengthen our search
for a peaceful world
June 2nd 1968

Another inscription recalls the "bond of friendship between Dudley, Horoshima and Fort William" and states the monument's role ¹² -

to commemorate the international
Peace cairn on the Summit of Ben Nevis
which was raised by the youth of these three
communities in their hope for a peaceful world.
May we all work together
for peace and goodwill
and live together as one great family.

It is difficult not to say "amen" to such noble hopes.

One of the tablets on the cairn on the top of Ben Nevis proclaims it to be "Britain's Highest War Memorial" ¹³ but asks for "the affectionate hand of friendship" to be extended to every nation. Another tablet placed in 1965 as "a tribute to the fallen of all nations" also calls for a determined effort -

To save succeeding generations
from the scourge of war
which twice our lifetime
has brought untold sorrow to mankind.

The inscription ends "Blessed are the peacemakers".

In 1984 Glasgow's Kelvingrove Park, a stone's throw from that aggressive machine gunner, a young tree has been planted. The little panel set up beside it simply informs us that " Glasgow Remembers Hiroshima 1945-1984".¹⁴ In remembering the dreadful destruction hopes of peace may be well founded.

Although they are few in number the monuments which celebrate the long years of peace and which look forward to a peaceful future are a most welcome departure from all those which commemorate the war dead and seem to celebrate victory rather than peace. Many, while not necessarily glorifying war, at least seem to laud the sacrifice involved in waging war but peace is a better idea. Keeping the peace also demands much effort.

While Prime Ministers have long been content to speak of the 'special relationship' which exists between the United States of America and the UK. The Clyde Coast town of Dunoon was one in which close Anglo-US relations had been a way of life. A little monument was erected in the Castle Gardens and under the shadow of Highland Mary and it was erected with much pride. Its inscription also seems to contain much truth for it commemorates "Twenty Five Years of Co-operation 1961-1986".¹⁵ On a grey metal plate is noted the reason for its erection.¹⁶

In recognition of the men
and women of the Royal Navy
and the United States Navy who
have sailed from the Clyde
to maintain the Peace.

Certainly 25 years of Peace was worth celebrating and it may be that Dunoon has struck the very crux of the matter. It may not suit everyone - pacifists might find the view untenable - but it may be that deterrents can be peaceful weapons in the diplomatic armoury. Be that as it may, however, the whole concept of erecting Peace Monuments and creating Peace Parks and Gardens has to be applauded and everything done to further the cause of peace has to be welcomed.

Victor Hugo had written "greater than the threat of mighty armies is an idea whose time has come": Peace is one of the great ideas. Its time has assuredly come.

Paisley's Barshaw Park was once the seat of the Arthur Family - James Arthur was a prominent Glasgow warehouseman, commemorated by a statue in Cathedral Square. The walled garden, behind the mansionhouse (now Hospital), in 1986 became a 'Peace Garden' which was officially opened by Monseignor Bruce Kent, the Secretary General of the CND. The commemorative tablet offers the worthwhile concept 'Let Peace Begin Here'.¹⁷

All monuments have a message to make, whether it be stated or implied. All monuments inform the present and future generations of values held to be important at that time and perceived to be of lasting worth. They are 'sermons in stones'.

The motto of the City of Glasgow has long been 'Let Glasgow Flourish' and it is interesting to note that in Cathedral Square Gardens, more or less where our journey began the latest monument is a great circular mosaic panel which has the inscription 'Let Peace Flourish'.¹⁸ Indoctrination has ever been an aim of those who erect monuments but this seems to be a crucial statement. It surely has to be the hope for the future and the real lesson of war memorials.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

CHAPTER NINETEEN - PART ONE

1. This and all the other details are from the actual inscriptions to be found on the memorials stated.

CHAPTER NINETEEN - PART TWO

1. Christopher Neve, Leon Underwood,
(London: Thames & Hudson, 1974), p.35-6.
2. Sheila Hourahane, Stoneworks,
(Powis: Welsh Sculpture Trust, 1988), p.4.
3. R.H. Mottram, The Spanish Farm Trilogy,
(Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1979), p.177.
4. Timothy Neat, 'Public Art' in Scottish Review,
No. 30, May 1983, pp.20-28.
5. Observer, 18 April 1993.
6. Inscription on monument at Kilsyth.
7. United Nations Peace Garden, publicity leaflet,
UN Peace Garden Project, Glasgow, 1988.
8. Ibid.
9. Arrival, January 1987.
10. Ibid.

11. Inscription on memorial at Fort William, erected by the
Hiroshima Junior Chamber of Commerce Inc., Japan.
12. Ibid.
13. Details from inscription on cairn at summit of Ben Nevis.
14. Inscription on panel at Kelvingrove Park, Glasgow.
15. Inscription on memorial at Castle Gardens, Dunoon.
16. Ibid.
17. Inscription at Peace Garden, Barshaw Park, Paisley.
18. Inscription at Cathedral Square Gardens, Glasgow.

CHAPTER TWENTY

ENVOI- NOTHING CHANGES

"The more things change, the more they are the same".

Alphonse Karr,
from 'Les Guepes' 1849.

"They have learnt nothing and forgotten nothing".

Charles-Maurice de Talleyrand,
in a letter to Mallet du Pan, 1796.

While this has been essentially a study of war memorials of the Great War the aim has been to put these memorials within a historical framework. A great distance over time has been travelled in as the study has sought to examine the development of war memorials from the distant past to the present day. The Great War memorials are simply one chapter of what has been a long story. Scotland's war memorials have a history which stretches back to the earliest cairns and which has continued to the most recent peace initiatives or to the latest name added to an old monument. The meanings of the memorials has changed even if the monuments are largely unchanged.

Chiefly, however, the study has examined those memorials erected in the aftermath of 1914-18 when the abundance of them were created and when Scotland acquired a memorial in almost every village. An attempt has also been made in tackling some of the questions which seem to be raised when one looks at these memorials today. Many of these questions were asked or were perhaps simply at the back of peoples' minds when they set about erecting those memorials. The issues raised in deciding which memorial to erect and what form it should take were not unique to the men (and women) of the post 1914-18 era.

Many of these problems have been the age-old ones and will never be resolved to everyone's satisfaction. Many of the problems will remain as long as people erect monuments and as long as they seek to introduce the artistic and the aesthetic into a crass utilitarian and largely uncultured world. The concept of usefulness has frequently been more easily definable, or at least more easily understood, than that of beauty. All monuments are erected with a purpose even if they are not utilitarian.

Let us conclude by taking two recent examples, and certainly two examples will, suffice to show that things do not change. It has been said that the only thing Adam would recognise if he were to return today would be the old jokes. It would also seem that he

might recognise the old utilitarian versus monumental argument; the debate over the visually pleasing as against the merely functional. The world has not changed much.

Cardonald Parish Church is an elegant little red-sandstone Gothic Revival church of the late 19th century. It was the first of the church buildings designed by the eminent architect Peter Macgregor Chalmers and though it was subsequently extended twice - in 1899 and 1925 - these were also to plans prepared by the same architect and in the same Early English style. It is "well-nigh impossible to tell what the original church really was like"¹ for it looks as though it was all built at the one time. The church's historian has assessed the church as being "an attractive architectural essay, the work of a much respected Glasgow architect and is both built to a pleasing design and is well maintained".² Chalmers has some fine church buildings to his credit - including those at Kirn, Strone, Prestwick, Elgin, St. Margaret's Newlands and St. Anne's Corstorphine. His restoration work includes Symington Parish Church (restored in part as a war memorial), Holy Trinity St. Andrews, Paisley Abbey and Iona Cathedral. He designed many war memorials within churches but he was also part of the war memorial story for he designed many outdoor war memorials including those at Ardrossan, Crieff, Cambusnethan, East Kilbride, Houston, Pollokshields and Stonehouse.³ Cardonald Parish Church was a seminal work in the development of the career of this notable church architect and though it has more modest proportions than some it is still a very fine building and has become a 'listed' building.

Cardonald Parish Church has always had some excellent stained glass windows and at the time of its opening in 1889 the press reported that its windows were of "rare excellence".⁴ Over the years many new windows have been inserted. In the 1960s it was decided to replace windows on the west aisle (that they had become faded was the accepted view) with new stained glass all on the theme of "The Life, Death and Resurrection of Our Lord Jesus Christ" and indeed five of the six windows were then replaced. In 1983 the artist

Sadie McLellan was invited back to make repairs to one of the windows following a minor bout of vandalism. While carrying out this work she expressed the hope of being given "the opportunity of completing the series by creating a new window for the one that had not been replaced then".⁵ As Mrs McLellan was at that time in her 70's it seemed that if the window was ever to be obtained it had to be obtained fairly quickly. She herself remarked "it had better be sooner than later lest my skills begin to fade".⁶ A sum of £1000 was required to commission this new window on the theme of the Sermon on the Mount depicting Christ as "The Giver of the Word" and it was to be installed as soon as the old window could be removed. The old window was to be carefully set aside for re-use elsewhere on the church premises. It may be of interest to record the fact that the earlier windows which were taken out were simply lost or discarded. They were also memorial windows and reveal that the commemoration of one age has not always been either valued or appreciated by later generations.

The members of the congregation were requested, through their own magazine Contact, if they would "even in these times of economic hardship assist in any effort being made to raise money for this worthwhile project".⁷ The idea was to receive a very mixed response.

The Advisory Committee on Artistic Matters of the Church of Scotland not only "unanimously approved" but expressed their "congratulations to the congregation at the successful conclusion of this project which has extended over twenty years".⁸ One member of the congregation held quite a different view and writing anonymously to Contact stated "it is ridiculous to even contemplate spending £1000 on a new window as for as it being an aid to worship and a visually satisfying experience - what rot".⁹ It was that person's view that the money should be used for "a more worthwhile project"¹⁰ and he (or she) suggested repairs and improvements to the church, a scanner machine for those suffering from cancer, kidney machines for the local hospital or even just "to help the young or the

old...to make their life happier".¹¹ The local press took up the story and labelled it as "a costly project" and a local minister joined in the fray by saying that he was "not surprised that someone had condemned the plan ... the money could be spent on more deserving causes".¹²

The money did, without too much difficulty, come in and in November 1983 the new window was installed. The organiser of the window appeal fund expressed his hope that "even anonymous letter writers will agree that it was all worthwhile".¹³ Not only does everyone now agree that it is a fine window but that it was right to complete the project. Old age and increasing infirmity compelled the artist to retire and move to Canada and thus if the project had not been carried out at that time it would never have been completed. An opportunity would have been lost forever. They are without doubt a superb series of windows by an acknowledged leading artist in that field and they are now the outstanding windows in a church full of fine windows. Of course, the money could have been spent on more useful things, they are almost countless in number, but that would not have led to the completion of the long-begun project nor led to this aesthetically pleasing result.

The other example is about a war memorial, or rather the absence of one, but one which almost everyone seems to agree on the need to have a monument. There is no debate about its lack of utilitarian aspect and yet there were still problems to be encountered.

May 1990 saw the 75th anniversary of the Quintinshill Rail Disaster - the worst in the annals of British railways when three trains were in collision near Gretna and 227 lost their lives on 22 May 1915.¹⁴ One of the trains had been a troop train taking men of the 7th Battalion Royal Scots from Leith to Liverpool where they would board for Gallipoli and most of those who perished in the crash were soldiers. The plan which was revealed in May 1990 was to erect a memorial as near as possible to the site of the accident and for it to take the form of a monument similar to the ones that were put up

in the aftermath of the Great War. It was suggested that it had been an "oversight"¹⁵ not to have erected a monument before and that something akin to what might have been erected at that time seemed an appropriate solution.

It was not going to be quite so straightforward.

Others suggested that, rather than have it located near the railway lines, it be located in the village of Gretna where more people could see it and where it might be less susceptible to vandal attack. Some suggested that a site near the popular tourist trap of the famous Blacksmith's Shop was the ideal spot for the monument.

Others have suggested that rather than have a granite obelisk that a cairn could be erected with each of the stones used in its construction represent one of the soldiers who died. Some suggested that the bronze tablet or lettering should also pay tribute to the Western Front Association under whose auspices the Memorial Service had been held and whose Area Chairman had undertaken to ingather funds for its construction. Sadly it was even suggested that the inscription might invite people to join the association. This was surely an inappropriate suggestion if ever there was one but it was, nonetheless, a most interesting utilitarian suggestion that a memorial be used as a means of advertising. Memorials in the past might have had a propagandising role but this seemed to be the first time an advertising role had been suggested.

There seemed to be as many suggestions as there were donations to the appeal. Problems in securing a site near the track and the cost of securing a suitable monument resulted in the general consensus seemingly finally to favour the idea of a cairn at Gretna. Being some distance from the scene of the accident there has been, perhaps understandingly, a lack of any clear commitment to place it in a place of mere convenience and this has resulted in further delay. Quintinshill still has no memorial.

It is perhaps very easy, with the benefit of hindsight and recent experience, to now see that unless people firmly took the initiative in the early 1920's and pressed ahead with their ideas fewer memorials would have been created. Much more time would have been spent on discussions on all the problems - site, form, inscription, etc., etc., - when decisions had to be made if a monument was ever to be erected. It is, and was, easy to raise many unnecessary issues and pleasing everybody is not possible. Committees require, and no doubt did require, to quickly and decisively act to put memorials where they wish them. It is easier to impose from above than allow things to develop from below if one wishes a desired end. Delay only compounded problems and many of these might have overlooked or obscured the real purpose of the memorials being erected.

There has always been problems in creating public works of art; there has always been problems in erecting memorials. The problems remain. They are no more easily resolved today than they were in the aftermath of the Great War. Some things do not change. Attempting to erect a memorial today - one which should have been placed there after the First World War - merely highlights afresh the old problems. One suspects it was not any easier to erect a memorial in 1920 and it is not easy to erect one in the 1990's. Nothing changes!

That is, however, not the case. Things actually do change. The steps to an equality of treatment of war dead and the means of commemorating them have been the hallmarks of our study. This has changed.

The aftermath of the Falklands conflict resulted in a great shift in the means of commemorating the Fallen. The Falklands was the first war in which bodies were repatriated for burial at home - it was a break with the long tradition of burying men with their comrades on the battlefield. Yet fourteen servicemen are still buried in the trim little CWGC cemetery at San Carlos. On a tablet fixed to the perimeter wall of the compound all those lost at sea are

commemorated. Their bodies can never be brought back home for the South Atlantic is their resting place. Thus we appear to have for the first time an obvious inequality of treatment even if the graves in the UK are the standard CWGC stones. Thus we have a change which may have been welcomed by the next of kin of many of those who died but may have caused much sorrow to those who were unable to have their serviceman-relative repatriated. It seems to have been an ill-considered change and perhaps after all the long tradition of commemorating the war dead with burial on the field and war memorial at home was a fairer way in an unfair world. Perhaps the more things change the more they should have been left unchanged.

The war memorials of each village and town satisfied or at least seemed to satisfy a need for their day and age. Though we, in many respects and from an aesthetic perspective, may find fault with the memorials today we can only conclude that when erected they represented much grief and not a little pride. If there is a need to commemorate those who died in battle nothing which has been done since the Great War has come any closer to satisfying that desire.

Erecting monuments and the erection of war memorials in particular is likely to be an ongoing activity. Each age has sought to commemorate its achievements and those whom it deemed worthy of special remembrance. In the Introduction to the first report of the National Heritage Memorial Fund, the national war memorial fund, the Trustees saw fit to quote Sir Francis Drake. It is worthy of our consideration also. Drake writing to Walsingham in 1587 stated ¹⁶:

"There must be a beginning of any great matter, but the continuing unto the end until it be thoroughly finished yields the true glory".

There can be no such end to the story of war memorials. There is no end to saga of the War Memorials either. They are part of a long tradition ; they exist in the present and who knows what the future holds for them.

Trachtenberg has stated "monuments are unfashionable today".¹⁷ War Memorials are perhaps less fashionable than most. Each age has its own values. Objects have meanings. The meanings of war memorials have ceased to be relevant. The values which those who erected them wished to project as lasting values did not last "for evermore". The values which they represent no longer matter but the monuments still stand as representatives of old values. They are symbols of the past. War Memorials are static but the world has moved on. The message of War Memorials erected in the aftermath of the Great War is now as obsolete as the patriotism which it wished to present to the world.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. G.T. Bell, Cardonald Parish Church
The First Hundred Years, (Glasgow, 1989), p.31.
2. Ibid. p.30.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid. p.31
5. G.T. Bell, 'New lights for old',
Cardonald Contact, November 1983.
6. Letter from Sadie McLellan to G.T.Bell, 11 May 1983.
(collection of author).
7. G.T. Bell, Contact, November 1983.
8. Letter from David Maxwell, Secretary to the Advisory Committee
on Artistic Questions, Church of Scotland, to G.T. Bell,
8 July 1983, (collection of author).
9. Cardonald Contact, September 1983.
10. Ibid.
11. Ibid.
12. The Govan Post, 16 September 1983.
13. Cardonald Contact, November 1983.
14. Glasgow Herald, 24 May 1915.

15. Letter from Area Chairman, Scottish Branch,
Western Front Association, to Scottish newspapers
25 April 1990. (collection of author).

16. National Heritage Memorial Fund, First Annual Report 1980-81,
p.1.

17. Marvin Trachtenberg, The Statue of Liberty,
(New York: Viking Press, 1976), p.16.

APPENDICES

- a. Architects, Designers & Their Work.
- b. Sculptors, Carvers & Their Work.
- c. Monumental Masons, Granite Suppliers & Their Work.
- d. Craftsmen, Tradesmen & Their Work.

Art is skill - skill in doing or skill in making.
Whatever else art may be it is always that.

Eric Gill. ¹

1. Eric Underwood, A Short History of English Sculpture,
(London: Faber & Faber, 1933), p.155.

APPENDIX A

ARCHITECTS, DESIGNERS & THEIR WORK

Notes

* denotes designer other than an architect.

Name of partnerships given in brackets and place of practice if furth of Scotland.

Where dates are given these are generally those of the unveiling of the memorials. As there had often been some delay between execution of a design and its construction on site it seemed desirable to have some uniformity of treatment - the dates reflect therefore the completion of memorials rather than their inception. For the most part unveiling dates follow completion dates.

Allison, Jas P., Dalkeith (1921).

Anderson, T.S., Anstruther (1920).

Arthur, Lt.Col. J.M., Airdrie (1923).

Bain, W.J.,(Denny & Bain), Johnstone (1924).

Balfour, Andrew, Bridge of Weir (1921).

Barr, Geo.,(Galt & Barr), Blantyre (1922), Bo'ness (1923),
Bothwell (1923), Dunoon (1923).

Bell, Ernest, (Bell & Harvey), Alexandria (1922), Doune (1922),
Kilmaronock (1922), Kincardine on Forth (1922).

Blanc, Frank E. B., Dunbar (1920), East Linton (1920).

Blomfield, Sir Reginald,¹ Loch Shiel (1919).

Boddy & Dempster (London), Renton (1922).

Boston, Menzies & Morton, Sandbank (1922).

Bowie, J.M., Annan (1921).

Braddock, Thos., (Wimbledon), Dundee (1925).

Browne, Geo. Washington, Duddingston (1921), Haddington
(1921), Larbert (1921), Keith (1923).

Buchanan, David, Cove & Kilcreggan (1922).

Burnet, Sir J.J., (Burnet, Son & Dick), Ballatar (1922),
Dumbarton (1922), Glasgow (Cenotaph, 1924),
Grangemouth (1923), New Cumnock (1921), Skelmorlie &
Wemyss Bay (1922). IWGC work in Palestine, Egypt
and Gallipoli.

Cameron, Sir D.Y.,* Alexandria (1922), Cambusbarron (1922),
Kilmaronock (1921), Morvern (1921), Thornhill (1921).

Campbell, Chas. G., Buckhaven & Methil (1922).

Carfrae, J.A., Edinburgh (Geo. Watson's School, 1921),
Ormiston (1924).

Chalmers, P. MacGregor, Ardrossan (1923), Cambusnethan (1921),
Crieff (1921), East Kilbride (1921), Glasgow (Barony

1921), Glasgow (Pollokshields 1921), Houston (1921),
Old Kilpatrick (1921), Stonehouse (1921).

Chisholm, J.G., Tarbert (Harris) (1922).

Cobban, J., Ellon (1923), (signed by architect).

Costley,- Townhill (1923).

Cowie & Miller, Fauldhouse (1922).

Crabbe, Frank, Bucksburn (1920).

Davidson, Geo. R., Stirling (1922).

Davidson, Wm., Annandale (1919), Coaltown of Balgonie (1924),
Clachan Kintyre (1921), Parkside (1921).

Dawson, Jas., Causewayhead (1923).

Deas, F.W., Edrom (1921), [London, Stockwell]

Duncan, A.F., Port Glasgow (1921).

Duncan, W.L., Turriff (1923).

Dunn, J.B., Edinburgh (Geo.Heriot's School, 1924),
Hawick (1921), Jedburgh (1921), Killin (1920), Lockerbie
(1922), Newburgh (1922), Walkerburn (1923).

Fairburn, Walter, Menstrie (1922).

Fairlie, Reginald,² Auchtermuchty (1920), Bendochy
(1922), Blairgowrie (1921), Edinburgh (Scot.Amer.,1928),
Kinclaven (1920), Moffat (1920), Monzievaird (1920).

- Fulton, J.B., Kirkintilloch (1925)
- Gall, Hinton, Inverness (1922), Stornoway (1924).
- Galloway & Gibb, Cumbernauld (1921), [Maryport 1921].
- Gardiner, A.,(Gardiner & McLean), Lesmahagow (1922).
- George, Sir Ernest & Yeates,A.B.,(London), Berriedale (1920)
(signed by architects).
- Gray, Jas., Edinburgh (Royal High School, 1923).
- Greig, Albert, Glencorse (1920).
- Haxton,A.D.,(Haxton & Watson), Lochgelly Institute (1923).
- Hay, Jas.S.,(Hay & Steel), Darvel (1923),Dundonald (1921).
- Henderson and Fowlie,³ Macduff (1920).
- Hislop, A.D.,⁴ Aberuthven(1919), Cardross (1921).
- Horne, D.E.A., Brora (1922), Helmsdale (1924).
- Houston, Jas., Kilbirnie (1922).
- Hughes, Mrs E. Burnet, Coatbridge (1927).
- Hughes, Prof., T.H., Hamilton (1926).
- Hunter, J.K. Ayr (1924), Maybole (1925).
- Jeffrey, J., Culross (1921).
- Jenkins, G.G.,(Jenkins & Marr), Brimond Hill (1920).

Joass, J.J.,(London), Dingwall (1922).

Kelly, Dr Wm.,⁵ Balmoral(1922), Banchory (2)
(1922 and 1923), Dyce (1921).

Kinross, John ⁶, Buckie (1925), Cocksburnpath
(1920), Cupar (1922), Edinburgh (Fettes, 1921),
Kirriemuir (1922), Montrose (1924).

Laird, Jas. A., Kilmacolm (1921).

Lake, Falconer, Taynult (1920).

Leadbetter, Fairley and Reid, Bedrule (1920).

Lennox, Gavin,(Lennox & McMath), Muirhead-Chryston (1923),
Thornliebank (1921).

Logan, Robert, New Luce (1923).

Loudon Mrs L.,* Dundonald (1921).

Lorimer, Sir Robt., ⁷ Alloa (1924), Ballantrae (1922),
Blyth Bridge, Broughton (1920), Caddonfoot, Carnbee,
Colmonell (1922), Edinburgh (SNWM 1927), Edinburgh
(University 1923), Galashiels (1925), Glenelg (1920),
Glen Prosen (Church 1920), Kelso (1921), Kinross, Largo,
Lerwick (1924), Leven (1921), Markinch (1920), Melrose
(1921), Paisley (1924), Perth (St. John's 1928),
St.Andrews (1922), Selkirk (1922), Skirling (1920),
Strathblane (1921), Whitekirk 1920).
[Chatham, Plymouth and Portsmouth Naval Memorials,
Carlisle, and Queenstown, South Africa],
and IWGC work in Italy, Germany & Greece.

Lyon, Thos., Symington (1921), Tarbolton (1921).

MacDonald, J. Pond, Fortrose (1922).

Macdonald, Sinclair, Thurso, (1922).

Macrae, E.J., Clachan Kintyre (1922).

Mackay, J.S.,(Heiton & Mackay), Kirkcaldy (1925).

McKenzie, Dr. A.M. (Marshall Mackenzie & Son),⁸
Aberdeen (1925), Aboyne (1921), Coull (1920), Coutts,
Dornoch (1922), Drumoak (1921), Dufftown (1920),
Fochabers (1921), Forres (1922), Grantown (1921),
Mosstodloch, Nairn (1922), Strathpeffer (1922)..

McWilliam, John A., Glencorse Barracks (1934).

Meikle, Wm.,(on death of A.C.Thomson), Mauchline (1927).

Miller, Alex., Kirkhope(Ettrickbridge) (1920).

Miller, J.,(Cowie and Miller), Newmains (1921).

Miller, Jas.,⁹ Barrhill Hall (1924), Clydebank (1931),
Dalrymple (1922), Glenluce (1920), Kilmarnock (1927).

Mills, J.D.,(Mills and Shepherd), Leuchars (1921),
Tayport (1920).

Mitchell, Bennett, Braemar (1921), Cruden Bay (1922).

Morris, Jas. A., Alloway (1920), Dalry (1922), Heronsford
(1922), Girvan (1922), Prestwick (1921).

Neil, Hamilton, Renfrew (1922).

Orphoot, B.N.H. (Orphoot, Whiting and Lindsay),
Peebles (1922).

Paterson Alex. N., (A.N. Paterson and Stoddart),
Campbeltown (1923), Douglas (1920), Glasgow (Glasgow
Academy 1921), Glenbarr (1921), Helensburgh (1922),
Killearn (1924), Kippen (1920), Lennoxton (1923),
Luss (1922), Shandon (1919),

Paul, A. F. Balfour, (Rowand Anderson & Paul), Dulnain
(1920), Irvine (1921).

Peace, T.S., Marwick Head (Kitchener) (1926).

Pearson, J.M., Muirkirk (1922).

Reid, Peter, Inverkeithing (1923).

Reid & Forbes, Prestonpans (1921).

Richardson Jas. S., (Richardson & Mackay), North Berwick
(1923), Oban (1923).

Roberts, T. & Hume, Bathgate (1924), Blackburn (1925).

Robertson W.A., Balfron (1922).

Ross, Alex, Fort Augustus (Hall 1920).

Ross, Jas. L., (Malcolm Ross & Son), Overtoun (1920).

Scott, W., Sanquar (1924).

Shanks, Wm., Kirkintilloch (1925).

Shearer, J.M., Crossford (1921).

Sinclair, Colin, Gourock (1922),Tiree (1921).

Smyth, Dorothy Carlton*, Greenock (1924).

Souter, T.R., Forfar (1921).

Stewart, J.,* Dumfries (1922).

Swan, T. Aikman, (L. Robertson & Swan), Tranent (1923).

Taylor & Young (Manchester), Dunfermline (1925).

Thomson, A.C., Mauchline (1927).

Tod, A. Stewart,¹⁰ Coaltown of Wemyss (1925),
East Wemyss (1920), West Wemyss (1920).

Troup, F.W.,(London), Huntly (1922).

Tweedie, Chas.E. & Sons, Rothesay (1922).

Valentine, W.F., Thornhill (1921).

Waddell, J. & Young T.P.W.,(on death of P. McG. Chalmers),
Ardrossan (1923), Paisley Abbey (1921).

Watson, John, (Watson, Salmond & Gray), Giffnock (1921).

Watson, G. Mackie, Kintail (1920).

Walker, R.J., Mull of Oa (American, 1919).

Wallace, Col H.R.,* Crosshill (1921),Straiton (1920),
Turnberry (1923).

Williamson, Wm., Kinghorn (1923), Newburgh (Fountain 1923).

Wittett, John, Edenkillie (1921), Elgin (1921).

Wood, Major Jas., Findochty (1923), (signed by architect).

Wright & Wrigley (Wakefield), Brechin (1923).

Wright , Alex & Wylie, E.G., Alyth (1922), Greenock (1924),
Kilbarchan (1921).

Wright, W.J.B., Govan (1922), Motherwell (1921), New
Stevenson (1922), Newton Mearns (1920), Rutherglen (1924).

Young, Alex., Newton Stewart (1920).

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Loch Shiel memorial is listed among Blomfield's works in Fellows, R.A. Sir Reginald Blomfield ; An Edwardian Architect, (London:1985). While this may be his only local Scottish war memorial his Cross of Sacrifice appears in countless cemeteries (Craigton for example) and was adapted by others and proved a popular memorial design (Paisley Abbey for example).
2. Patrick Nuttgens Reginald Fairlie 1883-1952, A Scottish Architect, (Edinburgh: 1959), gives a full list of Fairlie's works.
3. Chas. McKean Banff & Buchan, (Edinburgh: RIAS- Mainstream, 1990). This is the only war memorial that rates a mention in an otherwise excellent guide but then few memorials are mentioned in any guides.

4. Memorials listed are taken from list of Works of A. D. Hislop, compiled after his death by his partner C.G. Welsh, (authors collection).
5. W.Douglas Simpson, William Kelly Ltd ARSA (Aberdeen: University Press,1949) gives some indication of his work.
6. I am indebted to Dr. Deborah Mays, Dept of History, St.Andrews University, for information on John Kinross.
7. P. Savage, Lorimer & the Edinburgh Craft Designers, (Edinburgh: Paul Harris, 1981), has extensive list of memorials by Lorimer.
8. Wm W.Watson A.Marshall McKenzie: Architect in Aberdeen,(Aberdeen: Centre for Scottish Studies,1985), gives a list of some of his memorials.
9. A. Sloan & G. Murray, James Miller 1860-1947, (Edinburgh: RIAS, 1993), lists Dalrymple War Memorial as among Miller's works.
10. John Gifford, The Buildings of Scotland -Fife,(Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1988), reveals much information on A.Stewart Tod's memorials but lists few war memorials in general.

APPENDIX B

SCULPTORS & CARVERS AND THEIR WORK

It was originally proposed to lump all architects and designers together with all artists and craftsmen (and women) under a simple heading 'Artists' but in the end it was thought to be more useful to attempt to differentiate between crafts. There was much overlapping of skills and talents. This is not a hierarchical structure nor any assessment of merits merely an attempt to show the rich diversity of skills used in memorial creation.

Beattie, Thos., Carnoustie (1925), Edinburgh (SNWM 1927),
Irvine (1921).

Bone, Phyllis, Edinburgh (Geo.Herriots 1924),
Edinburgh (SNWM 1927), North Berwick (1922).

Bose, Finandra, Ormiston (1924), Perth (St.John's 1928).

Brown, W. Kellock, Alyth (1922), Dalry (1927), Inveraray
(1922), Johnstone (1924), Kilmaurs (1921), Largs (1921),
Penpoint (1921).

Bryden, Robt., Coylton (1920).

Cameron, S.E., Loch Eck (Lauder) (1920), Sandbank (1922).

Carrick, Alex., ¹ Annandale (1919), Auchtermuchty (1920),
Bedrule (1920), Buckie, Buckhaven, Blairgowrie (1921),
Chirnside (1920), Clachan Kintyre (1922), Dornoch (1922),
Edinburgh (SNWM), Edinburgh (Geo.Herriots 1924),

Edinburgh (Scot-American 1927), Edinburgh (SNWM 1927),
Forres (1922), Fraserburgh (1923), Glencorse (1920),
Heronsford (1922), Killin (1920), Kinghorn (1923),
Kintail (1920), Loch Awe (1920), Menstrie (1922),
Moffat (1920), Newburgh (1922), North Berwick (1922),
Oban (1923), Parkside (1920), St. Margaret's Hope (1921),
Stirling (1922), Taynult (1920), Tranent (1923),
Turriff (1922), Walkerburn (1923).
[Berwick upon Tweed 1923].

Clapperton, Thos., J., Canonbie (1921), Earliston (1921),
Galashiels (1925), Minto (1921), Selkirk (1921).

Clark, Philip Lindsay (London), Glasgow (Cameronians 1924).

Davidson, Wm., Markinch (1920).

Dawson, Arch., Balfron (1922).

Deuchars, Louis R., Glenelg (1920).

Donaldson & Burns, Crianlarich, Edinburgh (SNWM 1927),
Golspie (1922).

Doyle-Jones, F.W. (London), Partick & Whiteinch (1922).

Fehr, H.C. (London), Langholm (1921), Lockerbie (1922),

Gaffin & Co. (London), Newmains (1921).

Gamley, Harry S., Coaltown of Balgonie (1924),
Cupar (1922), Edinburgh (Hearts FC 1922),
Montrose (1924).

George, F.W., Whitehills.

- Gilbert, Walter (London), Clydebank (1931), Troon (1924).
- Gillick, Ernest (London), Glasgow (Cenotaph 1924).
- Good, Thos., Buckhaven & Methil (1922).
- Gordon, Alex V. Leslie, Hawick (1921).
- Gray, Jas., Callander (1922).
- Jackson, Chas. d'O Pilkington, Alloa (1924), Edinburgh (SNWM 1927), Rothesay (1922).
- Kennedy, Hazel, Edinburgh (SNWM 1927).
- Laidlaw. W.R., Edinburgh (Daniel Stewarts 1922).
- McGill, David (London), Kilmarnock (1927).
- McKenzie, R. Tait (Ontario,Canada), Edinburgh (Scot-Amer. 1927).
- Mackie, Don, Kirkmichael (1920).
- McMillan, William, Aberdeen (1925), Echt (1921).
- Malavolti,A., (Florence), Bonar Bridge (1923).
- Meredith-Williams, Alice, Edinburgh (SNWM 1927), Paisley (1921).
- Paulin, Geo. H., Coalsnaughton (1920), Denny (1922), Dollar (1921), Dumbarton (1922), Kirkcudbright, Milngavie (1922), Rutherglen (1924).
[Beaumont-Hamel, 1924]

- Portsmouth, Percy, Castletown (1925), Douglas (1920),
Edinburgh (SNWM 1927), Elgin (1921), Lossiemouth
(1922), Thurso (1922), Wick (1923).
- Price, Henry (London), Arnan (1921), Maxwelltown (1921).
- Proudfoot, Alex., Bearsden (1924), Cambuslang (1922),
Greenock (1922), Kilbarchan (1921).
- Rhind, W. Birnie, Buckie (1925), Edinburgh (Fettes 1921),
Kelty (1921), Prestonpans (1922).
- Rhind, John S., Corstorphine, Edrom (1921), Hutton,
Leith (Rosebank), Paxton, Ratho, Slateford (1923).
- Salveson, Geo., Edinburgh (SNWM 1927).
- Schotz, Benno, Bearsden (1924, see Proudfoot).
- Stevenson, J.A. (London), Dingwall (1920).
- Taylor, Arthur, (carver, John Phillips), Aberdeen (1925),
Inverurie (1921),
- Wade, Geo. (London), Edinburgh (Haig, 1923).
- Walker, Arthur Geo. (London), Keith (Gordons 1923).
- Young Alex. W., Footdee (1919), New Stevenston (1922).
- Young J.A., Alloway (1920), Prestwick (1921),
Renfrew (1922).

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Much of the information on Alexander Carrick obtained from his Correspondence Book in the National Monuments Record of Scotland.

APPENDIX C

MONUMENTAL MASONS, GRANITE SUPPLIERS & THEIR WORK

Axford, I.H. & H.,(Irvine), Dreghorn (1921).

Beattie & Co., (Carlisle),¹ Bonchester Bridge,
Brydekirk (1920), Dornock (1920), Durisdeer, Fort
William, Glenfinnan (1925), Lochmaben (1921),
Wanlockhead, Westerkirk (1921).

Bell, N. Sons, (Jedburgh), Jedburgh (1920).

Beveridge, Wm., (Perth), Freuchie (1921).

Boddie, Wm., (Aberdeen), Bridge of Don (1920).

Bower & Florence, (Aberdeen), Cruden Bay (1922).

Buchanan, J., (Carluke), Carstairs, Carluke (Cemy.1920),
Hamilton (Police 1920).

Caie & Rettie, (Aberdeen), Footdee (1919), Nigg.

Carnessie,G., (Dundee), Carmyllie.

Carrera Marble & Granite Co., (London), Newmains (1921).

Coutts, J., (Aberdeen), North Roe.

Davidson, D. & A., (Inverness), Ardclach (1921), Ardrishaig
(1922), Auldearn (1921), Drumnadrochit (1921), Fordoun
(1920), Inverness (1922), Kinlochewe (1919), Portnockie.

Dickson, J., (Lanark), New Lanark, East Whitburn.

Dods, J. & Sons, (Dumfries), Dunscore (1920), Hollywood,
Ruthwell, Sorbie, Terregles (1921).

Easton, J., (Arbroath), St.Vigeans.

Edwards, W. & Sons, (Aberdeen), Skene.

Flett, H.M., (Aberdeen), Tyrie.

Garden & Co.,(Aberdeen), Auchterless, Fettercairn (1922),
Foveran, Kenmay, Kirkwall (1923), Laggan (1920),
Laurencekirk (1921), [Ravenglass (1920)],
[Beaumont Hamel,(1924)].

Geddes & Walker, (Banff), Macduff (1922).

Gibb Bros., (Aberdeen), Findhorn, Kingswells, Lunan Bay,
Newmacher, Portnockie, Strachan, Weem.

Gilfillan, J., (Dumbarton), Buessan (1922).

Gillespie & Scott, (St Andrews), Kingskettle (1922).

Gray & Co.,(Glasgow), Brodick (1922).

Gray, Robert, (Glasgow),² Bannockburn (1921),Duntocher
(1921), Fauldhouse (1922), Glenbuck (1920), Girvan
(1920), Govan (1922), Govan (K13), Haugh of Urr (1922),
Houston (1921), Inverchaolin, Jura, Kilmelford,
Kintail (Clan Macrae 1922), Kirkcudbright, Lochgair,
Maryhill (1920), Millport (1922), Minard, Motherwell
(1921), Newton Mearns (1920), Old Kilpatrick (1921),
Pollokshaws(1922), Rutherglen (1924), St.Boswells,
Stonehouse (1921), Turnberry (1923).

Hall. Geo.,(Aberdeen), Aboyne (1922).

Hood, John & Sons, (Wick),³ Achiltibuie, Ackergill (1924),
Auchengill, Bilbster, Canisbay (1921), Clyth (1921),
Dundonell (1921), Lairg (1921), Papa Westray (1922),
Reay, Shieldaig, Thrumster, Torridon (1922), Ullapool,
Wick.

Hutcheon, Henry, Ltd.,(Aberdeen), Invergordon (1922),
Kirriemuir (1922).

Hutcheon, Jas., (Aberdeen), Gordon.

Jackson & McGibbon, (Glasgow), Newarthill (1921).

Kennedy, J.C., (Ayr), Lethamhill (1920), Rankinstone (1921),
Whitletts (1921).

Kerr, John, (Maybole), Colmonell (1922).

Kirkland, Jas., (Motherwell), Craigneuk (1925), Uddingston.

Kirkpatrick, Wm. & Sons, (Manchester), Lockerbie (1922).

MacDonald & Co., (Aberdeen), Ballantrae (1922),
Lerwick (1924).

McDougall, J. (Oban Monumental), Cullipool, Seil (1921),
Luing, Tiree (1921).

McGlashen, Stewart, & Co., (Edinburgh),⁴ Clachan Kintyre
(1922), Edinburgh (Blackhall), Gifford (1921),
Melrose (1921), Pittenweem.

McKay, W. & Son, (Aberdeen), Midmar, Rayne, [Mons. in
Lancashire & Northumberland⁵]

McLachlan, Hugh, (Ayr), Barr (1923), Kirkoswald (1921),
Minishant (1920), Monkton (1920), Patna (1920),
Straiton (1920).

Meek, J., (Auchtermuchty), Auchtermuchty (1920).

Meffen, D., (Airdrie), Greengairs.

Miller, D., (Biggar), Biggar (1922).

Milne, Robt., (Turriff), Huntly (1922).

Morren, D. & Co., (Aberdeen), Auchindour, Clatt, Lumsden,
Rayne, Towie, Udny, ["11 for Northumberland"
and "six Soldiers of English Foot regiments" ⁶].

Mossman, J. & G. (Glasgow),⁷ Baldernock (1920), Banton (1920),
Barrhill (1922), Bunessan (1922), Campbeltown (1923),
Cumbernauld (1921), Douglas (1919), Helensburgh (1922),
Pollokshields (1921), Strontian (1920), [Maryport (1921)].

Murdoch, A., (Kirkcaldy), Bowhill (1922), Cellardyke (1922),
Cowdenbeath (1928), plus 'ten others in Fife'⁸.

Newall, D.H. & J., (Dalbeattie), Balmaclellan, Colvend,
Corsock (1920), Crossmichael, Gelston, Isle of Whithorn
(1920), Kirkbean, Kirkmahoe (1919), Kirkpatrick Durham,
Kirkpatrick Juxta, Parton (1920), Rhu (1921).

Orr. T.R., (Lanark), Cleland (1921), Law (1920).

Paterson, Jas., (Holytown), Holytown (1921).

Pollock, J. Stoneyburn.

Pope, James, & Son, (Aberdeen), [Walthamstow, etc ⁹].

Roberts, Wm., & Sons, (Falkirk), Bathgate (1924), Blackness
(1922), Laurieston (1921), Whitburn,

Robertson, J. & Sons, (Aberdeen), Deskford, Johnshaven
(1923), Kintore (1920), Whiteness.

Robin, R.W., (Toward), Innellan (1921).

Robson, R., (Hawick), Mertoun.

Ross, Thos., (Stirling), Kilmaronock (1921).

Ross, J., (Forfar), Letham (1922).

Scott, W., (Glasgow), Fenwick (1921).

Scott & Rae, (Glasgow),¹⁰ Aberuthven (1919), Airdrie
(1923), Avonbridge (1920), Barrhead (Church 1920),
Barrhill (1922), Bellshill (1921), Bo'ness (1924),
Borgue (1920), Bowling (1920), Bridge of Weir (1921),
Bruichladdich (1921), Cairndow (1920), Carradale (1920),
Crawford (1922), Dailly (1921), Dalserf (1919),
Dennyloanhead (1921), Drymen (1922), Dundonald (1921),
Durisdeer (1921), Duntocher (1921), Dunvegan (1923),
Edzell (1921), Gatehouse (1921), Glasgow (Green 1920),
Girvan (1922), Gorebridge (1920), Holytown (1921),
Invershin (1921), Kilmartin (1920), Kilmun (1923),
Kilsyth (1921), Kirkcormel (1920), Kirkcowan (1921),
Kirkmaiden (1920), Kirkmichael (1920), Larkhall (1921),
Leadhills (1922), Lochgilphead (1921), Lochgoilhead
(1920), Lochwinnoch (1921), Logierait (1921), Loth (1922),
Morningside (1921), Netherburn (1920), Newarthill (1921),
Newmilns (1922), Nitshill (1921), Nitshill (Meikle 1920),
Portmahomack (1921), Renfrew (1922), Southend (1922),

Stepps (1921), Strathaven (1922), Stewarton (1921),
Stoneykirk (1921), Symington (1921), Tarbert (1921),
Thornliebank (1922), Tighnabruich (1920), Tongland
(1920), Torrance (1921), Twechar (1920), Tullibody
(1921), Whiting Bay (1920), Wilsontown (1921),
Yoker (1921).

Scott & Rennie, (Aberdeen), Fordoun (1922).

Simpson, W., (Aberdeen), Nairn (1922).

Sinclair, P., (Wick), Dunbeath, Keiss, Lybster (1921).

Speedie, R., (Lanark), Crossford (1922).

Stewart & Co., (Aberdeen & Dumfries), Ayr (1924),
Ballachulish, Creetown (1921), Dumfries (1922),
Maxwelton (1921), Old Meldrum, Port Ellen (1922),
Portsoy (1924), Portlethan (1920), Tarland (1921),
Tough (1921), [Grand Falls, Newfoundland].

Taggart, Jas., (Aberdeen), Balmoral (1922), Cairneyhill
(1922), Newton St. Boswells, Tarves (1922).

Thomson, J.J., (Kirkcaldy), Star (1920).

Tumard, C.C., (N.Berwick), Whitekirk (1922).

Vallance, H., (Prestwick), Benwhat (1921),
Loch Eck (Lauder 1920).

Vickers, Wm., & Co., (Glasgow), Kilmacolm (1921). Dalrymple (1922).

Walker, J., (Peebles), Kirkurd.

Wilson, Alex., (Macduff), Findochty (1923).

Wishart & Son, (Musselburgh), Elphinstone.

White, G.H. & Sons, (St. Andrews), Leuchars (1922).

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Information on Beattie and Co, obtained from their records.
2. Robert Gray's former partner Mr C. Whalley provided me with information.
3. Mr Wm. Hood provided information on family firm.
4. Messrs Stewart McGlashen still survive but their records reveal little about their memorial work which would doubtlesly have been extensive.
5. Aberdeen Daily Journal, 15 August 1922.
Report tells they erected "the majority" of their memorials in England and Wales "particularly in Northumberland and Lancashire".
6. Ibid. Report tells of "six soldiers of English foot regiments"
7. Messrs G. & J. Mossman permitted access to their records.
8. Dunfermline Journal, 4 August 1928.
9. Aberdeen Daily Journal, 15 August 1922.
Report tells of monuments in the Midlands and London area and that they erected "12 others of cenotaph type".
10. Mr W. Bruce of Scott & Rae produced an almost complete list of their memorial work. The history of the firm tells little of their vast output in memorials.

APPENDIX D

CRAFTSMEN & TRADESMEN & THEIR WORK

Names of trades given where firm was neither builder nor mason.

Those whose trade is unknown are marked *.

Aitkenhead, R. & Sons, (Glasgow), Dumbarton (1922),
Blantyre (1922).

Allen & Son, (Edinburgh), Edinburgh (SNWM 1927),
Paisley (1924).

Angus, J. & Sons, (Edinburgh), Chirnside (1920),
Moffat (1920).

Armstrong & Main Ltd, (Glasgow), Colmonell (1922),
New Lanark.

Barr, J., (Barrhill), Barhill (1922).

Bayne & Martin, plumbers, (Forres), Edinkillie (1921).

Bell, J., (Stirling), Morvern (1921).

Bromsgrove Guild, bronzeworkers, (Birmingham), Peebles)1922).

Brown, Wm, & Sons, (Hamilton), Bothwell (1923).

Burton. A.B., bronzeworkers, (Thames Ditton), Canonbie (1921),
Keith (Gordons 1923).

Calderwood, Andrew & Sons, (Kilmarnock), Dunlop (1920).

Cleghorn & Sons, (Newmains), Newmains (1921).

Cummings, J., (Glasgow), Cambusnethan (Church 1921).

Currie, Robt., (Gartocharn), Kilmarnock (1921).

Douglas. Robt., (Coatbridge), Coatbridge (1927).

Emery, John & Sons, (Glasgow), Clydebank (1931).
Glasgow (Genotaph 1924), New Stevenston (1922).

Fairbairn, Wm & Sons, (Peebles),* Peebles (1922).

Findlay, R.G., (Cupar), Cupar (1922).

Galbraith & Winton, (Glasgow), Edinburgh (Royal High 1923).

Gawthorp & Sons, bronzeworkers, (London), Dairsie (1920).

Glass & Elliot, (North Berwick), North Berwick, (1920),

Grandison, L., (Peebles),* Peebles (1922).

Gray, Jas., (Newmains), Newmains (1921).

Gray, Thos., (Kilbarchan), Kilbarchan (1921).

Hadden, Thos., iron workers, (Edinburgh), Clachan Kintyre
(1922). Crossford (1921), Edinburgh (SNWM 1927).

Hannah, Thos, (Dunoon), Sandbank (1922).

Hardie, John & Sons, (Bo'ness), Bo'ness (1924).

Henderson, J.R., (Elgin), Edinkillie (1921),
New Elgin (1922).

Henshaw, Chas., bronzeworkers, (Edinburgh),¹ Alloway (1920),
Alva, Bathgate (1931), Caputh, Crossford (1921), Dornoch
(1922), Edinburgh (SNWM 1927), Edinburgh (Canongate),
Fochabers, Galashiels (1925), Glenluce, Helensburgh
(1922), Kirkintilloch (1925), Lerwick (1924),
Leuchars (1921), Newport, Sauchie 1922, Stornoway (1920),
Tain, Thornton, Townhill (1923).

Holmes & Jackson, bronze workers, (Glasgow), Alloway (1920),
Blantyre (1922), Bothwell (1923), Bo'ness (1924).

Horne, W., (Dunrossness), Lerwick (1924).

Howie, T. & Co., (Alyth), Alyth (1922).

Kirkpatrick, Wm. & Sons, (Manchester), Lockerbie (1922).

Leggots, bronzeworkers, (London), Bonnybridge (1921).

Lessels, Jas. & Sons, ironworkers, (Dumfries), Townhill (1923).

Lindsay, J.G. & Sons, (Peebles),* Peebles (1922).

Lion Foundry, ironworkers, (Kirkintilloch),
Kirkintilloch (1925).

McDonald & Creswick, bronzeworkers, (Edinburgh),
Edinburgh (SNWM 1927), [Beaumont Hamel (1924)].

McLean, J., (Dornoch), Dornoch (1922).

McLean, L. & Son, (Inverness), Glenelg (1920),
Inverness (1922).

McLeod & Sons, (Edinburgh), Colmonell (1922),
Edinburgh (SNWM 1927), Paisley (1924).

McQueen, G. & J., (Kippen), Kippen (1920),

Malcolm, A., (East Linton), East Linton (1920).

Mancini, Geo., bronzeworker, (Edinburgh),² Alloa (1924),
Edinburgh (Fettes 1921), Rutherglen (1924).

Martyn, H.H. & Co, bronzeworkers, (Cheltenham),³
Ayr (1924), Bridge of Allan (1922), Clydebank (1931),
Glasgow (Cameronians 1924), Troon (1924).

Meikle, J. & D., (Ayr), Ayr (1924).

Messor, Wm, master of works, (Glasgow), Glasgow (SCWS 1921).

Michie, Alex., metal worker, (Wishaw), Cambusnethan (1921).

Millar, J. & Sons, (Edinburgh), Peebles (1922).

Mitchell, Robert, (Huntly), Stornoway (1924).

Mitchell, John, metal worker, (Crail), Crail (1920).

Morris & Co., bronzeworkers, (London), Glasgow (Cenotaph 1924).

Muir & Sons, (Glasgow), Kippen (1920),
New Cumnock (1921), Shandon (1919).

Muir, Matt., & Sons, (Kilmarnock), Crosshill (1920),
Crosshouse (1921), Cumnock (1920), Dundonald (1921),

Greenock (1924), Symington (1921), Tarbolton (1921),
Waterside (1921).

Murray, Grant, (Brora),⁴ Brora (1922), Helmsdale (1924).

Nicol, Geo., (Letham), Letham (1922).

Murray, T., (Peebles)*, Peebles (1922).

Osborne & Co., bronzeworkers, (London), Monimail (1920).
Fortrose (1922).

Parata, bronzeworkers, (Glasgow), Renton (1922).

Paterson, Jas., (Holytown), Holytown (1921).

Paterson, Wm., (Airdrie), Airdrie (1923).

Paton, J.A. & Sons, (Alexandria), Alexandria (1922).

Paton, Wm., (Ayr), Coylton (1920).

Pert, R. & Sons, (Montrose), Dundee (1925).

Reid, F. & Sons, (Irvine), Irvine (1921).

Reid, G. & Sons, (Catrine), Mull of Oa (1920).

Reynolds & Sons, (Stirling), Doune (1922),
Stirling (1922).

Ross, D., (Forres), Forres (1922), Nairn (1922).

Runciman, C., (Peebles)*, Peebles (1922).

Sale, H.B. & Co., bronzeworkers, (Birmingham); Menock.

- Simpson, Geo., (Crail), Crail (1920).
- Simpson, W., bronzeworker, (Aberdeen), Nairn (1922).
- Singer & Co., bronzeworkers, (Frome),⁵
Buckie (1923), Edinburgh (SNWM 1927),
Lockerbie (1922), Paisley (1924).
- Smith, R. & Co., ironworkers, (Glasgow),
Bonnybridge (1922), Helensburgh (1922),
Overtoun (1920).
- Smith & Wellstood, ironworkers, (Falkirk), Cupar (1922).
- Smith, H., (Elgin), Elgin (1920), Portree(1921).
- Smyth, A., (Peebles),* Peebles (1922).
- Stewart, Jas. & Sons, (Dunfermline),
Dunfermline (1925), Townhill (1923).
- Thaw & Campbell, (Glasgow), Renton (1922).
- Trail & Son, (Helensburgh), Helensburgh (1922),
Luss (1922).
- Weir, Robt, & Sons, (Campbeltown), Clachan Kintyre (1922).
- Wippell, J., & Co., metal workers, (London), Tain (1920).

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Information on Charles Henshaw's work obtained from their record books and from discussion with Mr R. Macleod.
2. Information on George Mancini's work obtained by interview with Mr Mancini, 1 February 1985.
3. Information on Martyn's obtained from Mr. J. Whitaker and from his book The Best.
4. I am indebted to Jack MacLennan MBE, Registrar, Brora, for information on these memorials.
5. Duncan S. James, A Century of Statues (Basingstoke: 1984), gives a brief history of the firm.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

"In the afternoon they heard it was a German plane that had been brought down three miles on the other side of Auchencairn. The pilot, a loon of eighteen, had been killed instantly.

"'Puir bastard!' old Abee said, throwing aside a frosted potato, 'he was somebody's bairn'".

Fred Urquhart
from 'The Tattie Dressers'.¹

1. R. Blythe (Ed)., Writing in a War,
(Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1982) ,pp.109-118.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PRIMARY SOURCES

- Minutes of Glasgow Corporation (Mitchell Library).
Minutes of Meetings of Glasgow War Memorial Committee,
(Strathclyde Archives).
Lord Provost's File on Establishment of Glasgow War Memorial
(Strathclyde Archives).
Minutes of Meetings of Rutherglen War Memorial Committee,
(Strathclyde Archives).
Minutes of Wishaw Town Council (Motherwell Library).
Minutes of Motherwell & Wishaw Town Council (Motherwell
Library).

Minutes of Royal Scottish Academy, Sub-Committee on War
Memorials. (Royal Scottish Academy)

Photographic Record Book of Messrs Chas. Henshaw, Edinburgh.

Alex Carrick's Correspondence Book, National Monuments Records
of Scotland.

Reginald Fairlie's Correspondence, NMRS.

J. & G. Mossman's Account Books (J. & G. Mossman Ltd).

Beattie & Co. Account Books (Beattie & Co Ltd).

Catalogues of J. Gibson & Co. (James Gibson).
Catalogues of Maile & Co. (Margaret Bell).
Catalogues of H. Martyn & Co. (John Whitaker).
Catalogue of The Medici Society Ltd. (Medici Society).
Catalogue of Sculptured Memorials & Headstones, London.

Official Papers

Annual Reports of Commonwealth War Graves Commission.
Annual Reports of Imperial War Graves Commission,
Introductions to Registers of Memorials (IWGC).
Annual Reports of National Heritage Memorial Fund.

Report on 12th Decennial Census (1911 Census).

National Heritage Act 1980.

Finance Act 1946 (National Land Fund - Sections 48-51).

Newspapers and Journals.

Aberdeen Press & Journal
Aberdeen Daily Journal
Airdrie & Coatbridge Advertiser
Alloa Advertiser
Alloa Journal
Ayr Advertiser
Ayrshire Post
Ayrshire World
Banffshire Advertiser
Bulletin
Cardonald Contact
Carlisle Journal
Clydebank Press
Daily Record
Dumfries & Galloway Standard
Dundee Courier
Dunfermline Journal
Dunfermline Press
Dunoon Observer & Argyllshire Standard
Fife Free Press
Fife News Almanack
Glasgow Evening Citizen
Glasgow Evening Times
Glasgow Herald
Glasgow Weekly Herald
Gourock Times
Govan Press/Govan Post
Greenock Telegraph
Hamilton Advertiser
Helensburgh & Gareloch Times
Kilmarnock Standard
Lennox Herald
Nairnshire Telegraph
Northern Scot

Oban Times
Paisley Daily Express
Paisley & Renfresshire Gazette
Rutherglen Reformer
Stirling Journal & Advertiser
Times
Transactions of Scottish Ecclesiological Society
Wishaw Press & Advertiser

Architects Journal
Architectural Prospect
Architectural Record
Arrival
Builder
Building News
Chapter
Charles Rennie Mackintosh Society Newsletter
Gallipolian
Imperial War Museum Review
Journal of Royal Society of Arts
Journal of Town Planning Institute
Oxford Art Journal
Quarry Masters Journal
RIAS Quarterly
RIBA Journal
Scottish Architect & Building News
Scottish Architectural Heritage Society Newsletter
Scottish Georgian Society Newsletter
Scottish Ecclesiological Society Transactions
Stand-to.
Stone Industries
Western Front Association Bulletin

SECONDARY SOURCES

Biographical Works

- Amery, Colin & Richardson, Margaret (Eds.),
Lutyens; The Work of the English
Architect Sir Edwin Lutyens 1869-1944,
London: Arts Council, 1981.
- Ashworth, Sue, The Lino King: The Life & Times of
Lord Ashton, Lancaster: Lancaster City Museums, 1989.
- Atholl, Duchess of, Working Partnership,
(London: Arthur Barker, 1958).
- Baker, Sir Herbert, Architecture & Personalities,
London: Country Life, 1944.
- Behrend, George, Stanley Spencer at Burghclere,
London: Macdonald & Co., 1965.
- Blomfield, Sir Reg., Memoirs of an Architect,
London: Macmillan, 1932.
- Carline, Richard, Stanley Spencer at War,
London: Faber, 1978.
- Comino, Mary, Gimson & the Barnsleys,
London: Evans Bros., 1980.
- Compton, Ann, Charles Sargeant Jagger : War & Peace
Sculpture, London: Imperial War Museum, 1985.
- Coppard, Geo., With a Machine Gun to Cambrai,
London: Macmillan, 1986.

Cruickshank, G.D.R., Thomas Clapperton: The Border Sculptor,
Edinburgh: Edinburgh City Museums, 1973.

Dorment, Richard, Alfred Gilbert,
London: Yale University Press, 1985.

Edwards, A.Trystam, The Architectural Work of Sir J. J. Burnet
& Partners, Geneva: Masters of Architecture Ltd, 1930.

Fellows, Richard A., Sir Reginald Blomfield: An Edwardian
Architect, London: Zwemmer, 1985.

Fleming, John, Robert Adam & his Circle,
London: John Murray, 1962.

Friedman, Terry, In Praise of James Gibbs: Architect
1682- 1754, Aberdeen: Aberdeen Art Gallery, 1974.

Gallacher, Wm., Revolt on the Clyde, (1936),
London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1978.

Gerber, Cyril, Elizabeth Frink,
Glasgow: Compass Gallery, 1990.

Gill, Eric, Autobiography,
London: Cape, 1940.

Gradidge, Roderick, Edwin Lutyens: Architect Laureate,
London: Geo. Allen & Unwin, 1981.

Graves, Robert, Goodbye to All That, (1929)
London: Folio Society, 1981.

Haig, Countess, The Man I Knew,
Edinburgh: Moray Press, 1936.

- Houfe, Simon, Sir Albert Richardson: The Professor,
London: White Crescent Press, 1980.
- Hussey, Christopher, Life of Sir Edwin Lutyens,
London: Country Life, 1950.
- Hussey, Christopher, Works of Sir Robert Lorimer,
London: Country Life, 1931.
- Tait McKenzie ;Sculptor of Youth,
London: Country Life, 1929.
- Jackson, Neil, F.W.Troup Architect 1859-1941
London: Building Centre Trust, 1985.
- Jones, Capt Adrian, Memoirs of a Soldier Artist,
London: Stanley Paul, 1933.
- Karol, Etam & Finch, Allibone, Charles Holden Architect
1875-1960, London: Heinz Gallery, 1988.
- Kennedy, Michael, Britten,
London: Dent, 1981.
- Kennet, Lady, (Kathleen Scott), Self Portrait of an Artist,
London: John Murray, 1949.
- Kernan, J. & Tyson, A., The New Grove Beethoven,
London: Macmillan, 1983.
- King-Clark, Robt., George Stuart Henderson: The Story of
a Scottish Borderer 1893-1920, Helensburgh: K.-Clark, 1975.
- Le Bas, Sir Hedley, The Kitchener Memorial Book,
London: Hodder & Stoughton, nd.

- Leys, Maj. J.F., Robert Tait McKenzie & Mull of Kintail,
Ontario; Canadian Army Journal, 1955.
- Lutyens, Mary, Edwin Lutyens by his Daughter,
London: John Murray, 1980.
- MacCarthy, Fiona, Eric Gill,
London: Faber, 1989.
- McLaren, John, Sixty Years in an Aberdeen Granite Yard;
The Craft and the Men, Aberdeen; Centre for Scottish
Studies, 1987.
- Maclean, Colin C., Robert Adam FRSE 1728 -1792; Architect,
Edinburgh; University of Edinburgh, 1982.
- McClintock, Marion, Lord Ashton & Lancaster,
Lancaster: Lancaster City Council, 1985.
- McMillan, Duncan, Hew Lorimer- Sculptor,
Edinburgh: Talbot Rice Gallery, 1988.
- Manning, Elfrida, Marble & Bronze: The Art & Life of Hamo
Thorneycroft, London: Trefoil Books, 1982.
- Melville, Jennifer, Pittendrigh McGillivray,
Aberdeen: Aberdeen Art Gallery, 1988.
- Neve, Christopher, Leon Underwood,
London: Thames & Hudson. 1974.
- Nuttgens, Patrick, Reginald Fairlie 1883-1952
A Scottish Architect, Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1959.
- Parker, W.N., Clapperton: A Great Scottish Sculptor,
Jersey: Toucan Press, 1979.

- Parkinson, Roger, Moore of Corunna,
London: Hart Davis/McGibbon, 1976.
- Pearson, Fiona, Goscombe John,
Cardiff: National Museum of Wales, 1979.
- Pelham, C.A.W.A., Earl of Yarborough, Charles Sackville Pelham
Lord Worsley: An Appreciation by his Father,
Croydon: Roffey & Clark, 1924.
- Percy, Clare, & Ridley, Jane, (Eds.), The Letters of Edwin
Lutyens, London: Collins, 1985.
- Powell, P.H. & Griggs, F.L., Ernest Gimson, His Life & Work,
London: Ernest Benn, 1924.
- Rewald, John, Aristide Malliol 1861- 1944,
New York: Guggenheim Museum, 1975.
- Richardson, H. & Lord, G., Lorimer & his Craftsmen,
Edinburgh: National Trust for Scotland, 1986.
- Royle, Trevor, The Kitchener Enigma,
London: Michael Joseph, 1985.
- Sassoon, Siegfried, Siegfried's Journey 1916-1920, (1945),
London: Faber, 1982.
- Savage, Peter, Lorimer & the Edinburgh Craft Designers,
Edinburgh: Paul Harris, 1980.
- Schotz, Benno, Bronze in my Blood,
Edinburgh: Gordon Wright, 1981.
- Simpson, W. Douglas, William Kelly Lld ARSA,
Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press. 1949.

- Skipwith, Peyton, Gilbert Ledward 1888- 1960,
A Centenary Tribute, London: Fine Art Society, 1988.
- Sloan, A. & Murray, G., James Miller 1860-1947,
Edinburgh: RIAS, 1993.
- Smith, Ian McKenzie, Alexander Macdonald: From Mason to
Maecenas, Aberdeen: Aberdeen Art Gallery, 1985.
- Stallworthy, Jon, Wilfred Owen,
London: Chatto/ Oxford, 1974.
- Tweed, Lendel, John Tweed: Sculptor- A Memoir,
London: Lovat Dickson, 1936.
- Usherwood, P. & Spencer-Smith, J., Lady Butler
Battle Artist; 1846- 1933, London: Alan Sutton, 1987.
- Wallace, A.P., The Paterson Family: One Hundred Years of
Scottish Painting, London: Belgrave Gallery, 1977.
- Watson, Wm.H., A. Marshall MacKenzie, Architect in Aberdeen,
Aberdeen: Centre for Scottish Studies, 1985.
- Watkin, David, Athenian Stuart: Pioneer of Greek Revival,
London: Geo. Allen & Unwin, 1982.
- Webster, Jack, A Grain of Truth,
Glasgow: Collins/Fontana, 1987.
- Wheeler, Sir Chas., High Relief :The Autobiography of Sir
Charles Wheeler Sculptor, London: Country Life, 1968.
- Yorke, Malcolm, Eric Gill: Man of Flesh & Spirit,
London: Constable, 1981.

General Works

- Adcock, A.St John, In Remembrance- Soldier Poets Who Have Fallen in the War, London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1918.
- Adair, Elizabeth, North East Folk: From Cottage to Castle, Edinburgh: Paul Harris, 1982.
- Albert Memorial Appeal Committee, Albert Memorial, Manchester: Albert Memorial Appeal Committee, 1979.
- Aldington, Richard, Death of a Hero, (1929), London: Hogarth Press, 1984.
- 'Allan Junior', The Scottish National War Memorial, Dundee: Valentine, Nd.
- Anonymous, A Companion to the Necropolis, Glasgow: John Smith & Sons, 1836.
- Aries, Phillipe, The Hour of our Death, Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1981.
- Ashhurst, John & Dimes, F.G., Stone in Building, London: Stone Federation, 1984.
- Babington, Antony, For the Sake of Example, London: Leo Cooper, 1983.
- Bacon, Jill, The Pity of War - Poems of the First World War, London: Shephard Walwyn, 1985.
- Bain, George, Celtic Art: Methods of Construction, London: Constable, 1977.

Baker, K., (Ed.), I Have No Guns But I Can Spit,
London: Methuen, 1980.

Barnes, Major R.M., The History of the Regiments & Uniforms
of the British Army, London: Seeley Service, 1950.

Barnett, Correlli, Britain & Her Army, 1509- 1970,
A Military, Political & Social Survey,
London: Allen Lane, 1970.

Bartram, Alan, Lettering in Architecture,
London: Lund Humphries, 1975.

Batten, Mark, Stone Sculpture by Direct Carving,
London: Studio Publications, 1957.

Bayley, Stephen, The Albert Memorial : the monument in its social
and architectural context, London: Scolar Press, 1981.

Baynes, Ken, Art in Society,
London: Lund Humphries, 1975.

Beattie, Susan, The New Sculpture,
New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983.

Bell, G.T., (Ed.), Cardonald Parish Church; The First
One Hundred Years, Glasgow, Np., 1989.

Benson, Arthur C., Lest We Forget,
London: Civic Arts Association, 1917.

Bett, Norman M. Civic Bronze ; The Memorials & Statues of
Central Glasgow, Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh, 1983.

The Bible,

Blair, Geo., Biographical & Descriptive Sketches of Glasgow Necropolis, Glasgow: M. Ogle & Son, 1857.

Black, W.G., Glasgow Cross,
Glasgow: Wm. Hodge & Co., 1913.

Blatti, Jo (Ed.), Past Meets Present,
Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1987.

Blythe, Ronald, The Age of Illusion: Glimpses of Britain Between the Wars 1919-1940, Oxford: University Press, 1983.

- (Ed.), Writing in a War,
Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1982.

Bold, Alan, (Ed.), Scottish Quotations,
Edinburgh: Mercat Press, 1985.

Boorman, Derek, At the Going Down of the Sun,
York: Ebor Press, 1988.

Booth, E.C. Talbot, The British Army,
London: Samson, Low and Marston, 1937.

Borg, Alan, War Memorials,
London: Leo Cooper, 1991.

Bowle, John, The Imperial Achievement : The Rise & Transformation of the British Empire,
London: Secker & Warburg, 1974.

Boyce, Anne et al, Ruins & Remains; Edinburgh's Neglected Heritage, Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh, 1985.

Brandon, Piers, Eminent Edwardians,
London: Secker & Warburg, 1979.

Buchan, Peter, Glasgow Cathedral & Necropolis,
Glasgow: J. Mitchell & Co., Nd. but 1840.

Byron, Arthur, London Statues,
London: Constable, 1981.

Cage, R.A., (Ed.), The Working Class in Glasgow 1750 - 1914,
London: Croom Helm, 1987.

Calder, Angus, The People's War ; Britain 1939-1945,
London; Panther, 1971.

Casson, Hugh, (Ed.), Follies,
London: Chatto & Windus, 1963.

- Monuments,
London: Chatto & Windus, 1963.

Chalmers, P. MacGregor, The Cathedral Church of Glasgow,
London: G. Bell & Sons, 1914.

Chapter Gallery, The Cenotaph Project: Class of Rulers,
publicity leaflet, Cardiff: Chapter Gallery, Nd.

Cheyne, G.Y., The Last Great Battle of the Somme
Beaumont Hamel 1916, Edinburgh: John Donald, 1988.

Childe, V.G., Ancient Dwellings at Skara Brae,
HMSO: Edinburgh, 1950.

Church Hymnary, Third Edition.

Coates, Les., The Somme 1914-1918,
London: Tressell Publications, 1983.

- Ypres 1914-1918,
London: Tressell Publications, 1982.
- Colborne, Capt. J. & Brine Capt.F., Memorials of the Brave;
Crimea & Scutari, London: Ackerman & Co., 1858.
- Colvin, Howard, Architecture & the After Life,
New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991.
- Coombes, Rose, Before Endeavours Fade: A Guide to the
Battlefields of the First World War,
London: Battle of Britain Prints, 1976.
- Cooper, C.S., The Outdoor Monuments of London,
London: Homeland Association, 1928.
- Cowan, James, From Glasgow's Treasure Chest,
Glasgow: Craig & Wilson, 1951.
- Crane, Stephen, The Red Badge of Courage, (1895),
London: Folio Society, 1969.
- Curl, Jas. Stevens, A Celebration of Death,
London: Constable, 1980.
- Deas, F.W., The Scottish National War Memorial,
Edinburgh: D. Macdonald, 1928.
- Diack, Wm., Rise & Progress of Aberdeen Granite Industry
London: Quarrymasters Journal, 1948.
- Dillange, Michel, The Arc de Triomphe & the Carousel Arch,
Rennes: Ouest France, 1984.
- Donovan, Capt. C.H.W., With Wilson in Matabeleland, (1894),
Bulawayo; Books of Rhodesia, 1979.

Darke, Jo., The Monument Guide to England & Wales,
London; Macdonald Illustrated, 1991.

Dyer, Gwynne, War.
London: Bodley Head, 1986.

Edinburgh City Museums, Nelson Monument, leaflet No 7.,
Edinburgh: Edinburgh City Museums, Nd.

Eldridge, C.C., Victorian Imperialism,
London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1978.

Eliot, T.S.,(Ed.), Selected Poems of Edwin Muir,
London: Faber, 1965.

Esher, Lord, Conservation of Glasgow - A Preliminary Report,
Glasgow: Glasgow Corporation Planning Dept., 1970.

Ewart, P. & J., Monuments to Memory - the Story of
Rye's War Memorials, Kent: Ewart Publications, 1988.

Farwell, Byron, Queen Victoria's Little Wars,
London: Allen Lane, 1973.

- For Queen and Country,
London: Allen Lane, 1981.

Fawcett, Richard, Glasgow Cathedral,
Edinburgh: HMSO., 1985.

Ferguson, John, The Arts in Britain in World War 1,
London: Stainer & Bell, 1980.

- War & the Creative Arts,
London: Macmillan, 1972.

- Finlay, Ian, Scottish Crafts,
London: G. Harrap & Co., 1968.
- Fletcher, Sir Banister, A History Of Architecture
on the Comparative Method, London: Athlone Press, 1961.
- Frayling, Christopher, The Royal College of Art,
London; Barrie & Jenkins, 1987.
- Friends of the Peoples Palace, Glasgow Green & Roundabout,
Glasgow: Friends of Peoples Palace, Nd.
- Friedman, Terry, The Hyde Park Atrocity,
Leeds: Henry Moore Centre, 1988.
- Fox, Frank, The King's Pilgrimage,
London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1922.
- Fussell, Paul, The Great War and Modern Memory,
London: Oxford University Press, 1977.
- Galt, John, Annals of the Parish,
London: McLaren & Co, 1821.
- Gavine, D. & Hunter, L., A Caledonian Acropolis
The Story of Calton Hill,
Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh, Nd.
- Gibbon, Lewis Grasic, A Scot's Quair, (1932-34),
Harmondsworth; Penguin, 1986.
- Sunset Song, (1932),
London: Pan Books, 1973.
- Gibson, T.A.E. & Ward, G.K., Courage Remembered,
London: HMSO., 1989.

Giddings, Robt., (Ed.), The War Poets,
London; Bloomsbury, 1988.

Giester, Patricia, The National War Memorial: Canada,
Ottawa; Veteran Affairs Directorate, 1982.

Gifford, John, The Buildings of Scotland; Fife,
Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1988.

- The Buildings of Scotland: Highlands & Islands,
Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1992.

Gifford, John et al, The Buildings of Scotland: Edinburgh,
Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1984.

Giles, John, The Somme - Then and Now,
London: Battle of Britain Prints, 1986.

- The Ypres Salient - Flanders Then & Now,
London: Picardy, 1979.

Goodman, Alice, The Street Memorials of St.Albans,
St. Albans: Architectural & Archaeological Society, 1987.

Goodwillie, Edward, The World's Memorials of Robert Burns,
Detroit: Waverley Publishing Co., 1911.

Gomme, A. & Walker. D., Architecture of Glasgow,
London: Lund Humphries, 1968.

Gordon, Anne, Death is for the Living,
Edinburgh: Paul Harris, 1984.

Gordon, Esme, The Royal Scottish Academy,
Edinburgh: Chas. Skilton, 1976.

- Graham-Campbell, D., Scotland's Story in her Monuments,
London: Robert Hale, 1982.
- Graves, R. & Hodge, A. The Long Week-End,
London: Faber, 1940.
- Gray, A. Stuart, Edwardian Architecture,
London: Duckworth, 1985.
- Gray, G., The Mercat Cross of Rutherglen,
Rutherglen: R. Anderson, 1917.
- Gray, Rev. Dr. N., A Pocketful of Saturdays,
Glasgow: STV/Evening Citizen, 1987.
- Groome, Francis, Ordnance Gazetteer of Scotland, Vol III,
London: Wm. McKenzie, 1890.
- Gunnis, Rupert, Dictionary of British Sculptors 1660-1851,
London: Abbey Library, 1968.
- Gunson, E.S., The Story of Ramshorn Church,
Glasgow: N. Adshead & Son, Nd.
- Hall, James, Hall's Dictionary of Subjects & Symbols
in Art, London; John Murray, 1984.
- Hamilton, General Sir Ian, The Scottish National War Memorial,
Edinburgh: Grant & Murray, 1932.
- Hardach, Gerard, The First World War 1914-1918,
London: Allen Lane, 1977.
- Harper, Roger H., Victorian Architectural Competitions,
London: Mansell Publishing Co., 1983.

Harries, M. & S., The War Artists,
London: Michael Joseph, 1983.

Hartman, F.H., The Relations of Nations,
New York: Macmillan, 1973.

Harvey, Anne, (Ed.), In Time of War,
London: Penguin, 1987.

Harvie, Christopher, No Gods & Precious Few Heroes
Scotland 1914-80, London; Edward Arnold. 1981.

Hay, Ian, The First Hundred Thousand, (1918),
Glasgow: Richard Drew, 1985.

- Their Name Liveth,
London: John Lane, 1931.

Hichberger, J.W.M., Images of the Army ; The Military in
British Art 1815- 1914,
Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988.

Holmes, N.M.McQ. & Stubbs, L.M., The Scott Monument ; A History
& Architectural Guide, Edinburgh: Edinburgh Museums, 1979.

Holmes, W.K., Ballads of Field & Billet,
Paisley: Alex. Gardner, 1915.

Hopkins, Canon A, (Ed.), The Churchyards Handbook,
London: Church Information Office, 1962.

Horne, Alistair, The Price of Glory: Verdun 1916,
Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1964.

Horne, Donald, The Great Museum: The Re-presentation of History,
London: Pluto Press, 1984.

- Hourahae, Shelagh, Stoneworks,
Cardiff: Oriel 31/Welsh Sculpture Trust, 1988.
- Howard, George, Castle Howard guidebook,
Castle Howard: Castle Howard Estates, 1972.
- Howarth, Tony, (Ed.), The Great War - Joe Soap's Army's
Song Book, London: Longman, 1976.
- Hume, J.R. & Moss, M.S., Beardmore - The History of a
Scottish Industrial Giant, London: Heinemann, 1979.
- Huntingdon, R. & Metcalf, P., A Celebration of Death
- The Anthrpology of Morality,
Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979.
- Hurst, Sidney C., Silent Cities,
London: Methuen, 1929.
- Hutcheson, S.C., The History of the Royal Academy,
1768- 1986, London: Robt. Royce, 1986.
- Hynes. Samuel, A War Imagined; The First World War
& English Culture, London: Bodley Head, 1990.
- Isherwod, Christopher, The Memorial, (1932),
London: Panther Books, 1978.
- Jagger, J.S.. Modelling & Sculpture in the Making,
London: Studio, 1935.
- James, Duncan S. A Century of Statues - the History of
the Morris Singer Foundry,
Basingstoke: Morris Singer Ltd., 1984.

- Jones, Barbara, Follies & Grottoes,
London: Constable, 1974.
- Jones, David, (Ed.), Properties of Stone,
St. Andrews: Crawford Centre for the Arts, 1986.
- Jones, Nigel H. The War Walk: a Journey Along the Western
Front, London: Robert Hale, 1983.
- Keegan, John, The Face of Battle,
Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1978.
- Kernot, C.F., British Public School War Memorials,
London: Roberts & Newton, 1927.
- Konstam, Nigel, Sculpture: The Art & the Practice,
London: Collins, 1984.
- Laffin. John, Scotland the Brave: The Story of the
Scottish Soldier, London; White Lion, 1974.
- Battlefield Archaeology,
London: Ian Allan Ltd, 1987.
- Larkin, Philip, (Ed.), Oxford Book of Twentieth
Century Poetry, London: Guild Publishing, 1984.
- Lawson, Judith, Building Stones of Glasgow,
Glasgow: Glasgow Geological Society, 1981.
- Linklater, E. & A., The Black Watch,
London: Barrie & Jenkins, 1977.
- Llewellyn, Nigel, The Art of Death,
London: V & A/ Reaktion Books, 1991.

Le Mantre, Susan, Memorials to Canada's War Dead,
Ottawa: Veteran Affairs Division, nd.

Litten, Julian, The English Way of Death,
London: Robert Hale, 1991.

Longworth, Philip, The Unending Vigil: A History of the
Commonwealth War Graves Commission,
London: Constable, 1967.

Lowenthal, David, The Past is a Foreign Country,
Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985.

Lythe, S.G.E. & Butt, J. An Economic History of Scotland
1100-1939, Glasgow: Blackie, 1975.

Lugton, Thos., The Story of Glasgow Cathedral,
Glasgow: Jas. Hedderwick & Sons, 1902.

McCaig, Norman, Penguin Modern Poets 21,
Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1972.

McFarlane, Jas., George Square: Its History, Statues &
Environs, Glasgow: Aird & Coghill, 1922.

McIntyre, Colin, Monuments of War,
London: Robert Hale, 1990.

McKean C. & Walker, D., Dundee: An Illustrated Introduction,
Edinburgh: RIAS, 1984.

Mackenzie, John M., Propaganda & Empire - The Manipulation
of British Public Opinion 1880-1960,
Manchester: University Press, 1984.

- Maclean, C. & Phillips, J., The Sorrow & the Pride,
New Zealand War Memorials, Wellington: Historical Branch/
GP Books, 1990.
- McLean, Ian, The Legend of Red Clydeside,
Edinburgh: John Donald, 1983.
- McMillan A.A. (Ed.), Building Stones of Edinburgh,
Edinburgh: Edinburgh Geological Society, 1987.
- McMillan, James, The Way We Were 1900- 1914,
London: Wm.Kimber, 1978.
- McWilliam, Colin, The Buildings of Scotland: Lothian,
Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1978.
- Malcolm, Lt.Col.G., "We Will Remember",
Edinburgh: British Legion Scotland, 1959.
- Mann, L.M., War Memorials & the Barochan Cross,
Edinburgh: Wm.Hodge & Co., 1919.
- Manning, Frederic, The Middle Parts Of Fortune, (1929),
London: Peter Davies, 1977.
- Martin, David, Glasgow Heritage; Caring for the City's
Listed Buildings & Conservation Areas,
Glasgow: Glasgow Corporation Planning Dept., 1987.
- Marwick, Arthur, The Deluge: British Society & the First
World War, London: Macmillan, 1965.
- Massie, Allan, Glasgow - Portraits of a City,
London: Barrie & Jenkins, 1989.

- Mathieson, C., Morayshire- Cambridge County Geographies
Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1915.
- Meikle, Henry, Scotland & the French Revolution, (1912),
London: F. Cass & Co., 1969.
- Middlebrook, M., The First Day on the Somme, 1st July 1916,
Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1984.
- Middlemass, R.K., The Clydesiders,
London: Hutchinson, 1965.
- Milward, Alan S., The Economic Effects of Two World Wars
on Britain, London: Macmillan, 1970.
- Morgan, Nicholas J. 'Pavement Glasgow' Scott Rae Stevenson
1838-1988, Glasgow: Scott Rae Stevenson, 1988.
- Morris, James, Pax Britannica: Climax of Empire,
London: Faber, 1968.
- Morris, Rev. Wm., A Walk Through Glasgow Cathedral,
Glasgow: Glasgow Cathedral, Nd.
- Morton, H.V. In Search of Scotland,
London: Methuen, 1930.
- Morton, Peter, The Carver's Companion: A Guide to Carving
in Stone and Wood, London: A. & C. Black, 1958.
- Mottram, R.H., The Spanish Farm Trilogy,
Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1979.
- Moult, Thomas, Cenotaph,
London: Jonathan Cape, 1923.

- Mullins, E. Roscoe, A Primer for Sculpture,
London: Cassell & Co., 1889.
- Nairne, S. & Serota, N., British Sculpture in the Twentieth
Century, London: Whitechapel Gallery, 1981.
- Neatherley, V.A., Return to the Battlefields,
Leicester: Herbert Pace, 1978.
- Oakley, Charles, Scottish Industry Today,
Edinburgh: Moray Press, 1937.
- Oakley, Charles, 'The Second City',
Glasgow: Blackie, 1967.
- O'Brien, Garrett, 'Wellington's Pillar' Penielheugh,
Jedburgh: The Crotchet Factory, 1989.
- Orr, T., Historic & Descriptive Sketches of
Motherwell & Wishaw, Motherwell: Orr, 1925,
- Pagan, Jas., History of the Cathedral & See of Glasgow,
Glasgow: F. Orr & Son, 1851.
- Pakenham, Thos., The Boer War,
London: Weidenfield & Nicholson, 1979.
- Parker, Derek, Renfrewshire Rambles,
Perth: Holmes MacDougall, 1972.
- Parsons, I.M., (Ed.), Men Who March Away - Poems of the First
World War, London: Hogarth Press, 1987.
- Paul, Wm. P., The Glory of the Gordons,
Inverness: W.P. Paul, 1966.

- Pearce, Susan, (Ed.), Objects of Knowledge,
London: Athlone Press, 1990.
- Pemberton, W. Baring, Battles of the Crimean War,
London: Batsford, 1962.
- Perks, S. & Cleare, M., The Great War: Impact on Dumbarton,
Glasgow: Jordanhill College, 1978.
- Pevsner, Nicholas, A History of Building Types,
London: Thames & Hudson, 1979.
- Porter, Bernard, The Lion's Share: A Short History of British
Imperialism 1850- 1970, London: Longman, 1975.
- POW Chapel Preservation Committee, Orkney's Italian Chapel,
Stromness: W.R.Rendall, Nd.
- Powell, C.G. An Economic History of the British Building
Industry 1815- 1979, London: Architectural Press, 1980.
- Price, Richard, An Imperial War & the British Working Class
London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1972.
- Priestley, J.B., English Journey, (1934),
Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1977.
- Raban, J., (Ed.), Robert Lowell's Poems ; A Selection,
London: Faber, 1974.
- Radford, C.A. Raleigh, Glasgow Cathedral,
Edinburgh: HMSO., 1970.
- Read, B. & Skipwith, P., Sculpture in Britain Between
the Wars, London: Fine Art Society, 1986.

Read, Donald, Edwardian England,
London: Geo. Harrap, 1972.

Reader, W.J., 'At Duty's Call' A Study in Obsolete Patriotism,
Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988.

Reid, J.M., A History of the Merchants' House
of Glasgow, Glasgow: Merchants House, Nd.

Remak, Joachim, The Origins of the Second World War,
New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1976.

Renfrew District Council, Paisley 500,
Paisley: Renfrew District Council, 1988.

Rinder, Frank, The Royal Scottish Academy 1826- 1916,
Bath: Kingsmead Reprints, 1975.

Richardson, Sir A.E., Monumental Classic Architecture in Great
Britain & Ireland During the XVIII & XIX Centuries,
London: Batsford, 1914.

Robertson, Col.C.M., 51st Highland Division Memorial 1924,
Publication produced for statue's unveiling, nd.

Round, Anne, et al, The Great War; Impact on Kirkintilloch,
Glasgow: Jordanhill College, 1979.

Rudolf, R. deM., Short Histories of the Territorial
Regiments of the British Army, London: HMSO., 1905.

Scholes, Percy A., Oxford Companion to Music,
Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970.

Scott, V. (Ed.), Scottish Conservation Directory 1987-8,
Edinburgh: SDA/Conservation Bureau, 1987..

- Scott, W.R. & Cumison, J., The Industries of the Clyde Valley During the War, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1924.
- Scrymgeor. N., The Story of Scotland's Shrine,
Supplement to Sunday Post,
Glasgow, 11 November 1928.
- Sharp, Thos., The Anatomy of the Village,
Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1946.
- Shearer, W. Ross, Rutherglen Lore,
Paisley: Alex Gardner, 1922.
- Shipley, Robert, To Mark Our Place - A History of Canadian War Memorials, Toronto: NC Press, 1987.
- Sime, Robert T., The Hamilton Mausoleum or Duke's Folly,
Privately printed. Nd.
- Simkin, John, Contemporary Accounts of the First World War,
Blyth: Tressell, 1981.
- Simpson, J.R. & Stephen, K., Civic Stone,
Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh, 1982.
- Sinclair, Fiona, Scotstyle - 150 Years of Scottish Architecture, Edinburgh: RIAS, 1984.
- Slowe, P. & Woods, R., Fields of Death,
London: Robert Hale, 1986.
- Small, James, Scottish Mercat Crosses,
Stirling: Eneas Mackay, 1900.
- Smith, Ian Crichton, Penguin Modern Poets 21,
Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1922.

- Smout, T.C., A History of the Scottish People 1560-1830,
Glasgow: Collins/Fontana, 1977.
- Somerville, Thos., George Square, Glasgow
Glasgow: J.N. McKinley, 1891.
- Stallworthy, Jon, (Ed.), The Poems of Wilfred Owen,
London: Hogarth Pres, 1985.
- Stamp, Gavin, Silent Cities,
London: RIBA, 1977.
- Steiner, Zara S., Britain & the Origins of First World War
London: Macmillan, 1977.
- Stevenson, John, British Society 1914 - 1945,
Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1984.
- Stevenson, W.B., Sundials Of Six Scottish Counties
Near Glasgow, Reprinted from the Transactions
of the Glasgow Archaeological Society, Glasgow, 1940.
- Stirling-Maxwell, Sir John, Shrines & Homes of Scotland,
Edinburgh: W. & R. Chalmers, 1938.
- Strachan, W.J., Open Air Sculpture in Britain,
London: Zwemmer, 1984.
- Strang, John, Necropolis Glasguensis with Observations
on Ancient & Modern Tombs & Sculpture,
Glasgow: Atkinson & Co., 1831.
- Strathclyde Regional Council, Hamilton Mausoleum leaflet, nd.
- Tanner, A., Glasgow Society of Lady Artists 1882-1971,
Glasgow: Glasgow Society of Woman Artists 1982.

Taylor, A.J.P., English History 1914-45,
Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1975.

Teggin, H. et al, Glasgow Revealed: A Celebration of
Glasgow's Architectural Carving & Sculpture,
Glasgow: Heritage Books, 1988.

Terraine, John, The First World War 1914- 1918,
London: Macmillan, 1984.

The Times, War Graves of the Empire,
London: The Times, 1928.

Todd, Geo.Eyre.(Ed.), The Book of Glasgow Cathedral,
Glasgow: Morrison Bros, 1898.

Toft, Albert, Modelling & Sculpture,
London: Seeley Service, 1911.

Trachtenberg, Marvin, The Statue of Liberty,
New York: Viking Press, 1976.

Underwood, Eric, A Short History of English Sculpture,
London: Faber, 1933.

Vallance, Aymer, Old Crosses & Lychgates,
London: Batsford, 1920.

Vansittart, Peter, Voices of the Great War,
Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1983.

Van Zeller, Dom Hubert, Approach to Christian Sculpture,
London: Sheed & Sheed, 1960.

Victoria & Albert Museum, Inscriptions Suggested for War
Memorials, London: Victoria & Albert Museum, 1919.

- Ware, Sir Fabian, The Immortal Heritage,
Cambridge: University Press, 1937.
- Warner, Marina, Monuments & Maidens: The Allegory
of the Female Form, London: Picador Books, 1985.
- Weaver, Sir Lawrence, Memorials and Monuments,
London: Country Life, 1915.
- Scottish National War Memorial,
London: Country Life, Nd.
- Williamson E. et al., The Buildings of Scotland: Glasgow,
Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1990.
- Whitaker, John, The Best : H.H. Martyn & Co.,
Cheltenham: J. Whitaker, 1985.
- White, P, & Gloucester, R., On Public View,
London: Hutchinson, 1971.
- Whittick, Arnold, War Memorials,
London: Country Life, 1946.
- Wilcox, John, The Glasgow Tourist & Itinerary
Lizar's Guide Through Glasgow & Environs,
Edinburgh: W.H. Lizars, 1852.
- Winter, Denis, Death's Men; Soldiers of the Great War,
Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1979.
- Wittkower, Rudolph, Sculpture, Processes & Principles,
Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1977.
- Wolff, Leon, In Flanders Fields,
Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1979.

Wood H.F. & Swettenham, John, Silent Witnesses,
Toronto: Hakkert, 1974.

Youngson, A.J., The Making of Classical Edinburgh,
Edinburgh: University Press, 1966.

Unpublished Theses

Bell, Gilbert T. Museums as Memorials
MA Thesis - University of Leicester 1991.
(has chapter on war memorial museums).

- Anti-War Movements in Glasgow 1914-18,
BA Dissertation - University of Strathclyde 1980.

Unpublished Papers

Bell, Gilbert T., South Africa Remembered: Memorials in
Scotland to Those who Fell in South Africa 1899- 1902.
(a preliminary study of one group of memorials).

- The Limits of Glory - Scottish Battlefields & Their Monuments,
(a preliminary study on battlefield monuments).

Articles

Adshead, Prof. S.D. 'Monumental memorials and town planning',
in Journal of Town Planning Institute, Vol.III, 1917.

Aldred, Margaret G., 'War memorials',
in Stone Trades Journal, July 1949.

Anderson, F.S., 'Granite & granite quarrying',
in Quarrymanagers Journal,
Vol. XVII, No 7, October 1933.

Bell, Gilbert T. 'The story of George Square',
in Glasgow Illustrated, September 1963.

- 'War memorials - a forgotten legacy',
in Scottish Society of Art History Yearbook, April 1987.

- 'War memorials of the Lennox',
in Lennox Guardian, Autumn 1985.

Blackburn, Major, 'Foreword',
The Scottish National War Memorial
Dundee: Valentine, Nd.

Boreham, Louise, 'Louis Reid Deuchars',
in Journal & Annual Report, Scottish
Architectural Heritage Society, No15, 1988.

Bremmen, Tim, 'The cenotaph project - mass of rulers',
in Varient, No 5, Summer/Autumn 1988.

Bryson, Bill, 'More fat girls in Des Moines',
in Travel, Cambridge: Granta, No 26, 1989.

Cassidy, Jim, 'The battle for the war memorial',
in Scots Magazine, October 1987.

Cruft, Kitty, 'The building of the Penielheugh Monument',
in Bulletin of Scottish Georgian Society, No.9, 1982.

Donnelly, T., 'The Rubislaw Granite Quarries 1750-1939',
in Industrial Archaeology, Vol 11, No 3, August 1974.

- 'Structural & technical change in the Aberdeen granite
quarrying industry 1830-1880', in Industrial
Archaeological Review, Vol III, No 3, Summer 1979.

Dutton, Phillip, 'The dead man's penny'
in Imperial War Museum Review, No.3., 1988.

Gradridge, Roderick, 'Edwin Lutyens, the last high Victorian',
in Seven Victorian Architects, J. Fawcett (Ed.),
London: Thames & Hudson, 1976.

Ignatieff, Michael, 'Soviet war memorials',
in History Workshop, No 17, Spring 1984.

Imperial War Museum, 'Some notes on the history of the memorial
plaque and scroll', IWM, 1987.

Jacob, Violet, 'The Wade monument', in
The Lum Hat & Other Stories, Ronald Garden (Ed.),
Aberdeen: University Press, 1982.

Kavanagh, Gaynor, 'Museums as memorial; the origins of the Imperial
War Museum, Journal of Contemporary History,
Vol 23, 1988, pp77 - 97.

——, 'Museums, memorials and minenwerfers' in
Museums Journal, Vol 84, No 2., September 1984, pp.65-70.

- Kerney, Michael, 'Polished granite in Victorian architecture',
in Victorian Society Annual, 1987-88.
- Lamont, Stewart, 'Religion in the city', in
Glasgow Herald Book of Glasgow,
Edinburgh: Mainstream, 1989.
- Lawrence, C. & Harper, M., 'Granite, granite - the rise and
fall of an industry', in Aberdeen Press & Journal,
15, 16, & 17 April 1985.
- McGrath, Jas. S., 'Mackintosh drawings at the University
of Strathclyde', in Newsletter of Charles Rennie Mackintosh
Society, No 50, Winter 1988-9,
- Mackay, James A., 'The world-wide memorials to Robert Burns' in
Burns Chronicle, 1989, pp.77-82.
- Neat, Timothy, 'Public art',
in Scottish Review, No 30, May 1983.
- Parker, W.M., 'A note on the Hopetown Monument', in
Book of the Old Edinburgh Club. Vol 22, January 1939.
- Pearce, Susan, 'Thinking about things' in
Museums Journal, Vol.85, No 4, 1986, pp. 198-201.
- Penney, Nicholas, 'English sculpture & the First World War',
in Oxford Art Journal, November 1981.
- Stamp, Gavin, 'A weekend in Flanders',
Victorian Society/Thirties Society Brochure, April 1988.
- Vallance, Aymer, 'Churchyard crosses',
in Burlington Magazine, September 1918.

- Waddell, Jeffrey, 'The western towers of Glasgow Cathedral',
in Transactions of Scottish Ecclesiological
Society, Vol. 6., 1919-20.
- Walker, David, 'Sir John James Burnet',
in Edwardian Architecture and its Origins,
Alistair Service (Ed.), London: Architectural Press, 1975.
- Walters, Deborah, 'The architecture of Sir Robt. Lorimer in Fife',
in The Lorimers, A Family of the Arts In Fife,
Jennifer Watson (Ed.), St.Andrews: Crawford Centre for
the Arts, 1983.
- Woodbridge, Ernest, 'A place to remember',
in Stone Industries, November 1988.
- Young, Brigadier P., 'The Army Commandos',
in The Commando Memorial Spean Bridge &
A Short History of the Commandos 1940-45,
Fort William: Commando Association, 1978.
- Youngson, A.J., 'The city of reason and nature',
in Edinburgh in the Age of Reason,
Edinburgh: University Press, 1967.

ILLUSTRATIONS

Their names,
Graven on memorial columns, are a song
Heard in the fuure.

Alfred, Lord Tennyson ¹

1. Lawrence Weaver, Monuments and Memorials,
(London: Country Life, 1915), 9371.

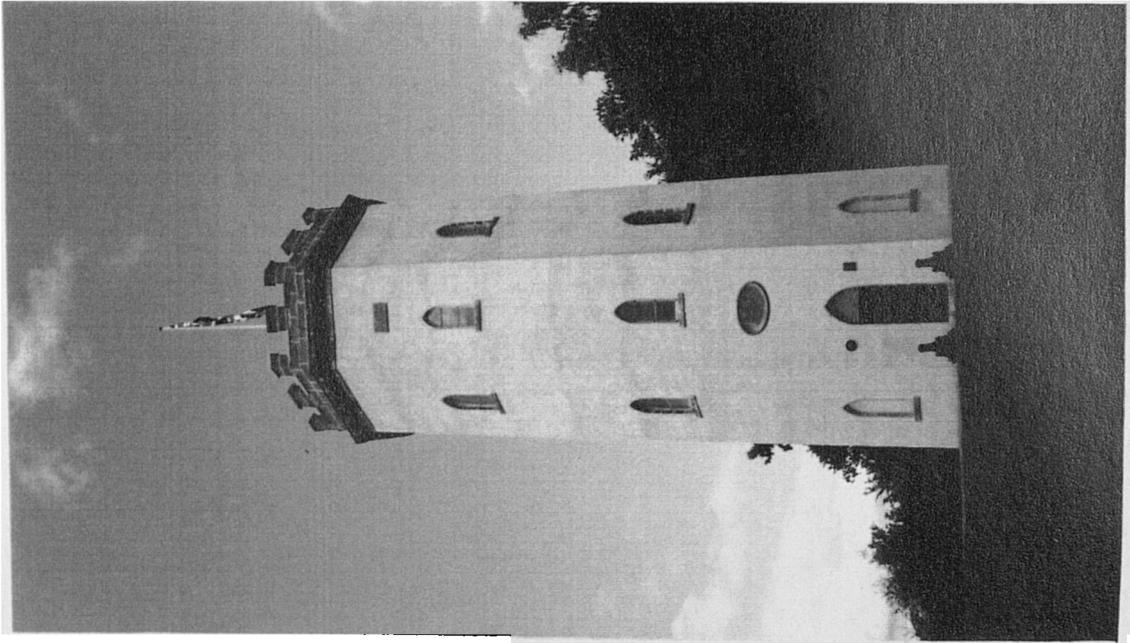


Plate No.1. (above), The Gates of Negapatam on
Fyrish Hill, Evanton.
Plate No.2. (right), The Nelson Tower at Forres.



**Plate No.3. (left), The Cross of Sacrifice
(This one is at Craigton Cemetery).
Plate No.4. (above), Memorial Plaque
(the "Dead Man's Penny).**

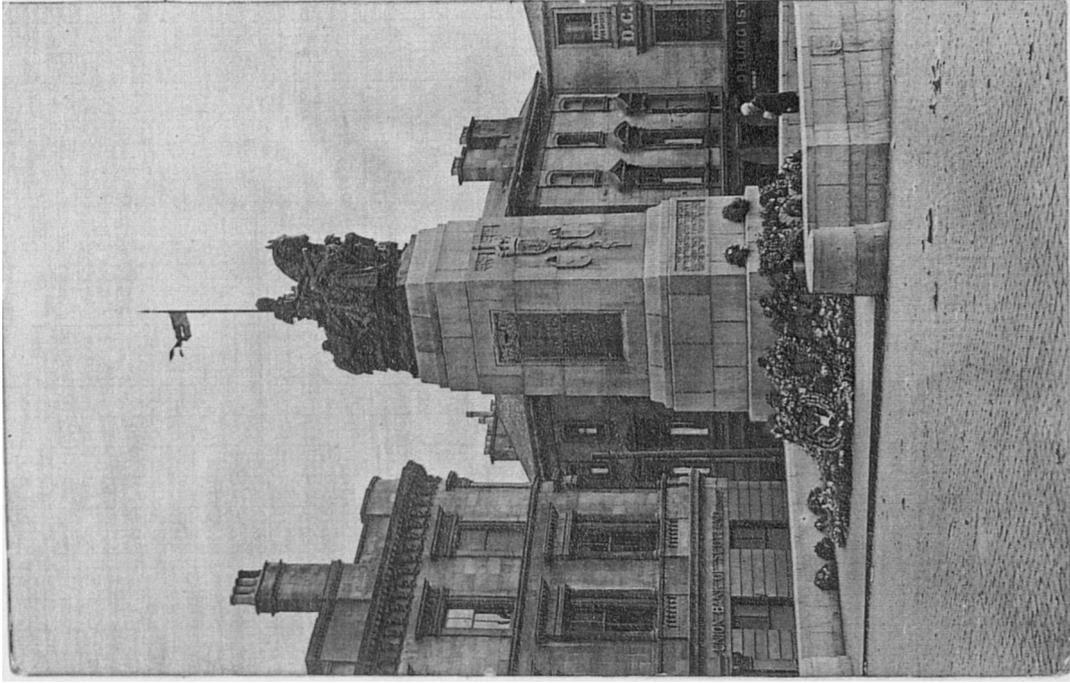


Plate No.6. Paisley War Memorial.

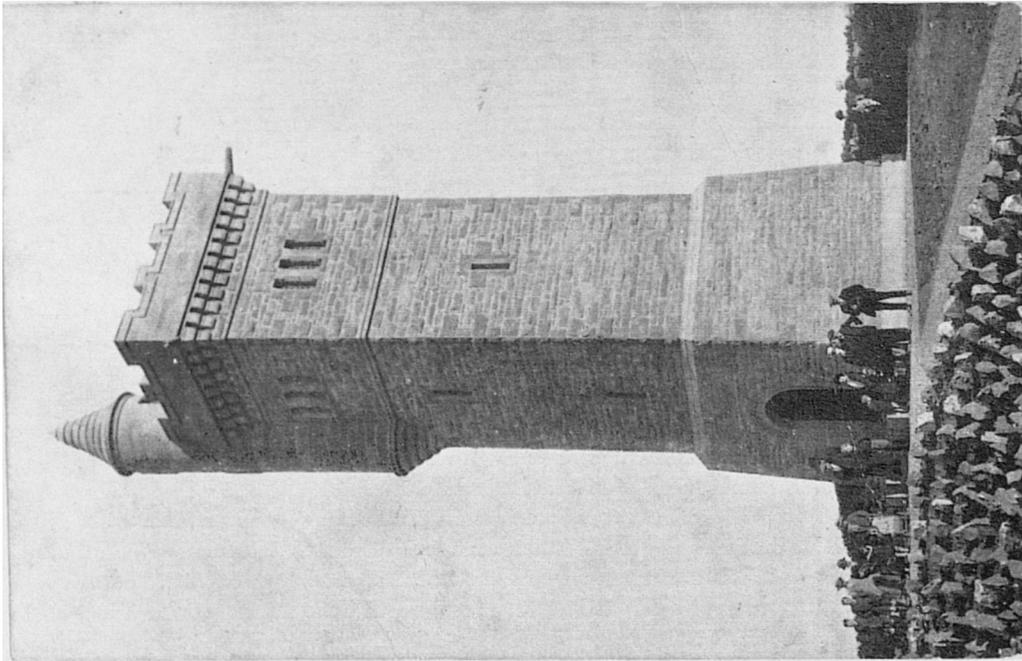


Plate No.5. Forfar War Memorial.

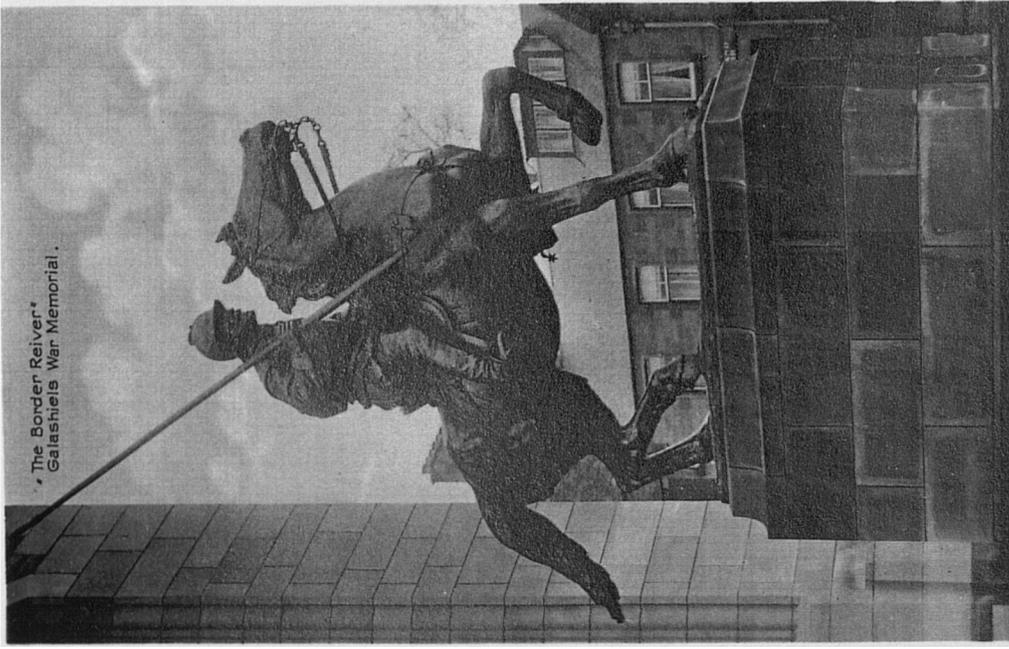


Plate No.7. (above), Stonehaven War Memorial.

Plate No.8. (right), Galashiels War Memorial.

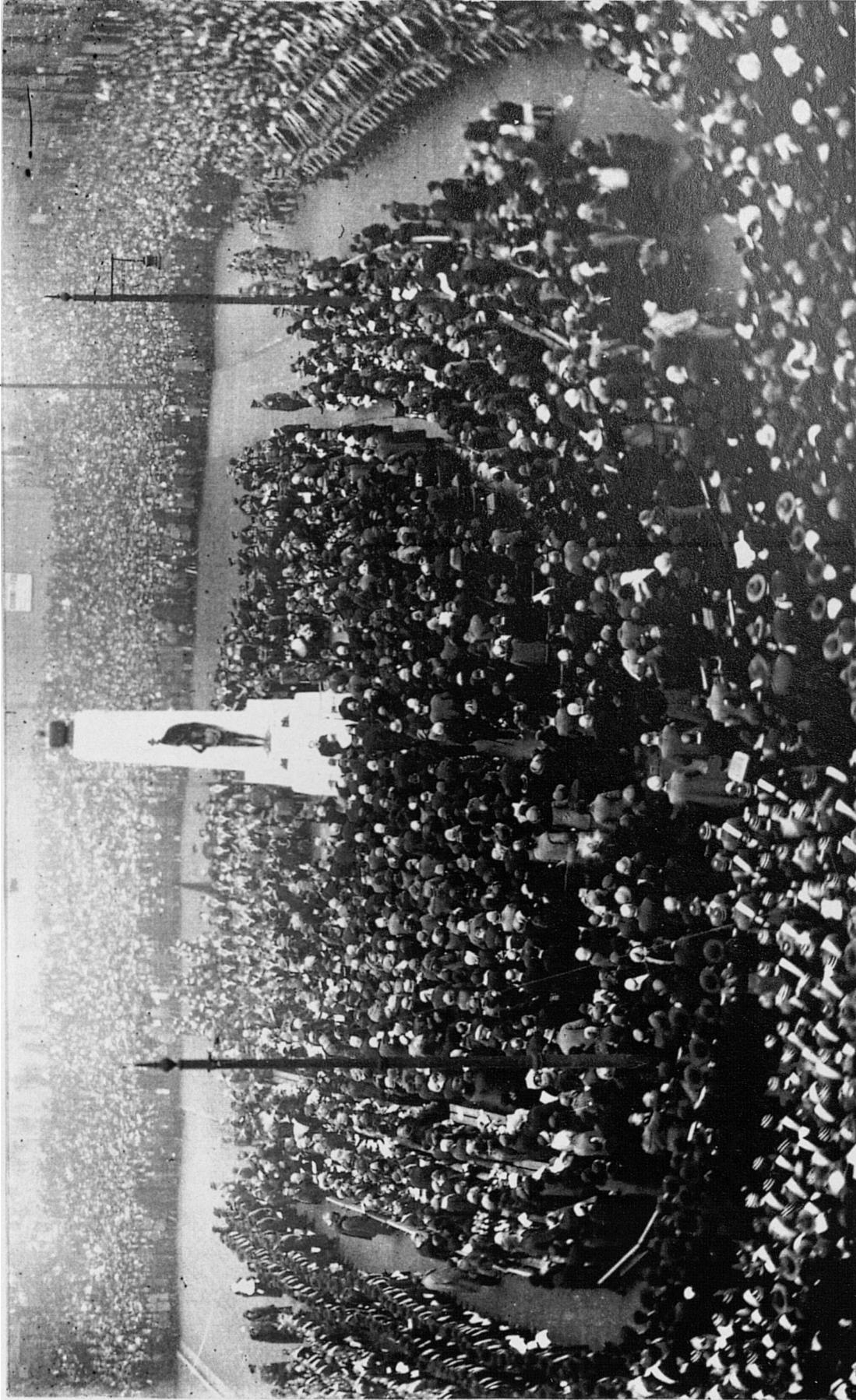


Plate No.9. Unveiling of Rutherglen War Memorial.



Plate No.10. (above), George Square around 1890.
Plate No.11. (below), The Cenotaph, George Square.
Photograph taken soon after its unveiling.



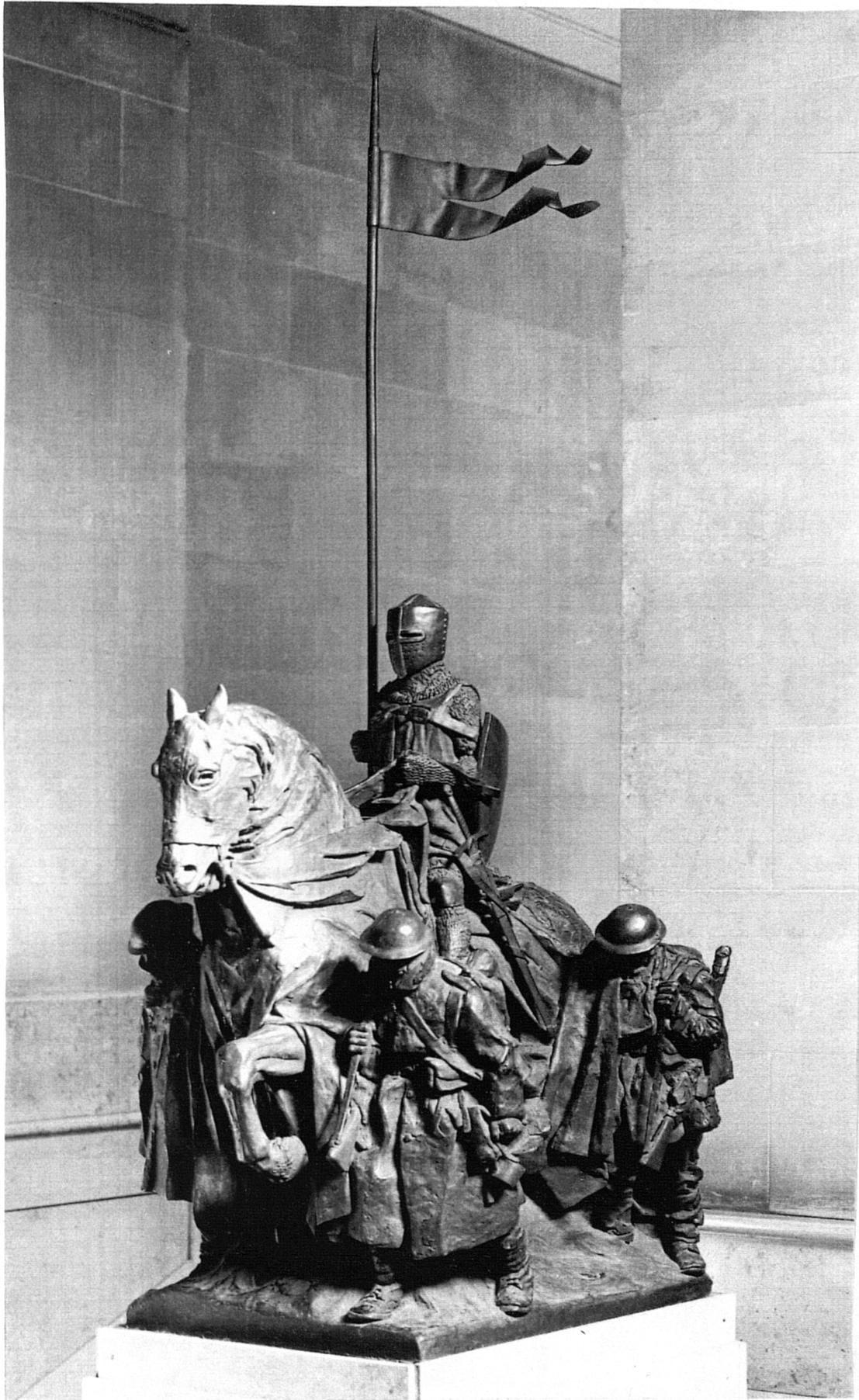


Plate No.12."Spirit of the Crusades" (Paisley's maquette).

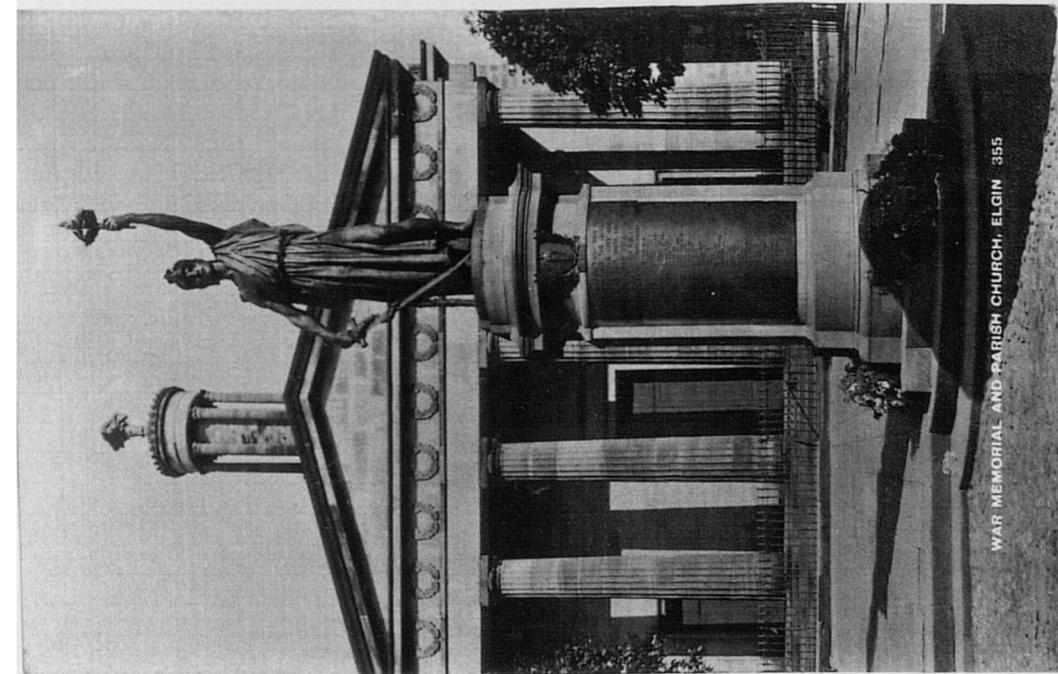


Plate No.13. (left), Elgin War Memorial.

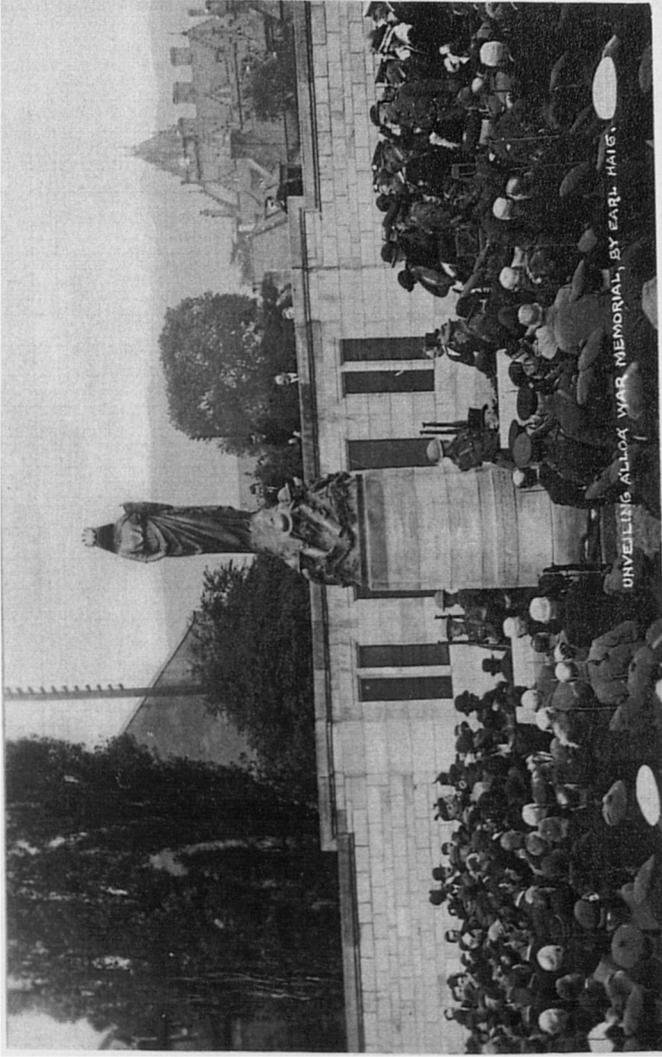


Plate No.14. (above), Alloa War Memorial.



Plate No.15. (left), Udny War Memorial.

**Plate No.16. (above), Cameronians War Memorial,
Kelvinbridge.**

