

**A STUDY OF THE ORIGINS AND
DEVELOPMENT OF GREAT WAR
MEMORIALS IN THE COUNTY OF
GLOUCESTERSHIRE (1917-1933)**

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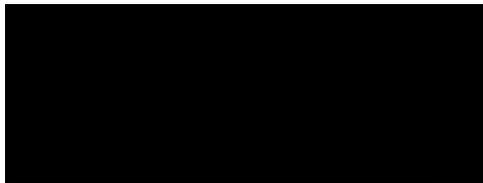
June 2012

AUTHOR'S DECLARATION

I declare that the work in this thesis was carried out in accordance with the regulations of the University of Gloucestershire and is original except where indicated by specific reference in the text. No part of this thesis has been submitted as part of any other academic award. The thesis has not been presented to any other education institution in the United Kingdom or overseas.

Any views expressed in the thesis are those of the author and in no way represent those of the University.

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ABSTRACT

Building upon the work of key writers such as Jay Winter and Robert Bushaway, this work examines the memorials of the First World War as historic structures and records the local monuments' origins and original purpose within the county of Gloucestershire in contrast to previous work on war memorialisation which has focussed more on on the role of the monument in reflecting and strengthening national identity. After an initial county-wide survey, three in-depth case studies of different sized communities, (the village of Cam, the town of Cirencester and the City of Gloucester), are used to analyse the factors that most significantly influenced the location, form, and timing of the erection of different war memorials at these locations.

In addition to considering the significance of community over national factors, the study explores the importance of different community size and of the groups within those communities that most significantly determined memorial construction, including the bereaved, the church and local government, and servicemen and ex-servicemen. Further, the study examines the different memorial forms considered such as non-secular and secular, monumental and utilitarian forms and other factors such as location, iconography, and the form of the Roll of Honour in the development of memorials that were acceptable to the local populations.

The research has drawn upon many previous academic studies on the subject of Great War memorialisation, focussing on the historical perspective to compare how local memorials were used in commemoration and how they maintained significance at local memorial sites within the County of Gloucestershire. Through the analysis of this local involvement of the generation at the time in the development process, the conclusion provides insight as to whether the local war memorial's role continues to provide the intended importance and understanding as a place of local or national significance.

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Introduction

As we observe the contemporary population's response to war memorials today, it becomes clear that there are different levels of understanding of what many people believe are iconic structures. On a personal level I have witnessed a variety of reactions from members of the population ranging from ignorance and minimal knowledge, to anger and contempt resulting in destruction and apathy, through to feelings of reverence.

Personal Engagement with War Memorials

When I reflect on my observations which began with exposure to war memorials when I was working in Canada, I quickly discovered that in each community, in addition to the standard shops, churches and businesses, there were individual structures specific to those locations, one of the main types being the commemorative war memorial. Initially, I thought that all memorials displayed the same message, but I quickly realised that no two were identical. In most cases the forms were completely different, but even if the same forms were replicated, the names and specifically the messages of commemoration were not. This raised my interest in the meaning that the founders/developers of specific memorials wanted them to reflect to the community in which they were erected.

My interests in the development of Great War memorials increased on moving to England. I became intrigued with what the local populations knew about their community's Great War memorial. On one trip to Cornwall, while I was photographing a local memorial, two young teenage boys rode their bicycles by, one asking the other what I was photographing. The second boy yelled back he didn't know. On a second occasion, whilst driving through Combe Down, Somerset, I found the village war memorial on the village green, but it had been completely fenced off from the public with no possible way to view it. In this instance, I contacted the local councillors to arrange to see the memorial and subsequently it was arranged that the local newspaper reporter and photographer would do a story of

the visit, (see Appendix #1). The local Chair of the War Memorial Committee, Phil Bishop, also attended and was able to offer some detail of the memorial. He mentioned a number of the named on the Roll of Honour, including Fred Patch, a cousin of Harry Patch, famous for being the last living British soldier to have fought in the trenches, and one of four British Great War veterans still living at the time of my early research.



[Photo by Robert Taylor author 2008]
Figure 1. Combe Down Roll of Honour showing name of F.A. Patch

Unbeknownst to me at the time, this memorial was significant to the local residents of Combe Down as it had been the village of Harry Patch's birth. To these village representatives their war memorial was a sign of pride, so when someone, like me, took the time to return to see the memorial, a representative delegation was assembled who were able to pass on its history proudly.

Unfortunately, there is also a darker response to war memorials from some people. Over the past three years in the UK there have been several reported acts of vandalism defacing and causing damage to war memorials nationwide, including some in the County of Gloucestershire. A spokesman for the War Memorials Trust ... acknowledged it did happen fairly often: "On average we get one report a week of graffiti, vandalism or theft."¹ Recent cases include the stripping out of Roll of Honour

¹ Prestbury's Damaged Stone War Memorial Rededicated [online], <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-gloucestershire-17689718> [Accessed 16 June 2012].

plaques in Broomfield in 2009, (which have been replaced as of Remembrance Day 2011).² A second similar act in 2011 was the stripping off of Rolls of Honour at the war memorial in Sidcup³ and a third incident was the spray painting of the war memorial at Chase Green, Enfield.⁴ In addition to this, an act of vandalism as recent as 7 October 2011 caused significant damage to the Prestbury memorial in Gloucestershire, where vandals pulled down the top section of village memorial which had been erected in 1920. The series of photographs below (*fig. 2*), show the memorial through the stages of repair which lasted from October 2011 until April 2012. The speed of repair of this memorial demonstrates the significance that memorial had to the community.



[Photo by Robert Taylor author 2008-2012]

Figure 2. Prestbury Memorial Damage and Repair Oct 2011 - April 2012

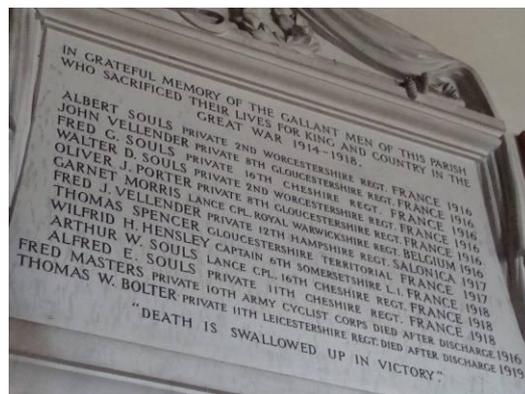
Some of these actions reflect the economic climate and are simply theft of metalwork to be sold as scrap; whatever the causes, however, all these seem to represent at the very least a lack of respect or understanding of what the memorials stand for.

² Kirk Tristan, Broomfield War memorial to be re-dedicated after 2009 vandalism, 2011, [online], http://www.enfieldindependent.co.uk/news/9348924.Broomfield_War_Memorial [Accessed 13 November 2011].

³ Boris Johnson, Metal thieves dishonour the war dead with their vandalism, 2011, [online], <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/comment/columnists/borisjohnson/8873488/Metal-thieves-dishonour> [Accessed 13 November 2011]

⁴ David Hardiman, Enfield Royal British Legion chief Brendan Farrell upset at terrible war memorial vandalism, 2011, [online], http://www.enfieldindependent.co.uk/news/localnews/9350830.British_Legion_chief_upset [Accessed 13 November 2011].

In contrast, however, throughout my research I have come across local individuals who were very knowledgeable about the war memorial in their community and the impact of the war to their local populations. On one such occasion in September 2010, in Great Rissington, Gloucestershire, I met a local inhabitant, who offered me an additional commentary about the village memorial that had not been found in archival materials. He informed me of the local story of five brothers of one family (the Souls) who were listed as casualties on the war memorial on a church tablet in Great Rissington. All five brothers had died during the Great War, but at that time, (during the Great War), they had been commemorated separately with three names in one village and two names at the neighbouring village of Great Barrington. It was explained that this was done so that the population would be shielded from the full effects of the war on a single family. At the end of the war the names of all five brothers were reunited and are inscribed today at Great Rissington parish church memorial. This episode is a poignant story to the villagers and remembered to this date.⁵ I was most grateful to have heard the Souls family's story; however, it is but one of the varied remembrances of the dead of the Great War reflected in a community.



[Photo by Robert Taylor author 2008]

Figure 3. Great Rissington Church Roll of Honour (showing 5 Soul brothers names)

⁵ The story of the Souls brothers was continued by Mr. Winstone who advised the sixth brother, the only remaining brother, was killed shortly after the war in a farming accident. This village war memorial is therefore an important reminder of at least this one family's tragedy and still recognized today. The oral history was received in a conversation with Mr. John Winstone in the churchyard of Great Rissington. John Winstone, 'Discussion of Souls Brothers and the Great Rissington War Memorial', [personal interview], (Great Rissington, Gloucestershire, 14 September 2010).

The contrasting reaction to Great War memorials by populations today also includes one of apathy. There are some war memorials in the county that are prominently located but are however, in disrepair. The memorial at Great Barrington is such an example (see *fig.4a*). Although this memorial is situated on a central road junction of the village, the memorial has not been maintained and is mostly unreadable. Likewise, at the disused church of St. Peter's in Cheltenham (see *fig.4b*) the memorial inscription reading "Lest We Forget" is badly worn. Initially, these common sentiments of the inscription prompted a call to the population to remember those listed on the memorial, but, clearly, due to the inability to read many of the names on the memorial as inscriptions have deteriorated, original information is lost, and the meaning of the form may have faded from memory.



[Photo by Robert Taylor author 2008]

Figure 4a. Weathering of the Great Barrington Memorial Figure 4b Inscription on St Peter's Cheltenham

Derek Boorman has argued:

“Unfortunately, many such memorials are in poor condition or have been destroyed completely. There are countless instances of memorials being defaced by graffiti, bronze name plaques have been stolen, carved inscriptions have almost disappeared over the years churches have been deconsecrated and their memorials lost, and schools and factories have been demolished with similar results.”⁶

⁶ Derek Boorman, *At The Going Down Of The Sun: British First World War Memorials*, (York: Dunnington Hall, 1988), p.1.

The question these observations raised was: if there are such varied reactions to the memorials today, were similar antagonisms evident during the design, development, funding and building stages of the Great War memorials? If the history of the loss of the men and women of the Great War is to be preserved, and by doing so preserve memory of an historical event, it is important to explore what the original intended purpose of the war memorials was.

With the passing away of the last four veterans of the Great War (William Stone, Henry Allington, Harry Patch and Claude Choules) whilst this research was underway, war memorials have regained their importance as the main public reminders of the Great War. With this loss, historical documents housed in archives gain further importance as the main historical evidence as well as for understanding issues relevant to the war. However, with the relative ease of finding war memorials within communities, war memorials once again can be considered as an important educational source. Information inscribed on the memorials, such as the epitaphs and differing inscriptions on the Rolls of Honour, can be read from the stone and, therefore, should be considered as an historic 'document' capable of interpretation.

For the generation alive at the time of construction, the significance of erecting these war memorials had a meaningful purpose due to their relationship to the war and the casualties for which the war memorial commemorates. However, as will be explored, the development process was not simple. Some communities in the county of Gloucestershire took as long as fifteen years to have a satisfactory commemorative structure created. These delays affected the personal relationship of the 'building generation' to the memorial. This could also affect the meaning of the memorial at the time, and could affect the significance and the perception of the structures for future generations as the intended importance may have been altered or lost.

From this, it is hypothesised that if populations today better understood the war memorials in their local community, including more about the people involved in their development and the factors that led to specific memorial designs within these local communities, then perhaps their form would be maintained, not damaged, and would remain as a lasting physical structure of remembrance.

The main aim of this research is to investigate how the building of the central war memorials in communities affected different groups in different sized communities and what factors had to be overcome to create a war memorial accepted by the populations. The strategy, via a series of local case studies of communities of different sizes, is to analyse theories that have been applied to wider spatial and cultural registers. The scope allows exploration of the contested nature of the construction of memorials and discusses a number of forces at play in the understanding of their design, placement, use, and the intended purpose of the memorial to the local population.

Historiography

Although my initial interest came from the personal anecdotes, these are not measurable as data, and my research really took form whilst carrying out work in the Gloucestershire Archive. The archival research evolved into an attempt to unearth how these memorials came into being and what was involved in their original design process in communities of the county. My research offers a micro-study confined to the county of Gloucestershire. The study of the county Great War memorials has been accomplished through the use of archival materials and local press reports as well as a general visual analysis of 303 of the 607 war memorials in the county.⁷ This then is reviewed against the findings from the wider national and international studies to analyse if those findings also apply to Great War memorials located in Gloucestershire. The research undertaken has further explored the

⁷ United Kingdom National Inventory of War Memorials, [online], <http://ukniwm.org.uk/server/> [Accessed 22 May 2009].

substantial existing body of knowledge developed about Great War memorials. The secondary source writing on the subject of war memorials can largely be categorised into two styles: the descriptive and the academic studies. A review of a fair amount of the writing on the subject of war memorials in Gloucestershire was found, but most of this writing is of a descriptive style and the majority of it is about individual Great War Memorials in the county. For example, Ken Fowler and Guy Stapleton write about Morton-in-Marsh and Batsford, Paul and Teresa Cobb write about Lechlade, Susan Brattin writes about Stow-on-the-Wold, Chris Hobson writes about Fairford and N.J. Thornicroft writes on Bisley, Eastcombe and Oakridge.⁸ All of these authors have largely concentrated on the names of the individual soldiers on individual community Rolls of Honour in Gloucestershire. Another broader study is that of Ray Westlake. This study is similar, and largely descriptive in style, detailing casualty lists, but his study differs from the individual memorial writers (noted above), as he used a limited sampling of the war memorials of Gloucestershire and Herefordshire.⁹ My research is not concentrated on discovering the life stories of those listed on Rolls of Honour, but expands upon Westlake's study by using examples of memorials; my study differs from his approach in that my conclusions are written as an academic study, which is the second style of writing on the subject of war memorials.

The academic studies dealing with war memorials contain a more analytical approach, often drawing upon interdisciplinary perspectives and influenced by the foundational research of Maurice Halbwachs

⁸ Ken Fowler and Guy Stapleton, *Morton in Marsh & Batsford Roll of Honour: A commemoration of The Men of Two Parishes Who Lost Their Lives in Twentieth Century Conflicts*, (Knebworth, Herts.: Able Publishing, 1988). Paul and Teresa Cobb, *Lechlade and the Great War 1914 – 1918: An account to the village during the First World War and the stories behind the names on the war memorial*, (Lachlade Historical Society, 1998). Susan Brattin, *Stow on The Wold War Memorial*, (Vale Publishers Ltd., 2005). Chris Hobson, *Fairford's War Memorial and Roll of Honour*, (Fairford Historical Society, 2005). N.J. Thornicroft, *Rural Sacrifice: The War Dead of Bisley, Eastcombe and Oakridge*, (Yellow Rabbit Design and Print Limited, 2010).

⁹ Ray Westlake, *Remembering the Great War in Gloucestershire and Herefordshire*, (Studley: Brewin Books Ltd., 2002).

and Pierre Nora.¹⁰ Halbwachs commented that: “it stands to reason, [that], autobiographical memory tends to fade with time unless it is periodically reinforced through contact with persons with whom one shared the experience in the past.”¹¹ Regarding memorials, Nora argued that although there were other forms of commemoration, these were “the key composite sites at which both private and public memory fused.”¹²

Two current authors on the subject of memorialisation and commemoration are Jay Winter and Bob Bushaway. Their studies have developed a framework within which my research will be developed. Winter’s work shows that the forms of commemoration chosen, (the memorials), erected after the Great War, took the form of classical designs and looked backwards using previous memorial rituals rather than modernist forms. His fundamental argument is that “many traditional motifs – defined as an eclectic set of classical, romantic, or religious images and ideas - are directly related to the universality of bereavement in the Europe of the Great War and its aftermath.”¹³ In a review of Winter’s work, William R. Keylor writes: “Far from discrediting the classical romantic and religious themes of the past, the traumatic experience of the war and the need to preserve the memory of those whom it had swept away reconnected the grieving post-war generation with the familiar, confronting cultural imagery of the past.”¹⁴

¹⁰ Maurice Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, Coser, L., (editor and translator), (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992). Pierre Nora, ‘Between Memory and History’, *Representations* 26, (1989), pp. 7-24.

¹¹ Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, p.24.

¹² Peter Donaldson, *Ritual and Remembrance: The Memorialisation of the Great War in Kent*, (Cambridge: Scholars Press, 2006), p.3.

¹³ Jay Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning - The Great War in European cultural history*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p.5.

¹⁴ William R. Keylor, ‘Review of Winter, Jay, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History*, H-France, H-Net Reviews’, August, 1996, [online], <http://www.hnet.org/reviews/shorev.php?id=550> [Accessed 23 August 2011].

The examination of how the memorial has been understood through time is also undertaken by Winter. His multi-national study, argues that memorials matter to a small group of local people and to those who created them. Over time these people grow old and those who take their place inherit the earlier meanings attached to them but also attach new meanings to them. When in turn this second generation fades away, commemorative structures frequently fade with them, as remembrance of the reason for the memorial's purpose is reduced or lost. Some survive but most fade into the landscape.¹⁵ Nelson and Olin's exploration is similar to Winter in that they explore the rhetoric of the monument and examine the processes that allow it to function. Their work addresses how the monuments come into being and how they serve to coalesce memory both personal and corporate. Once created, these authors consider how the monuments affect society.¹⁶ Likewise, Nicholas Saunders has argued that, "as first-hand memory of the events disappear with the passing away of those directly involved, history increasingly becomes archaeology, and our view of the past enters a new realm – that defined by interpretations of material culture by those who had no part in its production or original purpose."¹⁷ One premise of changing meaning of the structures caused by the passing of time, which is reviewed in this study, considers whether once the memorial was completed and maintenance of it begins, does different understanding get attached or amended, or is the original purpose and meanings conserved.

Other studies suggest memorials were created for the living. In his more narrowly focussed study of British society, Bushaway argues that as the British public had not been prepared for either,

¹⁵ Jay Winter, 'Rites of Remembrance', *BBC History Magazine*, (1(17) November 2000), p. 22.

¹⁶ Robert Nelson, and Margaret Olin (eds.), *Monuments and Memory Made and Unmade*, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2003), p. 3.

¹⁷ Nicholas Saunders 'Apprehending Memory: Material Cultural and War, 1919-39', in John Bourne, Peter H. Liddle & Ian R. Whitehead, (eds.), *The Great World War 1914-45: Volume 2 The Peoples' Experience*, (London: Harper Collins 2001), p.476.

“the scale of loss or the nature of warfare... All subsequent ceremonial events were developed around the central statistic of British and Empire losses... This focus on those lost in the fighting was established early in the war with the decision to attempt to record the names of all those killed. The theme of remembrance permeated that society during the period between the First and Second World Wars, but that it was deliberately constructed and orchestrated and resulted in the denial of any political critique of the Great War.”¹⁸

Bushaway focuses on the listing of names and questions for whom the memorials were built. Peter Donaldson’s work argues that it was the different, and sometimes competing, threads of local, national and class interests that shaped memorial culture.¹⁹ Nick Mansfield’s study, on the other hand, argues that the class of the people had a great impact on the reaction to the memorials as he states, “an interest in the memorials for which the working class had paid such a high blood sacrifice. The commemoration of the dead was left to the establishment.”²⁰ These arguments, therefore, are contrary in some ways to those of Winter, Nelson and Olin in that they suggest the main focus was the list of names of the dead, but they suggest that the memorials were built for different groups in society with different purposes. These were the living. Groups such as the bereaved, ex-soldiers and other individuals are included here but there were also organised groups such as the church and government. Another question that is addressed during this study is how each were affected and how a memorial form was developed that would maintain meaning for future generations.

J. Bartlett and K.M. Ellis reviewed the longevity of war memorials and wrote: “Permanence was important to those who took part in the great wave of memorial construction after the First World War.

¹⁸ Bob Bushaway, ‘Name Upon Name: The Great War and Remembrance’ In: Porter, R., ed., *Myths of the English*, (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1992), p.137.

¹⁹ Donaldson, *Ritual and Remembrance: The Memorialisation of the Great War in Kent*, p.6.

²⁰ Nick Mansfield, ‘Conflict and Village Memorials 1914 - 1924’, *Rural History*, 6 (1), 1995, p. 84.

Establishing something lasting addressed the debt many felt they owed to the dead, by saying that they would never be forgotten.”²¹ Whereas Bartlett and Ellis examined Winter’s findings in a single Parish, my research reviews Winter’s findings in a study of memorials built for the bereaved within a wider context, that of a county.

Clearly, the memorial is a complex composite site. To understand the original purpose of the war memorial, this research has drawn upon many varied studies of Great War memorialisation, beginning with Colin McIntyre’s study. His aim was: “to help people make up their own minds about war and society using a neglected primary source – the village or parish war memorial of Britain.”²² Like McIntyre, Geoff Archer treats the memorials as a primary text in a study of symbolic figurative sculpture of Great War memorials across Britain, arguing that:

“the palliative function of the war memorial was paramount and that it is precisely this function rather than more conservatism which encouraged the traditional anodyne nature of much of the figurative imagery. The idealisation of the servicemen was validated both by the needs of the bereaved and the nation’s desire for regeneration.”²³

Samuel Hynes has also suggested “Monuments performed other functions, too. They reassure non-combatants that the dead died willingly and do not resent or repent their sacrifice.”²⁴ This point is reviewed in the case studies to demonstrate how the emotion in commemorating would allow for

²¹ J. Bartlett and K.M. Ellis, ‘Remembering the Dead in Northop: First World War Memorials in a Welsh Parish’, *Journal of Contemporary History*, 34 (2) (1999), p.231.

²² Colin McIntyre, *Monuments of War: How to Read a War Memorial*, (London: Robert Hale, 1990), p.15.

²³ Geoff Archer, *The Glorious Dead: Figurative Sculpture of British First World War Memorials*, (Kirkstead, Norfolk: Frontier Publishing, 2009), pp.320-321.

²⁴ Samuel Hynes, *A War Imagined: The First World War and English Culture*, (London: The Bodley Head Ltd., 1990), p.270.

remembrance of the casualties, while at the same time allow for memorial forms that would be beneficial to the communities.

My study examines the findings of the various arguments using the details from the case studies of three different sized communities. It compares and contrasts their findings against the different memorials in Gloucestershire to discover the factors that most significantly impacted on memorial construction, including to what extent community size, interested parties involved, the role of the church, government and the role ex-serviceman played in the memorial that was built. In the three communities examined in this study there were six main memorials constructed which reflected the differing views of local populations. In the village of Cam, the influences that led to the choice of a secular memorial is explored. In a larger community (the town of Cirencester), the conflicts between choosing a monumental versus a utilitarian memorial are examined, as well as the impact that significant public donors had on the final memorial chosen. In Gloucester the community was faced with varied memorial choices which then needed much consideration and discussion. Due to the size of this community and the greater involvement of interested groups wanting input into the accepted form, the decision to create the structure in the city was prolonged and delayed over many years.

This research examines what messages the creators at the time were trying to introduce to the populations who would be viewing the forms. Many of the authors noted make the point that there was no single purpose or message that these forms were offering. This study attempts to uncover if the memorial makers wanted a specific singular message to be understood from the forms erected.

My research has many similarities to the Bartlett and Ellis study. This study, like theirs, draws away from the more general theories and asks specific questions about the reasons specific styles of memorials were chosen. The Bartlett and Ellis study argues that:

“with memorials, it is the individual that matters most. The questions they raise may be universal but the answers are singular, because the study of any memorial leads back not only to the names of the individuals that it records, but to the individuals who established it and decided on the form it should take.”²⁵

The understanding of the work of the developers of the war memorials, (The War Memorial Committees), is therefore investigated thoroughly in the studies of the chosen communities of Gloucestershire to understand what was intended by the chosen form.

Another aspect of this study examines the iconography and symbols involved with the memorials. A good example of this is the examination of the ornamentation on the Cirencester Memorial Cross. Alex King’s work explores the impact of the memorials as ubiquitous symbols and understands what the symbols meant to the society which created them.²⁶ King’s work is heavily drawn upon in my study as it explains the reasoning for particular forms of memorials throughout Britain which will be reviewed in Gloucestershire. The work of King has been used to understand the forms and historic symbols of the physical memorials. King’s work will be used to compare and contrast forms and symbols located on memorials across Gloucestershire.

Two earlier dissertations completed at the University of Gloucestershire engage with war memorialisation. Debra Marshall adopts the approach of the historical geographer to explore a “spatialised expression of contemporary war remembrance” throughout Britain.²⁷ Her thesis concentrates on the spatial and contemporary to examine the interactions and cooperation of

²⁵ Bartlett, and Ellis, ‘Remembering the Dead in Northop: First World War Memorials in a Welsh Parish, p. 231.

²⁶ Alex King, *Memorials of the Great War in Britain: The Symbolism and Politics of Remembrance*, (Oxford and New York: Berg, 1998), p.1.

²⁷ Debra Jane Marshall, ‘War Memorials in the Everyday Landscape of Twenty-First Century Britain’ (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Gloucestershire, Cheltenham, 2004), p. i.

organisations that raise public awareness of war memorials. In assessing what their impact on public response has been, Marshall contends that as both state sanction and popular support exist for the continuing existence of war memorials, this maintains war remembrance. While I draw upon some of this work, my research focus is fundamentally different in that it explores the local and historical context to examine the origins and purpose of First World War memorials specific to Gloucestershire. Marshall's illumination of the stages in the development process of memorial building is used, as well as her work on the purpose of utilitarian versus monumental style memorials. One aspect that I draw on from Marshall's work is her nine factors of memorial construction. Her work notes these as: the initial idea, the key actors, decision making process, issues of ideology, aesthetic and symbolic considerations, selection of site, gaining planning permission, fund raising and ceremonial inauguration. The process found in Marshall's work is examined to some degree in my case studies. The second dissertation, by Lynne Rawstorne, focuses on the role war memorials play in the creation of national identity.²⁸ In contrast, an aim of this research is to explore the role of the monument in *local identity* construction and maintenance and the differences within local communities of different sizes. Additionally, the approach used for this study will be that of the historian rather than that of the anthropologist as was used by Rawstorne.

All of these studies have reinvigorated the discussion about different aspects of commemoration of the First World War through the war memorial. They provide a broad understanding of the background and approaches that is now applied to the examination of war memorials in Gloucestershire. A concern with memory and memorialisation is reflective of the wider turn to cultural based interpretations within academic practice. A focus on identity "making and maintaining" carries the same connotations.

²⁸ Lynne Rawstorne, 'The Ideological Construction of War Memorials In the Landscape and Their Role in National Identity' (unpublished master's thesis, Cheltenham and Gloucester College of Higher Education, 1999).

The significance of my study, in applying the conclusions of other writer's work in a local context, has only been enhanced by the passing away of the last four British veterans by 2011 while the work was in progress. As has been noted, these losses leave the Great War memorials as the *one* constant public focal point of remembrance and commemoration. The understanding of their original development and purpose now becomes even more important. The implication of such an approach and focus is an emphasis on qualitative rather than quantitative methodology. Nevertheless, this work adopts a mixed method approach as it is believed that this will better suit the aims and objectives.

Methodology

As a consequence of the decision to use a mixed methodology, the process to achieve the research objectives has taken two forms. The main approach involved locating and reviewing both archival (primary) and secondary material. Through investigation and analyses of these documents the origins and intended purpose of war memorial designs have been investigated. Archival materials have been found lodged in the Gloucestershire Archive and certain libraries throughout the county and at the University of Gloucestershire Archive. The sources that have been investigated in the archives are newspapers, council and parish records, war memorial committee records and historic photographs and maps. Where further understanding of the primary documents was needed, secondary source materials in the form of other works on the broad subject of memorialisation and remembrance were located. The readings and interpretation of archival materials and the secondary material explanation made up the first approach.

The second approach was research in the field and took two main forms: case studies and visual analyses. The first strand of this work drew on the methodology outlined in Robertson and Richards, which involved a textual analysis of the case study memorials that addressed the socio-cultural meanings written on them. Their research also mainly considers the landscape; they note: "where

landscape is considered, the way in which it is understood is often based upon a phenomenological stance, the 'key issue' in which is the manner in which people experience and understand the world. In this view then, the physicality of landscape is seen as critical and as setting in which humanly created locales occur."²⁹ This research has been applied in the analysis of the location that was chosen in each of the three case studies.

The second form was a visual photographic analysis, which was carried out widely throughout the county, and was similar in style to that of Archer's work.³⁰ His study reviewed memorials throughout Britain, commenting on the statuary and the meanings of them using photographic evidence. In this more specific study photographic evidence is used to analyse the differing forms throughout the county. As the War Memorial is a physical edifice, and as such, much of the understanding of a memorial comes from the visual experience of observing the memorial, visual observation plays a large part in this research. Period illustrations of the memorials were also investigated and compared to a current visual examination carried out as part of the field research to understand if any physical changes have occurred to the structures which affect the comprehension of the commemorative purpose. The aim of the study is to analyse a large number of the physical memorials in the county whilst examining the location, style, symbols, iconography and inscriptions to determine if the intended meanings of these memorials as historic texts still have relevance.

The visual analysis method that has been fostered in my research, using the methods laid out by Gillian Rose, has allowed further interpretation. Photographs of the memorial forms, both the original photographs taken at the point of unveiling (as recorded in archives) as well as the author's own photos, recently taken, have assisted in understanding how the memorials have remained the same

²⁹ Iain Robertson, and Penny Richards, (eds.), *Studying Cultural Landscapes*, (London: Hodder Arnold, 2003), p.7.

³⁰ Archer, *The Glorious Dead: Figurative Sculpture of British First World War Memorials*, (Kirkstead, Norfolk: Frontier Publishing, 2009).

or illustrate changes that have occurred since originally created. Rose's approach developed two methods distinguished by the way the qualities of the photographs are used in the research project. The two methods for photographs she called Supporting and Supplemental. The *Supporting* photos are used for what they offer in the way of evidence to answer the research question. *Supplemental* are used where the photos are excessive to the interpretive work.³¹ As Great War memorials are themselves visual mnemonics, photographic samples of their iconography was found important. More specifically, visual analysis has been useful in assisting the development of the three case studies.

In addition to original archival material, another resource that was useful in finding centres with war memorials in Gloucestershire was the listing of the United Kingdom National Inventory of War Memorials, (UKNIWM).³² This listing was used to locate communities with war memorials as well as outlining what form the memorial took. The listing has also allowed a better focus on the memorial inventory, and has been partially responsible in the decision-making process for the case studies undertaken. Visual analysis and photographic evidence have then been collated for the war memorials viewed in the county. The record of the forms investigated has developed as illustrated in Appendix 2 and analysed further within subsequent chapters. This then offers additional detail to information offered on the UKNIWM web page for this county and provides a useful record and codification of Gloucestershire's war memorials.

The first chapter begins with a brief history of the national forms of commemoration that influenced the local development of memorials in the county of Gloucestershire. It then details the results of a thorough visual analysis of a broad sample of memorials in the county in order to examine the specific factors of memorials which were important to individual communities including the similarities and

³¹ Gillian Rose, *Visual Methodologies: An Introduction to the Interpretation of Visual Materials*, Second Edition, (London: Sage Publications, 2010), p.239.

³² United Kingdom National Inventory of War Memorials, [online], <http://www.ukniwm.org.uk/server/> [Accessed 22 May 2009].

differences. The chapter also reviews a combination of national and local forms and influences on the memorials themselves, including such factors as: decision on the placement of the memorial, such as on church property or in the public domain; and the use of the memorial, for example, a monumental form or a utilitarian structure. The use of differing symbols and iconography is also examined to explore their meanings, and written inscriptions are considered in order to reach an understanding of what the original message was to offer to the local population. These general findings are then explored in further detail using three case studies. Details regarding the choice of each community are outlined in the specific chapters.

Chapter Two details the case study of the village of Cam with the aim of uncovering the different factors relative to a war memorial's form that were debated in the village community resulting in the final form. The secondary aim in this chapter is to understand how the different memorials (secular and non-secular) were received by the population at the time. The resources to develop the study for Cam came mainly from archived newspaper articles, largely in the *Dursley Gazette*, found at the Gloucestershire Archives. Most surprising, however, was locating the *Cam Parish Council Records* that documented the war memorial committee's work in the development of the memorial. This document was very detailed and, therefore, was most useful in gathering details for the study.

Chapter Three explores and develops research in a larger community; a market town which enables investigation of the factors that affected such a community. The town of Cirencester was chosen as it (similar to Cam) has two 'public' memorials which allowed for a similarly formatted study. One of the central objectives of this chapter is to examine views about the creation of the various war memorial forms specifically between the monumental and the utilitarian styles. This case study also enabled a more detailed examination of the iconography and engraved symbols on the central monumental memorial. The primary written materials for this case study are mainly Parish War Memorial Committee records found in the Gloucestershire archives and the local contemporary press articles as

found in *The Wiltshire and Gloucestershire Standard and Cirencester and Swindon Express* newspaper articles along with an examination of recent photographs and observations during Armistice Day (11 November 2010) and Remembrance Sunday celebrations. Due to the individual donation of the memorials, there was very little information developed through any committee and, therefore, complete records were not found.

Chapter Four details the case study of a city in the county and it is used to compare the development considerations of a vastly larger community with that of smaller ones. It is unusual that the two cities of Gloucestershire erected their monuments late, Bristol in 1932 and Gloucester in 1933.³³ This third case study is used to explore the more in-depth decisions that a city had to undergo in the decision-making process and to examine in greater detail the different issues and conflicts that needed to be resolved before it could erect a memorial which would be most representative and accepted by its population. The chapter reviews the involvement of the various interest groups introduced by Bushaway, including the bereaved, serviceman and ex-serviceman, church, government, national bodies and other members of society, and explores who the memorial is ultimately built for. In addition, as an in-depth study of this city has been absent from academic studies reviewed, there was much relevant primary source materials available at the Gloucestershire Archives. The primary written materials for this case study are mainly focused on the *Minute Book of the War Memorial Committee 1920 – 1923*, which recorded the meetings of both the Representative Committee and the Sites Sub-Committee and other records found in the Gloucestershire Archives. Local contemporary press articles as found in such papers as the *Cheltenham Chronicle and Glou'shire Graphic* and the *Gloucester Citizen* amongst others, were used to understand the progress of the memorial structure as it was reported to the populations.

³³ King, *Memorials of the Great War in Britain*, pp. 22-23.

As much of the recent literature on war memorialisation takes an explicitly interdisciplinary focus, this study is significantly different, demonstrating that whilst it draws upon interdisciplinary perspectives, its major focus remains that of the historian. In addition, the work combines this with an in-depth 'reading' of the chosen monuments, with an emphasis on the development of the memorial. As a consequence of this distinctly different approach, a more academic nuanced investigation of the local significances of First World War memorials in Gloucestershire has emerged.

In summary, this work develops a further academic study of war memorials but within a single county.

As Winter wrote of the feelings surrounding war memorials:

“How healing occurs, and what quietens embitterment and alleviates despair can never be fully known. But not to ask the question, not to try to place the history of war memorials within the history of bereavement, a history we all share in our private lives, is to impoverish the study of history and to evade our responsibilities as historians.”³⁴

Thus, the conclusion of this study reveals the significant contributor for the differences and a better understanding of the reasons for the development of particular types of memorial forms built in the county of Gloucestershire. Through comparing and contrasting the local memorial schemes and understanding the reasons for the forms chosen, the local involvement in the original decision making becomes evident. Through an analysis of this local involvement of the generation at the time in the development process, the conclusion seeks to answer whether the local war memorial continues to provide the intended importance and an understanding of the war memorial's role as a place of local or national significance.

³⁴ Winter, *Sites of Memory*, p.116.

Chapter 1

Development of Great War Memorials in Gloucestershire

Introduction

This chapter explores a broad spectrum of Great War memorial forms developed across the county of Gloucestershire. The intention of this chapter is to examine specific factors that were considered important to individual communities for the creation of their commemorative structures. These findings are then compared with research from larger studies to understand how and why local forms came to be, including their similarities and differences. War memorials in the county of Gloucestershire were developed in many forms incorporating local influences but they also were influenced from nationally developed memorials.

An analysis of a broad spectrum of memorials in the county will be drawn upon to determine the degree to which memorials formed a local identity and whether that identity is prevalent today. Regarding the development of local memorials, Sherman offers an explanation: "The plight of families who lacked the demarcated site of mourning that a tombstone offered, as well as consolation of proximity to physical remains, had much to do with the rapid spread of monuments in the immediate post-war period."¹ This chapter introduces the factors and explores the generic development of specific forms and the reasons for those forms. These findings are then considered in more depth during the later chapters looking at three differing sized communities. Here I provide a detailed review of: the symbolism and iconography used, the chosen location, including whether the form was non-

¹ D. J. Sherman, 'Art, Commerce and the Production of Memory in France After World War 1', In: Gillis J.R. ed. *Commemorations The Politics of National Identity*, (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1996), p.189.

secular or secular; utilitarian or monumental, and the actual inscriptions local and national, and lastly, how the names and dates on the memorial Roll of Honour are generally displayed.

As this section is concerned with the main Great War commemorative forms across the county, a visual analysis and photographic survey of 303 of the total 607 memorials was carried out (see Appendix 2).² This represents almost half of the total of all memorials in the county and it allowed for a more thorough and systematic record of the various forms and factors in the county. Visual analyses of this representative sample, using both current photographs as well as archival materials, allowed a broad spectrum of memorials to be analysed to provide a general interpretation of the importance of each factor to the population involved in their development within the differing sized communities.³ With no single county-wide study of Great War memorials in Gloucestershire, my study will assist in understanding the different forms developed and provide a catalogue for future research.

Brief History of National Forms of Commemoration

With the decision made which officially curtailed repatriation of the dead in mid-1915, the national government in Britain formed a national organisation established by a Royal Charter in 1917 to oversee the work in the former battlefields. This was The Imperial War Graves Commission, (later to become the Commonwealth War Graves Commission); "its duties ... to mark and maintain graves of the forces that died in the war, to build and maintain memorials to the dead whose graves are unknown and to keep records and registers."⁴ The final decision was made to stop repatriation of

² United Kingdom National Inventory of War Memorials, [online] <http://www.ukniwm.org.uk/server/> [Accessed 22 May 2009].

³ This sample is only a representative grouping; a full sample may have concluded different findings.

⁴ The Commonwealth War Graves Commission (1992) *Annual Report* p.7.

soldiers' remains by the War Office, on the justification, as later noted by Clive Aslet in agreement with Winter, that: "there should be equality in death; rich families could no more bring home the bodies of their men folk than could the relations of ordinary Tommies."⁵ Remembrance and commemoration of the dead was a focal point for surviving relatives from the end of the fighting until the completion of construction of the war cemeteries. DeGroot argued that, "beginning in 1920, pilgrimages to the graveyards in France and Belgium were organised ... visits proved very popular; the cemeteries became as they were intended, shrines of remembrance."⁶ The battlefield tourism which grew in popularity throughout the 1920s was very successful with a segment of the population who could afford to make the journey, with known graves to visit; but there was a huge percentage of the population just as affected by loss who either could not afford the journey or, more importantly, had no grave to visit. What resulted was that the war cemeteries alone were seen as inappropriate as national shrines as most of the rural populations would not have had the ability to travel much beyond the area where they lived.⁷ But as Bushaway argued: "For the bereaved, the dead took on a sacred character, and the preservation of their memory beyond the personal circle of family and friends began to be seen as a national obligation."⁸

The decision to stop repatriation is important to my research in that those communities had to find other ways of mourning and commemorating of the dead. What developed thereafter were ideas for national memorials that became the focal point for country-wide mourning and later commemoration. The first successful national design had already been seen by the public and had been highly

⁵ Clive Aslet, 'Finding Equity in Death', in *Country Life*, (11 November 2008), p. 52.

⁶ Gerald DeGroot, *Blighty – British Society in the Era of the Great War*, (London: Longman/Pearson Education Ltd., 1996), p 286.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 287.

⁸ Bob Bushaway, 'Name Upon Name: The Great War and Remembrance' In: Porter, R., ed., *Myths of the English*, (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1992), p.138.

appreciated as a temporary monument in 1919 with the temporary structure of a Cenotaph, an empty tomb erected at the time of the signing of the Treaty of Versailles on 'Peace Day' 19 July 1919. It would now be a considered form for a permanent memorial.⁹ As a National Memorial, it was designed with a simple inscription *The Glorious Dead*. No Roll of Honour, listing the names of the dead, was included. This was done for a number of reasons, which included the structure's aesthetics as it would not have been physically possible to list all the names from the nation on it. The Cenotaph structure proved so popular that the designer, Sir Edwin Lutyens, was asked to produce the same form as a permanent structure. This was then unveiled in time for the Armistice Day Celebration of 1920 (see *fig.5*). The success of the Cenotaph form also elevated Lutyens to the stature of a favoured designer of other more regional memorials. "Lutyens adapted his design for his monument at Manchester, and in more elaborate and less striking versions at Southampton, Derby and Rochdale," and at least one in the county of Gloucestershire.¹⁰



[Photo by Robert Taylor, author, 2010]

Figure 5. London Cenotaph

⁹ Alex King, *Memorials of the Great War in Britain: The Symbolism and Politics of Remembrance*, (Oxford and New York: Berg, 1998), p.141.

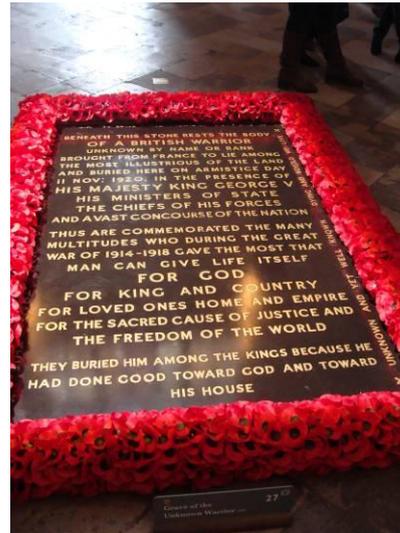
¹⁰ Geoff Archer, *The Glorious Dead: Figurative Sculpture of British First World War Memorials*, (Kirkstead, Norfolk Frontier Publishing, 2009), p.166.

The second national symbol was created with the repatriation of one final soldier to symbolise all soldiers. The Tomb of Unknown Warrior was also unveiled in an elaborate ceremony in 1920 with orchestrated ritual and nationalistic symbolism, made more poignant by it being unveiled by the King (see fig.6). This Unknown Warrior was then enshrined in a tomb at the entrance of Westminster Abbey as shown in figure 7.



[WeK British Manufacturer No 51]

Figure 6. Postcard - Procession of Unknown Warrior



[Photo by Robert Taylor, author, 2011]

Figure 7. Tomb of Unknown Warrior

Both of these memorials had direct impact on memorial development in Gloucestershire. Winter has written that the Cenotaph was “an abstract architectural form that somehow managed to transform a victory parade, a moment of high politics, into a time when millions could contemplate the timeless, the eternal, the inexorable reality of death in war.”¹¹ Attempts would be made to duplicate this in different ways throughout the county. The impact of these two national unveilings will be compared to the impact of local memorial unveilings. Public reception of the national forms was positive but for the local communities trying to develop a memorial to a specific community this would prove to be much

¹¹ Jay Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European cultural history*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 104.

more difficult. Jenny McLeod discussed the differences in local and national identity surrounding the Scottish National War Memorial and argued “national commemoration was necessitated by the profound loss inflicted on society but sometimes also came close to being made obsolete by more immediate localised modes assuaging this grief.”¹² This demonstrates that the commemoration occurring at the national and local levels were equally as important. My research, however, will look to see if the local memorials meant more to the local populations and, therefore, should be better remembered in the local memory.

History of Great War Memorial development in the county of Gloucestershire

Before the major national symbols of the Cenotaph and the Tomb of the Unknown Warrior were created, and while the war still raged, in Gloucestershire, as in many other counties in the UK, the first ‘public memorials’ had begun to appear. These early forms were mainly the Rolls of Service located in parish churches. These listed all members from a single parish who had volunteered for service. Many examples of Record of Service, or Service Rolls, were found during the field research. An example of this can be seen in the village of Naunton (*fig.8*). As the war progressed some of these records would be amended with notification of deaths, amended by hand, and the results of this practice carried on throughout the remainder of the war. An example of such a Roll of Service was located in the village of Bledington, where hand-written changes to a soldier’s status were noted (*fig.9*). In this village with the addition of a cross or other mark on the Roll of Service a transformation resulted in the early form of a Roll of Honour.

¹² Jenny McLeod, ‘Memorials and Location: Local versus National Identity and the Scottish National War Memorial’, *The Scottish Historical Review*, April 2010, Vol. LXXXIX, (1): No. 227 p.95.

powerful impulse towards the development of remembrance.”¹³ The purpose of the “street shrine” was twofold. On an individual level, they were not located in a church; therefore, they were not confined to any single religious affiliation. Also, as they were erected in the public domain, they made a public statement about the local community’s war effort.

The main importance of research on street shrines to this research is that they represent the earliest localised public memorialisation, which indicates that secular commemoration had begun before the war ended. In the findings of this research there was no conclusive evidence found of ‘street shrines’ in the county, the UKWNIM noting that the form did not receive wide acceptance except in East London.¹⁴ Although there was a popular desire to commemorate the dead at a local level, this appears to have been carried out through church memorials, and at private personal home-built shrines.

‘Street shrines’ do not appear to have become prevalent, in contradiction to Jill Waterston’s study.¹⁵ In Gloucestershire, one article in the *Wiltshire and Gloucestershire Standard* of 4 August 1917, about the village of Kingscote indicated: “The shrine which has been erected on the left hand side of the lych gate faces the village street, and contains on the ‘Roll of Honour’ 82 names with six names on the ‘Roll of Heroic Dead’ who have made the great sacrifice”.¹⁶ No photographs of this shrine were uncovered and the Kingscote shrine was replaced in 1921 by the village’s permanent memorial

¹³ Bushaway, ‘Name Upon Name’, p. 140.

¹⁴ ‘What are Street Shrines’, *UKNIWM* 16 March 2008, [online], <http://ukniwm.wordpress.com/2008/03/16/what-are-street-shrines/> [Accessed 16 September 2010]

¹⁵ The argument Jill Waterston raises is that war shrines were common throughout the country during the First World War. ‘First World War Street Shrine, Christ Church, Watford’, Jill Waterston [online], http://sfcwebserve.com/HistoryWeb/Docs/Christ_Church_Shrine.pdf [Accessed 20 September 2010].

¹⁶ ‘Kingscote, War Shrine’, *Wiltshire and Gloucestershire Standard*, 4 August 1917, Vol. LXXXI, No.4163, p.6.

erected on the same spot.¹⁷ (*fig. 10*) This change of commemorative form from the temporary marker, naming all who took part from their community, to the permanent memorial, listing only the 12 names of the dead is an example of only one of the many decisions that local War Memorial committees would have had to address when developing a commemorative form for their community.



[Photo by Robert Taylor, author, 2010]

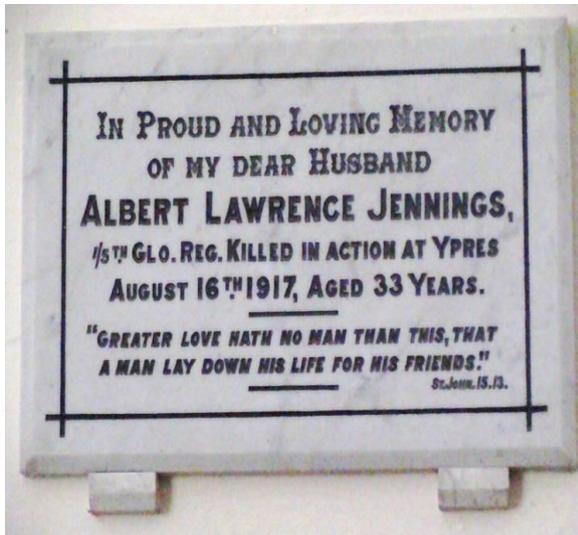
Figure 10. Kingscote Permanent War Memorial noting the 12 names of the dead

In some cases, across the country there had been non-sanctioned repatriation of the dead. In Gloucestershire, by January 1918, with the repatriation of the dead becoming a rare event, soon to be officially ended, the first organised discussions about how local commemoration should be observed began to be reported. Early commemorative forms had been a continuation of the earlier practice of placing memorial tablets commemorating the name of an individual in their parish church. This was not uncommon in Gloucestershire churches. One example of this was located at Tibberton (*fig. 11*).¹⁸ However, a more unusual commemorative form of this period was the addition of a soldier's name to an existing family grave marker. In the village churchyard of Coln St Dennis, the soldier's name was inscribed on a gravestone even though the soldier's body was not repatriated (*fig. 12*). These are demonstrations of private bereavement felt by certain family members and clearly indicate the desire

¹⁷ 'Kingscote War Memorial', *Dursley Gazette*, 9 April 1921, p.6.

¹⁸ The Church at Tibberton also has the village memorial (erected later) located in it (see Appendix 2).

to preserve the name of the dead family member. This private bereavement is examined in the case study of the first Cirencester memorial.



[Photos by Robert Taylor, author, 2010]

Figure 11. Tibberton Memorial Tablet



Figure 12. Coln St. Dennis Private remembrance

Early Public War Memorial Forms

At about the same time, the first recorded 'public' war memorial recorded in Gloucestershire was unveiled at the Dominicans Priory at Woodchester in June 1917 (*fig. 13*). This war memorial was in the form of a Wayside Cross. Although it was located on church property, this memorial is an important deviation from previous commemorative war shrines and tablets placed in churches as it was reported that the "memorial [was] to the soldiers of the district who have fallen in the war."¹⁹ This sentiment is a break with the custom of commemorating only parishioners belonging to individual churches. Upon personal inspection of this memorial it became clear that the change made on this memorial had been dictated by the events in the war. The names of casualties on this particular memorial are dated

¹⁹ 'The Wayside Cross at Woodchester (specially Communicated)' *Wiltshire and Gloucester Standard*, 19 October 1918, Vol. LXXXI, No. 4155, p. 6.

largely to the losses inflicted at the Battle of the Somme, (beginning 1 July 1916). By May 1918 the memorial at Woodchester already had 54 names engraved and a report had been published in the local press that another 18 names needed to be added.²⁰ Regarding form, the memorial was originally a crucifix adorned with the figure of Christ. The Christ figure is no longer present on the memorial, (the marks of attachment of the figure are still visible), but removal of the Christ figure can now offer a changed meaning. A report from the *Wiltshire and Gloucester Standard* in 1917 reads:

“Opposite the Crucifix stands a great munitions works. A busy hive of men and women. They come out at their dinner hour and look at the figure of the dead Christ. Many of them are bereaved. These men and women have made the great sacrifice ... and perchance as they gaze the true meaning of that awful emblem towering up before them sinks into their souls.”²¹

The memorial's purpose was reported in the same paper as having a number of meanings: “for what after all does the crucifix stand for? It tells the story of the greatest crime the world has ever witnessed or ever committed. Could you describe the present horror in any other words? But the Crucifix also tells of victory over the powers of evil, of the devil put to flight, defeated on his own ground by seeming weakness.”²² Another example of this memorial form is that of the Salperton war memorial. (*fig. 14*). It represents a similar sized crucified figure and would have offered a similar meaning as that displayed by the form of the Woodchester War Memorial.

²⁰ ‘Wayside Cross at Woodchester’, *Stroud News and Gloucestershire County Advertiser*, 10 May 1918, Vol. 2826.

²¹ ‘The Wayside Cross at Woodchester (specially Communicated)’ *Wiltshire and Gloucester Standard*, 19 October 1918, Vol. LXXXI, No. 4155, p.6.

²² *Ibid.*, p.6.



[Photos by Robert Taylor, author, 2010]

Figure 13. Woodchester War Memorial

Figure 14. Salperton War Memorial

The cross was the most acceptable form of memorial throughout this period. A number of permanent county memorials were unveiled before the temporary national Cenotaph of 1919, of which many were cross forms. The crosses to be used for memorials, (not specifically war memorials), were normally not plain. The use of an ornate cross dates back to the mid Victorian period. Edward Cutts had written [in 1849], of public crosses: “The plain cross is very seldom used ... but almost always an ornamented cross. The symbol considered the plain cross to be the cross of shame.”²³ This comment on design appears to have been upheld by the earliest memorial builders in Gloucestershire as there are very few plain crosses used as war memorials in the county.

Another early memorial, a Calvary cross, was reported at Beverston, which was unveiled on 10 October 1918. “The memorial consists in a Crucifix fifteen feet high...the names of all those from the village who have died, suffered or served in the war will eventually be engraved...but, obviously this

²³ Edward L. Cutts, *A Manual for the Study of the Sepulchral Slabs and Crosses of the Middle Ages*, (London: John Henry Parker, 1849), p.29.

cannot be done until the war shall happily come to an end.”²⁴ The original memorial was not located during the research phase and is believed to have been removed. It is thought to have stood on the ground where the memorial garden in the village is located today; however, no cross currently exists at that location. Other memorial crosses unveiled during this period included a Calvary cross, dedicated 31 October 1918, at Cirencester, (fig. 15)²⁵; a Wayside Cross unveiled September 1919 at Bishop’s Cleeve (fig.16).²⁶ Finally, and in contrast to the cross form, an obelisk was dedicated 18 October 1919 at Aldsworth (fig. 17).²⁷



[Vol. 932, Sat. 9 Nov., 1918]
Figure 15. Cirencester Memorial



[Cheltenham Chronicle & Glo'shire Graphic],
[Vol. 977, Sat. 20 Sept., 1919]
Figure 16. Bishops Cleeve Memorial



[Vol. 982, Sat 25 Oct., 1919]
Figure 17. Aldsworth Memorial

Analysis of General Memorial Forms in Gloucestershire

From the time of the unveiling of the permanent Cenotaph in London in 1920, there was an outpouring of memorial building projects beginning across England. To get a scale of memorial

²⁴ ‘Beverston Dedication of War Memorial’, *Wiltshire and Gloucester Standard*, 19 October 1918, Vol. LXXXII, No. 4226.

²⁵ ‘War Memorial Cross for Cirencester’, *Wiltshire and Gloucester Standard*, 9 November 1918, Vol. LXXXII, No. 4229.

²⁶ ‘War Memorial at Bishop’s Cleeve’, *The Cheltenham Chronicle and Glo’shire Graphic*, 20 September 1919, Vol. 977.

²⁷ ‘Aldsworth Tribute to the Fallen Dedication of War Memorial’, *Wiltshire and Gloucester Standard*, 25 October 1919, Vol. LXXXIII, No. 4279.

building in the early 1920s, Geoff Dyer wrote of war memorial construction in France: “Thirty thousand war memorials – or fifty a day – were raised in France between 1920 and 1925.”²⁸ In comparison, Marshall comments on the memorial construction in Britain: “in the decade after the first world war there were 4822 memorials unveiled.”²⁹ The scale of the development of memorials raised some concerns, as George Mosse wrote: “the danger most often evoked by architects and landscape gardeners was that memorials might be mass produced.”³⁰

Across Gloucestershire, the forms of war memorials designed and created were varied as shown on (fig. 18). The research conducted for this study located a total of 303 memorials, of those: 144 or 47% are Crosses, 96 or 32% are Plaques and Tablets (noting that these were located both in churches and in public spaces), 12 or 4% are Obelisks, 10 or 3%, Gates, (including lych-gates), 6 or 2% Cenotaphs, 5 or 2% Sculptured forms and 30 or 10% are “Other Forms”. These include clocks and clock towers, columns, fountains, memorial buildings (both halls and hospitals) and towers. Of the sample, only two memorials, those at Upleadon and Elmore, were exactly the same. Mass production of memorials was uncovered in the literature reviewed. One explanation of what was demonstrated in the memorials inspected in fieldwork throughout Gloucestershire was the lack of mass produced memorials, which suggests careful consideration of the form by each local community a form of local identity making.

²⁸ Geoff Dyer, *The Missing on the Somme*, (London: Phoenix Press, 1994) p.64.

²⁹ Debra Jane Marshall, ‘War Memorials in the Everyday Landscape of Twenty-First Century Britain’ (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Gloucestershire, Cheltenham, 2004), p.30.

³⁰ George L. Mosse, *Fallen Soldiers: Reshaping the Memory of the World Wars*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991) p.90.

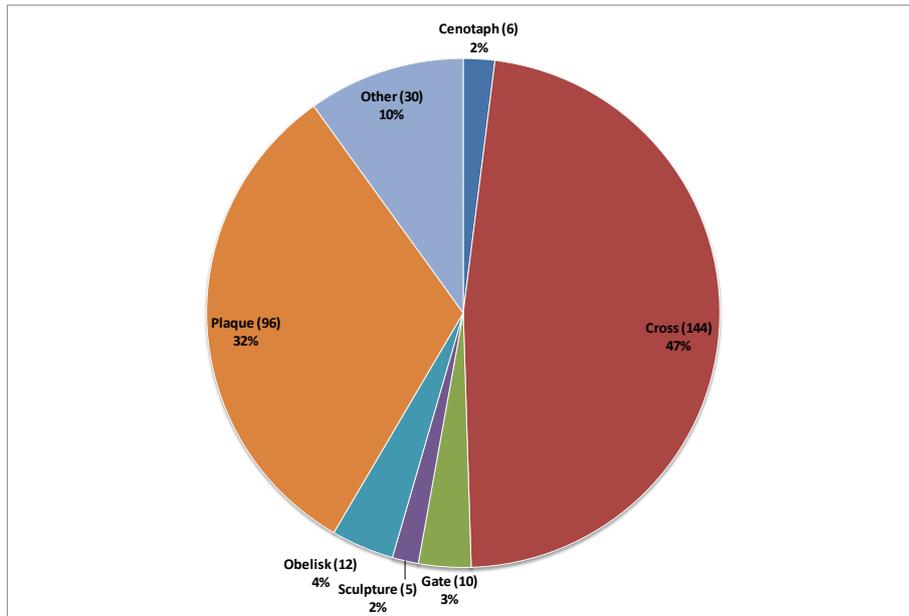


Figure 18. Styles of Gloucestershire War Memorials

Additionally, as noted above, some communities decided that the chosen war memorial form should be something useful to the living community as well as to the memory of the casualties of war. There were two variations of this form. The first utilitarian style included church lych gates and represent 3% of the style of memorial located in the county. Two examples are the memorials for Overbury and Conderton (*fig.19*) and Yate (*fig.20*).



[Photo by Robert Taylor, author, 2010]

Figure 19. Overbury & Conderton Lych Gate Memorial



Figure 20. Yate Lych Gate

The other utilitarian style of memorial was also found to be relatively rare 31 or 10%; of those, 12 or 4% were memorial halls, as at Welford Upon Avon (*fig.21*), and memorial hospitals, such as at Stroud

(fig.22). Other types included fountains, as was located in Oakridge Lynch, (fig.23) and clock towers, as found in Nailsworth (fig.24). The decisions for developing a utilitarian memorial as opposed to a monumental memorial form will be tested in greater detail in Chapter 3 using the case study of the memorial hospital of Cirencester.



[Photo by Robert Taylor, author, 2010]

Figure 21. Wellford-Upon-Avon – Memorial Hall Figure 22. Stroud - Peace Memorial Hospital (Wing)



[Photo by Robert Taylor, author, 2010]

Figure 23. Oakridge Lynch - memorial fountain Figure 24. Nailsworth - Memorial Clock Tower

The success of the creation of the Cenotaph in London propelled its architect, Sir Edwin Lutyens, into fame for war memorial consultation and design. The entire list of memorials he worked on is outside the scope of this research but he was commissioned to design one known memorial in Lower Swell,

Gloucestershire, (unveiled in 1921)³¹ (fig. 25). The form of this memorial was reported as being: “The flaming torch deployed in war memorial statuary was in contrast seen as the inextinguishable flame of justice and a symbol of continuing struggle.”³² In the research it is recorded for simplicity as an obelisk.



[Photo by Robert Taylor, author, 2010]

Figure 25. Lower Swell War Memorial

Rolls of Honour on Memorials

Because one of the fundamental purposes of war memorials was to commemorate the dead, memorials listed names. As King writes: “it was the name inscribed on it which mattered. They carried the essential meaning of the memorial and treatment of them was the primary design consideration.”³³ Thomas Laqueur states: “...names were not the only memorial of the war – far from it. But they were an enormous and historically unprecedented part of it. In the absence of the physical remains of fallen soldiers save those of the one in Westminster Abbey, the names recorded at sites on the front and in village squares were the primary sites of mourning.”³⁴ Archer agrees, stating the “collection of names

³¹ War Memorial Swell' *British Listed Buildings History in Structure*, [online], <http://www.britishlistedbuildings.co.uk/en-129996-war-memorial-swell> [accessed 21 July 2010].

³² Archer, *The Glorious Dead: Figurative Sculpture of British First World War Memorials*, p.79.

³³ King, *Memorials of the Great War in Britain*, p.132.

³⁴ Thomas W. Laqueur 'Memory and Naming In The Great War', *In: Gillis, J. R. (eds.) Commemorations The Politics of National Identity*, (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1996), p.164.

to be included on war memorials were, like other forms of decision making, a significant aspect of the community's ownership of them."³⁵ McIntyre is also in agreement, noting that memorials give "a sense of place' the feeling of belonging to a home town or ancestral village ... we need to ... remember how localised life was before the 'Great War'. In 1914 most working people never travelled much beyond the next village or market town or urban parish in which they lived."³⁶

The form of memorial and what names would appear on memorials is, therefore, important as a form of local identity making. The permanent memorial erected at Charfield (1920), is a good example of community ownership of names on the permanent public memorial and in agreement with the observations noted by both Archer and McIntyre. This early permanent memorial recognises all the men of Charfield who took part in the war and is reminiscent of the original roadside war shrines.³⁷

Archer's study recognised this, and he comments: "many monuments commemorate not only those who died but also those who fought and survived."³⁸ K.S. Inglis has different ideas for the reasons for including all who took part. He states: "in the United Kingdom preliminary counting towards the National Inventory suggests that where names are inscribed on memorials ... about one in twenty records the survivors as well as the dead. ...this difference derives, I suggest, from the strength in British culture of voluntarism."³⁹ Inglis's suggestion cannot be proved in the case of the Charfield, but the memorial inscription prominently reads as shown in (*fig.26*):

³⁵ Archer, *The Glorious Dead: Figurative Sculpture of British First World War Memorials*, p.241.

³⁶ Colin McIntyre, *Monuments of War: How to Read a War Memorial*, (London: Robert Hale, 1990), p. 122.

³⁷ No evidence was found to support any earlier 'street shrine' being located in this village.

³⁸ Archer, *The Glorious Dead: Figurative Sculpture of British First World War Memorials*, p.318.

³⁹ K.S. Inglis, 'The Homecoming: The War Memorial Movement in Cambridge England', *Journal of Contemporary History*, (1992), (27), pp. 586.



[Photo by Robert Taylor, author, 2010]

Figure 26. Charfield Memorial Inscription

Charfield’s memorial, noting all who were involved in the war, is uncommon in the County of Gloucestershire as most list only the dead. Of the sample observed, only 29 or 10% of the county memorials had listed both those who had died and those who returned together on their memorial. This also includes the memorials from two of the ‘Thankful Villages’ of Upper Slaughter and Coln Rogers.⁴⁰

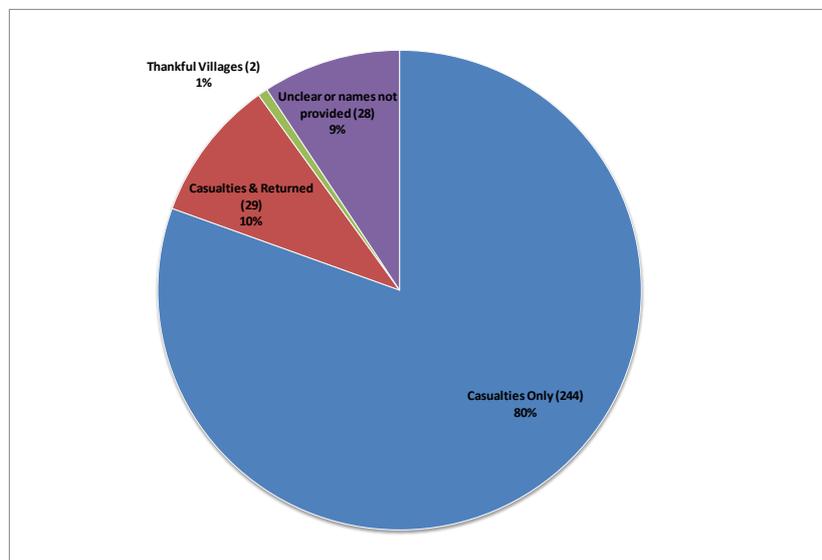
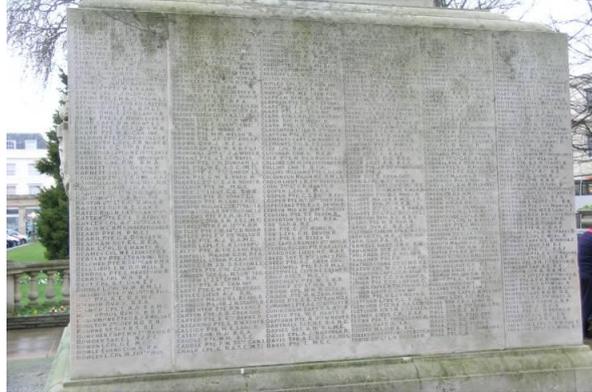


Figure 27. Format of Rolls of Honour on County of Gloucestershire Memorials

⁴⁰ ‘Thankful Villages’ is a title given to locations across Britain where all who went to the war returned safely. There are approximately 40 such locations across Britain and four of these are in Gloucestershire. In addition to the two noted above there is also Little Sodbury and Brierley. A full listing of these locations can be found on: Norman Thorpe, Rod Morris and Tom Morgan ‘The Thankful Villages’, [online], <http://www.hellfirecorner.co.uk/thankful.htm> [Accessed 04 November 2010].

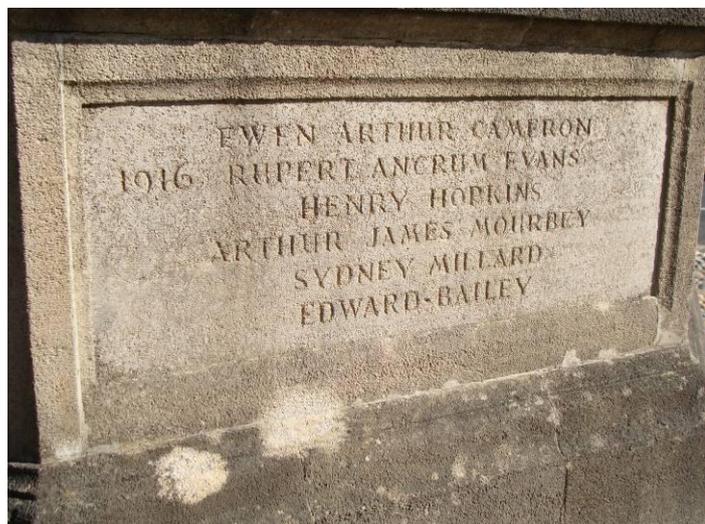
The most common listing of Rolls of Honour is strictly an alphabetic list. A good example of this is the large memorial in Cheltenham (*fig.28*). This memorial has approximately 1,250 names recorded on it in the following format: surname, initial, regiment/unit.



[Photo by Robert Taylor, author, 2010]

Figure 28. Cheltenham War Memorial – one panel showing alphabetic list of names

Other Roll of Honour formats were found in Gloucestershire; some listing year of death as on the Bourton-on-the-Water (*fig.29*) and the Upton St Leonards memorials (*fig. 30*). As McIntyre comments “those memorials which list deaths on a year by year-basis-give an insight into the impact casualties must have had on the communities, especially as the war went on and the lists grew longer.”⁴¹



[Photos by Robert Taylor, author, 2010]

Figure 29. Bourton-on-the-Water War Memorial Figure 30. Upton St. Leonards War Memorial

⁴¹ McIntyre, *Monuments of War: How to Read a War Memorial*, p.94.

Some Rolls of Honour list in descending military rank. Examples of this are found on the memorials at Paxford (*fig. 31*), and another at Kingswood (*fig. 32*). However, there is also at least one example where social rank is also apparent. This was located on the church tablet of Cowley (*fig.33*). The name of the Major Gerald Nolekin Horlick is at the top of the Roll of Honour followed in rank order by a Second Lieutenant, a Corporal, and 5 Privates. On the surface, this would seem to follow the other 'ranked' Rolls of Honour until it was discovered that the Major was also the son of the landowner of the village. Nick Mansfield, in his work, comments about the social class reactions to war memorials as "another familiar war memorial pattern."⁴² It was not that commonly seen in the memorials of Gloucestershire reviewed.



[Photos by Robert Taylor, author, 2010]

Figure 31. Paxford War Memorial

Figure 32. Kingswood War Memorial

⁴² Nick Mansfield, 'Conflict and Village War Memorials 1914 - 1924', *Rural History*, (1995), 6 (1), p.71.



[Photo by Robert Taylor, author, 2010]

Figure 33. Cowley War Memorial

Commemoration of Women on Memorials

Another feature of some Rolls of Honour is that they also included names of women. Female nurses and ambulance-drivers in the Great War were among the most vulnerable. McIntyre notes: “nurses who were killed or died in the line of duty are listed with pride on many memorials.”⁴³ There are examples of commemoration to women’s participation in the Great War. One memorial located in London is a memorial to a nurse, Edith Cavell, who had been shot by the Germans as a spy in 1915. Although that memorial is not a national memorial to women: “the considerable size and prominent placing of the monument indicate its importance.”⁴⁴

There are no similar specific memorials to women in Gloucestershire. Inscriptions on most memorials’ Rolls of Honour usually state: ‘IN MEMORY OF THE MEN’, and on the vast majority of memorials the names of the dead are only men. However, at Oakridge Lynch (*fig. 34*), the war deaths of Mrs Mabel Dearmer and her son Christopher Dearmer were the impetus for the village memorial. All the other names added to the Rolls of Honour came later. Most public memorials in the county that list women, such as at Dursley (1922) (*fig.35*), note them separately. At this memorial the name of Doris Mary

⁴³ McIntyre, *Monuments of War: How to Read a War Memorial*, p.145.

⁴⁴ Archer, *The Glorious Dead: Figurative Sculpture of British First World War Memorials*, p.95.

Wyatt is added at the bottom of the also commemorated.⁴⁵ Like the noting at Dursley, on the parish church plaque at Beckford (1920) (fig.36), the name of Kathleen C.F. Bennett (a VAD Nurse) was added in 1920 her death resulting from “Tuberculosis Contracted on Duty”. The plaque at Coln Rogers (fig.37) also memorialises a Doris Barton, but in this case (and as one of four confirmed Thankful Villages in Gloucestershire) the name is not of a female casualty but a woman who returned.⁴⁶

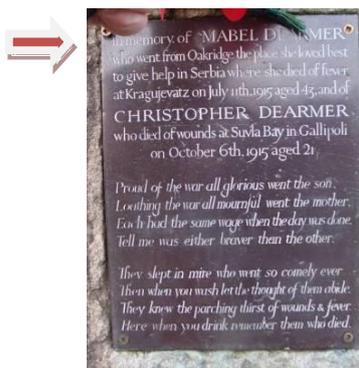


Figure 34. Oakridge Lynch War Memorial

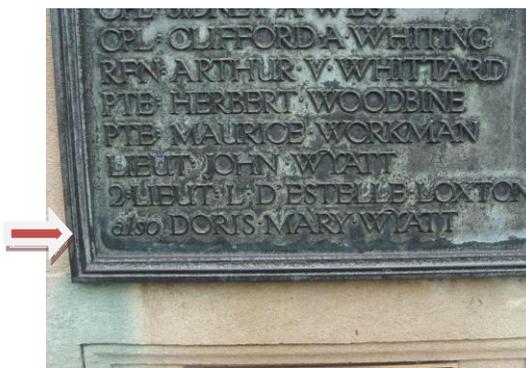


Figure 35. Dursley War Memorial

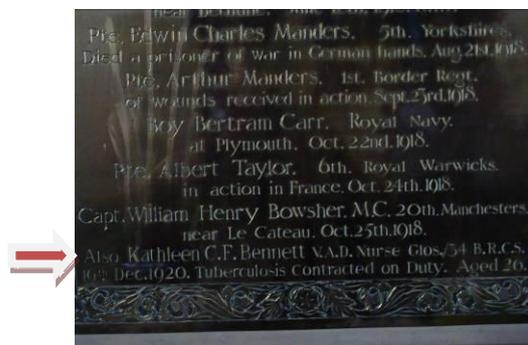


Figure 36. Becksford Plaque

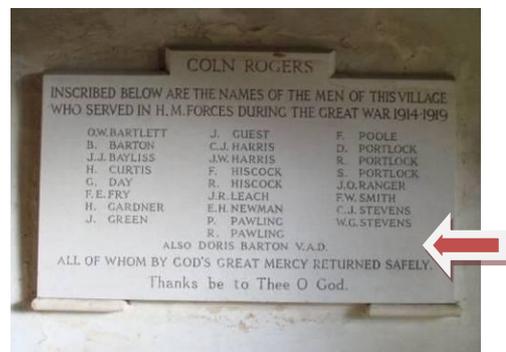


Figure 37. Coln Rogers War Memorial (Thankful Village)

A detailed visual analysis of the representative sample of memorials developed through this research as presented in Appendix 2, notes that of the memorials personally observed and photographed,

⁴⁵ Doris Wyatt was a munitions worker at Messrs R.A. Lister and Co. ‘The Sad Fatality to a Dursley Female Munitions Worker Inquest and Verdict’, *Dursley Gazette*, (18 May 1918 Vol. 2055), p.1.

⁴⁶ Norman Thorpe, Rod Morris and Tom Morgan ‘The Thankful Villages’, [online], <http://www.hellfirecorner.co.uk/thankful.htm>, [Accessed 04 November 2010].

there were only 12 memorials where a woman's name was clearly visible. This represents only 3.9% of the Gloucestershire sample of memorials. It is possible that because of the way many memorials list names on the Roll of Honour (first initial and last name), that other memorials may have included women's names, but those names may become lost. This could diminish the remembrance of women and the contribution that women made.

Other National Influences – The Symbols

The appearance of national emblems and symbols at the national remembrance ceremonies of 1919 caused county war memorial committees to consider if the message of their memorials should convey both national and local messages. King wrote that: "most British memorials were executed in styles so familiar that they could be regarded as inherently part of a British national tradition".⁴⁷ There are examples of national iconographic symbols on regional monuments in Gloucestershire, but these were not observed on the majority of memorials reviewed in the county. An examination of the national symbols that appear in Gloucestershire is important because they appear on different types of county memorials.

The most prominent form of national recognition is the national flag. The Union Flag appears, for example, as part of the symbolism in some churches. It is also displayed at some church memorials, suggesting a wider national remembrance in those village churches; an example is the interior church memorials at Chedworth (1921) (*fig. 38*) and at the memorial inside Tewkesbury Abbey (*fig. 39*).

⁴⁷ King, *Memorials of the Great War in Britain*, p.155.



[Photos by Robert Taylor, author, 2010]

Figure 38. Chedworth Church Memorial Figure 39. Tewkesbury Abbey Memorial

At outdoor public memorials, flags are unfurled at Remembrance/Armistice Day services, and some memorials, such as that located at Hawkesbury Upton (1920) and Olveston (1920), have a flagpole as part of the memorial, but at most memorials, flags as a symbol of nationalism are absent throughout most of the year.

There are other national iconographic symbols that convey a national message. In England these include the use of the St George Cross flag. In some locations, in place of the Cross of St George flag is a sculpture of St George formed as the memorial itself. The iconography utilising this patriotic symbol was the most common nationalistic symbol built into war memorials seen in Gloucestershire. Large examples of this are seen on the memorials at Stanway (1920) (*fig. 40*) and Moreton-in-Marsh (1921) (*fig. 41*). These forms are obvious at first glance, including the national message they convey.



[Photos by Robert Taylor, author, 2010]

Figure 40. Stanway War Memorial Figure 41. Moreton-in-Marsh War Memorial

The patriotic symbol of St George slaying a dragon was also displayed on the face of Lantern-head memorials such as those of Prestbury (1920) (*fig.42*) and (*fig. 43*) and Staunton (1920) (*fig. 44*). On the Prestbury memorial the form was badly eroded and therefore was difficult to appreciate and could have been overlooked or misunderstood, but the replacement of the memorial following the vandalism of 2011 has made this symbol more recognisable.



[Photo by Robert Taylor, author, 2010]
Figure 42. Prestbury War Memorial (original)

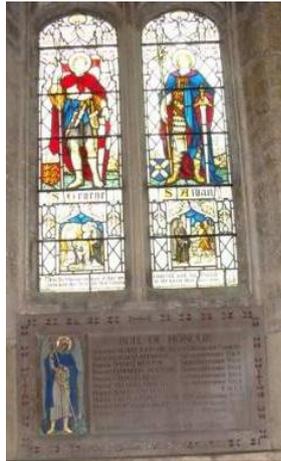


[Photo by Robert Taylor, author, 2012]
Figure 43. Prestbury War Memorial (replacement)



[Photos by Robert Taylor, author, 2010]
Figure 44. Staunton War Memorial

Inside parish churches, the form of St George is also used on church memorials. An example of this is at St Andrews Church in Severnhampton where it is displayed twice, once on the stain glass window and then inscribed as part of the Roll of Honour (*fig 45*). This iconographic form is also located inside the parish church at Bisley (*fig. 46*), where the form adorns the Roll of Honour. Smaller reference to this national iconography is found on the parish church Service Roll in St Andrews Church in Naunton. The patriotic form would have also conveyed a national connotation of the commemorative form.



[Photos by Robert Taylor, author, 2010]

Figure 45. Severnhampton Church Memorial



Figure 46. Bisley Church Memorial

Another national symbol made part of some memorials is the couchant lion. The memorial at Longhope (1928) is the only memorial seen in the county that incorporates this as the full memorial form (*fig.47*). The lion is sculpted resting on a raised base, possibly to simulate Lutyen's Stone of Remembrance. Again the memorial is local, in that it names the members of the local community who died, but by using the national animal, the memorial can be seen as addressing more than just local remembrance. Another use of a lion was observed on the public memorial at Gretton, (1920) (*fig. 48*). On this memorial, lion imagery appear as small ornamental features around the main memorial and it is probable that the commemoration that this feature was to connect to was national commemoration. The forms now appear in very poor repair and may not be recognised by the onlooker.



[Photos by Robert Taylor, author, 2010]
Figure 47. Longhope War Memorial



Figure 48. Gretton War Memorial

The lion as part of the coat of arms of England was applied onto the main public memorial at Chipping Campden (1921) (*fig. 49*). Eight national coats of arms are displayed above the local Rolls of Honour. Other locations have employed coats of arms as distinctive symbols intended to be recognisable to the community in which the memorial was placed. At Ampney Crucis (1920) a coat of arms is also engraved above the inscription to the village.



[Photos by Robert Taylor, author, 2010]

Figure 49. Chipping Campden War Memorial

Other national symbols also appear on Gloucestershire memorials to a lesser degree. The English Rose, “the traditional heraldic emblem of England,”⁴⁸ is found on some memorials and can take on another meaning, that being of “ultimate sacrifice.”⁴⁹ Although both meanings are acceptable to the forms in which they are engraved, use of a symbol where meanings were not clearly set out can result in different meanings. An individual rose engraving was found on the memorial at Prestbury (1920) on the column. The same symbol is also found on the churchyard memorial at Twigworth. The rose was also located as a simple decorative feature on the memorial’s original outer casing at the Hardwick, Elmstone and Uckington (1923) memorial (*fig. 50*) and (*fig. 51*). This memorial had originally been

⁴⁸ English Symbols, [online], <http://www.localriding.com/english-symbols.html> [Accessed 27 October 2010].

⁴⁹ Symbolic Meaning Blog by Avia Venefica, [online], <http://www.symbolic-meanings.com/2008/02/29/by-any-other-name-its-still-symbolic-meaning-of-the-rose/> [Accessed 19 November 2010].

located on the Tewkesbury Road just west of Cheltenham on the north side of the road. The inscribed memorial tablet has since been moved inside the Elmstone and Hardwick parish church of St Mary Magdalene for safekeeping. Of interest, this is the only memorial found to have been moved, in the Gloucestershire sample, conveying the importance of permanence as a factor in deciding the original location of war memorials. This will be explored further in the development of the war memorial in the City of Gloucester. At the Uckington memorial, the use of an English Rose as a national symbol, which had been attached to the outer case of the memorial at the time of unveiling in 1932, has since been separated and the rose which had been visually linked connected the memorial in a small way to national remembrance. Since the separation the memorial tablet has lost its nationalistic connection and understanding as the tablet alone has no visual connection to national meaning.



[Photos by Robert Taylor, author, 2010]

Figure 50. Original outer casing of Hardwick, Elmstone and Uckington War Memorial

Figure 51. Uckington Memorial Inscription

Inscriptions also display a nationalistic sentiment. An example of this is: FOR KING AND COUNTRY, or a variation of this, which is engraved on some memorials and offers a more national remembrance for the casualties. Examples of these included Nailsworth (1920) (fig.52), which does mention the

King and Country, and Horsley (1921), which does not mention the King (fig.53).



[Photos by Robert Taylor, author, 2010]

Figure 52. Nailsworth Inscription

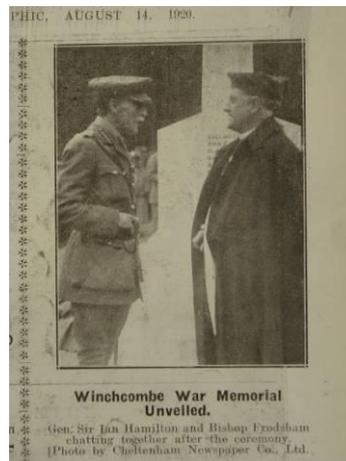
Figure 53. Horsley Inscription

In contrast to the national sentiment noted above, in many cases those who became casualties had joined for many reasons not related to patriotism. A majority of memorials in the county have inscriptions dedicated to the local inhabitants of the community commemorating specifically those who died, with no national message attached. Examples of this include inscriptions such as: “In Memory of the Men of This Parish”.

Further Impact of the Introduction of the National Commemoration Forms

The ceremony surrounding the national commemoration in London in 1920 unveiling the permanent Cenotaph and the ceremony surrounding the reburial of the Unknown Warrior, orchestrated as nationalistic ritual, was exemplified into a more official state occasion by being unveiled by the King. Such unveiling ceremonies were not missed by local Gloucestershire War Memorial committees. The ceremony introduced nationally would have prompted the local authorities to endeavour to invite appropriately notable dignitaries to unveil local memorials. What resulted in Gloucestershire was that the unveilings and dedications were often conducted by famous Generals, including: General Ian

Hamilton at Winchcombe, (1920) (fig.54), Gen. Sir R. Fanshawe at Cheltenham (1921), and Lord Ypres at Cinderford (1923) giving the unveiling a greater sense of importance and significance.⁵⁰



The Cheltenham Chronicle and Glo'shire Graphic, No 1024, 14 Aug., 1920

Figure 54. Sir Ian Hamilton and Bishop Frodsham at the Unveiling of Winchcombe Memorial

Importance of the Inscribed Dates

The dates of the war noted on Great War memorials are important because later dates (beyond 1918) could have increased the numbers of casualties noted at those locations. As the fighting of the war took place between August 1914 and November 1918 most memorials have these dates inscribed, but there was also a large percentage of memorials that noted the dates 1914 – 1919. Boorman noted: [sic] "While dates shown on the memorial most commonly 1914 and 1918, in a large number of cases 1914 and 1919 are chosen. Although fighting stopped November 1918, various peace treaties were not signed until much later."⁵¹ To a county community, allowing extended dates could increase the number of casualties noted on the memorials due to the influenza epidemic, or other illnesses

⁵⁰ 'Winchcombe War Memorial Unveiled', *The Cheltenham Chronicle and Glo'shire Graphic*, 14 August 1920, Vol. 1024, p.271. 'Unveiling Cheltenham War Memorial', *The Cheltenham Chronicle and Glo'shire Graphic*, 8 October 1921, Vol. 1084, p.338. 'Unveiling Cinderford War Memorial', *The Cheltenham Chronicle and Glo'shire Graphic*, 24 November 1923, Vol. 1195, p.430.

⁵¹ Derek Boorman, *At The Going Down Of The Sun: British First World War Memorials*, (York: Dunnington Hall, 1988) p.2.

were in some cases included onto the war memorial. One example of this was on the Beckford memorial plaque where the name appears of Katherine Bennett VAD who died 16th December 1920 of tuberculosis contracted on duty (*fig.36*).

In the research undertaken, there are 171 or 56.4% of the memorials noting 1914-1918, 110 or 36.3% memorials noting 1914-1919, and 6 or 2% of the memorials noting other dates for commemoration and lastly 17 or 5.3% with no date (see fig 55). The dates when the Great War memorials were built also shows the importance and urgency of the activity to survivors (the families and friends of the deceased).

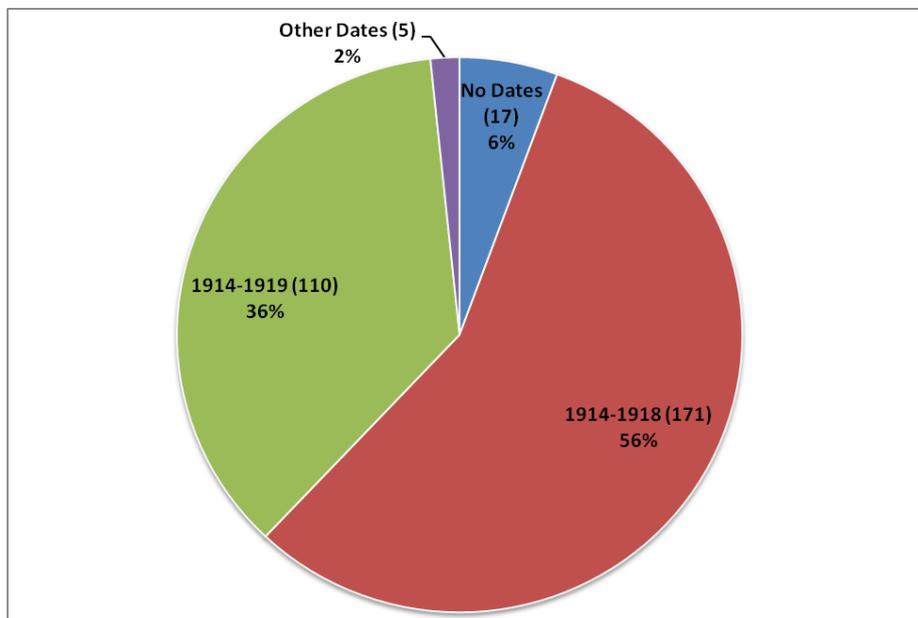


Figure 55. Years Inscribed on Gloucestershire War Memorials

This study examines the complexities that took place to get agreement on what was to be inscribed. Throughout this research an attempt has been made to note the year when memorials were unveiled or dedicated to a community. It has been found that most of the memorials were erected within five years of the Armistice. The last construction of a public war memorial to the Great War in the county is explored in Chapter 4, with the war memorial developed in the City of Gloucester completed in 1933.

Conclusion

In summary, this chapter has examined, through a visual analysis of a representative sample of county memorials and a review of current academic studies and archival materials, a variety of factors related to county Great War memorials to draw some broad conclusions that could be tested further in more detail in the following chapters.

One aspect the study uncovered was that there was not a predominance of secular over non-secular memorials being built, as 127 or 42% of memorials were clearly not associated with the church. From the first permanent 'public' memorial in the county, as demonstrated in the case of Woodchester, the issue of secular versus non-secular was apparent. This first memorial was erected at a non-secular location but allowed commemoration of all members of the community irrespective of religious denomination. The intent of this memorial to reflect all denominations of the local population on the Rolls of Honour erected at a non-secular location did occur. Other forms that are secular may have reflected that the communities were multi-denominational and, therefore, preferred not to erect a non-secular form. King has noted: "in a good many cases the claims by one denomination to represent all others proved unacceptable."⁵² The broad review of Gloucestershire, however, brings King's findings into question as 176 or 58% of the memorials were located in or on church property. However, due to the increasing number of casualties, secular memorials became more acceptable to commemorate varied populations within communities across Gloucestershire. The issue of non-secular versus secular memorials is examined in greater detail through an exploration of the development of the Village of Cam's memorial forms.

⁵² King, *Memorials of the Great War in Britain*, p.89.

Monumental forms, either non-secular or secular, were not the only memorial forms that were designed. In some communities, the concept that a memorial should be a functional structure for the living population, while at the same time a memory to the casualties of war also developed. The development of utilitarian forms as lasting memorials to the Great War has been described in a broad context in this chapter but is further tested in the case study of the town of Cirencester.

This chapter began with an examination of the development and importance that the national public memorials had on the eventual development of the public memorials in Gloucestershire. Iconography engraved on some of the memorials did offer national symbols, such as the form of St George, the use of the Union flag, a lion, or a national rose, and shows an inter-relationship between the local and national acts of commemoration. These forms would have been easily recognisable by the general population. Conflicting ideas arose between the local and national developers of memorials. The relationship between national organizations and local organizational bodies is examined in greater detail in Chapter 4 with the development of the City of Gloucestershire memorial.

In conclusion, whilst this chapter provides a broad review of the various factors important in the development of the county's memorials, to truly understand the reasons for their choice and the meaning that the various factors conveyed to the developers representing the community's population requires a more in-depth analysis.

Chapter 2

Village of Cam Case Study

Introduction

Cam was decided upon as the main 'public' village memorial as it was located in a prominent place along an avenue and in front of a school. The choice of a village in Gloucestershire was the hardest community to decide upon, as there are many villages in the county all with different memorials developed in their own way. The criterion used to select the village was that it must have a prominent secular and non-secular memorial form to enable investigation of the decision making factors that were at play in such a small community. A second memorial in Cam, (actually at Lower Cam), was a non-secular form.

The case study of the village of Cam is being undertaken to provide a historical account of a number of different factors related to a war memorial's form that were debated as part of the community's final decision of a public memorial which would be accepted by the majority of the population. The memorial's development is not only about the people who are commemorated on it, but also those who developed it. A village-sized community has been chosen to examine how a small local population reacted to the development of a memorial to local men, men who would have been familiar to the entire community. The village also includes a variety of different memorial phases common in larger communities but is a microcosm of that development. The development was well documented at the time and, therefore, has been chosen for this case study to show the differences in the development in small communities against those of a town and a city (to be examined in following chapters).

Specific factors found in Cam included the use of company memorials and the consideration of adopting secular memorials over non-secular forms and concerns about where to locate the memorial. Cam also illustrated the importance of how names were listed on the Roll of Honour. The study of Cam highlights the challenges encountered in obtaining acceptance of the memorial form and the purpose the form was to fulfil for the community. Inglis argued that the country committees made choices between the useful and the monumental, between the ecclesiastical and the secular civic space between one symbolic form and another and on other matters local and general.¹ My research here will examine this on a smaller scale. In Cam, the strong influence of the Parish Council, which acted as the highest local government, directed which form of memorial would be considered. Specific questions addressed in this chapter are whether secular memorials were easier or more difficult to introduce to a small village community as opposed to those in a town or city and to what extent the location of a secular memorial form offered a more or less defined purpose to the population. King argued that, "a memorial had to be acceptable on two grounds. There must be no serious objection to it from any significant section of local opinion and more constructively, it must be of a kind which would arouse the support of the public."² Evidence uncovered is investigated to understand if local identity to a smaller community was any different from larger communities.

Cam is a small village with a population of approximately 8500, nowadays a suburb of Dursley.³ At the end of the Great War it was a community with a population of approximately 2000 residents.⁴ The

¹ K.S. Inglis, K.S. (1992), 'The Homecoming: The War Memorial Movement in Cambridge England', *Journal of Contemporary History*, (1992) (27), p. 594.

² Alex King, *Memorials of the Great War in Britain: The Symbolism and Politics of Remembrance* (Oxford and New York: Berg, 1998), p.86.

³ Cam, Gloucestershire, 2001 Census, in Wikipedia.org/wiki/Cam,Gloucestershire [accessed 27 February 2011].

⁴ 'Proposed War Memorial at Cam. Monument to be Erected on Cam Peak', *Dursley Gazette*, 21 June 1919, Vol. 2112. p.3.

main industry of the community was Cam Mills, a manufacturer of cloth products located between Cam and Lower Cam.

Chronological Timeline of the Cam Memorial Development Process

The timeline depicted in (fig.56) outlines the important milestones and decisions made at the Parish Council War Memorial Committee and public meetings involved in the development process which took place over a twenty six month period, beginning at the end of 1918. The timeline illustrates the length of time and the complexities involved in developing such a memorial, even within such a small community. The remaining sections concentrate on the analysis and decision-making process involved around the actual factors that were considered by the different bodies to develop the final form.

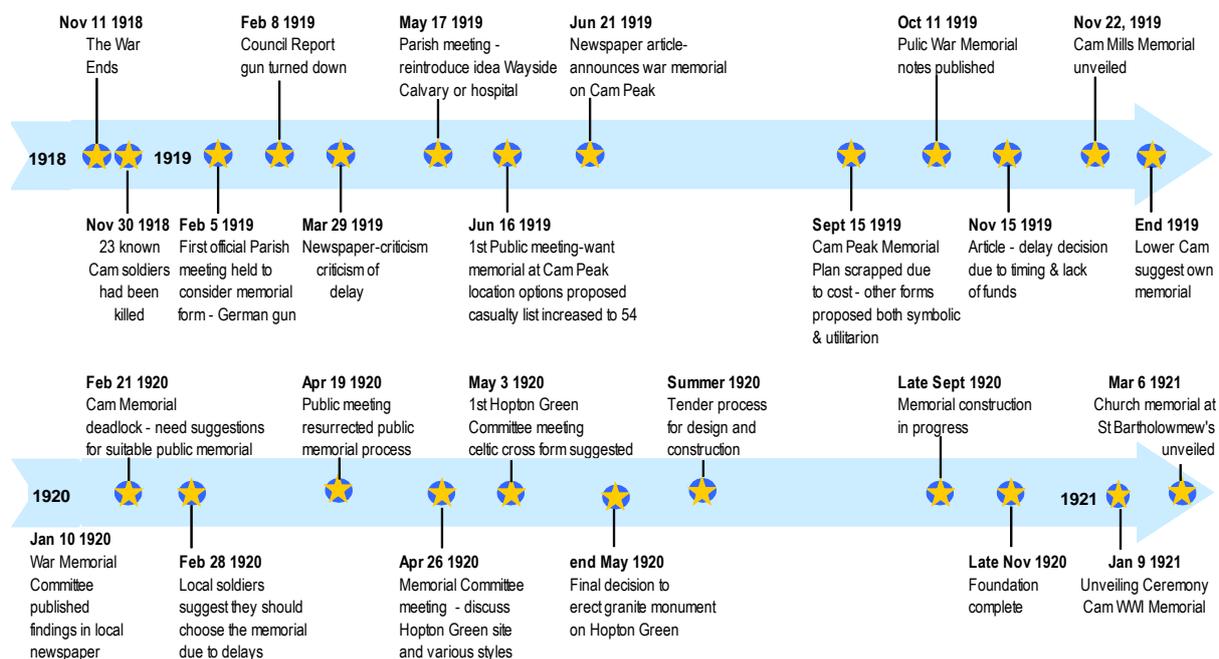


Figure 56. Origin and Development of the Great War Memorials of the Village of Cam 1918 - 1921

Considerations for remembrance of the casualties of Cam, in the form of a war memorial, began before hostilities ended and before the tally of dead was complete. Throughout the war a continual

listing of those killed was recorded by the local newspapers. By February 1918, the number of dead associated with this community was recorded as 19, which was made up of 18 soldiers and 1 sailor.⁵ By 30 November 1918, the Roll of Service for the village of Cam indicated that a total of 121 men had participated in the fighting services and the number of known killed had increased to 23.⁶ With 19% of men killed, it can be seen that the loss to a smaller populated community would have been more of a personal loss, with most if not all the casualties known by all in Cam. From this it can be speculated that this would prompt more local opinions of how the dead should be commemorated. This became true when public concerns first began to appear in news articles shortly after 30 November 1918, regarding considerations for a memorial at Cam. One such article pointed out, “nearly all other local parishes have held public meetings to decide on the form their war memorials shall take but so far nothing has been done at Cam.”⁷

It can be seen that all the community groups, including the bereaved, the church, servicemen and ex-servicemen and the general population, all had an interest in the development of the memorial and all took an active part in its development. The one group who tried to influence development of a memorial from the start were servicemen and ex-servicemen, but as Adrian Gregory argued, “If ex-servicemen retained a place in the popular perception of what 11 November was about, it must be remembered that it was a subordinate place. The civilian bereaved always came first in any clash of interests.”⁸ It was a suggestion from a soldier with the army of occupation in Germany for an

⁵ ‘Cam - Cam Roll Of Honour’, *Dursley Gazette*, 9 February 1918, Vol. 2041, p.3.

⁶ ‘Upper Cam Roll of Honour’, *Dursley Gazette*, 30 November 1918, Vol. 2082, p.3.

⁷ ‘War Memorial’, *Dursley Gazette*, 29 March 1919, Vol. 2100, p. 4.

⁸ Adrian Gregory, *The Silence of Memory: Armistice Day 1919 – 1946*, (Oxford: Berg Publishers, 1994), p.51.

opportunity to obtain a captured German gun for display in the village as a war memorial that began the development of a war memorial for Cam.⁹

Memorial Form

The Parish Council meeting on 5 February 1919 addressed the letter from the serving soldier. The idea of this form of war memorial was dismissed for two reasons. Firstly, their understanding that captured guns would only go to communities who boasted of an inhabitant who had won the V.C., and, secondly, because it was thought that only communities, “who had subscribed a certain amount to the War Loan would be eligible.”¹⁰ These reasons for dismissing the idea may have only been additional to the Council’s own feelings towards a gun as a memorial. According to the report of the council meeting of 8 February 1919, “the Council was generally not in favour of trying to get a gun for the parish as a war memorial, but thought that any memorial should be of a permanently useful character such as would command itself to the majority of the parishioners.”¹¹ Discussions regarding what form an acceptable war memorial should take would have to wait as, “the council adjourned the question of a war memorial, being thought premature to make any arrangements in this respect until peace was signed.”¹² These inaugural meetings of February 1919 were, however, the formal beginning for community participation for the development of a lasting village memorial to the fallen of Cam. Although the use of a captured gun may not have been seen by the council as an acceptable war memorial, the need to find and have something tangible to focus the great loss to the community remained. Gough’s study comments that, “in 1919 the need to find a tolerable meaning the vast

⁹ Gloucestershire Archive - Cam Parish Council Records P69a PC 1/3 Accession #2073 5 February 1919, p.33.

¹⁰ ‘War Memorial’, *Dursley Gazette*, 8 February 1919, Vol. 2092, p.3.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. 2092, p.3.

¹² Gloucestershire Archives - Cam Parish Council Records, P69a PC 1/3, Accession Number 2073, 5 February, 1919, p.33.

losses of the Great War demanded a radical break from the august statues...initially they acted as a focus for personal public and civic displays of grief.”¹³ It is therefore from this early attempt to address the need for an icon to be used in the remembrance of the conflict which began the process to develop a war memorial for Cam.

Style of Roll of Honour

In the same month as the end of fighting in France, reports of the Cam Roll of Honour were being compiled and at this stage there were 23 noted as making the supreme sacrifice.¹⁴ From this, early understanding was fostered that the agreement that the Village War Memorial would recognise by name only those who had died. In response to this, an article, written by ‘A Discharged Soldier’, complained the Roll of Honour did not list the names of discharged soldiers as well as the fallen. The article states: “Are they not worthy of being on the Roll of Honour after having suffered, as some of them have, for their King and Country.”¹⁵ This demonstrates that at least some of the discharged soldiers wanted public recognition for their own years of service and sacrifice by being listed on the village memorial alongside their dead comrades. This is the first of several interested public groups wanting their input heard. The position of unrest amongst ex-soldiers is addressed in King’s work when he notes that various councils, (in other counties), had taken up the idea of publicly commemorating all local soldiers either currently serving or dead.¹⁶ This was not a unique request as there are other early war memorial examples in Gloucestershire which included the names of casualties and the names of those who returned including the village of Leonard Stanley (1920), and

¹³ P. Gough, ‘Commemoration of War’ in B. Graham and P. Howard (eds.), *The Ashgate Research Companion To Heritage and Identity*, (London: Ashgate, 2008), p.218.

¹⁴ ‘Upper Cam Roll of Honour’, *Dursley Gazette*, 30 November 1918 Vol. 2082, p.3.

¹⁵ ‘Cam Roll of Honour’, *Dursley Gazette*, 7 December 1918, Vol. 2083, p.3.

¹⁶ King, *Memorials of the Great War in Britain*, p.47.

Swindon Village (1920). Naming both casualties and returned servicemen was not the case in Cam, as only casualty names were inscribed.

Utilitarian versus Symbolic War Memorial Forms

Work to appoint a committee to decide on an appropriate memorial for Cam was initially delayed due to Parish Council elections and by the end of March 1919 criticism of this delay began to be reported in the local *Dursley Gazette* newspaper. It was pointed out, “nearly all other local parishes have held public meetings to decide on the form their war memorial shall take but so far nothing has been done in Cam.”¹⁷ On 17 May 1919, a Parish meeting held with Rev. G.A. Piper, the local vicar of St Bartholomew’s Church Lower Cam, re-introduced the question of a permanent memorial. Two suggestions were put forward by the vicar. The first was to erect a Wayside Calvary, but this, (conceded at the time), may not “get general acceptance... or unite the people.”¹⁸ The second suggestion was for a cottage hospital. “The Calvary would preach a sermon but the Cottage Hospital would put it into practice.”¹⁹ The choice between the type of memorial, a symbolic (religious) memorial or utilitarian building, would continue to arise throughout the decision-making process. It was suggested the hospital scheme, “took to heart the lessons of the Great War and provide something of an uplifting character.”²⁰ This type of scheme, however, could incur great expense. “Pressure for war

¹⁷ ‘War Memorial’, *Dursley Gazette*, 29 March 1919, Vol. 2100, p.4.

¹⁸ ‘Suggested War Memorial at Cam’, *Dursley Gazette*, 17 May 1919, Vol. 2107, p.3.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p.3.

²⁰ ‘War Memorial At Cam – Wayside Calvary, Cottage Hospital and Monument Suggested’, *Dursley Gazette*, 7 June 1919, Vol. 2110, p.1.

memorials to be utilitarian rather than monumental was widespread and a variety of schemes from memorial halls and hospital wards... were suggested and considered.”²¹

The first public meeting, on 16 June 1919, to discuss the village war memorial noted an audience of about fifty people, including leading local church figures, members of the Parish Council, and others from the community including a number of local ladies.²² Presiding over the meeting was Mr. H.B. Winterbotham Esq., J.P.²³ The choice of Mr. Winterbotham was made because of his position in the community as a Justice of the Peace and Director of Cam Mills the largest employer in the village. The company of Cam Mills (*fig.57*) was already designing their company war memorial and it was decided that as Winterbotham had at least this experience which was more than most in the village he should be appointed as the chair.



Figure 57. Cam Mill - circa 1913.



Photograph courtesy of Will Lucas²⁴
Figure 58. Cam Mill Memorial

²¹ Geoff Archer, *The Glorious Dead: Figurative Sculpture of British First World War Memorials*, (Norfolk, Kirkstead: Frontier Publishing, 2009), pp. 235-236.

²² 'Proposed War Memorial at Cam, Monument to be erected on Cam Peak', *Dursley Gazette*, 21 June 1919, Vol. 2112, p.1.

²³ 'Cam Mills Memorial', *Dursley Gazette*, 22 November 1919, Vol. 2134, p.2.

²⁴ Lucas, W. (William.lucas@milliken.com) (3 December 2010,). *Photo - Cam Mill's War Memorial Tablet*. Email to R.Taylor (roebt@hotmail.com).

The chairman explained the object of the meeting and noted the dead from the village from the war now numbered 54.²⁵ As a result of the large number of casualties, the chairman wanted a clear consensus on the style that the memorial would take, so that it would be accepted by a clear majority. Suggestions for the type of memorial included: a church tablet, which would be similar but larger than a panel being considered in Winterbotham's company Cam Mills (*fig.58*), and any unspent balance of money collected to be used as an annuity for the more seriously wounded soldiers. The form of a tablet has no special decorative function as: "it was the names inscribed on it which mattered... They carry the essential meaning of the memorial and treatment of them was the primary design consideration."²⁶ It was reported, however, that certain members at this meeting were not satisfied with a church panel and wanted some sort of public form of monument, either an obelisk or cross.²⁷ This dissatisfaction with the concept of a simple panel or plaque to be located inside a church demonstrates that the community was proud of their village's contribution to the war effort and wanted a public visual recognition of it. This issue was not unique and would be similar to public memorials being developed for many of the neighbouring communities. The concept of considering a non-religious form suggests that the considered memorial favoured was one that would be accepted by most of the inhabitants of the village. This consideration for a public memorial was further progressed when the question for the best positioning of such a structure was raised.

²⁵ Cam Parish Council Records P69a Accession No. #2073, 16 June 1920 p.1K

²⁶ King, *Memorials of the Great War in Britain*, p.132.

²⁷ Cam Parish Council Records P69AC PC 1/3 Accession No. 2073 16 June 1919. p. 1K.

Concerns of Location

The suggestion for a particular site was made by Mr. Ford, a member of the Parish Council, who proposed Cam Peak²⁸ (fig.59). This was high ground, which would allow for the monument to be a dominant feature of the countryside and be seen for miles.



Gloucestershire Archives, Fol. [CAM 1910 GPS 69/38]
Figure 59. Postcard - 'Cam Peak From Upper Cam' – circa 1910.

The idea took inspiration from two existing memorials (not Great War Memorials), already in place at North Nibley and Hawkesbury Upton, which were visible for great distances.²⁹ The site of a memorial on high ground was the most important consideration with this choice. With initial agreement of site, the committee voted on the location and a unanimous agreement for Cam Peak resulted.

Other suggestions had also been heard, such as locating the memorial at existing reverent sites such as the Jubilee Tree³⁰ or the Manse in Lower Cam. Another suggestion about the proposed site was to locate a memorial on the Hopton School Green, as this location was generally accepted to be the one place most of the dead had in common, in that many of the soldiers had attended the school.

²⁸ Postcard photo of 'Cam Peak from Upper Cam', *Gloucestershire Archives, Fol. [CAM 1910 GPS 69/38]*.

²⁹ 'The War Memorial on Cam Peak', *Dursley Gazette*, 28 June 1919, Vol. 2113, p.2.

³⁰ The Jubilee Tree location had been the site of a commemorative tree planted at the time of Queen Victoria's Jubilee. It was, therefore, a recognised commemorative site and considered to be a proper location for a war memorial.

With the publication of the minutes of the 16 June 1919 meeting, in the following weeks, objections began to appear about the use of Cam Peak as the memorial site. Opposition to the site was voiced initially by older residents who were concerned that they would not be able to gain access. This led to a review into the adoption of Cam Peak as a site, and a sub-committee worked throughout the summer of 1919 on the issue. The memorial idea for Cam Peak did not become the decided location, but not as a result of the concerns of older residents. By September 1919, the sub-committee, headed by H.B. Winterbotham, had finished their viability study into the Cam Peak site and, in contrast to the earlier findings about the cost of acquisition of the site, initially thought to be relatively inexpensive, the sub-committee discovered the cost to actually be £1200.³¹

Iconographic Symbols

In the same meeting the iconography of the memorial was also considered. Symbols such as a cross had been suggested from earlier parish meetings. As this was the most common symbol from the mid-Victorian period, crosses had become as popular as the traditional headstone as funerary monument. Crosses had been used as war memorials since the Boer War. Infrequently even a crucifix had been used as a memorial.³² The idea of a crucifix as a memorial in Cam caused problems with the local population and was objected to. This objection may have resulted from ongoing knowledge of the legal controversy in using a crucifix as a war memorial in two neighbouring counties at the same time. The issue of the use of certain crosses, specifically a crucifix, as a war memorial had caused controversy and was first reported in Herefordshire, when, in January 1920, the Chancellor of Hereford made a decision about the use of a free standing crucifix as a war memorial,

³¹ 'Cam Permanent War Memorial – Estimated for Cam Peak £1200 – Matter To Come Before Another Parish Meeting', *Dursley Gazette*, 20 September 1919, Vol. 2125, p.2.

³² King, *Memorials of the Great War in Britain*, p.129.

“in his judgement isolated without incident or adjacent was of itself, unlawful.”³³ The controversy continued in Leigh, Wiltshire, and was reported in July 1920, with consideration of the crucifix design of the Leigh war memorial. In this case, the decision proposed in Herefordshire to ban crucifix memorials was overturned and the crucifix form was judged to be acceptable. This judgement stated the crucifix was:

“a universally used form that a figure ... first introduced in the 10th Century... this crucifix is not specifically Anglican, for there has not yet developed any type of crucifix which is generally regarded as such, ... there is no objection or other circumstances to provide a reason why as a matter of discretion should be refused. The Faculty will therefore issue in terms of the citation.”³⁴

The decision makers of the Cam War Memorial Committee wanted to avoid any possible problems around using a specific cross symbol and the decision was delayed but a sub-committee was appointed to review other symbols that would adorn the memorial and be considered appropriate for the majority of the population without controversy. The issue regarding the use of crucifixes as war memorials, however, continued in Gloucestershire for at least another two years.

With the true cost known, the sub-committee referred the findings back to the parish council and a parish meeting took place on 15 September 1919. In this meeting “(a member of the Committee) said the Committee had been thoroughly into the matter and had come to the conclusion that the scheme

³³ ‘Crucifix As A War Shrine A Faculty Refused’ *Wiltshire and Gloucestershire Standard*, 17 January, 1920, Vol. LXXXII, No. 4291.

³⁴ ‘Leigh War Memorial Legality of the Crificif’, *Wiltshire and Gloucestershire Standard*, 24 July 1920, Vol. LXXXIV, No. 4318.

was quite out of the question owing to the cost".³⁵ However, due to Mr Winterbotham's work with the Cam Peak issue, a decision was also made to ask him to take the chair of the new War Memorial Committee to re-consider different ideas for a war memorial.

The first of the new committee's meetings to discuss alternatives to the Cam Peak memorial was held within the month. The ideas brought forward in this meeting again included both symbolic memorial schemes as well as utilitarian ideas. The majority of design ideas raised at this time were utilitarian projects. The benefit of a utilitarian memorial was that it served as "something to be used by the living as well as being a memorial to the dead."³⁶

In the meeting of 15 September 1919, a new sub-committee was formed in the War Memorials Committee to "consider [further] suggestions for a Public War memorial in Cam."³⁷ Ideas raised in the meeting were again favouring the utilitarian forms as at this meeting suggestions were brought forward for: a centrally located recreation field, to include a pavilion and seats, a horse trough and drinking fountain to be located at the Jubilee Tree in Lower Cam. Lastly, the cottage hospital idea was re-introduced, but due to the costs involved for the hospital, expected to be more than the cost of the purchase of Cam Peak, the hospital project was quickly and finally abandoned.

Symbolic concepts were also introduced, for erection of a statuesque memorial similar to the one being discussed in the neighbouring village of Coaley, (this village's war memorial was unveiled in October 1919), (*fig.60*). Consideration for the location for the Cam memorial at this stage was to be in Lower Cam at the Jubilee Tree, or for a cross on the Hopton School Green.

³⁵ 'Cam Permanent War Memorial – Estimated For Cam Peak £1200 – Matter To Come Before Another Parish Meeting', *Dursley Gazette*, 20 September 1919, Vol. 2125, p.2.

³⁶ Bartlett, J & Ellis, K.M. 'Remembering the Dead in Northop: First World War Memorials in a Welsh Parish' *Journal of Contemporary History*, (1999), 34 (2), p. 240.

³⁷ 'Public Notice Parish of Cam', *Dursley Gazette*, 20 September 1919, Vol. 2125, p.2.



[Photo by Robert Taylor, author, 2010]

Figure 60. Coaley War Memorial

The Public (Secular) War Memorial Decision Making Process

By 11 October 1919, the reports of the Committee's first meeting were published. It was reported that this committee was: "empowered to receive and consider the practicability of suggestions as to a suitable Public War Memorial."³⁸ Within a short period, the War Memorial Committee had reported reaching some conclusions and asked for a parish meeting to receive their report. Unbeknownst to the War Memorial Committee, however, there had been a prior agreement by the Parish Council to hear the War Memorial Committee report in a parish meeting after Christmas 1919. The reason for this was that the Parish Council thought that the public would be in a better financial position to pay into the war memorial fund early in the new-year.³⁹ The War Memorial Committee objected to this postponement of two months as they wanted their findings to be reviewed at the parish meeting before Christmas. No resolution to the delay in reading the findings of the committee was made, and in frustration of the delay, on 10 January 1920 before the next Parish Council meeting, Mr. C.W. Hill, (the War Memorial Committee Secretary), published a letter in the local newspaper with their findings: "In the opinion of this committee, either a cross or a monument without a cross should be erected on

³⁸ 'Cam War Memorial Committee', *Dursley Gazette*, 11 October 1919, Vol. 2128, p.2.

³⁹ 'Cam Public War Memorial, Progress Reported', *Dursley Gazette*, 15 November 1919, Vol. 2133, p.7.

one of the following sites – the Hopton School Green, lower side of the Manse, Lower Cam; or Jubilee Tree site and that a parish meeting decide which kind of monument they prefer and which site.”⁴⁰

The response of the Parish Council was that they understood it was within the committee’s duty to call another parish meeting and not the responsibility of the council to review the findings. Again progress was impeded and more importantly, demonstrated to the public indecisiveness on this important issue of the time. Reports in the *Dursley Gazette* at this time state that the War Memorial Committee, in response to the Parish Council’s comments, needed clarification on their purpose as the Committee had believed itself only responsible to: “receive and consider suggestions made for a suitable public war memorial and report to a parish meeting after Christmas 1919.”⁴¹ This delay and what was reported in the *Dursley Gazette* at this time affected much of the local population and again it was ex-servicemen who responded. One ex-soldier wrote: “seeing that the parishioners cannot decide on a suitable war memorial I would like to suggest the discharged sailors and soldiers be privileged to decide and carry it through.”⁴² The dispute continued and no decisions as to the war memorial were completed until into 1920. The delay in the memorial construction pointed to indecision between the different groups in the community interested in the creation of a memorial. There was even uncertainty between the church leaders. What was to result from this extended stalemate was a decision for a second memorial, a non-secular memorial placed in Lower Cam.

Non-Secular War Memorial Decision in Lower Cam

Resulting from the delayed resolution of the Parish Council to the reports from the War Memorial Committee Secretary, Mr Hill reported 10 January 1920 that the parishioners of St Bartholomew’s

⁴⁰ ‘Cam War Memorial: The Committee’s Suggestions’, *Dursley Gazette*, 10 January 1920, Vol. 2141, p.2.

⁴¹ ‘Cam War Memorial Deadlock’, *Dursley Gazette*, 21 February 1920, Vol. 2146, p.7.

⁴² ‘Cam War Memorial’, *Dursley Gazette*, 28 February 1920, Vol. 2147, p.8.

Church Lower Cam, under the direction of Rev. G.A. Piper, who by now was also the Chairman of the Cam Ex-servicemen's Committee, began to consider a separate memorial to commemorate the members of their local church to be sited in the Churchyard⁴³ (fig.61). The notation of Rev. Piper's position on the Ex-servicemen's Committee is important as it demonstrates his authorisation as a spokesman for a significant portion of the population and he would have had support of this group in considering a second memorial. Although this memorial was not erected before the secular memorial, it had the effect of prompting discussions and deliberations for completing the secular memorial. As the cost of a smaller church memorial was less and the work on design and construction would be shorter, it was thought that this would allow for the church memorial at St Bartholomew's to be erected sooner for its parishioners. This memorial was organised, funded and erected in just over one year and was erected on 6 March 1921.⁴⁴ Sixteen names of Great War casualties are noted on the Lower Cam memorial at St Bartholomew's.



[Photo by Robert Taylor, author, 2010]

Figure 61. (Lower Cam Memorial)

The effect of the Lower Cam intention to erect a separate memorial resulted in a further public meeting on 19 April 1920. With the churchyard memorial at St Bartholomew's in Lower Cam being organised by Rev. G.A. Piper, some were upset at his work on an alternative memorial. Others felt he

⁴³ 'Lower Cam Parish Church. Dedication of War Memorial', *Dursley Gazette*, 5 March 1921, Vol. 2202, p.8.

⁴⁴ 'Cam S. Bartholomew's Church Lower Cam. Unveiling and Dedication of War Memorial', *Dursley Gazette*, 12 March 1921, Vol. 2201, p.2.

had “done the right thing in starting to do something...when other people did not seem keen on doing anything.”⁴⁵ The secretary of the War Memorial Committee, Mr C.W. Hill, announced that “the enthusiasm which was obvious at the first public meeting called to consider a public war memorial was now absolutely dead... and suggested that the matter be left in the hands of the various churches and congregations.”⁴⁶

This meeting, held on 19 April 1920, is pivotal in another context, as a review of the names of the dead was undertaken and it was realised that the names of the casualties of the village to be inscribed contained a higher proportion belonging to Free Church families. With this, strong agreement that a secular memorial should still be erected on public ground and from this, an earlier proposal for the location of such a memorial was resurrected. The suggestion reinvigorated effort behind a public memorial on the Hopton School Green introduced by Mr. A.E. Smith. He stated that a secular memorial would “do away with the ill feeling between Church and Chapel.”⁴⁷ This meeting ended with a proposal that a committee be set up to take the necessary steps to provide the proposed memorial. The chairman proposed that a committee be formed and an election resulted in 12 men, (6 being ex- servicemen), and 2 women making up the committee.⁴⁸

On 26 April 1920, the Memorial Committee investigating the Hopton School Green site held its first meeting. The meeting agenda was to gather suggestions about the form the memorial should take.

⁴⁵ ‘Cam War Memorial Proposed Memorial on the Hopton School Green’, *Dursley Gazette*, 24 April 1920, Vol. 2155, p.7.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

⁴⁸ The elected committee was made up of A.E. Smith, C.H. Malpass, F. Thomas, J.Strait, A.E. Brown, Mrs. H. Hague, Mrs. H.B. Winterbotham, and six ex-soldiers: S. Lewis, A. Hill, C.W. Hill, T. Alder, P. Whittard and H Ball. ‘Cam War Memorial Proposed Memorial on the Hopton School Green’, *Dursley Gazette*, 24 April 1920, Vol. 2155, p.7.

The meeting, attended by further ex-soldiers and others, resulted with one main recommendation.

This was that the memorial on this site was expected to cost between £400 and £800.

Style of the Public Memorial

The discussion on the different forms of memorials continued with the specific designs for the memorial in question. These included “1) a block of rough red granite with polished panels on a three or four step base; 2) a granite obelisk; 3) The figure of a soldier in full kit.”⁴⁹ All three of these designs would be non-denominational. The first would appear like the majority of early memorials with minimal decoration, a public tablet where the names would be the main feature. The forms of the obelisk, like the walled tablet, were both traditional forms of funerary monuments, but the obelisks had no obvious Christian meanings and little association with the idea of village community.⁵⁰ The final form of a kitted out soldier had the obvious visual interpretation, but as the village of Cam chose against this form, further description is not necessary here. A good reference for that study is included in Geoff Archer’s work, in which he references meanings of positioning and poses of military figures in sculpture.⁵¹

At the 3 May 1920 meeting various decisions were confirmed, one being that the memorial to be built should take the form of a Celtic cross. The dimensions would depend on the subscriptions. By the end of that month a substantial amount of money had already been raised and at this point, due to the amount raised, the final decision was made to build a granite monument on the Hopton Green facing the school. A sub-committee was appointed to review specifications and contact appropriate firms for

⁴⁹ ‘Cam Memorial To The Fallen’, *Dursley Gazette*, 1 May 1920, Vol. 2156, p.5.

⁵⁰ King, *Memorials of the Great War in Britain*, p. 131.

⁵¹ Archer, *The Glorious Dead: Figurative Sculpture of British First World War Memorials*, (Kirkstead, Norfolk: Frontier Publishing, 2009).

tenders for the project.⁵² Within a week of this meeting, the first listing of 48 names that would be commemorated on the memorial was published for public review.

The Public Memorial Building Process

Throughout the summer of 1920 the subcommittee worked on the tenders for the project. By September it was announced that construction would be undertaken by F.J. Barns Ltd of Portland, with the foundation of the monument being built by a local Cam resident. The memorial design was done by Mr. Percy Tubbs F.R.I.B.A., P.P.S.A. Mr. Tubbs had been responsible for the design of at least one other Gloucestershire War memorial, that being at Wootton-under-Edge which had been unveiled that summer (on 20 June 1920)⁵³ (fig. 62).



[Photo by Robert Taylor, author, 2010]

Figure 62. Wootton-Under Edge War Memorial

By late September work on the Cam memorial was being carried out. A local stone mason was hired to construct the foundations. This offered the town a sense of owning the actual physical memorial as it now had local connection in the building phase. In November it was reported that the laying of the foundation was practically completed as the base was in position. The final decision on the form made

⁵² 'Cam War Memorial', *Dursley Gazette*, 5 June 1920, Vol. 2161, p.2.

⁵³ 'War Memorial, Wootton-under-Edge' [online] <http://www.britishlistedbuildings.co.uk/en-503184-war-memorial-wotton-under-edge> [Accessed 3 December 2010].

by the Memorial Committee was for a Gloucestershire Lantern Cross (*fig.63*) atop an eight sided 16ft 8in. column. The memorial was installed on three steps similar to many Wayward Crosses but the memorial was not an overtly religious symbol. A lantern symbolising light, life and spirituality was considered to be acceptable to the majority of the residents. Around the raised base the names of the 48 dead were inscribed on eight sides with the front face towards the school which read simply: “IN EVER GRATEFUL REMEMBRANCE OF THE MEN OF CAM WHO FELL IN THE WAR 1914 – 1918” (*fig.64*).



[Photos by Robert Taylor, author, 2010]
Figure 63. Cam Lantern head Cross



Figure 64. Cam Memorial Inscription

Unlike the majority of Gloucestershire war memorials which utilise the biblical verse John 15:13 “Greater love hath no man than this that a man lay down his life for his friends’, Cam’s memorial is engraved with 1 Samuel 25:16. The Inscription is located below the names and reads:

THEY WERE A WALL	UNTO US BOTH BY	NIGHT AND DAY
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There was no evidence located which explains the decision to use this verse instead of John 15:13 which had become a standard verse for many memorials within the county.

The entire memorial was erected on a raised stone base which provides an elevation to allow the monument to have effect and is segregated from the Hopton Green (*fig.65*) and (*fig.66*) with steps symbolically heading down towards the Hopton School. This can be seen as symbolising the connection of the fallen with the school, which was the intention of the Committee using this site.



[Photos by Robert Taylor, author, 2010]

Figure 65. Cam Public War Memorial in front of school Figure 66. Cam Memorial on Hopton Green

The Unveiling Ceremony

In January reports were made that the memorial was complete and an announcement was made that the unveiling ceremony would be held on 9 January 1921.⁵⁴ The ceremony was well advertised in advance of the day and in anticipation of a large attendance. The printed programme of the unveiling indicated the ceremony was intricate and set to be conducted at three locations ending at the memorial. The unveiling ceremony was developed to address many issues that had divided the public on secular and non-secular grounds about the memorial built at Hopton Green. Beginning in Lower Cam, the procession would start at the Jubilee Tree, (one of the early suggested locations for the proposed memorial). The group then processed in a 25 minute parade to St Bartholomew's Parish Church, where a shared multidenominational service was held in which many of the varying religious leaders of the village took part. Rev. Bertram Dewhirst, the Wesleyan Minister, read the special lesson. Rev. W. Seaver (Vicar of Cam) and Rev. G.A. Piper (Vicar of St Bartholomew's Lower Cam), said prayers, and J.W. Hopkins secretary of the Free Church Council, represented the Cam Meeting. The Rev. Edward Roberts (former Vicar of Cam) read a sermon.⁵⁵

⁵⁴ 'Cam Public War Memorial', *Dursley Gazette*, 1 January 1921, Vol. 2191, p.5.

⁵⁵ 'Cam War Memorial Unveiled By Mrs. H.B. Winterbotham', *Dursley Gazette*, 15 January 1921, Vol. 2193, p.3.

Following the service, the procession made its way to the memorial on Hopton Green. The order of the procession was clergy, choir, mourners, children, ex-Servicemen, Parish Council Committee and the Band. The formation of the public within the procession addresses one of the main aims of this chapter, that being who the memorial was for.

The service of unveiling was conducted by the Rev. Edward Roberts and then the memorial was unveiled by Mrs. H.B. Winterbotham, of the War Memorial Committee. As she and her husband, the Justice of the Peace, had been involved with the work on the development of the war memorial from early in the process she was seen as a suitable person.

Conclusion

In the development of the Cam War Memorial the builders of the memorial wanted a lasting structure that would have meaning to the population. Through Parish meetings, Parish councils and War Memorial Committees the consideration of structures and locations drew great interest from many across the secular and non-secular groups. The development of a structure that was envisioned by HB Winterbotham, the first chair of the War Memorial Committee, was the development of a permanent structure, such as other prominent memorials in the area, and that they would be meaningful to the community “a real memorial to the brave lads.”⁵⁶ Comments such as this are supported by later studies, including Bartlett and Ellis, who comment that “permanence was important to those who took part in the great wave of memorial construction after the First World War. Establishing something lasting addressed the debt that many felt they owed to the dead.”⁵⁷

⁵⁶ ‘Proposed War Memorial at Cam Monument To Be Erected on Cam Peak’, *Dursley Gazette*, 21 June 1919, Vol. 2112, p.1.

⁵⁷ Bartlett and Ellis ‘Remembering the Dead in Northop: First World War Memorials in a Welsh Parish’, p.231.

The question then became what form a memorial should take. Although there were many monumental and utilitarian options suggested, the overriding factor that would result in the final decision for a lasting memorial was finances. For a village the size of Cam this ultimately led to a relatively simple symbolic form.

There were also non-secular ideas for memorials considered by the community and these, although developed by an individual church, did not result in it being considered the main memorial for the village. Interestingly in this village the majority of casualties had been from the Free Church and once it was decided to locate the memorial in a secular space on the Hopton Green, as opposed to the church yard of an individual church, the majority of the population agreed to the secular memorial as the main memorial for the village.

In this way Cam is an example of a small community concerned with local issues which the community could control (i.e. issues such as what form the local memorial would take and where to locate it). Issues of a larger commemoration, such as wider county or national commemoration, were not a consideration. This point is further investigated to uncover the differences in a town and city sized community.

This chapter has reviewed the factors that were considered by the population of Cam in the development of their village's war memorial. Many suggested styles, locations and intended purposes, i.e. utilitarian or symbolic variations, of memorial were considered. In Cam one of the major considerations, which became an impediment to many of the war memorial concepts, was the monetary capability to produce a large or excessively elaborate memorial.

The study of Cam also illustrates how the non-secular and the secular relationships within a village functioned when trying to create a memorial that would be well accepted by their community. The idea

about what to create as an appropriate form for commemoration that would be cost effective yet acceptable to the majority of the population proved difficult in this case with ideas varying from non-secular forms, such as a Wayside Cross, to public horse troughs being considered. Considerations of where to locate the memorial were also challenging. In this case location considerations varied from the concept to purchase the property and build a monument on Cam Peak to building at the Jubilee Tree. With passing of time and with no decision being made, a non-secular memorial was proposed and hastily built in St Bartholomew's, the Lower Cam Parish Churchyard. That memorial was a relatively inexpensive memorial concept that was agreeable to the members who were tired of debating location and form of memorial. The secular memorial, however, had to appeal to a wider, more diverse group and, therefore, was not as easy to introduce. However, with perseverance and likely pressure knowing that the Lower Cam memorial was well underway, the secular War Memorial Committee did get agreement for a location that was common to most of the casualties, the Hopton Green in front of the school, where most had attended. In this village it has been demonstrated that the secular memorial had community support, but due to monetary issues the plans were stalled. Once completed, however, the memorial at the Hopton Green was acknowledged through attempts of including non-secular groups into the unveiling ceremonies as the main War Memorial of Cam. The non-secular memorial was unveiled on 6 March 1921, and although still in place at Lower Cam, it has become less well known except to the congregation of that church, due in large part to its location in a churchyard while the Upper Cam Memorial location is in a highly recognisable public space.

In this way, the memorials demonstrate how various issues had to be mediated to arrive at a solution that met the needs of various interested parties, from the bereaved, ex-servicemen through to general members of the community. The common features unite them all with a wish to remember and honour the fallen in the local village.

Chapter 3

Town of Cirencester Case Study

Introduction

This chapter provides a study of two war memorial forms created in the market town of Cirencester, the monumental (*fig.67*) and the utilitarian (*fig.68*), including what each symbolised to the population at their origin and what their continued presence says about their permanence and use today as a commemorative symbol of war memorialisation.



Figure 67. Cirencester Memorial Cross



Figure 68. Cirencester Memorial Hall

The main aim of this chapter is to examine in detail the rationale behind the two styles of memorial (utilitarian or monumental) that were developed and supported by the population of Cirencester as the main commemorative structures within this market town. The research has been directed at addressing a number of questions including: were the traditional (monumental) forms of war memorials received better by the local population of Cirencester than the utilitarian style? Did they serve a different purpose to different parts of society? To what degree have utilitarian memorials maintained a permanent commemorative function over time? This case study also undertook a detailed examination of the

iconography and engraved symbols on the central monumental memorial to investigate King's argument that there is no one true reading of the engraved iconography as "commemorative symbols are subject to a variety of interpretations", and was one meaning readily understood.¹ To determine the answers and to understand these different memorials my research examines their origins and explores the factors involved in their development, including their key philanthropic support.

Historiography

In this chapter an exploration of recent debates dealing with the choice of monumental or utilitarian monuments is reviewed. One of the central objectives of this chapter is to examine views about the creation of war memorial forms, specifically between monumental and utilitarian styles. Boorman notes that:

Discussion about the form that the War memorials should take began before the end of the war, and a major point of debate was the question of whether the most appropriate memorial was a monument of stone or bronze or something more utilitarian such as a hospital, or memorial hall. It is easy to understand why so many felt that something of more apparent benefit to the community should be considered, but in fact over the years, hospitals built in the early 1920`s have frequently become outdated, and other such developments have also proved to have a comparatively limited life.²

¹ Alex King, *Memorials of the Great War in Britain: The Symbolism and Politics of Remembrance*, (Oxford and New York: Berg, 1998), p.247.

² Derek Boorman, *At The Going Down Of The Sun: British First World War Memorials*, (York: Dunnington Hall, 1988), p.1.

Winter expanded Boorman's concept of the utilitarian verses the monumental and suggests it was also a religious verses secular issue when he wrote: "Some war memorials were essentially religious in character, others primarily secular."³ Of utilitarian memorials, Marshall's study noted that: "the dual use affords more opportunities for understanding how the community view the memorial than [in] purely symbolic memorials, usually prominent only during November."⁴ However, Archer argues that "the utility would have significance for only a minority of the population; and even greater concern was that lacking any direct relevance to the war the commemorative aspect would soon be forgotten."⁵

In this study, iconographic symbols on memorials in Cirencester are reviewed. Of iconographic meaning, King has warned against assuming that memorials contain meaning independently.⁶ Donaldson argues this point by stating that: "the contemporary civic leaders' insistence that a memorial should and did have a specific meaning, a full understanding of a commemorative site can only be attained through the examination of the relationship between the symbol and the community it served."⁷ The memorial cross in Cirencester is a good example of a memorial representing highly religious motifs on a Memorial Cross, which was erected outside the main town parish church. King argues that, "the iconography of war memorials is generally limited. Either it relies on conventional treatment of conventional theme, or it takes

³ Jay Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European cultural history*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 90.

⁴ Debra J. Marshall, 'War Memorials in the Everyday Landscape of Twenty-First Century Britain,' PhD, University of Gloucestershire, (2004), p.93.

⁵ Geoff Archer, *The Glorious Dead Figurative Sculpture of British First World War Memorials*, (Kirkstead, Norfolk: Frontier Publishing, 2009), pp.236.

⁶ King, *Memorials of the Great War in Britain*, p.3.

⁷ Peter Donaldson, (2006), *Ritual and Remembrance: The Memorialisation of the Great War in East Kent*, (: Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Press, 2006), p.6.

a virtue of an almost mute simplicity of form.”⁸ This study reviews iconography inscribed on the local memorial cross at Cirencester to determine if the symbols convey a specifically local meaning which could then assist in commemorating a distinctly local identity.

The choice of a market town allowed the study to compare the development seen in a village with that of a larger community. The criteria used to make the choice were: 1) a town sized location, and, 2) the location was required to have two public memorials which would enable examination of the separate monumental and utilitarian forms. Consideration was given to a variety of towns including: Minchenhampton, Nailsworth, Stroud, Tewkesbury, Stow-on-the-Wold, Tetbury, Yate, Lydney, Cheltenham, Cinderford, Cirencester and Wooton-Under-Edge. The decision to examine the market town of Cirencester was taken as it maintains two prominent public memorials which offer the best opportunity to compare monumental and utilitarian war memorial forms in one location.⁹ Cirencester has been a market town since Roman times. The population in 1918 was somewhere between 12,746 (in 1911) and 11,980 (in 1921).¹⁰

⁸ Alex King, ‘Podium: The Iconography of war memorials’, *The Independent*, 18 February 1999, [online], <http://www.independent.co.uk/arts-entertainment/podium-the-iconography-of-war-memorials-1071497.html> [Accessed 22 Oct. 2010].

⁹ During the review it was discovered that Cheltenham, Cinderford, Lydney, Tewkesbury, Tetbury, Wooton-Under-Edge and Yate only have one public war memorial. Cheltenham has many non-secular memorials as does Tewkesbury. Stow-on-the-Wold has two memorial ‘phases’ developed into one memorial but within the parish church and would therefore be considered a public war memorial. Minchenhampton has two public memorials but was dismissed from the study as the memorial forms are within yards of each other and could be considered as part of the same memorial. This only left Nailsworth, Stroud, and Cirencester. Stroud and Nailsworth both have two public war memorials including a monumental and a utilitarian. In the case of Stroud, the utilitarian memorial, which had originally been constructed as a hospital wing, has now been so greatly renovated that only a facing front wall of the Memorial Hospital maintains its original commemorative appearance and was therefore dismissed from the study. In the final decision between Nailsworth and Cirencester, Nailsworth was ruled out as the chosen market town quite simply because there was more information located around the Cirencester memorials.

¹⁰ A Vision of Britain Through Time, [online], http://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/data_cube_page.jsp?u_id=10135692&data_theme=T_POP&data_cube=N_TOT_POP&add=N [Accessed 4 April 2012].

Cirencester Memorial Development Process Timeline

Recording the major milestones in the historical development of the public war memorial forms in Cirencester on a chronological timeline (*fig.69*) allows the analysis of different aspects of the development process without necessarily analysing information strictly chronologically. The timeline shows that although the overall timeframe from 1917 to 1921 is longer than that of the Village of Cam's memorial development, it outlines differences in the decision-making process. A discussion of the decision-making process is developed throughout the chapter. The timeline also reinforces speculation for construction of the first memorial which led to a war memorial being unveiled before the end of the fighting in 1918. It also illustrates the relatively short development period in Cirencester of both memorial forms: sixteen months for the Memorial Cross and twenty three months for the memorial hospital (1921).

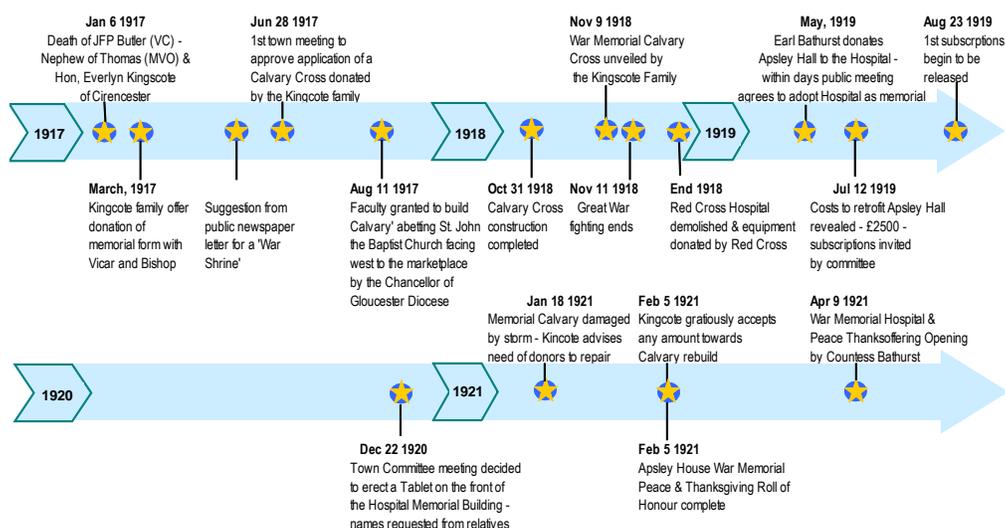


Figure 69. Timeline of Cirencester's Great War Memorials (1917 – 1921)

Memorial Calvary Cross

Origins and Philanthropic Support

The Memorial Cross in Cirencester was one of the earliest public war memorials in Gloucestershire, with only two others, Woodchester (1917) and Beverston (1918) from the sample of 303 reviewed, (see

Appendix 2), built before the one in Cirencester. The Cirencester Calvary Cross was erected 31 October 1918, before the end of the war.¹¹ One single family, the Kingscote family, was the driving force and they took it upon themselves to have the form created and donated to the town.¹² An article in the *Wiltshire and Gloucestershire Standard and Cirencester and Swindon Express* may offer the reason for their specific act of such a generous philanthropic donation. The article titled 'The Late Captain J.F.P. Butler V.C.' (fig.70), reports that he was the "nephew of the Hon. Mrs Thomas Kingscote of Cirencester."¹³

In the *London Gazette* dated 23 August 1915, a description of Captain Butler's action is offered in an announcement that he had been awarded the Victoria Cross 'for most conspicuous bravery in the Cameroons, West Africa' (fig. 71).¹⁴

¹¹ 'War Memorial Cross For Cirencester – Service of Dedication. Address by the Bishop', *Wiltshire and Gloucestershire Standard and Cirencester and Swindon Express*, 9 November 1918, Vol. LXXXII No. 4229, p.2.

¹² Thomas Kingscote became a Gentleman of the Cellars and Gentleman Usher to Queen Victoria and then Edward VII and George V, retiring in 1919. He was appointed Member of the Royal Victorian Order (MVO) in 1901. The family of Thomas Kingscote had held the manor of Kingscote Gloucestershire since the 11th century. His mother was the daughter of the 6th Earl of Beaufort and his father was Colonel Thomas Kingscote. 'Thomas Arthur Fitzhardinge Kingscote', *The Peerage*, [online], <http://thepeerage.com/p7948.htm>, [Accessed 19 January 2011].

¹³ 'The Late Captain J.F.P. Butler, V.C.' *Wiltshire and Gloucestershire Standard and Cirencester and Swindon Express*, 6 January 1917, Vol. LXXX No. 4133, p. 4.

¹⁴ 'The soldier's burden' *London Gazette*, [online], <http://www.kaiserscross.com/188001/264701.html> [Accessed 25 February 2011].



The soldier's burden, [online], <http://www.kaiserscross.com/188001/303101.html> [Accessed 25 February 2011].
Figure 70. Illustration of Captain J.F.P Butler



Deeds That Thrill The Empire, [n.d.], Vol II, p.203.

Figure 71. Captain Butler in Action

There was no definitive, documented link found between the death of Captain Butler and the reason for the donation of the cross.¹⁵ However, to speculate, the death of such a highly decorated soldier, who was related to a prominent local family and who had been posted to East Africa, a theatre of war largely forgotten, is a plausible explanation. The extended family, (including Mrs Kingscote), knowing that Captain Butler's remains could not be returned for burial, may have prompted action towards creation of a memorial.

As Thomas Kingcote was elderly, and as he had been on the staffs of Queen Victoria, Edward VII and finally George V, it is proposed he would have held traditional values and, therefore, would have favoured a traditional style of commemorative structure in recognition of the individual heroism of his nephew, Captain Butler. McIntyre argued that, "the First World War put an end to the perception of individual heroism as a social ideal, as a way in which a man should conduct himself."¹⁶ My research, therefore,

¹⁵ In its first battle in German East Africa the Gold Coast Regiment lost seven men killed and 28 wounded. One of the dead was Captain John Fitzhardinge Paul Butler VC, DSO who had died of his wounds. To quote the Regimental History: "His death . . . was felt to be a specially malignant stroke of ill-fortune, and was mourned as a personal loss by his comrades of all ranks." He is buried in Morogoro Cemetery, Tanzania. 'The soldier's burden' [online], <http://www.kaiserscross.com/188001/303101.html> [Accessed 25 February 2011].

¹⁶ Colin McIntyre, *Monuments of War: How to Read a War Memorial*, (London: Robert Hale, 1990), p. 93.

differs from McIntyre on this point based on the details uncovered. Details of an alternative explanation were offered in the town meeting, in which the [memorial] was to be accompanied by a full record of those commemorated.¹⁷ This explanation may have been the reason for the memorial or more likely a reason offered to local authorities and reporters in an attempt to solicit agreement with the town authorities. My conclusion of a closer personal connection to such a philanthropic gift seems more logical.

The Kingscote family was a sincerely private family, and the secrecy of their philanthropic donation was recorded nearer the time of the unveiling of the memorial cross. Information was published, intending to keep the Kingscote's name secret. A local newspaper noted: "It is not permitted to mention the source [of the donor] although it is well known ... is desired that no personal or public expression of gratitude may be made."¹⁸ The only photograph found of the Kingscote family was located at the unveiling service, where Mr. and Mrs Kingscote are seen placing a wreath at the memorial (*fig.72*).



Mr. Thos. Kingscote, M.V.O. and Hon. Mrs. Kingscote, the donors of the cross, depositing a wreath on the steps. (Photos by Cheltenham Newspaper Co. Ltd.)

'Cirencester War Memorial', *Cheltenham Chronicle and Gloucester Graphic*, November 9, 1918, Vol. 932, p.353
Figure 72. Mr. Thos. Kingscote MVO. and Hon., Mrs Kingscote depositing a wreath at the steps.

¹⁷ 'Proposed War Memorial', *Wiltshire and Gloucestershire Standard and Cirencester and Swindon Express*, 23 June 1917, Vol. LXXXI, No. 4157, p.4.

¹⁸ 'War Memorial Cross at Cirencester. Service of Dedication. Address By the Bishop', *Wiltshire and Gloucestershire Standard and Cirencester and Swindon Express*, 9 November 1918, Vol. LXXXII No. 4229.

Creation of the Memorial Cross

An editorial was printed in the *Wiltshire and Gloucestershire Standard and Cirencester and Swindon Express*, questioning: “when the town of Cirencester will follow the example of others and erect a War Shrine.”¹⁹ This referred to the lack of a town street shrine. A meeting held at the Town Hall after publication of the editorial article reinvigorated consideration for a war memorial offered as early as March 1917: “Mr. Kingscote had been thinking it over for a considerable time and it was at least three months ago that he brought the matter to the notice of the speaker, and of the Vicar and the Bishop.”²⁰ The intention was “to build a tall cross of Casterton stone ... abutting on the market-place ... octagonal steps to have afterwards inscribed upon them the names of those men of Cirencester and of the immediate district who have fallen in the War.”²¹ With agreement to erect the cross on the south porch of St John the Baptist Anglican Church, it can be seen that the positioning of the Crucifix memorial was the first symbolic consideration.²² Concern was expressed by the church that old governance of Calvary forms stated they had to face west. The architect, Comper, was in agreement with this, but Kingscote had decided that his gift “should be a permanent memorial to the world passing by in the busy market place, of the great sacrifice once offered for the redemption of all mankind and the share which many of their noblest and bravest had taken in that sacrifice.”²³ He, therefore, wanted it to face south for aesthetic reasons.

¹⁹ ‘War Shrine suggested for Cirencester’ *Wiltshire and Gloucestershire Standard and Cirencester and Swindon Express*, 9 June 1917, Vol. LXXXI No. 4155, p.5.

²⁰ ‘Proposed War Memorial For Cirencester. Faculty To Be Applied For’, *Wiltshire and Gloucestershire Standard and Cirencester and Swindon Express*, 30 June 1917, Vol. LXXXI, No. 4158, p.5.

²¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. LXXXI, No. 4158, p.5.

²² ‘Faculty For Cirencester War Calvary’, *Wiltshire and Gloucestershire Standard and Cirencester and Swindon Express*, 11 August 1917, Vol. LXXXI No. 4164, p. 4.

²³ ‘Proposed War Memorial For Cirencester, Faculty to Be Applied For’, *Wiltshire and Gloucestershire Standard and Cirencester and Swindon Express*, 30 June 1917, Vol. LXXXI No. 4158, p.5.

Kingscote felt so strongly about trying to have the direction changed that he contacted an 'eminent authority' about the cross having a southern facing aspect because of existing buildings in the vicinity. He did not want the memorial to be dictated by "archaic traditions 500 or 800 years old."²⁴ Kingscote's objection was defeated and the cross was erected facing west. A report in the local press concludes that the cross was erected in accordance with common custom: "no doubt influenced by a very strong and if not an unbroken tradition of the position of our churchyard and market crosses."²⁵ The directional facing of this memorial became one of the few early disputed issues with the memorial.

The Memorial Cross's Iconography

Winter argued that the languages of imagery and icons adopted varied considerably according to artistic convention, religious practice, and political convention.²⁶ In Cirencester, the cross itself, a calvary cross, or graded cross, was built in the traditional format, atop three steps which in some interpretations represent three Theological Virtues: Faith, Hope and Charity.²⁷ The Calvary Cross was intricately detailed with many religious symbols to be considered by the local population of the time. The meanings of the engraved symbols, however, can also be interpreted in different ways. King argued that there is no one correct interpretation of the symbols; however newspaper reports of the time offer what appear to be specific 'readings'. The report detailing the 31 October 1918 unveiling of the cross notes further Christian symbols to be viewed. There are a number of examples, one being the shield located below the crucified

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

²⁵ 'War Memorial Cross For Cirencester Service of Dedication. Address By The Bishop.' *Wiltshire and Gloucestershire Standard and Cirencester and Swindon Express*, 9 November 1918, Vol. LXXXII No. 4229.

²⁶ Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European cultural history*, p.85.

²⁷ Fish Eaters, Christian Symbols [online] <http://www.fisheaters.com/symbols.html> , [Accessed 28, October 2010].

Christ figure (*fig.73*). The shield contains the form of a pelican, which was reported as “in her piety, the symbol of love which gives its life for others.”²⁸ As a Christian symbol, the pelican is also a symbol of the atonement and the Redeemer (*fig.74*). On the reverse face of the crucified Christ, Christ is portrayed as a child in the arms of his mother. This shield at her feet contains the first and last letters of the Greek alphabet, Alpha and Omega, symbolising His divine nature (*fig.75*). However, other interpretations of this symbol are that the Lord God is the “beginning” and “end” of things, as based on the Book of Revelation.²⁹ The cross in the Christian understanding is a symbol of “the ‘Tree of Life not of Death’ and has leaves engraved onto the ends of the cross which are to be understood to be leaves of a healing of the nations.” The entire figure, therefore, according to universal tradition and for practical reasons, shows that from whatever side the memorial is approached there is “teaching and interest of Christian imagery.”³⁰ These examples demonstrate that the interpretations of symbols resulted in different meanings from that intended by the builders. This, therefore, illustrates King’s argument that relying on specific meanings for iconographic forms is not always credible.

²⁸ ‘War Memorial Cross For Cirencester Service of Dedication. Address By The Bishop.’ *Wiltshire and Gloucestershire Standard and Cirencester and Swindon Express*, 9 November 1918, Vol. LXXXII No. 4229.

²⁹ ‘Christian Symbols’, *Fish Eaters*, [online], <http://www.fisheaters.com/symbols.html> [accessed 28 October 2010]. and ‘War Memorial Cross For Cirencester Service of Dedication. Address By The Bishop.’ *Wiltshire and Gloucestershire Standard and Cirencester and Swindon Express*, 9 November 1918, Vol. LXXXII No. 4229. ‘Shepherds’ Threads Original Motifs’, [online], <http://sheperdstreads.co/products.html> , [Accessed 27 October 2010].

³⁰ ‘War Memorial Cross For Cirencester Service of Dedication. Address By The Bishop.’ *Wiltshire and Gloucestershire Standard and Cirencester and Swindon Express*, 9 November 1918, Vol. LXXXII No. 4229.



[Photos by Robert Taylor, author, 2010]
Figure 73. Front face of Crucifix



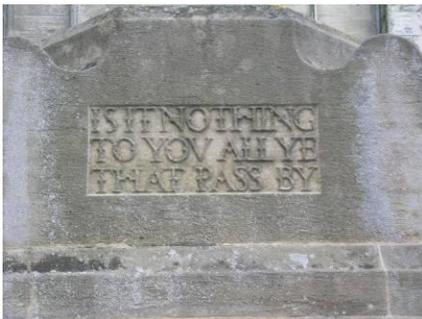
Figure 74. Close-up of Cross showing pelican



[Photo by Robert Taylor, author, 2010]
Figure 75. Close-up of reverse side of Cross showing symbols

Further, on the base of the cross was inscribed a biblical inscription, Lamentations 1:12 (*fig.76*)

IS IT NOTHING TO YOU, ALL YE THAT PASS BY? ³¹



[Photos by Robert Taylor, author, 2010]
Figure 76. Cirencester Memorial Cross showing biblical inscription



Figure 77. Dedication inscription on Memorial Cross

³¹ 'Proposed War Memorial For Cirencester. Faculty To Be Applied For', *Wiltshire and Gloucestershire Standard and Cirencester and Swindon Express*, 30 June 1917, Vol. LXXXI, No. 4158, p.5.

Located on the base of the cross at the same level as the biblical inscription but facing the Roll of Honour the dedication is simple and secular (*fig.77*). The original dedication at the time unveiling read:

DEDICATED IN MEMORY OF THE MEN OF CIRENCESTER WHO GAVE
THEIR LIVES FOR THEIR KING
& COUNTRY IN THE GREAT WAR
Ao DNI 1914 -

(The date 1919 was added to the Memorial Cross at the time of the Roll of Honour plaques being installed on the church wall).

Roll of Honour

The original plan for the Roll of Honour was drawn up by a committee headed by the Rev. Kitson of St. John the Baptist Anglican Church. He acted as curate in charge at a meeting comprising representatives from the Urban District Council, Church Wardens, C.E.M.S. and Y.M.C.A., Discharged Sailors and Soldiers, and District Visitors, illustrating the intention to be a very inclusive process.³² The Roll of Honour had been planned to be inscribed around the three octagonal steps of the memorial. The names collected were to include “all who had fallen in the war, who are known to have been natives of Cirencester or whose home was in Cirencester, with the addition of the names of a few relatives or close personal friends of the donors ... no Cirencester men was to be omitted.”³³ This local listing of casualties demonstrates that the community wanted local remembrance. After the total number of names became known, the placing of all of the names around the steps became impossible. Reports from January 1919 indicated 188 casualty names from Cirencester to be recorded at the parish memorial church.³⁴ It was

³² ‘Cirencester War memorial Cross’, *Wiltshire and Gloucestershire Standard and Cirencester and Swindon Express*, 21 December 1918, Vol. LXXXII No. 4235.

³³ *Ibid.*, 21 December 1918, Vol. LXXXII No. 4235.

³⁴ ‘Cirencester War Memorial Cross’, *Wiltshire & Gloucestershire Standard*, 25 January 1919, Vol. LXXXII No. 4240.

then agreed that plaques could be installed on the wall of the church as an alternative arrangement agreed with the Bishop.³⁵

The Roll of Honour itself was inscribed on six plaques (*fig.78*). The division between the third and fourth plaque form a cross with an embossed horizontal scroll stating the dates of 1914 – 1919. This is the only commentary about the names on the Roll of Honour. Above the second and fifth panel there are two ornamental wreaths, the wreath being: “a symbol of mourning.”³⁶



[Photo by Robert Taylor, author, 2010]

Figure 78. Cirencester Memorial Cross 1914-1919 Roll of Honour

The Great War Roll of Honour at Cirencester is listed alphabetically but includes the full first name of all and decorations of eight soldiers, including Captain Butler and notes his V.C., DSO. There is also the name of one woman, Julia H. Herbert, noted on the third plaque from the left, (tenth from the bottom). There was no evidence found to indicate that women were to be excluded. In fact, McIntyre argued that women’s names (like those of other civilians) are [usually] listed separately from those of men who were killed on active service.³⁷ However, the dedication was inscribed; “In the Memory of the Men” (*fig.63*). In

³⁵ ‘Cirencester War Memorial Cross’, *Wiltshire and Gloucestershire Standard and Cirencester and Swindon Express*, 21 December 1918, Vol. LXXXII No. 4235.

³⁶ Archer, *The Glorious Dead: Figurative Sculpture of British First World War Memorials*, p.105.

³⁷ McIntyre, *Monuments of War: How to Read a War Memorial*, p.144.

the broad fieldwork it was found that an additional six memorials noted women's names but even when the main memorial inscription noted 'to the memory of the men', four of these included women's names. The intent, therefore, seems clear that it was the large number of male casualties versus the few female casualties that influenced the labelling of the memorial.

In Cirencester there is no hierarchy illustrated on the Roll of Honour based on rank or military commendation such as reported in Mansfield's study. For example, the name of Henry M.P.H. Earl of Suffolk & Berkshire is located on the sixth plaque (fourth from the top) and Captain Butler, a VC is located on the first plaque, the last at the bottom. This lack of any hierarchical bases for these names indicates an intention was made to treat all who died with the same reverence. Mansfield's work mentions that in some locations the names inscribed were inscribed in a descending order of rank, either social or military "another familiar war memorial pattern, with a figure from the local landowning family leading the list."³⁸ This, however, was not the case in Cirencester.

Location

This memorial and Roll of Honour was situated overlooking the marketplace a highly visible location that would be noticed by anyone using the marketplace. The memorial's directional facing was important to Kingscote; however the church overruled and the memorial did not end up facing the marketplace. The memorial cross was located on church property using Christian symbols. This illustrates a difference from the memorial at Cam, where the villagers had decided against the use of specifically Christian iconography and a neutral location to avoid alienating some of the population. In Cirencester the donated memorial, complete with Christian iconography and located on church property, was well received by the

³⁸ Nick Mansfield, 'Conflict and the Village War Memorial 1914 - 1924', *Rural History*, (1995), 6 (1), p.71

population. It is possible that the favourable reception of the first Cirencester memorial was due to it being a memorial form created not unlike a war shrine before the end of the fighting or it may have been successful as it was inexpensive to the population. The expense of the memorial does not appear to be the reason for the favourable reception of the first form and this becomes more evident regarding the second memorial.

The Memorial Hospital

The second memorial structure in Cirencester also originated as a result of a donation. In this case the 7th Earl and Countess of Bathurst made the initial donation of Apsley Hall for conversion to a Memorial Hospital.³⁹

By 1919, Apsley Hall was vacant and needed attention. It was noted that Apsley Hall allowed sufficient space to be modified “as an X-Ray and Electrical Department and created off-duty quarters for nursing staff.”⁴⁰ It is therefore proposed that the need for a functional local hospital, as a replacement for the Bingham Hall Hospital, that was being demobilised, was the main reason for the donation. It is proposed the second reason was for a dedicated war memorial.⁴¹ This need for a hospital and its effect on urban renewal are raised by King, who argues: “War Memorial projects provided a popular forum through which

³⁹ Apsley Hall, an unused building located on Sheep Street, a few blocks away from the central market of the town was offered to the town. The building had formerly been the Independent -Congregational Chapel, built in 1833 on land which had been leased from the 6th Earl Bathurst. By 1888, the Chapel and congregation had moved due to financial issues and the Earl Bathurst foreclosed and converted it into a public hall, known as Apsley Hall. ‘Apsley Hall Cirencester’, (1989), *British Listed Buildings History in Structure* [online], <http://www.britishlistedbuildings.co.uk/en-365425-apsley-hall-cirencester> [Accessed 22 February 2011].

⁴⁰ ‘Cirencester Peace Celebration & War Memorial’ *Wiltshire and Gloucestershire Standard and Cirencester and Swindon Express*, 12 July 1919, Vol. LXXXIII, No. 4264.

⁴¹ ‘Cirencester War Memorial Hospital and Peace Thankoffering Opening By The Countess of Bathurst’, *Wiltshire and Gloucestershire Standard and Cirencester and Swindon Express*, 16 April 1921, Vol. LXXXV, No. 4356.

public interest in large scale development plans might have been aroused."⁴² King is referring to large, major redevelopment schemes at Charing Cross, as well as other civic redevelopment schemes. In Cirencester the need for a local hospital, yet the inability for financing it, offered a scheme that would match the public's desire to support a war memorial project, with the need for a local hospital and redevelopment of an urban site. This ability for the public to contribute to a commemorative structure was absent during the Kingscote memorial development. King argued that the war memorial "should be a collective gift from the community."⁴³ In Cirencester this was seen in collection of money to afford the hospital equipment and upgrade the interior to standards. Public monetary subscriptions were requested for the work.

This style of memorial offered the population a role in public decision-making and 'ownership of ideas' for the war memorial. Unlike the war memorial cross erected in 1918, the donation of a building for conversion to a memorial with a utilitarian purpose allowed for a more active participation by the public. In this way, it is a gauge of the public support for a memorial. Archer argued that "although memorials were sometimes financed entirely by prominent citizens, they were more usually paid for by public subscription and ... this consequent conferring of communal ownership was seen as a significant aspect of their meaning for the local community."⁴⁴

⁴² King, *Memorials of the Great War in Britain*, p.72.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, pp.34 - 35.

⁴⁴ Archer, *The Glorious Dead: Figurative Sculpture of British First World War Memorials*, p.235.

In July 1919 the first reports for the cost of refurbishing the donated Apsley Hall had noted that £2,500 pounds needed to be raised by subscription.⁴⁵ By 23 August it was reported that £1,317 of the £2,500 requested had been raised.⁴⁶ The speed of public response to the request for subscriptions demonstrates the interest the public had taken in participating in the war memorial's development. As the costs for equipment for finishing the hospital's interior increased, the required sum of money from subscriptions continued to be received. Between 23 August 1919 and 16 April 1921, seven subscription lists were published in the local paper which resulted in the public subscription to the Memorial Hospital totalling £4,500.

At the unveiling of the hospital, Lady Bathurst was optimistic about the permanence of the Memorial Hospital and indicated: "under the circumstances, the new name that has been adopted for the whole institution "Cirencester Memorial Hospital," is singularly appropriate and will tell its own story to succeeding generations."⁴⁷

The Memorial Hospital Roll of Honour

The memorial hospital's Roll of Honour was required once the hospital was completed. The criteria for listing the names on this Roll of Honour were different than at the memorial cross. Firstly, the casualty had to be born in Cirencester. Secondly, the casualty had to have enrolled while a resident of Cirencester. Lastly, and the main difference from the Roll of Honour collected for the calvary cross Roll of Honour, the names acceptable also included both men and women who fell in the war, as well as those

⁴⁵ 'Cirencester Peace Celebration & War Memorial', *Wiltshire and Gloucestershire Standard and Cirencester and Swindon Express*, 12 July 1919, Vol. LXXXIII, No. 4264.

⁴⁶ 'Cirencester War Memorial and Peace Celebration', *Wiltshire and Gloucestershire Standard and Cirencester and Swindon Express*, 23 August 1919, Vol. LXXXIII, No. 4270.

⁴⁷ 'Cirencester War Memorial Hospital And Peace Thankoffering - Opening By The Countess of Bathurst', *Wiltshire and Gloucestershire Standard and Cirencester and Swindon Express*, 16 April 1921, Vol. LXXXV, No. 4356.

who died from the effects of wounds, or illness contracted on active service.⁴⁸ By inclusion in print noting women and other groups, it would be a significantly different and more inclusive memorial than the Memorial Cross. The first, more restricted Roll of Honour at the church noted 188 names. A second Roll of Honour at the Memorial Hospital completed in 1921 was noted to record 221 names.⁴⁹ With a more inclusionary Roll of Honour Countess Bathurst hoped that the memorial function would strengthen the ties to the working hospital as a commemorative memorial to both the casualties and the convalesced, as illustrated by her unveiling speech.⁵⁰

Cirencester Unveiling Ceremonies

At separate unveiling ceremonies in Cirencester, both memorials were dedicated and accepted well by the local population as war memorial forms as demonstrated by the number in attendance. The Memorial Cross unveiling in 1918 was recorded in the *Wiltshire and Gloucestershire Standard and Cirencester and*

⁴⁸ 'Cirencester Roll of Honour List of Names for the War Memorial', *Wiltshire and Gloucestershire Standard and Cirencester and Swindon Express*, 29 January 1921, Vol. LXXXIV, No. 4345.

⁴⁹ 'Cirencester War Memorial Hospital and Peace Thankoffering Opening By Countess Bathurst', *Wiltshire & Gloucestershire Standard*, 16 April 1921, Vol. LXXXV No 4356.

⁵⁰ "Not only the brave lads who gave their lives for us, but also those who have served, suffered and survived, would desire no fitter or finer memorial of their sacrifices than the provision of facilities for alleviating pain and affliction." The purpose and meaning of the memorial as stated by Countess Bathurst was [sic]: "to pay a last tribute to those brave men and boys of Ciceter and the neighbourhood who laid down their lives that England might remain unconquered and surely it is fitting tribute to their memory that we should inaugurate today a hospital, for very many of the men of the Great British Army ... Further we may hope that this excellent hospital will provide what our Ciceter soldiers would have wished for; that their neighbours and friends and kinfolk should enjoy some of the benefits which the progress of modern science has made possible to alleviate pain and suffering and to restore health to those that have lost it. The building in which we now inaugurate and which extends and completes the already very excellent Hospital over there is very complete in every way. I am sure that this War Memorial Hospital will be the greatest boon to this town and that it will remain forever a memorial to our Ciceter heroes. But for them and what they did, it would never have been called into existence so that we owe it all to our glorious dead and it will keep their memory fresh in our minds. It will be a reminder to all of us that the greatest thing in the world is duty and the man who does his duty to the King and Country will not have lived or died in vein."

Cirencester War Memorial Hospital And Peace Thankoffering Opening By The Countess of Bathurst', *Wiltshire and Gloucestershire Standard and Cirencester and Swindon Express*, 16 April 1921, Vol. LXXXV, No. 4356.

Swindon Express, as the 'War Memorial Cross' and stated: "The service was attended by perhaps the largest congregations that ever assembled in the town".⁵¹ This considerable attendance at the service can be understood as a result of the cross being the first permanent public memorial form to be unveiled in the town to date, but unlike the unveiling at the Memorial Hospital it was not the Kingcote family who were the central figures at the ceremony. The *Wiltshire and Gloucestershire Standard and Swindon Express* records in this order: the Lord of the Manor, Earl Bathurst (in uniform), the High Steward, the Chairman and members of the Urban Council, members of the Parochial Church Council, Mr. & Mrs Thomas Kingscote, Mr. Comper the architect, General Sir Lawrence Parsons (in uniform), the Congregational Minister, and members of all classes of the town as attendees at the unveiling.⁵² Although there was a byline noting the Kingcotes as donors, they do not appear as the main participants.

In contrast, at the unveiling ceremony of the Memorial Hospital on 9 April 1921, the same newspaper introduced the form as a 'War Memorial Hospital and Peace Thank Offering', and stated: "a very large company representative of every aspect of life in the town had assembled near the hospital ... temporary diversion of traffic was necessary."⁵³ The variation in naming a memorial as a Peace and Thank Offering reflects on the changing reaction to memorials being erected to the war. Dyer has written: "Throughout the 1920's ... attempts were made to ally the rituals of Remembrance with the cause of peace: war memorials, it was argued, should be termed peace memorials."⁵⁴

⁵¹ 'War Memorial Cross at Cirencester. Service of Dedication. Address By the Bishop', *Wiltshire and Gloucestershire Standard and Cirencester and Swindon Express*, 9 November 1918, Vol. LXXXI | No. 4229.

⁵² *Ibid.*, Vol. LXXXI | No. 4229.

⁵³ Cirencester War Memorial Hospital and Peace Thankoffering. Opening By the Countess of Bathurst, The Opening Ceremony, *Wiltshire and Gloucestershire Standard and Cirencester and Swindon Express*, 16 April 1921, Vol. LXXXVI No. 4356.

⁵⁴ Geoff Dyer, *The Missing on the Somme*, (London: Phoenix Press, 1994), p. 73.

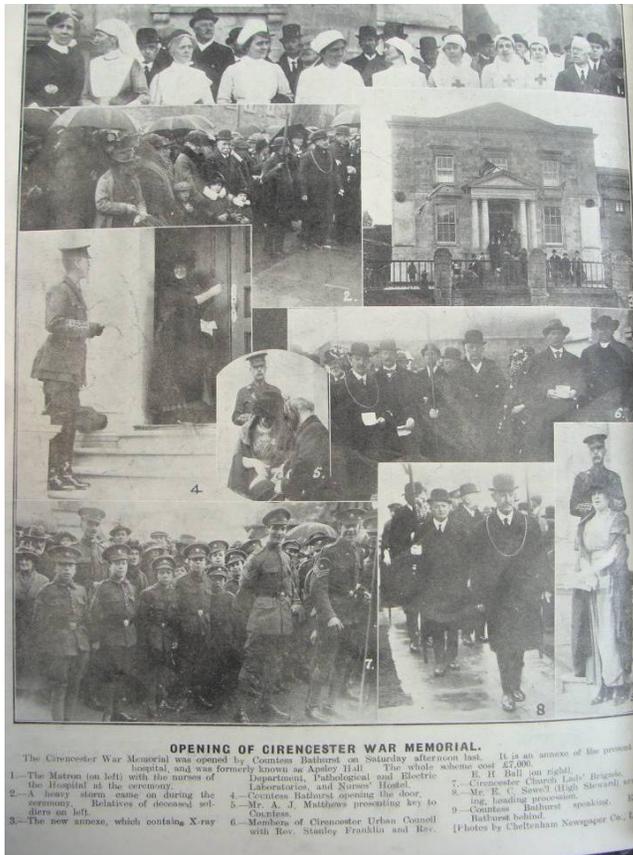
The unveiling of the second memorial was also more of a public show of philanthropy by the 7th Earl and Countess of Bathurst. With a relatively short development period, twenty three months after the funding was secured through public donation, Apsley Hall was renovated and fitted for use as a needed hospital. The unveiling and dedication held on 9 April 1921, was noted as being widely attended. In contrast to the Memorial Cross, the Memorial Hospital was publicly unveiled by the building's donors, as the main contributors and both Earl and Countess Bathurst took an active part in the ceremony. Many newspapers of the period reported on the very public unveiling, photographing and commenting on the Bathurst's involvement.⁵⁵ Newspapers such as the *Cheltenham Chronicle & Glo'shire Graphic* (fig.79) offer illustration of the dedication ceremony.

In addition, there is a plaque affixed above the front doors of the Memorial Hall (fig.80) that commemorates the generosity of the Earl and Countess of Bathurst and reads:

*This Hall was given by Earl Bathurst and
was altered to its present purpose by
Subscription from the Earl and Countess
and the Inhabitants of the Town and District
as a Thank Offering for the Victory Won
and for Peace.⁵⁶*

⁵⁵ Cirencester War Memorial Hospital and Peace Thank Offering. Opening By the Countess of Bathurst, The Opening Ceremony, *Wiltshire and Gloucestershire Standard and Cirencester and Swindon Express*, 16 April 1921, Vol. LXXXVI No. 4356.

⁵⁶ 'War Memorials – Cirencester, Gloucestershire', GENUKI, [online], <http://www.genuki.org.uk/big/eng/GLS/Cirencester/WarMem.html> [accessed 24 January 2011].



[Cheltenham Chronicle and Glo'shire Graphic, 16 April 1921, Vol. 1059, p.126]
 Figure 79. 'Opening of Cirencester War Memorial'

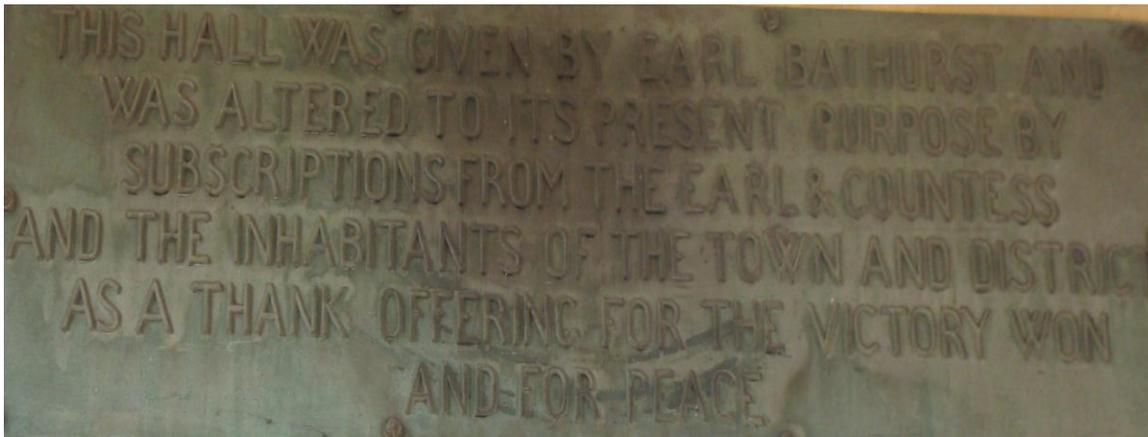


Photo by Robert Taylor, author, 2011
 Figure 80. Commemorative Plaque noting the donor and public support

After the Unveillings – Public Reaction to the War Memorial Forms

In November 1922, a storm toppled the Memorial Cross resulting in a request for financial assistance by Thomas Kingscote for donations from the community to repair the Memorial Cross. It was found that public response was slow, in contrast to the highly public and visible display of support from the donors of the Memorial Hospital, who had requested public money from the beginning. The slowness of public reaction could have been simply due to the recession of the 1920's or, as one subscriber had written about donating to a monumental memorial, it was: "against my better judgement ...I think all the money spent should have been better given to the Hospitals and I also did my bit for the C-ter War Memorial Hospital."⁵⁷

This type of reaction demonstrates that the utilitarian memorial was favoured by some of the population as it would benefit more than just the memory of the dead. At the time, the utilitarian form seemed to be the way of the future for memorials. Evidence of this understanding has been demonstrated by Countess Bathurst's optimistic remarks at the unveiling, noting it would continue to offer service to the population in future and become remembered as a main commemorative site in Cirencester. Unfortunately, support for utilitarian memorials as commemorative structures, especially those such as hospitals was quickly lost. Archer has argued "the utility would have significance only for only a minority of the population; an even greater concern was that lacking any direct relevance to the war the commemorative aspect would soon be forgotten."⁵⁸ A name change to the "Cirencester Memorial Centre" in 1990, (*fig.81*), did not maintain the building as the central war memorial or the commemorative memorial function as there was no mention of what the building memorialises.

⁵⁷ Letter Addressed to Mr Kingscote, Gloucestershire Records Office, 1922, P86 CW 3/63.

⁵⁸ Archer, *The Glorious Dead: Figurative Sculpture of British First World War Memorials*, p.236.



[Photos by Robert Taylor, author, 2010]
Figure 81. Cirencester Memorial Centre Plaque

Although the hospital still maintains its purpose as a medical centre and the building still maintains a Roll of Honour, the utilitarian memorial form has, as Boorman noted, become outdated. Although the utilitarian War Memorial Hospital was successful as a focus for public subscription during its building phase, and was a useful hospital later, its commemorative focus deteriorated over time in all but name. In line with Boorman's comments about the most appropriate memorial type either a utilitarian memorial, in this case a memorial hospital, or a monumental memorial - the cavalry cross, the case study of Cirencester demonstrates that the traditional motif, a religious cavalry cross built with a specific purpose, has survived as the main memorial in the town. This is in keeping with the findings of Winter. A simple reason that the Memorial Cross has been able to maintain its commemorative role is likely due to its highly visible and accessible location at the central square on church property facing the market as developed under Kingcote's concept.

The observance and commemorations of 11 November 2010 and Armistice Sunday took place at the Memorial Cross at St John the Baptist Anglican Church by the market square, demonstrating that the monumental commemorative form in this town has maintained the commemorative function. The

Memorial Cross continues to provide a significant form of local Great War commemoration today, as can be seen from the large crowd gathering by the cross on Armistice Sunday, 2010 (*fig.82*) and (*fig.83*).

There was no public commemoration at the Memorial Centre.



[Photos by Robert Taylor, author, 2010]

Figure 82. Armistice Day – Cirencester, 2010

Figure 83. Crowd Gathering at Memorial Cross, 2010

Conclusion

In the final analysis, this study of Cirencester has uncovered the plausible rationale for the choice of two different memorial styles. In the case of the memorial cavalry cross, the reason for the donation of the form resulted from the private mourning of a prominent soldier related to a wealthy family in the town. In the case of the memorial hospital, the rationale was to redevelop an urban site by replacement of a needed local hospital supported by public funds. Although this utilitarian hospital would benefit the living, and its commemoration function would strive to be more inclusionary of those who fought and died, both men and women, as well as for the wounded, it did not survive as the main commemorative structure in the town.

In terms of iconography, the effort made by Thomas Kingscote to include religious iconography that was to be understood by the population of the time was not clearly evidenced in the literary search completed.

The fact that this memorial remains the main focal point for the commemorative services of the town,

which is not the case for the Memorial Hospital may therefore indicate that location, not form or iconography, are the key factors used by today's population for war commemoration. Explanations for the symbols were offered at the time, but whether this publicity drew the crowds gathering at Armistice Day services, or whether they attended the service simply because it was located at a focal point to commemorate the importance of the event, is not clear.

The study has demonstrated that the purpose served by the two memorial forms were different. The Memorial Cross was a private commemorative form built with the traditional style in a location central to the main town. Its ability to be recognised and understood as a commemorative location because of the traditional style reduced the need to be able to read or interpret the iconography.

The benefit that the Memorial Hospital offered the people of Cirencester was the ability to make a donation to a commemorative form that allowed urban renewal and allowed them to feel they had contributed and thereby had some form of ownership of the form. The study shows that this memorial did not maintain longevity in its commemorative role. The purpose of this utilitarian building was never lost as a hospital; however, the commemorative purpose has been reduced, if not lost.

It was found that the development process for both the monumental and the utilitarian memorials in Cirencester was relatively uncontested. This was unlike that found in Cam, where the developers had to appease both secular and non-secular groups. Cam therefore had a more involved public development process to meet the needs of the different interest groups. A more involved public was expected to be the result in the case of Cirencester but what this study has highlighted is that even with a larger community size and hence a greater number of interested parties, the availability of the philanthropic support offered by the Kingscote and the Bathurst families (in difficult financial times) negated the expected conflicts that would likely have occurred had this support not existed. The first memorial donation together with the

larger population in the town allowed for a greater volume of subscribers in the case of the Memorial Hospital and thus the relatively short development period.

Finally, then, this case study (as was also found in Cam) agrees with the findings of Winter and Boorman and demonstrates that it is the traditional monumental cavalry cross that maintains its commemorative function. It also supports Archer's view that whilst the utilitarian memorial continues its intended function, it loses its commemorative function.

Chapter 4

The City of Gloucester Case Study

Introduction

The creation of a memorial with appropriateness of form, meaning, location and utility is likely to cause conflict within society. This chapter examines the conflicts and issues that arose in building a memorial form in a city and it describes how they were resolved in the development of the city of Gloucester memorial. The main aim of this case study is to examine the conflicting memorial designs that had to be considered and resolved by a single representative body, acting as the City of Gloucester's War Memorial Committee. It provides a historical study of the conflicts, and illuminates the general population's reaction throughout the various schemes resulting in the creation of a satisfactory memorial to a majority of the population. In addition to analysing the conflicts that took place, this chapter determines the extent to which the size of community and the various interested parties involved in the historical development of Gloucester's War Memorial affected the development process. It analyses how these factors differed from those affecting the design of a memorial in smaller villages and towns. This is achieved through a comparison with the village of Cam and the town of Cirencester from the previous chapters. Mansfield's study investigated a village community and attempted to answer a number of questions: Why were memorials built? Why do they take particular forms? Who built them? And who pays for them?¹ This study asks similar questions of the development of the memorial forms in the City of Gloucester to determine if they would equally apply. By accomplishing this, it is anticipated that a better understanding of why the memorial in the City of Gloucester was not unveiled until 1933 can be better achieved.

Of the memorial form itself, Bartlett and Ellis argue, "A war memorial does not just speak of the people

¹ Nick Mansfield, 'Conflict and Village War Memorials 1914 - 1924', *Rural History*, (1995), 6, (1), 1995, p. 67.

commemorated on it, but also of the people who created it.”² This is important to the study of the memorial of the city of Gloucester as the war memorial committees had to be cognisant of the varied considerations of the community that the ‘representative’ group on the committees had to overcome. Connelly’s study uncovered exactly what community meant in the face of such human disaster and explained this to show how those communities expressed themselves.³ Similarly, Norden states: “The next question applied to all of these sites regards who it is that is building the memorial. This question is not necessarily about the specific landscape architect who designs what is eventually built. It is more about the group responsible for organizing the built commemoration in some way.”⁴ This case study examines, through the development of memorial forms in the city of Gloucester, how different groups of people had quite unique ideas of what memorial should be erected. It explores the conflicts that the memorial’s design and purpose had on the community during all phases of the memorial’s concept and construction. This process did occur in the two other communities reviewed in this dissertation, but it was more involved and evident in this case study of Gloucester. As expected with a larger population, more groups in the community were able to assemble a variety of commemorative memorial ideas, all of which were contending to be the successful design. The chapter examines the impact that conflicts between different ‘interest groups’ had on the duration of time and complexity of the decision-making process involved in the production of a favourable public war memorial for Gloucester.

² J. Bartlett, & K.M. Ellis, ‘Remembering the Dead in Northop: First World War Memorials in a Welsh Parish’ *Journal of Contemporary History*, (1999), 34, (2), p.231.

³ Mark Connelly, *The Great War Memory and Ritual Commemoration in the City and East London 1916-1939*, The Royal Historical Society, (Woodbridge, Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 2002) p.6.

⁴ David T. Norden, ‘A Constructivist Model for Public War Memorial Design That Facilitates Dynamic Meaning’, (Masters of Landscape Architecture, College of Architecture and Urban Studies, Faculty of Virginia Polytechnic Institute Blacksburg, Virginia, 2003), p.8.

The Choice of City

There were two cities in the county of Gloucestershire at the time of the Armistice in 1918: the City of Bristol and the City of Gloucester. The City of Gloucester was chosen over the City of Bristol for this study as the form the memorial developed in Bristol was that of a cenotaph, which had quickly become a national form. Because this study is of local county memorials, the City of Gloucester's memorial was considered more representative of the aims of the study. Even though Bristol was outside the county boundary following the Great War, it was included in the broader study in accordance with McIntyre's finding.⁵ Gloucester was also a natural choice given it is the 'county town', a major city, cathedral centre, and military town; the home of two significant regiments.⁶

The City of Gloucester is a major centre in the county with a population of 50,035 in 1911, which had grown to 52,937 in 1931.⁷ It was therefore, significantly larger than both Cirencester and Cam. Its religious history dates back almost as far as 678-679 AD when an Anglo Saxon religious community was founded there. The religious affinity remained strong enough to allow for the building of the cathedral in the city centre, the foundation stone being laid in 1089.⁸ The cathedral itself, because of its prominence,

⁵ "I have stuck to the old county boundaries...This matter of county, or even town, allegiance is the key to looking at war memorials. If the units to which the dead belonged are listed on the war memorial, in every case you can spot at once the infantry regiment in whose 'area' you are."

Colin McIntyre, *Monuments of War: How to Read a War Memorial*, (London: Robert Hale, 1990), p.22.

⁶ A variety of local groups in the city, such as military influences, and consideration of church requirements as well as local professional groups, such as Gloucestershire Architectural Society, had varied degrees of influence in the creation of the development of the final memorial. Additionally, unlike both smaller communities of Cam and Cirencester, external national groups and professional organizations, such as the Royal Institute of British Architects, also shaped the nature, location, and the role of the memorial in this important city.

⁷ Vision of Britain through Time [online]

http://www.visionofBritain.org.uk/data_cube_page.jsp?data_theme=T_POP&data_cube [Accessed April 22, 2012].

⁸ Gloucester Cathedral [online] <http://www.gloucestercathedral.org.uk> [Accessed April 22, 2012].

remained an important site of consideration for the developers of commemorative forms, and it will be shown that decision-making for any monument required consultation with senior clerics.

Another group of importance in Gloucester is the military. The City of Gloucester is home to two regiments: the Gloucestershire Yeomanry Hussars Regiment and the Gloucestershire Regiment. Both these regiments have long associations with Gloucester and, therefore, had a considerable influence on certain memorial decisions in the community. Many of the men who made up the ranks of both regiments had ideas of what they wanted and expected of a memorial form to be placed in the city. Like the village of Cam and town of Cirencester, there were also public interest groups, as well as business interests, wanting to have their voice heard. However, unlike both Cam and Cirencester, it was the existence of the two influential and visible groups, the military interests and the church interests, in Gloucester with differing ideas and the restrictions for the development of a public structure that posed additional challenges for any memorial committee. This chapter examines how these challenges were resolved.

Timeline of City of Gloucester's Great War Memorial Schemes

The following sections outline three main schemes that were proposed between 1919 until the final design was unveiled in 1933 as depicted in the *figure 84*. It draws out the conflicts and the challenges encountered throughout the design and development phases that resulted in the public memorials of the city of Gloucester today.

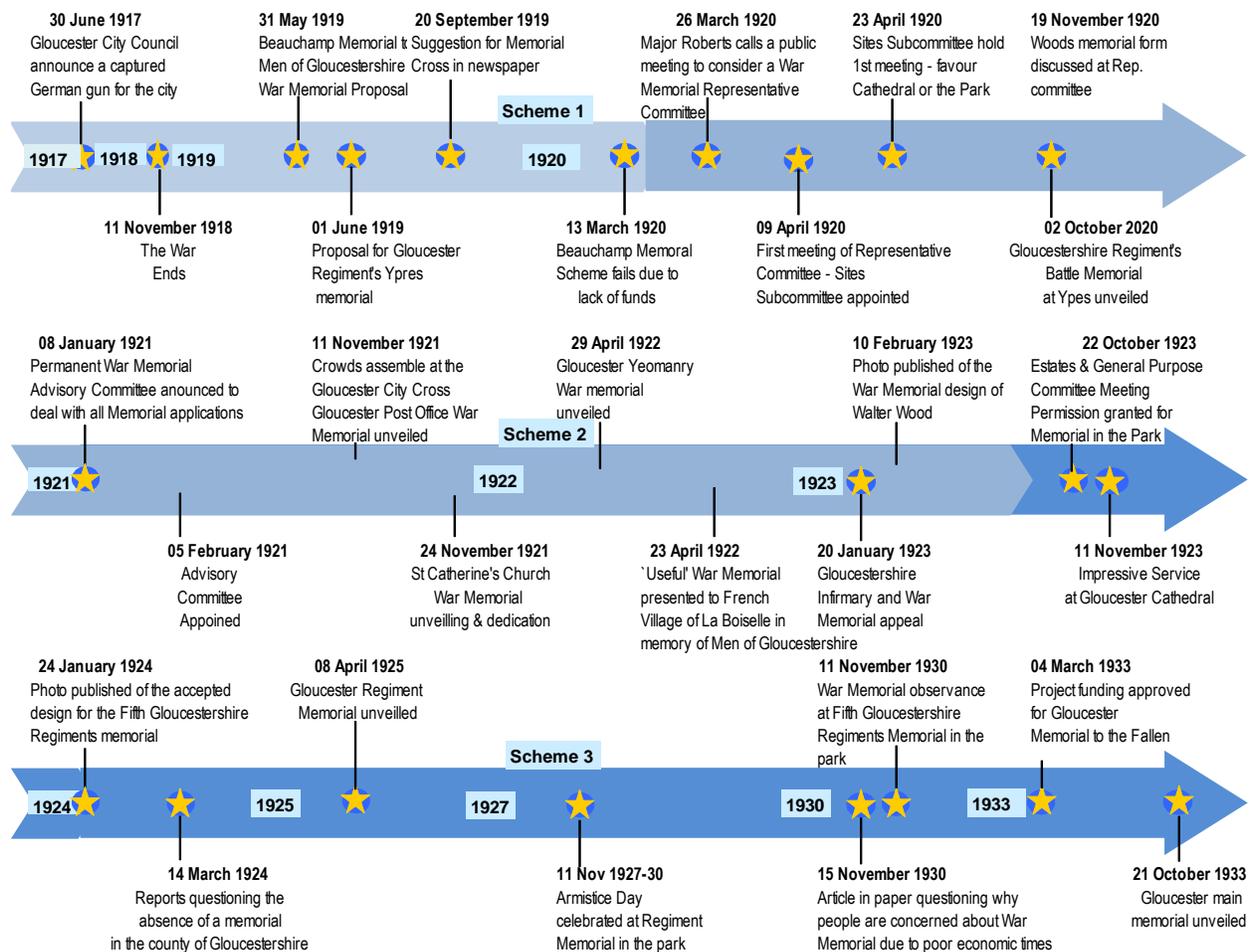


Figure 84. Timeline of City of Gloucester WW1 Memorial Schemes 1917- 1933

Gloucester Public Memorial Scheme 1 – (1919-1920)

The plans for the first memorial scheme to be located in the City of Gloucester had begun earlier than some other cities in Britain and by early 1919 the first consideration for a war memorial was under way.

The first public memorial envisioned for Gloucester was not a memorial specific to the fallen of the City, but rather it was to be a memorial in commemoration of the men of the county as a whole.⁹ The concept

⁹ 'Gloucestershire War Memorial', *Wiltshire & Gloucestershire Standard*, 31 May 1919, Vol. LXXXIII, No. 4258.

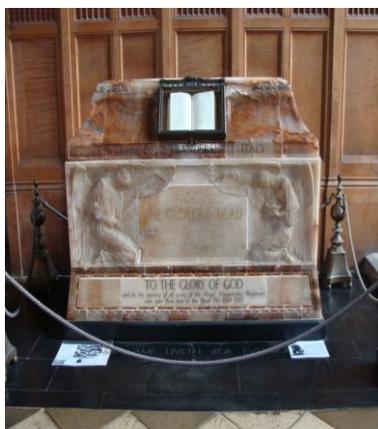
behind this was highlighted by the Lord Lieutenant of Gloucestershire, Earl Beauchamp.¹⁰ He was quoted as saying that such a memorial would: “combine fine architecture, the great and proud history of Gloucester, as well as commemorate the multitude of loved ones.”¹¹ The scheme was made known to the public of Gloucestershire in May 1919, when Earl Beauchamp advised that a proposal for such a memorial had received the approval of a multi-denominational committee. He had appointed the committee himself. Specific documentation as to the exact membership of the committee was not found during the research other than it was reported that the committee included: “members of many religious denominations.”¹² The conceptual design of the memorial proposal agreed to by Earl Beauchamp’s committee was for a printed and hand illustrated vellum volume that contained the names of all those from the county who had died, similar to existing Rolls of Honour. Bushaway has written of Rolls of Honour that, “part of the obsession with the lists and rolls was a concern of the bereaved to see proper recognition accorded to the individuality of their loss.”¹³ The Roll of Honour form was known to all by 1919 and the committee may have seen this familiarity of form as its appeal. The proposed volume was to be located in a casket beneath an ornamental canopy in the Gloucester Cathedral. The proposed memorial form was similar to the Warwickshire Regiment Memorial, erected in Warwick Cathedral (*fig. 85*).

¹⁰ William Lygon, 7th Earl Beauchamp, (1872 – 1938) governor and politician, Mayor of Worcester at age 23, offered governorship of New South Wales by Chamberlain. “He exercised limited prerogatives and influence”, Returned to England 1900. Played a conciliatory, but ineffectual role during the Liberal strife of 1916 to 1923 and was Liberal leader of the House of Lords from 1924 to 1931. Cameron Hazlehurst, 'Beauchamp, seventh Earl (1872 - 1938)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, [online], 2006, <http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/biogs/A070233b.htm> [Accessed 8 January 2011].

¹¹ 'Gloucester War Memorial', *Wiltshire and Gloucester Standard*, 20 September 1919, Vol. LXXXIII No. 4274.

¹² 'Glo'shire Men Who Fell in the War Lord Lieutenant's Appeal', *Dursley Gazette*, 31 May 1919, Vol. 2109, p.3.

¹³ Bob Bushaway, 'Name Upon Name: The Great War and Remembrance', In: Porter, R., ed., *Myths of the English*, (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1992) p.139.



[Photo by Robert Taylor, author, 2010]

Figure 85. Warwick Cathedral Memorial

Comments made to the local press by the 'Beauchamp's Committee' state: "The committee hoped that it [the memorial] will not discourage erection of urban and parochial memorials to the fallen which they regard as of even higher importance than the one by the County as a whole."¹⁴ The statement was released to two local newspapers, *The Dursley Gazette* and *The Wiltshire & Gloucestershire Standard* on 31 May 1919. It is likely the statement was made to avoid conflict with village and town memorial schemes already underway. The county of Gloucestershire War Memorial concept, however, was not considered for long and was never adopted. On 13 March 1920, reports were printed of the failure of the county scheme "in consequence of the inadequate response for funds."¹⁵ The issue of funding of memorials for the City of Gloucester, mainly controlled by local business, was a continual concern throughout the memorial development process. Two factors: the lack of detail about the members of the committee, and secondly, an information silence about what form the proposed memorial would take until after decisions had been made, can be seen as having serious negative impact on the general population and public funding could not be raised. During the field research, no archival records or contemporary

¹⁴ 'Glo'shire Men Who Fell in the War Lord Lieutenant's Appeal', *Dursley Gazette*, 31 May 1919, Vol. 2109, p.3.

¹⁵ 'War Memorial Scheme Fails', *Wiltshire and Gloucestershire Standard*, 13 March 1920, Vol. LXXXIV No. 4299.

newspaper articles specifically relating to any public consultation or meetings about the memorial were located and it is speculated that this may have resulted in the poor public response to funding. A report in the *Dursley Gazette* indicates other reasons for the demise of this scheme, when it reported that a committee representing the Gloucestershire Regiment was being formed to erect a battlefield memorial in France.¹⁶ Shortly after this, on 15 November 1919, a second report in the *Wiltshire and Gloucestershire Standard* noted that the Gloucestershire Yeomanry Hussars had taken practical shape for a regimental memorial to be erected in Gloucester and an appeal for funds had been made.¹⁷ Both these regimental schemes assisted in reducing the subscriptions to the county wide public war memorial scheme to be located in Gloucester. On 2 October 1920, the *Tewkesbury Register* reported that: “proposals for the [Gloucester Regiment’s] memorial in June 1919 and the approval of the War Office was received in October. Subscriptions to the amount of £1,650 have been collected.”¹⁸

Although this first city of Gloucester memorial scheme failed, it revealed a number of important considerations for future committees. It was a first attempt at a public memorial, albeit for all the dead of the entire county. It will be seen that listing of names on a Roll of Honour became the essential element for any memorial in Gloucester. Additionally, this scheme had highlighted a site (the Cathedral), and this was considered for later schemes and, therefore, the church’s influence remained important. Further, the lack of funding was an important issue for future schemes, demonstrating that conflicting interests in the city had to be resolved in any cohesive scheme. This appears to be in contrast with the town of

¹⁶ ‘The Glorious Glo’sters – Monument To Be Erected On The Battlefield’, *Dursley Gazette*, 18 October 1919, Vol. 2129, p.8.

¹⁷ ‘Royal Glo’sstershire Hussars – War Memorial To Be Erected In Gloucestershire’, *Wiltshire and Gloucestershire Standard*, 15 November 1919, Vol. LXXXIII, No. 4282.

¹⁸ ‘Gloucestershire Regiment’s Battle memorial at Ypres’, *Tewkesbury Register*, 2 October 1920, No. 3213.

Cirencester memorial cross, where the style and elaborate iconography for their commemorative form was of significant concern. Local press reports of the time felt it important to offer meanings for specific symbols used on the memorial cross, as noted in the previous chapter. For Gloucester, the significance of attempting this first memorial scheme in the highly recognisable Gloucester Cathedral was that it would not require further ornamentation for the site.

Gloucester Public Memorial (Scheme 2 - 1920-1923)

The demise of the first scheme planned for the county of Gloucestershire Memorial did not stop local interest for a war memorial which had been intensified by the national ceremony of 1919 on the first anniversary of the armistice. With the unveiling of Lutyens' temporary Cenotaph in London, the response was unprecedented and somewhat surprising:

Neither Lloyd George nor [Sir Edwin] Lutyens nor anyone else anticipated the spontaneous response of the people to the infinite meaning of emptiness... Public opinion demanded that what had been intended as a temporary prop made of wood and plaster be rebuilt as a monument in permanent stone.¹⁹

After the failed Beauchamp attempt in Gloucester, the desire to create a similar permanent memorial was easily rekindled when J.O. Roberts, the Mayor of Gloucester, called a Public Meeting at the Guildhall on 26 March 1920, "to consider the question of providing a local memorial to those who fell in the Great War."²⁰ This included initial discussions of various suggested forms for a memorial and locations for its placement. Most important, however, was the appointment of what Marshall termed 'key actors' in the form of a Representative Committee.

¹⁹ John Gillis, (eds.), *Commemoration: the politics of National Identity*, (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1994), p. 157

²⁰ Gloucestershire Archives, 1920 – 1923 Minute Book of the War Memorial Committee, Public Meeting, 20 March 1920, Fol. GBR L6/23 B5017.

The Representative Committee, which included the Mayor, a former Mayor, the City Sherriff, the Gloucester Member of Parliament, six women, the Dean of Gloucester, three other church representatives, four Councillors and one Alderman, one Lieutenant Col., seventeen townsmen and the Town Clerk, was thought to have been made up of a demographic of the population.²¹ The varied make-up of this Committee was believed to be important because, with such a democratic task, it would need to address varied issues about any memorial with the city's population and seek consensus of the public through the work of the committee. As will be shown, the committee did not succeed in their task, because of their failure to consider the ideas of all appropriately.

The interest and participation that was shown by people appointed to War Memorial Committees was also seen as important by some as a form of mourning. Winter considers this as one of the social methods by which human catastrophe was encoded, "bereavement was understood and lived both privately and at the collective level...first by constructing and then by gathering in front of war memorials."²² King states "erecting a memorial was itself a symbolic act as much so as a remembrance ceremony. It was not merely the practical provision of an object for subsequent use as a ceremonial site."²³

The Committee's two main responsibilities were to consider the forms that the memorial would take and raising necessary funds.²⁴ At their first meeting, on 9 April 1920, a Sites Sub-Committee was appointed to

²¹ Gloucestershire Archives, 1920 – 1923 Minute Book of the War Memorial Committee, Representation Committee Meeting, 9 April 1920, Fol. GBR L6/23 B5017.

²² Jay Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European cultural history*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 2002), p. 227.

²³ Alex King, *Memorials of the Great War in Britain: The Symbolism and Politics of Remembrance*, (Oxford and New York: Berg, 1998), p. 27.

²⁴ Gloucestershire Archives, 1920 – 1923 Minute Book of the War Memorial Committee, Public Meeting, 26 March 1920, Fol. GBR L6/23 B5017.

consider locations, with two favoured sites rapidly emerging: the Cathedral and an open public space. The first location was again the Cathedral, with a series of bronze plaques simply naming the fallen. This, however, required the Dean's agreement and an early enquiry was made to have the Cathedral authorities explain their position regarding a war memorial in or on the Cathedral precincts. The choice of this site suggests that the sub-committee wanted permanence in the memorial form with a highly symbolic site. Bartlett and Ellis suggest that: "Permanence was important to those who took part in the great wave of memorial construction after the First World War. Establishing something lasting addressed the debt many felt they owed to the dead by saying that they would never be forgotten."²⁵ Permanence of location is also found in the broader review of a representative sample of the county of Gloucestershire's memorials, where less than 2% (4 of the 303) of memorials in the county had been moved, thus providing evidence to support the importance of permanence in any scheme (Appendix 2).

The second option was to have "an appropriate war memorial of distinctive character ... erected in a suitable spot in the open."²⁶ This would have been much more in keeping with King's assertion that "memorials ... are usually in public places: town or village centres or municipal parks."²⁷ Interestingly, this was not supported by the county-wide review (see *fig. 86*), which found that 58.1% (176 of 303) of the memorials in the county Gloucestershire were not located in highly public places, such as town or village centres.

²⁵ Bartlett, & Ellis, 'Remembering the Dead in Northop: First World War Memorials in a Welsh Parish', p. 231.

²⁶ Gloucestershire Archives, 1920 – 1923 Minute Book of the War Memorial Committee, Representation Committee Meeting, 9 April 1920, Fol. GBR L6/23 B5017.

²⁷ King, *Memorials of the Great War in Britain*, p.218.

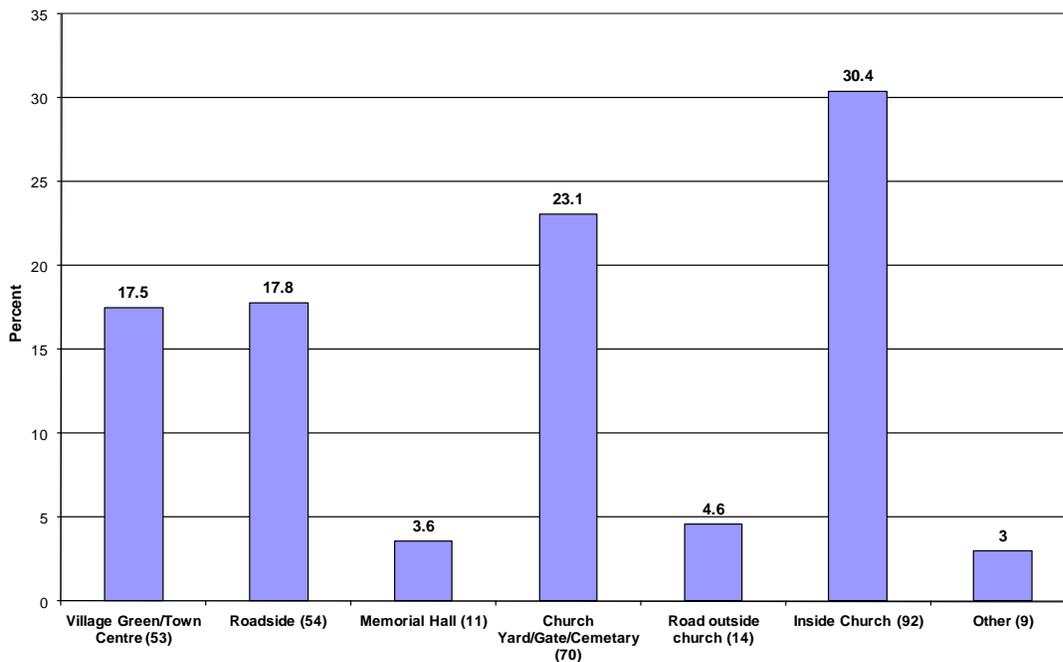


Figure 86. Location of War Memorials within Gloucestershire

The committee's discussion at this early stage of the process only addressed styles of monumental memorial. The oversight of the Committee to consider any other form of memorialisation for a city memorial, such as social assistance for ex-soldiers (or their families), or more utilitarian possibilities, such as assistance for hospitals, later caused conflict and proved detrimental to the work of this Committee. It is also important to note that the Committee did not publish meeting details so the public were unaware of their considerations, not unlike the earlier memorial scheme of 1919.

The initial recommendations of the Sub-Committee favoured a memorial to be sited near the Cathedral, or, failing this, agreement was given that it should be erected in the park.²⁸ Having agreed on the two location options, a competition for design forms was launched. Financial restrictions were set and an

²⁸ Gloucestershire Archives, 1920 – 1923 Minute Book of the War Memorial Committee, Representation Committee Meeting, 23 April 1920, Fol. GBR L6/23 B5017.

agreement reached that submissions be no more than £5,000.²⁹ However, after the competition was announced problems quickly emerged relating to the choice of the Cathedral grounds as the location. The Town Clerk met with the Dean of Gloucester to secure agreement for use of space at the Cathedral as the memorial site. The Dean's response for a site inside was not favourable, "as any memorial which might affect the architectural beauty of the Cathedral would be harshly criticised throughout the community."³⁰ The Dean's response was formally printed in a pamphlet entitled 'Rules for Memorials in the Cathedral or Precincts.'³¹ The form contained seven clauses that needed to be adhered to by anyone wanting to erect a memorial in the Cathedral. (See Appendix 3)

A second issue with the outdoor Cathedral site was discovered when the Town Clerk and Col. Palmer of the Gloucestershire Yeomanry Hussars met and realised a potential conflict as this regiment was in the process of preparing the detailed plans for their regimental memorial at the Cathedral. A speculation as to why a cavalry regiment would have been able to negotiate a location which was preferable to the city memorial commemorating the entire city's casualties appears to be the social class of the men of the Hussars Regiment. Mansfield argued that county yeomanry had a close affinity with the hunting community. Aristocrats and gentry served as its officer, farmers as its NCO's and sons of the tenant farmers made up most of the troopers.³² An example of one of the officer casualties from the Gloucester Yeomanry was Lieutenant Charteris Hugo Francis Lord Elcho of Stanway (*fig. 87*), the son of Charteris

²⁹ In comparison, the permanent Cenotaph in London built in 1920 cost £7,325, Sir Edwin Lutyens waived his fee. Veterans UK [online] <http://www.veterans-uk.info/remembrance/cenoptaph3> , [Accessed 21 May 2012].

³⁰ Gloucestershire Archives, 1920 – 1923 Minute Book of the War Memorial Committee, Representation Committee Meeting, 23 April 1920, Fol. GBR L6/23 B5017.

³¹ Gloucestershire Archives, Rules for Memorials in The Cathedral or Precincts, Fol. GBR L6/23 B5017.

³² Nick Mansfield, 'Conflict and Village War Memorials 1914 - 1924', p.71.

Hugo Richard the 11 Earl of Wemyss 1857-1937.³³



Cheltenham Chronicle and Glo'shire Graphic, 15 August 1914, No. 711

Figure 87. Lord Elcho, a Lieutenant in the Gloucestershire Yeomanry



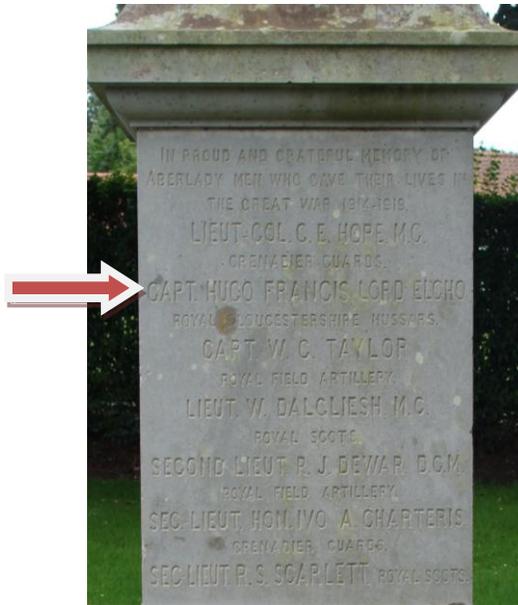
[Photo by Robert Taylor, author, 2010]

Figure 88. Stanway War Memorial

Lord Elcho had been killed in Egypt in 1916. In 1920 a separate significant memorial was erected at the outskirts of Stanway village, his Gloucestershire home. The impetus for the Stanway memorial (*fig. 88*), not unlike the Cirencester Memorial Cavalry cross, was in memory of an individual soldier. Eventually the Stanway memorial, like the cross at Cirencester, recorded other names from the area. The Stanway memorial recorded a total of seventeen casualties from Stanway and the surrounding area. By chance, during the field research, Lord Elcho's name was also found on the Roll of Honour of another memorial in the village of Aberlady, East Lothian, Scotland. At first this seemed strange but then, noting his strong family ties to Midlothian, the connection of his name on that memorial was made³⁴ (see *fig 89*).

³³ 'Lord Elcho Lieutenant in the Gloucester Yeomanry Departure of Gloucestershire Yeomanry for Service', *Cheltenham Chronicle and Glo'shire Gazette*, 15 August 1914, No.711.

³⁴ Hugo Francis Charteris Lord Elcho (1884 – 1916) – Genealogy [online] www.geni.com/people/Capt-Hon-HugoCharteris-styled-lord-Elcho/50.com [Accessed 17 April 2012].



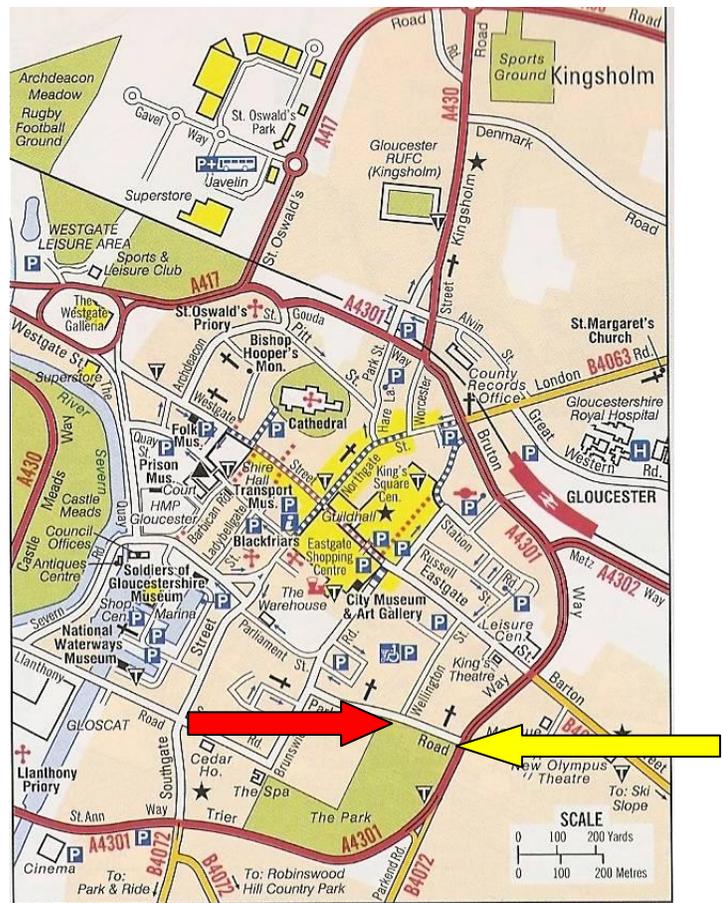
[Photo by Robert Taylor, author, 2010]

Figure 89. Aberlady East Lothian Scotland War Memorial (noting Capt. Hugo Francis Lord Elcho Royal Gloucestershire Hussars)

A third clarification about the use of Cathedral land came from Bishop Frodsham (a member of the Representative Committee), who noted legal difficulties with the considered land. The result, specifically concerning possible legal problems with the Cathedral grounds, caused a reversal motion from the Representative Council, which unanimously resolved, subject to approval of the City Council, to erect a distinctive war memorial in Gloucester Park.³⁵ Gloucester Park is located outside the central old city of Gloucester and away from the Cathedral (*fig.90*).

The Committee quickly changed their support to the Gloucester Park location as the preferred memorial site, with the Wellington Street entrance being the most favourable location. The most popular early design form under consideration was for Archway Gates.

³⁵ Gloucestershire Archives, 1920 – 1923 Minute Book of the War Memorial Committee, Representation Committee Meeting, 4 June 1920, Fol. GBR L6/23 B5017.



A-Z Road Atlas of Great Britain³⁶

Figure 90. Map of Gloucester showing the park location (see arrow) (red arrow = Proposed park site, yellow arrow = actual site in 1933)

After the Representative Committee meeting of 4 June 1920, an advertisement was printed in local newspapers along with certain technical papers for a design competition, noting technical costs were not to exceed £4000.³⁷ The result of this public advertising campaign was twofold: firstly, it informed the public that the committees were actively working on a war memorial, and, secondly, it created great interest from the public in the form of inquiries as well as from both local and national architectural firms

³⁶ A-Z Road Atlas of Great Britain, (Geographers A-Z Map Company Ltd., Sevenoaks: Kent, 2009).

³⁷ Note that the allotted monetary total had reduced from £5000 to £4000 since the Meeting of April 23, 1920. Gloucestershire Archives, 1920 – 1923 Minute Book of the War Memorial Committee, Representation Committee Meeting, 4 June 1920, Fol. GBR L6/23 B5017.

regarding the full details of competition rules. A specific response to this advertising campaign was directed to the Town Clerk. The response included two letters. The first was sent from the Hon. Secretary of the Competitions Committee of the Royal Institute of British Architects, (*RIBA*) on 16 June 1920. This letter included the pamphlet '*Regulations of the Royal Institute of British Architectural Competition*', which included several conditions to be met for any architectural competition³⁸ (see Appendix 4). The accompanying letter warned that: "unless [the conditions from the advertisement following the 4 June 1920 committee meeting] are modified I think the members of the Architectural Profession will not compete."³⁹ The concern that the professional organisations raised was simply that, without their direction, inadequately designed or constructed memorials would be built. The reality, however, was, as Archer noted; "The Royal Institute of British Architects ... attempted to regulate the organization of competitions frequently held to select memorial solution."⁴⁰

The second letter was sent by the local Gloucestershire Architectural Society and was dated 22 June 1920. The Hon. Secretary advised that, based on the competition rules advertised, their Association Council had requested their members not to compete.⁴¹ The professional associations, including the RIBA, were self-appointed bodies and by then exerted considerable influence on the decision-making process. Professional associations, as Bushaway has noted, were: "partly concerned with aesthetic questions and partly concerned to ensure that the proliferations of war memorials ... were based on

³⁸ Gloucestershire Archives, *Regulations of the Royal Institute of British Architectural Competition*, December 1910, Fol. GBR L6/23 B5017.

³⁹ Gloucestershire Archives, Letter from Royal Institute of British Architects, 16 June 1920, Fol. GBR L6/23 B5017.

⁴⁰ Geoff Archer, *The Glorious Dead: Figurative Sculpture of British First World War Memorials*, (Kirkstead, Norfolk: Frontier Publishing, 2009) p. 247.

⁴¹ Gloucestershire Archives, Letter from Gloucestershire Architectural Society, 22 June 1920, Fol. GBR L6/23 B5017.

professional resources so that proper recognition would be given to the dead in a dignified and permanent way.”⁴² King has argued that: “artists recognised the professional benefits to be reaped from large demand for memorials and attempted to make the most of them through professional organisation and propaganda.”⁴³ For Gloucester it appears that King’s analysis is correct as conflicts with professional associations occurred throughout the Gloucester Committee’s meetings.

The power of the *RIBA* was considered sufficiently influential to the Representative Committee that they responded by amending their competition rules quickly to comply with the outline in the *RIBA* pamphlet, and arranged another Sub-Committee to make provisional arrangements for choosing an ‘Assessor’, as was noted as part of the *RIBA* rules. A motion was resolved for contact to be made for a prominent Assessor, Sir Reginald Blomfield R.A., and to find out what terms he would accept to advise the committee and act as Assessor.⁴⁴ Blomfield’s response noted his participation in the requested activities for 100 guineas. This was considered too expensive by many of the Committee, and between 16 – 22 July 1920, negotiations were reached with Blomfield which resulted in him accepting a lesser amount (25 guineas), for meeting with the Sub-Committee at the Gloucester Park location under consideration as well as visiting the Cathedral to view suitable sites for recording the names there.⁴⁵

Blomfield’s report, dated 27 July 1920, was reviewed at the Sites Sub-Committee’s next meeting on 30

⁴² Bushaway, ‘Name Upon Name: The Great War and Remembrance’, p.142.

⁴³ King, *Memorials of the Great War in Britain*, p.106.

⁴⁴ Reginald Blomfield designed many of the Crosses of Sacrifice seen in the Commonwealth War Graves Commissions cemeteries, including Tyne Cot, and he was also the for the Menin Gate in Ypres, which was unveiled in 1927.

⁴⁵ Gloucestershire Archives, 1920 – 1923 Minute Book of the War Memorial Committee, Sites Sub-Committee Meeting, 20 July 1920, Fol. GBR L6/23 B5017.

July 1920. The report recommended that the Wellington Street entrance to the Park was the best of the sites shown to him. It, however, advised against the design form of archway gates on the basis that the amount of funds that could be raised for such a memorial would not enable the construction “of sufficient size and importance and also because the sightlines to such a memorial would be interfered with by existing houses.”⁴⁶ The report continues that any memorial should be “an independent monument standing by itself ... be of stone and lofty to show up boldly from the opposite side of the playing field and should be designed to admit the names of the fallen.”⁴⁷ Additionally, Blomfield noted that designs should include fixtures that could be used by mourners to place flowers and wreaths. Blomfield’s report also reviewed the three sites at the Cathedral. He agreed with the Sub-Committee for use of the south porch of the Cathedral if that location was eventually to be chosen. He concluded that an open competition should be held in accordance with the conditions and rules established by the *RIBA* and reiterated the benefits of compliance to that standard.

There had been resentment from some of Committee members towards the use of national professional associations. Their concern was that the memorial should be designed and manufactured locally. Following the review of the Blomfield report on the 6 August 1920, a letter from an absent committee member, John R. Poole, was reviewed. The letter was critical of the style of memorial and expenditure suggested in the Blomfield report, noting that the committee:

should adopt the suggestion of a replica ‘Old Gloucestershire Cross’ and pointing out that by so doing the Assessor fee and the necessity for awarding prizes would be eliminated and that if the memorial were

⁴⁶ Ibid., 27 July 1920, Fol. GBR L6/23 B5017.

⁴⁷ Ibid., 27 July 1920, Fol. GBR L6/23 B5017.

made from Painswick stone ... another local interest would be added to the memorial.⁴⁸

The thought of using local stone is of some interest as it shows that the Committee considered permanent memorialisation of people of the City of Gloucester to be carried out by local men and companies using local materials. However, this was more than a locally patriotic consideration, as the poor economic conditions of 1921 had caused much unemployment and work on such a project would have benefited the local construction industry as well as developing a locally patriotic memorial.

Some other members at the meeting agreed with Poole's comments in not using the formalised *RIBA* competition rules in order to make a decision on memorials. W.B. Woods, a local architect by profession, and a Committee member who had been involved in reviewing a number of crosses for consideration, had, in addition to these forms, produced a diagram of an obelisk for consideration.⁴⁹ This form interested the committee to the degree that they asked Woods to supply a more detailed drawing. In general, use of the obelisk was originally a non-Christian form that had become popular when the Egyptian revival architectural style hit its peak in the late 1800's. Adapted by Victorian era Christians, "it came to represent rebirth and connection between earth and heaven."⁵⁰ Regarding their use as war memorial forms, "they were frequently used as war memorials in larger centres but as they had little association with the idea of the village community are not often found as rural war memorials."⁵¹

⁴⁸ Gloucestershire Archives, 1920 – 1923 Minute Book of the War Memorial Committee, Sites Sub-Committee Meeting, 6 August 1920, Fol. GBR L6/23 B5017.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 6 August 1920, Fol. GBR L6/23 B5017.

⁵⁰ A Tour of Memorial Symbolism at Lakewood Cemetery [online] www.lakewoodcemetery.com/files/SymbolismBroch.pdf , [Accessed 5th November 2010].

⁵¹ King, *Memorials of the Great War in Britain*, p. 131.

In the Representative Committee meeting of 19 November 1920, Woods' detailed drawing of the Obelisk, which had been submitted 5 November 1920, was discussed at some length. "After carefully considering the various sketches ... the Committee expressed their approval for a memorial generally on the lines of the drawing prepared by Mr. Woods."⁵² At the same meeting, some agreement was also made to modify the form to include four sculptured figures to represent the armed forces and most importantly to include space for the engraved name plaques of the fallen. This then represented a complete proposal, including modifications to the site such as flower bed amendments and path deviations through the Park. It was also agreed a model should be constructed so that it could be better viewed. A model of the design was created and photographed for the local newspaper (*fig. 91*).



[‘Proposed War Memorial for Gloucester’, *Cheltenham Chronicle and Glo’shire Graphic*, 10 February 1923 No.1154, p.43]
Figure 91. Woods Memorial Form

Of interest in this same meeting, the Mayor asked the Town Clerk to write to the Dean intimating that the suggestion most favoured was to have the names inscribed on the South Porch of the Cathedral,

⁵² Gloucestershire Archives, 1920 – 1923 Minute Book of the War Memorial Committee, Representative Committee Meeting, November 19, 1920, Fol. GBR L6/23 B5017.

indicating that even at this date no final decision had been made.⁵³

At the 14 January 1921 meeting the modified designs and costs of the obelisk were submitted. With name panels this amounted to between £4500 and £5000. It was noted that the cost could be reduced if the scale of the memorial was reduced “without seriously interfering with the effect ... [with this the committee] signified their general approval” for the design.⁵⁴ No immediate public appeal for funds for the war memorial was made as the Mayor stated that the memorial appeal would be in conflict with other social appeals that were being made at the time arising from the poor state of the economy.⁵⁵ As a result of other pressing economic concerns, the War Memorial Committee meetings were delayed. The next meeting of the Representative Committee was in fact not held for another 22 months (17 October 1922) and after this long delay the Mayor again deferred the War Memorial appeal until early in 1923 and suggested “in the meantime the Committee should re-consider the whole question of form and dimensions of the proposed memorial.”⁵⁶ At this time, too, with ongoing poor economic conditions continuing through this period, thoughts of the Cathedral memorial scheme finally ended.

It was during this break in the Representative Committee’s work, on 29 April 1922, that the Gloucester Yeomanry War memorial was unveiled.⁵⁷ This memorial form had been discussed by the Town Clerk and

⁵³ Gloucestershire Archives, 1920 – 1923 Minute Book of the War Memorial Committee, Representative Committee Meeting, 19 November 1920, Fol. GBR L6/23 B5017.

⁵⁴ Gloucestershire Archives, 1920 – 1923 Minute Book of the War Memorial Committee, Sites Sub-Committee Meeting, 14 January 1921, Fol. GBR L6/23 B5017.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 14 January 1921, Fol. GBR L6/23 B5017.

⁵⁶ Gloucestershire Archives, 1920 – 1923 Minute Book of the War Memorial Committee, Representative Committee Meeting, 17 October 1922, Fol. GBR L6/23 B5017.

⁵⁷ ‘Gloucestershire Yeomanry War Memorial Unveiled’, *Cheltenham Chronicle and Gloucestershire Graphic*, 6 May 1922, Vol.1114, p.165.

Col. Palmer of the Gloucester Yeomanry back in April 1920. The memorial took the form of a large cross atop three steps. This is the memorial that displaced the city memorial from the grounds of the Cathedral. This memorial is not considered as the city war memorial as it was constructed in honour of the dead of one particular regiment; however, it was the first large outdoor memorial structure to be erected in Gloucester, and was received well “before a tremendous crowd of relatives, ex-members of the corp. and friends of the regiment”⁵⁸ (fig.92 and 93).



Figure 92. Archive Photo Postcard Ref. 593.122



[Photo by Robert Taylor, author, 2010]

Figure 93. Recent photo
Photo of the Gloucestershire Hussars Memorial at the Gloucester Cathedral

Other ideas for the memorial form continued to be introduced for the city, and a visit to the war memorial at Stanway by members of the committee was arranged by the Mayor. The details of the Stanway memorial, including a number of photographs, were discussed. Mr Woods gave particulars as to the cost of the memorial.⁵⁹ Introduction of memorial forms continued and the consideration given to a range of memorial configurations signifies that none of the memorial schemes had complete agreement.

⁵⁸ Ibid., p.165.

⁵⁹ Gloucestershire Archives, 1920 – 1923 Minute Book of the War Memorial Committee, Representative Committee Meeting, 17 October 1922, Fol. GBR L6/23 B5017.

Modified plans for Woods' obelisk form had been completed and very fully discussed by 1923, and the general opinion "was that the Committee should arrange for a suitable [out-door] memorial at a total cost of about £2000."⁶⁰ Woods was still trying to keep the obelisk scheme active and offered to modify his plans, which would reduce the cost further for Committee review. The response was that the modified memorial would be inspected followed by further discussions with Mr. Woods.

After this fact-finding exercise, several committee members suggested amendments to the obelisk memorial. At the 1 December 1922 Representative Committee meeting, the inclusion of the names of the fallen was considered. With the previous preference for recording the names in the Cathedral now a rejected idea, a consideration was made for the names of the fallen to be added to his proposed memorial. Finally, the committee confirmed a resolution that the proposed 'Woods' war memorial be completed with the names of the fallen. The submitted obelisk memorial proposal, including the bronze name plaques as well as four sculpted figures representing the four armed services, was the final form selected and confirmed in the 15 December 1922 meeting.

The listing of the names of the dead on war memorials, as was proposed in Gloucester, has been seen as important by many historians. Gillis articulates: "Names were not the only memorials of the war – far from it, but they were an enormous and historically unprecedented part of it."⁶¹ King states: "The names of the dead were invested with a transcendental importance. Memorials frequently carried the assertion

⁶⁰ Ibid., 17 October 1922, Fol. GBR L6/23 B5017.

⁶¹ Gillis, (eds.), *Commemoration: the Politics of National Identity*, p. 164.

'Their Name Liveth For Evermore.'⁶² In a later meeting, on 2 February 1923, the question of which names should be inscribed on the memorial was discussed. The importance of what names were to be inscribed on memorials is commented on by Archer who stated: "The collection of names to be included on war memorials was, like other forms of decision making, a significant aspect of the communities' ownership of them."⁶³ The decision that the Gloucester Representative Committee agreed to, in order to keep this memorial a city-wide memorial, was that "only the names of men who actually resided or whose homes were within the city at the time of their enlistment should be inscribed on the memorial."⁶⁴ Once again, providing an accurate and full list of the names of the casualties was of primary consideration for Gloucester, even more important than any particular form of memorial.

With final Committee agreement, the decision was made to give notice to the public that the war memorial form had been decided and to begin the appeal for funds, which had been estimated to be between £2750 and £3000. This was a considerable reduction from the estimated £5000 allotted in 1920. The Committee's appeal for public funding for the memorial did not go un-noticed by other groups trying to raise funds at the time. A letter published by Franklin Higgs is evidence of some public dissatisfaction with the proposed and now chosen form of the war memorial. He wrote:

We are threatened with an appeal for a war memorial the form of which appears to be an utterly useless erection in a position which certainly does not command universal approbation ... something practical would to the hearts of all connected with them. Some necessary and permanent addition to the work of the Infirmary would surely be more to the credit of the city than anything like

⁶² King, *Memorials of the Great War in Britain*, p.184.

⁶³ Archer, *The Glorious Dead: Figurative Sculpture of British First World War Memorials*, p. 241.

⁶⁴ Gloucestershire Archives, 1920 – 1923 Minute Book of the War Memorial Committee, Representative Committee Meeting, 2 February 1923, Fol. GBR L6/23 B5017.

the sterile proposal being made.⁶⁵

There were others, however, who were pleased to see that work on the war memorial had begun. A further letter was printed, this time in support of the Committee's action: "Now surely a city like ours should not be without a fitting memorial ... Surely let that not be said and by all means let us have a memorial worthy of them."⁶⁶

Even with contradictory correspondence such as these in the public domain, work of the Representative Committee continued unflinchingly without any consideration to address the discontent. In another meeting, a plaster model of the war memorial form was submitted by Mr. Woods for further review by the Committee. The Committee expressed its approval and asked the Mayor to arrange for the model to be placed in a suitable location for public viewing.⁶⁷ Following the public display of the model, a public meeting was called to get final approval for acceptance of the style of memorial.

Wide public approval was given with discussions then moving to the question of a public appeal for fundraising and this was resolved unanimously, the Committee noting: "that a special campaign in aid of the war memorial fund be conducted from the 21st to the 28th of April."⁶⁸ Another fundraising method proposed was for collections from employees at large local industrial companies and other businesses in

⁶⁵ 'Gloucester Infirmary and War Memorial', *The Citizen*, 20 February 1923, Vol. 48, No. 26.

⁶⁶ 'Gloucester War Memorial', *The Citizen*, 20 February 1923, Vol. 48 No. 31.

⁶⁷ Gloucestershire Archives, 1920 – 1923 Minute Book of the War Memorial Committee, Representative Committee Meeting, 23 February 1923, Fol. GBR L6/23 B5017.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 23 February 1923, Fol. GBR L6/23 B5017.

the city, but this idea was deferred until the firms concerned were canvassed for subscriptions.⁶⁹ It was at this point and as a result of contacting large firms in the city that objections to the publicly-approved memorial, seemingly unbeknownst to the various War Memorial Committees' work, surfaced. A group of leading employers in Gloucester led by Mr. F.O. Croxford, Managing Director of Price Walker & Co. Ltd., wrote a letter, dated 20 March 1923, addressed to the Mayor voicing their objection to the memorial's form. It states:

... had the scheme taken a more useful form you would have much more generous support, and I find that these views are held in much stronger form by other people ... I wanted to make it clear, before any expense was involved, that your committee cannot, under the present scheme, count upon the support of the company I represent and some of my friends in other large businesses of the city.⁷⁰

From these letters, it became evident to the Mayor that the memorial form chosen had not received the clear majority of acceptance from the population. Most worrying was not being acceptable to the city's larger business leaders, who, it had been hoped, would financially support the scheme. The Mayor's oversight in this was critical and the only recourse to save the scheme was calling for an urgent meeting to hear all opposing memorial scheme ideas. Opposition groups to the memorial had preferred other uses of any money raised. Most of these were for the money raised to be directed to more utilitarian causes due to the hard economic times. Some wanted any money raised to be used in a more direct beneficial manner, such as endowments to charitable institutions, hospitals and in aiding the dependents of those

⁶⁹ Gloucestershire Archives, 1920 – 1923 Minute Book of the War Memorial Committee, Executive Committee Meeting, 19 March 1923, Fol. GBR L6/23 B5017.

⁷⁰ Gloucestershire Archives, 1920 – 1923 Minute Book of the War Memorial Committee, Representative Committee Meeting, 26 March 1923, Fol. GBR L6/23 B5017.

who fell.⁷¹ This type of debate has been reviewed by various historians, such as Bushaway, who argued: “The debate among those who supported utility, those who favoured aesthetically satisfying constructions and those who wished only to produce a memorial to commemorate the dead without reference to other than local considerations resulted in a multitude of motley schemes.”⁷² More relevant to the situation which had occurred in the Gloucester scheme is King’s general comment that: “in urban memorial communities, community leaders expressed their devotion to local concerns and to the adequate performance of their social roles in the locality through the importance they attached to local patriotism and civic pride.”⁷³ Although the memorial proposed was not a ‘motley memorial’ as Bushaway’s argues; it was, however, not acceptable to business leaders. In the public meeting of 26 March 1923, the Mayor defensively reviewed the activities of the Representative Committees and it was reported:

the question of a war memorial had been under consideration for three years by a very Representative Committee, [the Mayor] read extracts from the minutes of a number of meetings showing the various schemes ... the fact that the fullest publicity had been given in the local Press to the work of the committee and especially the form of the memorial ... and finally approved a model of which had been on deposit at the Public Library...for public inspection ... the scheme had been approved over a month ago.⁷⁴

Mr. Croxford, speaking for the business leaders at the meeting, advised that immediately upon being aware of opposition he had informed the Mayor. No notation of earlier disputes with the memorial concept was found in the archive. Croxford advised that “he and the other firms attending the meeting were not

⁷¹ Gloucestershire Archives, 1920 – 1923, Letter From: S.J. Moreland & Sons Ltd., 26 March 1923, Fol. GBR L6/23 B5017.

⁷² Bushaway, ‘Name Upon Name: The Great War and Remembrance’, p.147.

⁷³ King, *Memorials of the Great War in Britain*, p.101.

⁷⁴ Gloucestershire Archives, 1920 – 1923 Minute Book of the War Memorial Committee, Representative Committee Meeting, 26 March 1923, Fol. GBR L6/23 B5017.

opposed to the provision of a War Memorial but could not see their way to subscribe towards one in the form proposed.”⁷⁵ From this weakened position it was decided that the committee should suspend all operations because of the lack of financial support. Suggestions, however, were made that the views of the working class should be heard and it was decided that the final decision about this memorial scheme would be made after an address at a meeting of Railwaymen the following week.⁷⁶ The work of Mansfield, who has written about class conflict surrounding war memorials, shows that, in general, the working classes were more supportive of: “a suitable form of expression in which the sentimental and practical may be judiciously blended ... to talk of putting the collection into a glorified tombstone was ridiculous.”⁷⁷ The Railwaymen’s response to the Mayor’s appeal was recorded in the Representative Committee minutes of their meeting held on 28 March 1923. The note states: “[the Mayor], was sorry to say that the scheme met with very strong opposition and that he was afraid it was hopeless to look for any support from that quarter.”⁷⁸

Following this meeting it was resolved that the memorial committee suspend operations. A final meeting was held on 16 July 1923, to confirm the expenditure and close down the work of the War Memorial Committee. The final expenditure of the Committee’s activities was under £100.00. A final correspondence relating to this War Memorial Committee’s activities prior to the suspension was a request sent to the Mayor asking him to consider a proposed addition and extension to the

⁷⁵ Ibid., 26 March 1923, Fol. GBR L6/23 B5017.

⁷⁶ Ibid., 26 March 1923, Fol. GBR L6/23 B5017.

⁷⁷ Mansfield, ‘Conflict and Village War Memorials 1914 - 1924’, p. 81.

⁷⁸ Gloucestershire Archives, 1920 – 1923 Minute Book of the War Memorial Committee, Representative Committee Meeting, 28 March 1923, Fol. GBR L6/23 B5017.

Gloucestershire Royal Infirmary, estimated to cost £5000 for an addition to the nurses' quarters. The enquiry was to ascertain "whether the War Memorial Committee would care to take some definite action with regard to such additions as a form of War Memorial. The committee unanimously decided they could not take any action with regard to this matter."⁷⁹ This was the end of another unsuccessful memorial attempt in Gloucester. This request, however, indicates that there were still groups in Gloucestershire that wanted some form of a war memorial and efforts would again need to be made at a later point.

The Remembrance Day service in 1923 was reported as being held in the Cathedral. The (now ex) Mayor J.O. Roberts was in attendance.⁸⁰ The report of this event makes no mention of the conflicts that ended the three-year failed attempt to develop a war memorial. The main conclusion of this failure is that the Representative Committee, intending to be representative of the community, was in fact not. Decisions of the committee appeared to be independent of the wider community regarding the form of memorial, and by making all the decisions with limited public consultation about the memorial under consideration, alternative designs and concepts that may have been more widely considered were not. What resulted from this was a conflict with business leaders, who were not supportive of the final design and, therefore, financing was refused. Another conclusion of this attempt was the misreading by the Mayor of support for him within the different classes of the community.

A similar argument was reached in Marshall's work, which analysed issues related to the building of a memorial. Marshall indicated that in the 9 stages of the building process, a stage for the decision-making

⁷⁹ Gloucestershire Archives, 1920 – 1923 Minute Book of the War Memorial Committee, Representative Committee Meeting, 16 July 1923, Fol. GBR L6/23 B5017.

⁸⁰ 'Remembrance Day Impressive Service in Gloucester Cathedral' *The Citizen*, 11 November 1923.

process must be clear.⁸¹ Utilising Marshall's 9 stage process, the memorial process in Gloucester was flawed, as the anticipated financiers had been left out of the decision-making process on the form of the memorial that they would be willing to support. Lastly, although the pressure of professional associations in making the decisions about a local memorial concept was avoided, by leaving the decision to the local committee, no complete agreement and clear vision of form or location was ever created.

Gloucester Public Memorial (Scheme 3 – 1923 - 1933)

Beginnings - Gloucestershire Regimental Memorial (1923 - 1925)

With the failure of another long-term project for a war memorial in Gloucester, on 22 October 1923, at a meeting of the Estates and General Purposes Committee of the City Council, a letter was read that proposed a War Memorial be erected at the corner of Park and Parkend Roads in memory of the 1060 officers and men of the 1/5th and 2/5th Battalions of the Gloucestershire Regiment. The letter enclosed a photograph of a model of a proposed Regimental Memorial. The suggestions were that the memorial be of stone surmounted with a bronze sphinx and plates containing the names of the Great War dead.⁸² The sphinx, being the regimental badge, would be highly visible and a recognisable symbol to the population of Gloucester. A decision about the proposed change in land use was given quickly in favour of the regimental memorial proposed. Unbeknownst at the time, this land transfer also became the beginning of the third major public memorial scheme, and, although not conceived to become part of a city of Gloucester memorial, the Gloucester Regiment War Memorial became its centerpiece.

⁸¹ Debra Jane Marshall, 'War Memorials in the Everyday Landscape of Twenty-first Century Britain', (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Gloucestershire 2004), p.125.

⁸² 'Fifth Gloucester's War Memorial, Council Recommended to Approve Site' *The Citizen*, 30 October 1923.

By 9 November 1923, reports in newspapers noted the accepted form of the war memorial that would be required, noting “an appeal for subscriptions will be sent to the public tomorrow (Saturday 10th). The appeal was signed by the following: The Earl Beauchamp ... The Earl Bathurst ... Lieut. Col. NH Waller ... Col. Lindsay Winterbotham.’⁸³ This appeal would have been important in Gloucester as it was a first step in a real effort in having direct public involvement in the development of a memorial. The noted individuals who signed the appeal early were significant to the general public, as the public would have then understood that the memorial was as important to the upper classes as to themselves.

On 19 January 1924 another photograph of the proposed memorial design was released to the press. From that date until 28 March 1925, when this memorial was unveiled by Field Marshal Lord Plumber, work on other public memorials was not reported.⁸⁴ This scheme, although in commemoration of a single regiment, had been a success and seen by the public as another step forward in the commemoration of the dead of Gloucester (*fig.94*).



Figure 94. Fifth Gloucester's' Memorial
Postcard -The War Memorial Gloucester - circa 1925

⁸³ Photo of the 1/5th and 2/5th Battalion of the accepted memorial form. *Stroud Journal*, 9 November 1923, Vol. LXV, No. 5060.

⁸⁴ ‘5th Gloucesters’ Memorial Unveiled by Lord Plumber’, *Cheltenham Chronicle & Glo’shire Gazette*, 4 April 1925, Vol. 1266, p.120.

Final Public Memorial Scheme (1930 – 1933)

The success of the Gloucester Regiment Memorial from inception to construction and unveiling quickly developed into the city commemorative form. For the next few years, and as can be seen in period photographic evidence, the scheme was a great success drawing large crowds of mourners (see *fig 95*). In November 1927, the Remembrance Service is reported in the press: “the principal gathering at Gloucester was at the 5th Gloucester’s’ memorial in the Park...the Mayor, Sheriff, Aldermen, etc., attended in state, and various military bodies were represented.”⁸⁵



‘Armistice Day in Gloucester’, *Cheltenham Chronicle and Glo’shire Graphic*, 19 November 1927, No. 1403.

Figure 95. ‘Armistice Day in Gloucester’

In November 1930, however, reports were beginning to be published regarding the need for a memorial that would commemorate *all* Gloucestershire’s casualties. “These our Valiant Dead joined up in a great

⁸⁵ ‘Armistice Day in Gloucester’, *Cheltenham Chronicle & Glo’shire Gazette*, 19 November 1927, Vol. 1403, p.779.

variety of units... on various services.”⁸⁶ This made specific reference to the fact that naval or air force casualties and other army regimental casualties were not being properly commemorated. The article continues:

Our honour to their memory will not be completely filled until the Roll Of Honour is inscribed in a durable place of Remembrance, where forever this proud record of unstinted service may make its mute appeal to this and all generations with the same full measure of duty and devotion.⁸⁷

A full Roll of Honour had been collected by the YMCA and stored out of view in the Cathedral, but each Armistice Day they had to be moved to the Nave to be viewed.⁸⁸ Concerns were raised in the local *Gloucester Journal* of the ‘shameful neglect’ of hiding away the Roll of Honour and called for it to be moved to a permanent place of honour and called for a ‘lead from a proper authority’ to avoid the panels being secluded for another year.⁸⁹

By 1932 a new War Memorial Committee had begun work. Learning from the problems raised by the previous attempts to raise a public memorial in Gloucester, the new Committee’s first issue in development of their scheme was to consider what the best form was likely to be that would meet with the largest amount of approval in the city.⁹⁰ Another issue resolved was that there was support by the local press in the form of the *Gloucester Journal*, which offered free advertising for the project that would keep

⁸⁶ ‘Two Minutes Poignant Silence Peoples Tribute to the Fallen’, *Gloucester Journal*, 15 November 1930, Vol. CCIX, No. 10861.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 15 November 1930, Vol. CCIX, No. 10861.

⁸⁸ ‘To Follow in Their Train, An Improvisation’, *Gloucester Journal*, 15 November 1930, Vol. CCIX, No. 10861.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 15 November 1930, Vol. CCIX, No. 10861.

⁹⁰ Gloucestershire Archives, ‘Memorial For the Fallen, A Wall of Remembrance, City’s Scheme Successfully Launched, Real and Deep Request’, *Gloucester Journal*, 18 March 1933, Fol. GBR L6/23 B6868.

the public informed about the progress in greater detail than in the previous campaigns. The expense for the project had been reduced considerably since the failed attempt of 1923. The total amount to be raised was not to exceed £2,500. The Mayor's conditions for a successful memorial scheme, printed in the *Gloucester Journal*, stated:

...it was imperative, for this scheme to succeed, that any proposed form had to fulfil certain conditions. The form had to be something tangible, it had to be something that people could look at, it must be in a spot to which there was access by day and night without let or hindrance, and it must satisfy the relatives of those who had gone by, giving the names of the dead. An additional consideration was that the proposal should include a place where relatives could put bunches of flowers or lay wreaths.⁹¹

This had become the acceptable show of mourning and remembrance, and with the late construction of the memorial, this consideration was easily accomplished with the design under consideration.

Again, as had been seen with all previous memorial attempts, there were other proposals. Many proposed concepts were refused early in the consideration process due to their cost. Examples of this were: a memorial hall, a memorial theatre, and an art gallery. The new Infirmary Wing project, which had been suggested at the end of 1923, was still ongoing, but monetary support was not forthcoming as the Mayor did not believe that people would subscribe to something already in existence, and here, too, the costs were prohibitive. A final idea considered for the £2,500 memorial fund was the suggestion of scholarships for the children of men who had died. The scholarship suggestion was decided against because the

⁹¹ Gloucestershire Archives, 'Memorial For the Fallen, Conditions Fulfilled', *Gloucester Journal*, 18 March 1933.

youngest child would, by 1932, be 14 ½ years old.⁹²

The then Mayor, W.L. Edwards, launched the new scheme with his new Representative Committee advising that unless a determined course for completion was set, agreed to and carried through nothing would come of it again.⁹³ The Mayor, as a War Memorial Committee member, put pressure on the population in his addresses by stating “if this appeal fails it is improbable that another attempt to erect such a memorial will ever again be made by a Mayor of Gloucester.”⁹⁴ The successful scheme was to be a modern memorial design located at the park which would incorporate the Regimental Memorial.

One of the first plans proposed by Col. N.H. Waller, in coordination with a city Surveyor, Mr. C.J. Scudamore, was a simple layout. Col. Waller had been a member of the unsuccessful second war memorial scheme. The form was planned to be widely stepped and broad paved footways, both along the entire front of the Memorial Wall and also around the base of the 5th Gloucestershire’s Memorial to a gateway in its new position. Additionally, a sunken rock garden was to be included in the final form.⁹⁵ The Gloucester form can be seen as a modern (for the 1930’s), art deco design, in some respects and general layout, similar to older war memorials such as that at Portsmouth, unveiled in 1921. Archer records that the (Portsmouth) memorial is also built as “a curved wall to accommodate such (Roll of Honour) panels, but also creates a precinct or sanctuary”.⁹⁶ The height of the Gloucester Memorial Wall was to be lower

⁹² Gloucestershire Archives, ‘Memorial For the Fallen’, *Gloucester Journal*, 18 March 1933.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 18 March 1933.

⁹⁴ ‘Gloucester’s Memorial to the Fallen £2500 Project Unanimously Approved Tender Provisionally Accepted, Mayor’s Draft Appeal’, *Gloucester Journal*, 4 March 1933.

⁹⁵ ‘Gloucester’s Memorial to the Fallen £2500 Project Unanimously Approved Tender Provisionally Accepted, Colonel Waller’s Plan,’ *Gloucester Journal*, 4 March 1933.

⁹⁶ Archer, *The Glorious Dead: Figurative Sculpture of British First World War Memorials*, p. 242.

and, as such, appears more modern in design.

This architectural combination of utilising the older styled 5th Gloucestershire Regiment's memorial with a modern surround may have been an attempt to erect something that would be inclusive to both the older generation's expectation in commemoration while at the same time appealing to the younger generation and possibly any future generation. Inglis noted the challenges of the large memorials: "designing a structure to hold thousands of legible names was a new challenge facing memorial architects."⁹⁷

The final Gloucester plan was a low, semi-circular wall of Portland stone of approximately 120 feet and was anticipated to give an added beauty to the 5th Gloucestershire Regiment memorial. Bronze plaques would be affixed to the semi-circular wall with the names of all 1300 casualties of the men of Gloucester.⁹⁸

This would be in addition to the 1080 already listed on the Gloucestershire Regiment's memorial (*fig. 96*).



'Gloucester Memorial to the Fallen', *Gloucester Journal*, 4 March 1933, Vol. CCXI, No. 10980.

Figure 96. Model of Gloucester Memorial

The main inscription of the memorial above the plaques reads '1914-1918 The Men of Gloucester'. This

⁹⁷ K.S. Inglis, 'The Homecoming: The War Memorial Movement in Cambridge England', *Journal of Contemporary History*, (1992), (27), p. 592

⁹⁸ '1914-1918 To the Men of Gloucester City Memorial Unveiled Moving Ceremony,' *Gloucester Journal*, 28 October 1933.

inscription, like the memorial in Cirencester, can be understood incorrectly, as there is one woman's name, Mrs J.M. Haines VAD, included as a Great War casualty. Her name is included alphabetically (the only indication is the Mrs. noted beside the inscription) (fig.97). Recognition of this fact demonstrates that women of Gloucestershire also played their part in the war, but as the name is only listed alphabetically this could easily be overlooked.



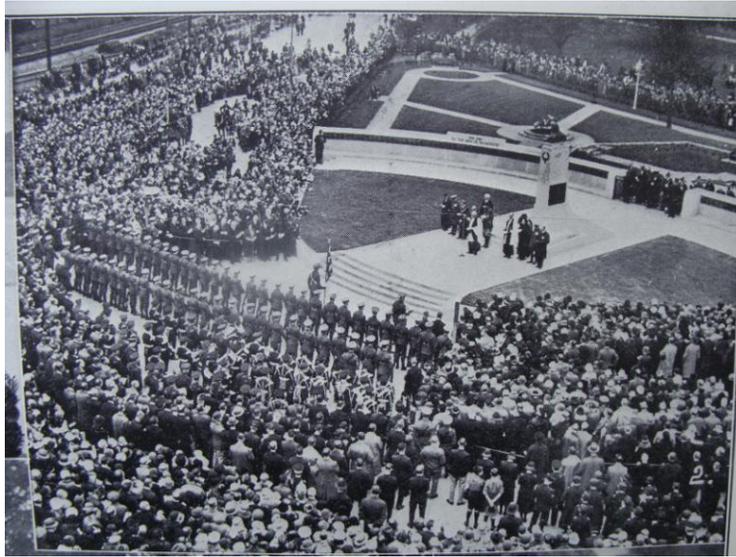
[Photo by Robert Taylor, author, 2010]

Figure 97. Roll of Honour Plaque noting Mrs J.M. Haines

The memorial was introduced to the public as a 'Wall of Remembrance', not as a War Memorial. This is important as, by 1932, remembrance of the war as Dyer notes, "especially in the early thirties, attempts were made to ally the rituals of Remembrance with the cause of peace: war memorials, it was argued, should be termed peace memorials."⁹⁹ The use of a Wall of Remembrance, in Gloucester, therefore, is an example of what Dyer identified. The meaning that the Wall of Remembrance gives is also less militaristic; this can also be seen as society's attempt to lessen the rhetoric, even if the reason for the commemorative form was the same. The 'Wall of Remembrance' was able to maintain the one essential element of a war memorial which had not been in conflict with the population, that being the Roll of Honour be prominently displayed. The memorial was unveiled 21 October 1933 and introduced to the

⁹⁹ Geoff Dyer, *The Missing on the Somme*, (Phoenix Press, London, 1994), p.73

public in local press articles as the 'Wall of Remembrance'¹⁰⁰ (see *fig. 98*).



'Impressive Scenes at Memorial Unveiling', *The Citizen*, 23 October 1933, Vol.58, No. 151.
Figure 98. Unveiling City of Gloucester Memorial 1933

In the final analysis, the three memorial schemes of Gloucester resulted in a successful form that is recognised and which continues to be seen by the population as the main form for commemoration of the dead in the city, as witnessed on Remembrance Sunday in 2011 (*fig. 99*).



[Photo by Robert Taylor, author, 2011]
Figure 99. Remembrance Sunday Service City of Gloucester Memorial (2011)

¹⁰⁰ 'We Will Remember Them, Glo'ster And Its War Heroes Memorial Unveiled', *The Citizen*, 21 October 1933 Vol. 58, No. 150.

Conclusion

In summary, the study of the origin and development of the City of Gloucester's main public war memorial has shown conflict throughout the process. Looking at Mansfield's questions about why the memorials were built, the answer in the case of the city of Gloucester is that the population wanted a memorial not as a record of county casualties inscribed on Roll of Honour, but rather as a symbol that would commemorate the casualties of war from the city, which as Archer has indicated, is significant to the city's population and shows ownership of their casualties. "War memorials were provided by and represented all sections of the community. Social and political organisations, clubs and societies, schools and colleges, places of work and recreation, local regiments and churches and chapels, all produced their own tributes to the dead."¹⁰¹

The form that the memorial ultimately took was not the main subject of debate among the general public except that the chosen form must prominently display the Roll of Honour as its central feature. This is in agreement with the findings of King, who noted: "the names of the dead were invested with transcendental importance."¹⁰² From the analysis of the memorial schemes it can be seen various aspects were well accepted by much of the population until subscriptions were requested, when reasons not to support the designs would emerge. Many designs between 1919 and 1923 were curtailed because competing memorial sites were being considered and because of the amount of money available through public subscription. The main alternative memorials requesting subscriptions were for the influential military organisations' memorials.

¹⁰¹ Archer, *The Glorious Dead: Figurative Sculpture of British First World War Memorials*, p. 318.

¹⁰² King, *Memorials of the Great War in Britain*, p.184.

The Gloucester Yeomanry Hussars memorial was completed in 1922 after successfully securing land for their memorial on the Cathedral property. The success of this memorial was in large part due to the group made up of gentry and aristocratic families whose relatives had been members of that regiment, but it can also be seen as a success as the first public memorial erected in Gloucester. The Gloucester Regiment's memorial erected in 1925 can also be seen as a success due to its position in a public space, which would have appealed to a broad population. The success of publicly situated memorials is in agreement with the findings of Archer and King in their different studies. King has argued that "they are usually in public places: town or village centres, municipal parks."¹⁰³

However, those memorials were not intended to represent all casualties, or act as the city's permanent memorial. It was not until the economic constraints caused by the economic depression through the 1930s that the incorporation of the Gloucester Regiment's memorial would be considered to become part of the City commemorative site.

Initially, the building process in Gloucester had a localised process similar to the smaller communities; however, the memorial committee in the county became concerned with bureaucratic issues, such as the use of national architectural regulation bodies and use of specific well-respected Assessors. King has pointed out that "the type of war memorial a community should have was an important diplomatic task for local committees."¹⁰⁴ Similar issues did not exist in the smaller Cirencester or Cam communities. As King noted, it appears that regulation of memorial design competitions was RIBA's main concern.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰³ King, *Memorials of the Great War in Britain*, p. 218.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 86.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, p.110.

Additionally, the use of the national regulatory body and Assessor to monitor and guide the regional and more localised representative committee decision-making abilities caused further conflicts. By utilising the services of nationally recognised organisations, the local memorial committee decision-making process could have been lost in favour of a nationally designed memorial. In the case of Gloucester these conflicts initially led to delays, but in the end the local committee rejected the Assessors recommendations and a local design was proposed and accepted by the committee.

The rules transmitted by the Dean at the Gloucester Cathedral also seemed to be similar to RIBA in that they too were restrictive. When members of the Gloucester War Memorial Committee complained about the use and cost of the outside expert advice of Reginald Blomfield, a local design was quickly supported and the form produced in miniature for public approval. In the end it was not constructed because of the refusal of funds from large businesses in Gloucester to support the scheme as they felt it was not socially beneficial to the larger community.

It was not until the Gloucestershire Regiment purchased land and established a memorial that there was again hope for a secular memorial. The success of this memorial, erected in 1925, was seen by the new Mayor and leaders of Gloucester as a sign to try again for a commemorative city structure. With the country in the grip of the effects of the Great Depression, a memorial form at reasonable cost was put forward. The form was not, however, introduced as a war memorial, but rather as a 'Wall of Remembrance'. This type of memorial form modified its earlier commemorative meaning somewhat and could be seen by some as reducing the form of remembrance. This supports Geoff Dyer's argument that: "Throughout the 1920's, and especially in the early thirties, attempts were made to ally the rituals of remembrance with the cause of peace: war memorials, it was argued should be termed peace

memorials”¹⁰⁶

As can be seen from the various memorial schemes that were attempted in the City of Gloucester, many factors came into play that created conflict throughout the extended process from 1919 to 1933. The conflicts arose due to a number of competing priorities amongst the church, business leaders and local regiments, as well as external factors involving more formal design processes proposed by RIBA and cathedral clerics. In the end, these conflicts impeded the timely construction of a main public memorial acceptable to a majority of the population. What can be summarised from these conflicts is that ultimately the people wanted a memorial form in a prominent location that would list the names of casualties at an affordable cost due to economic conditions of the time. As a consequence of delays encountered, unlike Cam and Cirencester, the memorial in Gloucester took the form of a Wall of Remembrance rather than a commemorative form to mourn the dead.

¹⁰⁶ Dyer, *The Missing on the Somme*, p.73.

Conclusion

This study has explored the original development of Great War memorials in the County of Gloucestershire in order to develop an understanding of the memorial forms created between 1917 and 1933 and to determine the impact those forms had on different sized populations around the county. By examining the different county memorials, their historical development and the form they took, one can better see how diverse communities and individuals attempted to preserve the memory of the dead, and also of the affect the war had on individual communities. The study also gave some indication of changing attitudes by looking at the way in which memorial forms are being maintained and commemorated today. The scope of this study allowed exploration of the contested nature of the construction of memorials and discussed a number of forces that played a significant role in the design, placement, use and intended purpose of the memorial to the local population.

The arguments of Jay Winter and Bob Bushaway were central to this research. Winter argued that “by studying the diverse history of commemoration we are bound to recognise the regional, local and idiosyncratic character of such activities.”¹ He further suggested that war memorial forms were built in traditional classical styles or religious images rather than modernistic forms and they were directly related to the universality of bereavement. Winter’s study indicated that “Great War memorials have been important symbols of national pride. But however powerful the aesthetic or political message they carried...that meaning was... as much concerned with the facts of individual loss and bereavement.”² He later argued that “war memorials which we see virtually every day acted as key repositories of communal

¹ Jay Winter, ‘Rites of Remembrance’, *BBC History Magazine*, 1(17), (2000), p. 24.

² Jay Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European cultural history*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p.79.

symbols of 'Englishness'.³ This study has investigated the detailed debates that took place in the County of Gloucestershire and has provided an understanding of the local population's reactions to the different local memorials constructed.

Bushaway fine tuned Winter's broader arguments by subdividing those affected by the war and memorialisation into segments, which allowed for a more detailed study. My study reviewed Winter's findings, but it also applied the more detailed segmentation as applied by Bushaway's UK-based study, which allowed specific findings to be analysed in a county-wide study of Gloucestershire, using a detailed examination of three locations. Bushaway's more defined work argued that there were particular groups who were affected differently by both the war and the development of memorial forms. He defined the groups as: the bereaved, servicemen and ex-servicemen, members of the church and local government/parish authorities and other members of society. Bushaway argues that:

"interweaving of these various groups in a locality after the war was to produce a backdrop against which post-war lives were lived. Town memorials, work memorials, regimental memorials school memorials all were emblems of remembrance in which sacrifice for the greater good was the theme."⁴

In support of Winter's findings, the evidence in Cam has shown that throughout the building process it was the bereaved who were the focus for the memorial. An example of this is the decision to place the memorial at the Hopton School, a location that had relevance to the majority of the casualties, and

³ 'British National Identity and the Great War', [online], http://lse.academia.edu/PaulMulvey/Papers/1045413/British_National_Identity_and_the_Great_War_lecture [Accessed 16 June 2012].

⁴ Bob Bushaway, 'Name Upon Name: The Great War and Remembrance', In: Porter, R., ed., *Myths of the English*, (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1992), p.148.

therefore, had meaning to the bereaved families. In Cirencester, the first memorial was a private project created by a bereaved family through personal loss. In the City of Gloucester the number of families directly affected and bereaved has been measured by the names listed on the war memorial itself and by the number of people in attendance at remembrance services as recorded in local papers from 1918 until creation of the memorial in 1933 and afterwards. In Gloucester, the impact of the bereaved is also seen in the continual pressure on the mayor to have a memorial form developed.

Also in support that the memorial was for the bereaved, this research has concluded that a common factor important to most communities in the county was their desire for a Roll of Honour to commemorate the local casualties. The field study carried out demonstrated that 273 of 303 or 90% of the memorials contained a Roll of Honour. The Roll of Honour was a feature different from the national forms of commemoration and showed a local characteristic that was not part of national memorial forms. Decisions to record the names of local combatants in local communities demonstrate the population's desire to formally acknowledge members of the county and this was seen as a way to preserve the memory of the loss to the community. Daniel Sherman argues "... by virtue of their inscription the names constitute themselves as part of a signifying process that seeks to transcend memory and its limitations by assigning it, in its constructed 'collective' form, a historical roll."⁵ Although the Roll of Honour was an important consideration for both Cam and Cirencester, it is in the study of the City of Gloucester that this form was seen as *the* mandatory concern. The one constant feature with all the memorial schemes for the City of Gloucester was to have all the casualties properly commemorated by name on a Roll of Honour.

⁵ Daniel J. Sherman, 'Art, Commerce and the Production of Memory in France After World War 1', In: Gillis J.R. ed., *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity*, (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1996), p.206.

As the three detailed case studies show casualty names were listed alphabetically even in the case of Cirencester, where, although the Roll of Honour does record the medals awarded, military rank and social titles along with women's names it also recorded names in alphabetic order. In the detailed sample of three communities these findings were contrary to Nick Mansfield, who suggested that Rolls of Honour in some cases separated classes by referencing "another familiar war memorial pattern with a figure from the local landowning family leading the list."⁶ In the wider county study, however, there are examples found which do list higher ranks or social status and even women separately.

As researched by Bushaway, as servicemen and ex-servicemen had been directly affected by the war their involvement in the development process was central to this study. In Cam, the process was supported throughout by members or ex-members of the military. From the initial suggestion from a 'Discharged Soldier' that a field gun be erected as a war memorial in early 1919, to inquiries that the memorial include the names of those who served and returned as well as those who died, the military and ex-military wanted their voices heard regarding what form was to be erected and what names were to be listed on the Roll Of Honour. The research has concluded that the impact the ex-servicemen had on the decision-making process varied in the three communities studied. In Cam, the war memorial committee largely ignored surviving soldiers of the period. An example of their diminished position in relation to the memorial was their order in the unveiling ceremony where the ex-soldiers followed in line after the Choir, Clergy, Mourners and Children. In Cirencester, Countess Bathurst not only dedicated the memorial hospital building to the dead, but to those who served and survived, illustrating the importance of the memorial to the soldiers. As for development of the City of Gloucester's memorial, soldiers from both city-based regiments influenced the decision. The final city memorial incorporates the

⁶ Nick Mansfield, 'Conflict and Village War Memorials', *Rural History*, 6, (1), 1995, p.71.

successful previously-built Gloucester Regiment's memorial. The designer of this city's memorial was in fact a military man, Col. N.L. Waller, and so in Gloucester, too, certain aspects of the military were satisfied.

The church also was an influential group in the development of both secular and non-secular memorials. From the earliest memorial at Woodchester, it can be seen that multi-denominational memorials were successfully constructed on non-secular sites. In the case of Cam, it was shown that even though a number of different church dominations existed and some members of the church clergy held influential positions on the war memorial committee, the memorial of choice for the village was still a secular form. A more non-secular form was only considered for Lower Cam when extended delays in committee decisions about the secular memorial scheme occurred. This is important to note as the investigation in the wider county, of a representative sample of 303 memorials, found that 176 memorials (or 58.1%) were either located on church property or in a church. From this it cannot be exclusively concluded that the non-secular memorials represented the majority of the county as without detailed understanding of who was actually listed on the Roll of Honour, it cannot be concluded if the memorials on church property were secular or non-secular. Understanding their specific purpose would require further study.

In Cirencester, the church's role was limited to seeking agreement from the diocese for the memorial to be placed on church property. From this point on, the church's influence was confined to ecumenical debates, such as which direction the memorial should be allowed to face. In Gloucester, with the cathedral located in the city, two of the three main war memorial schemes considered the use of a non-secular location. The church authorities drew up rules which spelled out what would be allowed in the cathedral. While this showed direct involvement of the church, these rules resulted in decisions being made for choice of other, less restrictive locations. In the study of Gloucester, it was shown that the

choice of memorial was not dictated by secular and non-secular arguments, but more as a result of conflicts regarding the form, style and location the memorial would take.

Local government and parish council officials also affected the development of the memorial forms and in some cases, were prominent members of the war memorial committees and often the final decision makers on many of these schemes. In Cam it was shown that a delay in decision making caused by the Parish Council had the result of dividing the war memorial committee to the extent that preparations for a second (non-secular) memorial were considered. In Gloucester, successive mayors who chaired the war memorial committees had restricted authority because of their electoral term in office.

From these examples, it is clear that the leadership of the creation of the memorial form was an important factor in the development process of the memorials. King argued: "it was generally expected that every civil community ...should have a memorial and the community's authorities were expected to see to the matter."⁷ In the different communities this was not always seen to be true. In Cam, reflecting the small size of the community, the choice of the first Chairmanship for the War Memorial Committee was offered to Mr. Winterbotham, a local Justice of the Peace and a Director of the largest employer in the village. It was reported at the time that he was offered the position specifically because his experience with the development of the company memorial. This memorial committee also included two Reverends, four members of the Parish Council, six named women and ten other men. In this case, Alex King's findings were supported. However, in contrast, in Cirencester the main forces behind the two memorials were two prominent families, the Kingscote family and the Bathurst family. There was no community authority involvement and really no war memorial committee until after the donation of Apsley Hall (the second memorial donation), by Earl Bathurst. Community involvement only took place at the refitting fund-raising

⁷ Alex King, *Memorials of the Great War in Britain: The Symbolism and Politics of Remembrance*, (Oxford and New York: Berg, 1998), p.27.

phase of the utilitarian structure. Until that point there was minimal committee involvement in the decision-making process, as decisions were made by the donors for the memorials. This demonstrates that the availability of funding through prominent families negated the need for a representative committee as the people's needs were met through the significant donations.

In Gloucester there was no individual decision-maker throughout the city's lengthy war memorial process. In the first scheme the Lord Lieutenant Earl Beauchamp advertised an appeal to begin the scheme and therefore, he could be seen as the scheme leader. However, after the curtailment of the first scheme Beauchamp played no further part. Throughout all further schemes it was the incumbent mayor of the time who took the chair of the war memorial committees and promoted the schemes. Additionally, because of its prominence in the county, the City of Gloucester had national organizational interest attempting to influence the decisions made. This was not a factor the developers of either Cam or Cirencester had to contend with during their war memorial development. The War Memorial Committees of Gloucester were intended to be a representative group of citizens who worked to develop a commemorative structure for the community. As was found, businesses were not represented sufficiently causing delays in the final memorial scheme.

Further research has questioned who the memorials were for. Macleod's recent study dealing with the creation of the Scottish national war memorial, in agreement with Sherman's study, concluded that local and national commemoration is tightly interwoven.⁸ The three communities studied in detail here demonstrate that the local memorials were initially built in commemoration of local casualties. However, both the Cirencester Memorial Hospital and the broader analysis in the county show that there were some

⁸ Jenny McLeod, 'Memorials and Location: Local versus National Identity and the Scottish National War Memorial', *The Scottish Historical Review*, April 2010, Vol. LXXXIX, (1): No. 227 p.94.

communities which also included those who returned, and, therefore, the memorial took on a greater local meaning than only commemorating the lost soldiers.

Of the communities examined, only the largest, the City of Gloucester, had any influence of national organisations. King's study argued that these self-serving national organisations were, in fact, using the design and development of war memorial projects to designate work to known contractors through these constructions. My research shows that the influence of the national organisation was rejected in favour of local ideas, and this supports the conclusion that more of the population wanted a local commemorative form.

King's study concluded, "people readily committed themselves to explicit interpretations of iconography on memorials or were symbols commonly used as rallying points... without articulated attachment to coherently conceived interests."⁹ Iconographic symbols have been examined in the case of the memorial cross of Cirencester. From original descriptions of the memorial's iconography in local newspapers at the time, specific written meanings of the memorials were offered. This is in contradiction to King's findings. However, as memories of the original reports are lost or additional interpretations are considered, it is proposed that clear translations of the meanings are difficult to determine with any great certainty. Features such as iconography installed on memorials can help to inspire meaning of the memorial forms but, as has been analysed using the work of King on the memorial cross at Cirencester, these symbols can have different interpretations and, therefore, are not the most effective means of preserving the original meaning.

My research for the County of Gloucestershire as a whole concluded that very few forms were the same. Some exceptions were noted, but the individuality of the vast majority of memorials can be considered as

⁹ King, *Memorials of the Great War in Britain*, p. 250.

a demonstration of communities expressing their uniqueness and insistence on separate local identity for their community. The in-depth analysis revealed that the significant contributor for the differences was the people involved and their various interests that needed to be met during the development process. It was discovered that the church, local businesses and bereaved family interests predominated in the village. The town of Cirencester may not have been representative of other towns in the county; however, it did reveal the impact philanthropic support from wealthy families had, including their significant contribution to war memorials as utilitarian structures that were intended to allow continued commemoration to the casualties of war as well as meeting the needs of a hospital for the town. Not surprisingly, the larger the community the greater the number of interested parties and hence the greater degree of conflicts. This was revealed in the study of the City of Gloucester, where government, church and ex-servicemen, along with prominent local regiments and large businesses, all played a significant role in the various memorial schemes for that city.

The work here supports the wider argument of Winter. In the final analysis it was found that traditional forms of memorials were common practice in Gloucestershire and that even with different options considered, such as the Memorial Hospital in Cirencester, these did not maintain commemorative stature. It was also found that the memorials tended to reflect pre-war attitudes and views in terms of form and were not of modern design. They reflected the styles and iconography of earlier commemorations. In the creation of the memorials in Gloucestershire, national symbols were evident but from the detailed study of three memorials from the different sized communities it became apparent that local concerns were also evident.

The study also supported Bushaway's findings that the size of the loss was so great that decisions on the form of Rolls of Honour and how best to commemorate the casualties required local representative war

memorial committees. It was found that as well as developing a record of service for the community they were also developing individual local identity by the use of the differing opinions within the committees.

This study has concluded that each memorial was developed as a consequence of unique local circumstances and issues, including: the personal loss to the Kingscote family in Cirencester; the fact that the majority of the casualties would have attended the Hopton School in Cam and, hence, the location chosen for the secular memorial; and the various interest groups involved in the larger community which led to delays before a satisfactory memorial scheme met the needs of the local population of Gloucester.

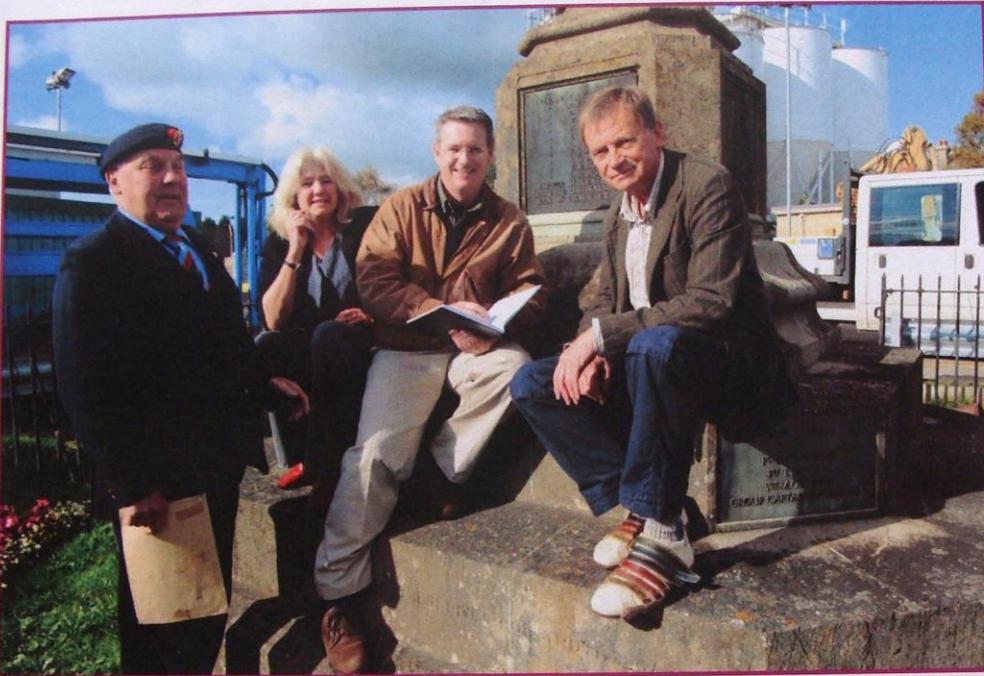
While the memorials may have lost some of their original meaning and significance for local communities, new wars and the passing of the last four surviving war veterans during the course of writing this study have served to reinforce the memorials' role as places of both local and national significance. As the centenary of the start of the Great War approaches it is likely that once again the original meaning of the memorials will be searched out.

APPENDICES

Roger Symonds and Cherry Beath

Liberal Democrat Councillors for Combe Down

War Memorial Sparks Interest



The War Memorial in Combe Down is the subject of special interest for a visitor from Canada, Robert Taylor, who is working to gain a Masters in Research post at Gloucestershire University for the February term, including the Subject of Cenotaphs and War Memorials.

This has been a long standing passion of his, particularly the eras of the First and Second World Wars. Combe Down's Memorial has special significance because of Harry Patch, the longest living survivor of the First World War, who was born in the Village, and would have known many of the names inscribed on it as his contemporaries. Mr Taylor saw the memorial when visiting a friend in Bath as he was driving past. He wondered why it was in the middle of a work site, so he contacted us to enquire about it.

We met Robert at the Memorial with well known Combe Downer Phil Bishop, Chair of the War Memorial Committee who looks after the Memorial and organises the Remembrance Services in Combe Down. The usual Remembrance service will again be held at the War Memorial on 11th November at 11am this year.

The photograph shows Robert Taylor with Phil Bishop, Cherry and Roger.

October 23rd, 2008 in [News](#) |

Location	Date	Memorials Location	Visibility/Accessibility	Style of Memorial							Great. War Years Inscribed			How Names are Listed			Upkeep (and are inscriptions able to be read)			Modifications		Comments /Oddities
				C e n o t a p h	C r o s s	G a t e	S c u l p t u r e	O b e l i s k	P l a q u e o r T a b l e t	O t h e r	1914-1918	1914-1919	Other (note dates)	Cas. Only	Cas & Ret	Women noted	P o o r o r F a i r	G o o d	V e r y G o o d	Moved	Added War Rolls of Honour	

A																					
Ablington		51 46' 02" N, 01 51' 04" W	Roadside (on wall)						X		X			X		No		X	N/C	1939 - 1945	
Adlestrop		51 56' 32" N, 01 38' 58" W	In Church Yard		X						X			X		No	X	No		Appears to be for a single family	
Alderton Village	1920	51 59' 49" N, 2 00' 09" W	Roadside		X					-	-	-		X		N/C	X	No	1939-1945	The dates of the Great War are not noted only WW2	
Aldsworth	1919	51 47' 20" N, 1 46' 26" W	Prominent on hill					X		X*				X		No	X	No	1939-1945	Possible amendment from 1919 to 1918	
Almondsbury		51 33' 01" N, 02 34' 34" W	At street Intersection		X					X				X		No	X	No	1939 - 1945	Rebuilt in 1952	
Almondsbury	1919	51 33' 15" N, 02 34' 26" W	In Parish Church						X		X			X		No	X	No	1939 - 1945		
Alston		51 59' 26" N, 02 01' 35" W	In Parish Church						X	-	-	-		X		No	X	N/C		Small un-affixed plaque	
Alveston	1920	51 36' 06" N, 02 31' 46" W	Prominent in the Church Yard		X					X				X		No	X	No	1939-1945	Inscribed "men who fell"	
Amberley	1921	51 42' 47" N, 02 13' 00" W	On common		X					X				X		No	X	No	1939 - 1945		
Ampney Crucis	1920	51 42' 53" N, 01 54' 19" W	Prominent at road side in village		X					X				By Name	X	No		X	No	1939 - 1945	Memorial includes renovation plaque 2008
Apperley		51 57' 06" N, 02 12' 08" W	Village Green		X						X			X		No	X	No	1939 - 1945		
Ashchurch	1919	51 59' 51" N, 2 06' 20" W	Slip Road alongside A46		X					X*	X*			X		No	X	N/C	1939-1945	1914-1918 and 1914-1919 noted	
Ashleworth		51 55' 49" N, 02 16' 26" W	Memorial Hall						X	X				X	-	-	X	No	No		
Ashleworth		51 55' 29" N, 02 15' 53" W	In Parish Church					X		X				X		No	X	No	No		
Ashton-under- Hill		52 02' 22" N, 02 00' 18" W	Roadside		X						X			X		No	X	No	1939 - 1945	Now Worcestershire	
Aston Subedge		52 04' 17" N, 01 47' 58" W	Roadside		X						X			X		No	X	No	1939 - 1945		
Avening		51 40' 50" N, 02 10' 32" W	Inside Parish Church					X		X				X		No	X	No	1939 - 1945		
Avening Memorial Hall	1921	51 40' 52" N, 02 10' 27" W	Memorial Hall						X	X				X		No	X	No	1939 - 1945		
Awre		51 46' 14" N, 02 25' 31" W	Central Village Square					X		X				X		N/C	X	No	1939 - 1945, Oman		
B																					
Badgeworth <small>+in parish church</small>		51 52' 17" N, 2 08' 40" W	In the Church					X		X				X		N/C	X	No	1939-1945		
Badminton	1920	51 32' 29" N, 02 16' 55" W	Memorial Hall						X	X				X		N/C	X	No	1939 - 1945	Memorial Hall with Plaques inside	
Bagendon	1921	51 45' 33" N, 1 59' 11" W	Road side		X					X						No	X	No	1939 - 1945		
Barnsley		51 44' 41" N, 01 53' 24" W	Roadside		X					X				X		No	X	No	No		
Barnwood		51 51' 28" N, 02 12' 23" W	On floor In Church					X		X				X		N/C	X	Yes	1939 - 1945	Originally on the Lych Gate (per Citizen 1923)	
Barnwood		51 51' 28" N, 02 12' 08" W	Remains of Lychgate			X				-				-		-	-	-	-	Lych Gate does not exist now Roll of Honour in Church	
Batsford		52 00' 11" N, 01 43' 45"	Inside Parish Church					X		X*				X		No	X	N/C	No	* individual	
Beckford	1920	52 01' 13" N, 02 02' 09" W	Plaque in church					X		X				X		Yes	X	No	No	Separate plaque for WW2	
Beckford	1925	52 01' 13" N, 02 02' 09" W	Lych Gate			X				X				-	-	-	X	No	No		
Berkeley	1920		Inside Parish Church					X	X					X		No	X	No	1939 - 1945 separate		
Beverston	1918	51 38' 32" N, 02 11' 57" W	A village park					X	X					-	-	No	X	No	1939 - 1945	Park overgrown - no names noted	
Beverston		51 38' 40" N, 20 12' 04" W	In the Church Entrance					X	X					X		N/C	X	No	1918 - 1918 only	Three separate plaques Served Killed Wounded	
Bibury		51 45' 25" N, 01 49' 48" W	In the Parish Church					X		X				X		No	X	No	1939 - 1945 separate		
Bishop's Cleeve	1919	51 56' 50" N, 02 03' 31" W	In a town square		X					X				X		N/C	X	No	1939-1945	Cross has been shortened at some stage	
Bishopswood		51 51' 45" N, 02 35' 20" W	Roadside Poor access		X					X				N/C	X	N/C	X	No	1939-45		
Bisley	1925	51 45' 12" N, 02 08' 22" W	Roadside meml.		X					X				x		No	X	No	1939-1945	Does not name returning soldiers	
Bisley	1919		Church Plaque					X		X				X		No	X	No	1939 - 1945		
Bitton		51 25' 19" N, 02 27' 31" W	In Churchyard		X					X				X		N/C	X	No	1939 - 1945	Book of remembrance	
Bitton		51 25' 19" N, 02 27' 31" W	In the Parish Church					X		X				X		N/C	X	N/C	-		
Blaisdon		51 51' 04" N, 02 26' 01" W	Roadside at Crossroads		X					X				X		No	X	N/C	1939 - 1945		
Bledington		51 54' 03" N, 1 38' 43" W	Memorial in Church Yard		X					X				X		No		X	1939-1945		
Bledington		51 54' 03" N, 1 38' 39" W	Roll of Honour in Church					X		X				X	X	No	X	No	1939-1945		
Blockley		52 00' 49" N, 01 44' 45" W	On Village Green					X		X				X		No	X	No	1939 - 1945, 1973	Deaths noted from 1919	
Boddington in parish church		51 55' 30" N, 02 09' 17" W	In Parish Church					X		X				X		No		X	No	No	
Bourton-on-the-Hill		51 59' 25" N, 01 44' 45" W	In Parish Churchyard		X					X				X		No	X	No	1939 - 1945		
Bourton-on-the Hill		51 59' 27" N, 01 44' 47" W	In the Parish Church					X		X				X		No	X	No	1939 - 1945		

Location	Date	Memorials Location	Visibility/Accessibility	Style of Memorial							Great. War Years Inscribed			How Names are Listed			Upkeep (and are inscriptions able to be read)			Modifications		Comments /Oddities
				C e n o t a p h	C r o s s	G a t e	S c u l p t u r e	O b e l i s k	P l a q u e o r T a b l e t	O t h e r	1914- 1918	1914- 1919	Other (note dates)	Cas. Only	Cas & Ret	Women noted	P o o r o r F a i r	G o o d	V e r y G o o d	Moved	Added War Rolls of Honour	
Bourton-on- the-Water	1920	51 53' 05" N, 1 45' 29" W	Centre Town Green Prominent		X						X			X		No	X	X		1939 - 1945		
Bourton-on- the-Water			In Parish Church					X			X			X		No	X		No	1939 - 1945	Also has entire Roll of Service – separate plaque	
Box		51 38' 40" N, 02 12'04" W	In Parish Church					X			X			No	X		N/C		1939 - 1945	Two separate plaques		
Bream		51 44' 58" N, 02 34' 35" W	Hill Top - Prominent	X							X			N/C	X				1939-1945, Burma Star	Restored in 2002 plaque attached		
Brimpsfield	1922	51 48' 47" N, 02 05' 21" W	Village cross roads - Prominent		X			X			X			No	X			No	1939 - 1945	Plaque added beside memorial		
Brimscombe & Thrupp	1922	51 43' 13" N, 02 11' 35" W	Raised from Roadside					X		X*			X	N/C	X			No	1939 - 1945			
Bristol	1932	51 27' 18" N, 02 36' 16"	Centre of main roads	X							X			No Names			X	No	1939 - 1945			
Broadwell		51 56' 50" N, 01 42' 34" W	In Parish Church					X			X			No	X			No	No	Separate individual plaque too.		
Bromsberrow		52 00' 18" N, 02 22' 11" W	On Village Green		X						X			No	X		N/C	1939 - 1945	Names readable some fading of inscription			
Buckland	1920	52 01'20"N 1 52'55"W	In parish church					X			X			No	X			No	1939 - 1945			
C																						
Calmsden	1919	51 46' 34" N, 01 56' 13" W	Memorial Hall								X							No	-	"in Memoriam JKF July 31, 1917"		
Calmsden		51 46' 34" N, 01 56' 07" W	Village Cross		X						-			-	-	-	X		No	Originally the village cross has become the village memorial		
Cam	1921	51 41' 47" N, 02 21' 19" W	Side of road on a raised formal dias overlooking a school						X	X				X			X	No	1939 - 1945	Form of a Lantern Head		
Cam Mills			In Cam Mills Business office					X			X				X			N/C				
Chalford	1920	51 43'17" N, 02 09' 27" W	Parish Churchyard just off Hwy		X						X			N/C	X			No	1939 - 1945	Names on metal plaques		
Charfield	1920	51 37' 39" N, 02 24' 21" W	Main Street		X								X	N/C	X			No	Yes	The word VICTORY on base		
Charlton Abbots		51 55' 01" N, 01 57' 11" W	Church Window in Parish Church						X	X				No	X			No	No			
Charlton Kings	1920	51 52' 58" N, 02 03' 14" W	Roundabout across fm Parish Church		X	X					X			No			X	No	No	Memorial has just completed renovations		
Charlton Kings	1920	51 52' 58" N, 02 03' 14" W	Lych Gate of Parish Church			X					X			No	X			No	No			
Chedworth		51 48' 27" N, 01 55' 35" W	In Church Doorway					X						N/C	X			No	No			
Chedworth	1921	51 48' 27" N, 01 55' 35" W	In Church					X		X				No		X		No	1939 - 1945			
Chedworth (Lower)	1920	51 47' 55" N, 01 54' 03" W	Outside Churchyard		X					X				N/C	X			No	No			
Cheltenham WW1	1921	51 53' 56" N, 02 04' 37" W	Town Centre					X			X			N/C	X				Yes (will list)			
Cheltenham Cemetery		51 54' 21" N, 02 02' 41"	In Town Cemetery		X						X			-	-	-	X	No	No	Additionally there are also original crosses in cemetery		
Cheltenham Christ Church		51 53' 56" N, 02 05' 20" W	In church					X		X				No	X			No	No	Throughout the church there are ind. plaques		
Cheltenham – St Marys		51 53' 56"N, 02 05' 20" W	Upper balcony of church					X		X				No	X			N/C	No	Cheltenham Parish School		
Cheltenham – St Paul's Parish	1920	51 54' 24" N, 02 04' 39" W	In front of Church						X	X				No	X			No	No	Some fading of lower names on Roll of Honour panels		
Cheltenham – St Paul's School now University of Gloucestershire	1926 1926	51 54' 24" N, 02 04' 45" W 51 54' 22" N, 02 04' 42" W 51 54' 25" N, 02 04' 46" W	1) Circular Brass Plaque (Clegg Bldg) 2) Plaques in the Chapel 3) Wooden Plaque					X		X				-	X		X	No	No	Mary Young - St Mary's College		
Cheltenham – St Peter's Parish	1920	51 49' 30" N, 02 03' 22" W	In Churchyard side of church		X					X				N/C	X			No	No	Church decommissioned and memorial in disrepair		
Cheltenham – St Philips St James		51 53' 17" N, 02 04' 54" W	In Church					X		X				No		x		No	1939 - 1945			
Cheltenham – Trinity Church		51 54' 09" N, 02 04' 39" W	Affixed to the church wall					X		X				No	X			No	No			
Cherington		51 41' 07" N, 02 08' 30" W	Inside Parish Church					X		X			X	No	X				1939 – 1945 separate	Includes Roll of Service		
Chipping Campden	1921	52 03'02" N, 01 46' 51" W	Market Square		X					X				No	X			No	No	1939 – 1945 memorial beside		
Chipping Campden		52 03' 03" N, 01 46' 46" W	In Parish Church					X		X				N/C	X			No	1939 - 1945			
Chipping Sodbury	1920	51 32' 18" N, 02 23' 30" W	High Street		X					X				No	X			No	1939 - 1945	Notes erected by public subscription 1920		
Churchdown,	1921	51 53'33"N 2 03'46"W	Outside Parish Church High St.		X					X				No	X			No	1939-1945, Malaya	Inscription on stone fading		
Cinderford & District	1923	51 49' 27" N, 02 29' 58" W	Town Square				X			X				No	X			No	1939-1945, Falklands and "to other conflicts" 1982			

Location	Date	Memorials Location	Visibility/Accessibility	Style of Memorial							Great. War Years Inscribed			How Names are Listed			Upkeep (and are inscriptions able to be read)			Modifications		Comments /Oddities
				C e n o t a p h	C r o s s	G a t e	S c u l p t u r e	O b e l i s k	P l a q u e o r T a b l e t	O t h e r	1914-1918	1914-1919	Other (note dates)	Cas. Only	Cas & Ret	Women noted	P o o r o r F a i r	G o o d	V e r y G o o d	Moved	Added War Rolls of Honour	
Cirencester	9/11/1918	53 43' 01" N, 01 58' 16" W	Town Centre Cross and Plaque		X				X			X			Yes		X		No	1939-1945		
Cirencester	1921	51 42' 54" N, 01 58' 16" W	Memorial Hall						X		X		X		Yes	X		No	No			
Cirencester			Inside the Parish Church					X		X		X		No	X		No	No	No	Church Lads Brigade		
Clapton –on-the-Hill		51 51' 36" N, 01 45' 50" W	Inside Parish Church					X	X	X		X		No	X		No	No	No	Church window and plaque		
Cleeve Hill & Southam	1920	51 55' 45" N, 02 02' 27" W	Village cross roads		X						X		X		No	X		No	1939 - 1945			
Coaley		51 42' 49" N, 02 19' 28" W	In Churchyard		X						X		X		No	X		No	No	Inscription Fading		
Coalpit Heath		51 31' 27" N, 02 28' 17" W	In Churchyard		X						X		X		No	X		No	1939 - 1945	More WWII deaths noted than WWI		
Coates	1921	51 42' 23" N, 02 01' 56" W	On the main street		X					X		X		No	X		No	No	1939 - 1945			
Coberley		51 50' 34" N, 02 03' 06" W	In Church					X		X		X		N/C	X		No	No	Separate 1939 - 1945			
Cold Aston		51 52' 39" N, 01 48' 58" W	In Church Yard		X					X		X		No	X		No	No	Includes 1939-1945			
Cold Aston		51 52' 39" N, 01 48' 59" W	In parish Church					X					X		No	X		No		Roll of Service & Honour + Ind. Plaque		
Coleford		51 47' 35" N, 02 37' 03" W	Tower					X	X	X		X		No	X		N/C	1939-1945, Malaya, Korea	No	New Plaque on old tower		
Colesbourne		51 49' 09" N, 1 59' 44" W	In St James Church					X		X		X		No	X		No	No	1939-1945			
Coln Rogers		51 47' 08" N, 01 52' 28"	In Parish Church					X		X		-	-	Yes	X		No	No	No	THANKFUL VILLAGE		
Coln St Aldwyns	1919	51 44' 40" N, 01 47' 33" W	On Church Gate					X		X		X		No	X		No	No	No	Inscription hard to read needs to be cleaned		
Coln St. Dennis		51 47' 50" N, 01 52' 36" W	In Church Entrance					X		X			X	N/C	X		N/C	N/C	N/C	Roll of Returned		
Compton Abdale	1921	51 50' 52" N, 01 54' 48" W	Roadside nr crossroads		X					X		-		X	No	X		No		Condition is poor as inscription is fading		
Condicote	1920	51 57' 11" N, 01 56' 52" W	In Parish Church							2	1	1		X	No	X		No	1939-1945 (1)	Roll of Honour & Roll of Service		
Corse & Staunton		51 57' 41" N, 02 19' 08" W	On Village Green		X					X		X		N/C	X		No	N/C	N/C	Inscription Fading		
Cowley		51 53' 20" N, 02 05' 13" W	In Parish Church					X		X		X		No	X		No	No	No	Listed In Rank Order		
Cranham		51 48' 38" N, 02 09' 34" W	Parish Church Lych Gate					X		X			X	Yes	X		No	No	No	Bell is also part of gate with date 1953		
Cromhall	1920	51 36' 43" N, 02 26' 41" W	Along the Bristol - Wooton Rd		X					X		X		No	X		No	No	1939 - 1945			
Cutsdean		51 58' 10" N, 01 52' 23" W	In Parish Church					X		X		X		No	X		No	No	1939 – 1945 separate plaque			
D																						
Deerhurst		51 58' 03" N, 02 11' 27" W	In Parish Church					X		X		X		No	X		N/C	No	No	Roll of Honour		
Didbrook	1920	51 59' 14" N, 01 54' 37" W	Didbrook Church					X		X		X		No	X		No	No	No	(VC Noted)		
Didmarton		51 35' 09" N, 02 15' 27" W	Roadside		X					X		X		No	X		No	No	1939 - 1945	Inscriptions Fading		
Dowdeswell		51 52' 40" N, 01 59' 57" W	In Parish Church					X		X		X		No	X		No	No	1939 - 1945	+ Separate plaques to indiv.		
Down Ampney	1920	51 40' 25" N 1 51' 16" W	Roadside – on road divider					X		X		X		No	X		No	No	No			
Downend & Soundwell		51 28' 50" N, 02 22' 26" W	In a village Park					X		X		X		No	X		No	No	1939 - 1945			
Doyton		51 27' 53" N, 02 24' 13" W	In Churchyard		X					X		X		No	X		No	No	1939 – 1945 separate plaque in church			
Driffield & Harnhill		51 41' 47" N, 01 53' 38" W	Roadside outside Church Yard		X					X		X		No	X		No	No	No			
Dunsbourne Abbots	1921	51 53' 63" N, 02 02' 61" W	In Churchyard		X					-	-	-	-	-	X		No	No	No			
Dunsbourne Abbots	1921	51 46' 10" N, 02 02' 36" W	In the Church					X		X		X		No	X		No	No	No			
Dursley	1922	51 40' 53" N, 02 21' 13" W	Church Gate			X				X		X		Yes	X					(VC and Nurse noted)		
Dymock		51 58' 41" N, 02 26' 16" W	On Church Green							X		X		No	X		N/C	1939 - 1945	1939 - 1945	Inscription cracking on WW2 names		
Dyrham Park		51 28 50 N, 02 22' 26" W	In Churchyard		X					X		X		No	X		No	No	1939 - 1945	Name only of WW1		
Dyrham Park		51 28' 50" N, 02 22' 26" W	In Church					X		X		X		No	X		No	No	1939 – 1945 separate plaque			
E																						
Eastcombe	1920	51 44' 14" N, 02 09' 37" W	Poor Upkeep and condition in Churchyard					X		X			X	N/C	X		N/C	1939 - 1945	1939 - 1945	Poor condition and poor access		
Eastington		51 45' 01" N, 02 18' 58" W	Churchyard		X					X		X		No	X		No	No	No			
Eastleach Turville	1921	51 44' 42" N, 01 42' 39" W	On the Hatherop Estate		X					X		X		No	X		No	No	1939 - 1945			
Ebrington	1921	52 03' 29" N, 01 43' 55"	Village centre		X					X		X		No	X		No	No	1939 - 1945	Lower Inscription Fading		
Elkstone		51 48' 33" N, 02 02' 56" W	In Parish Church					X		X		X		No	X		No	No	1939 - 1945	1 individual plaque too.		
Elmore		51 50' 04" N, 02 18' 54" W	Side of road		X					X		X		N/C	X		N/C	1939 - 1945	1939 - 1945	Inscriptions Fading		
Evenlode		51 57' 33" N, 01 40' 47" W	In Parish Church					X		X		X		No	X		No	No	No	Separate local school plaque 1914-1918		
F																						

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				C e n o t a p h	C r o s s	G a t e	S c u l p t u r e	O b e l i s k	P l a q u e o r T a b l e t	O t h e r	1914-1918	1914-1919	Other (note dates)	Cas. Only	Cas & Ret	Women noted	P o o r o r F a i r	G o o d	V e r y G o o d	Moved	Added War Rolls of Honour	
Fairford	1920	51 42' 33" N, 01 46' 52" W	In Church yard		X						X			X		No	X		No	1939 - 1945		
Falfield	1920	51 38' 13" N, 02 27' 13" W	On Highway – High Street		X						X			X		No	X		No	1939 - 1945		
Farmington		51 50' 08" N, 01 48' 10" W	In Parish Church (Roll of Service)					X			X			X		No	X		N/C	1939-1945 Roll of Service	Additional individual plaques	
Filton (original)	1920	51 30' 36" N, 02 34' 22" W	In Parish Churchyard		X						X			N/C		X		No	"WW2 and Subsequent Conflicts"			
Filton (new)			Attached to Library Wall					X		X			No	No	No	X		No	...1939-45 and Subsequent Conflicts			
Forthampton	1921	51 59' 31" N, 02 12' 37" W	Village Green		X					X				X		No*	X		No	1939 – 1945, Falklands	Women's name noted in WW2 Roll of Honour	
Frampton Cotterell	1920	51 32' 08" N, 02 28' 52" W	In Churchyard		X					X				X		No	X		X	1939 - 1945		
Frampton Mansell		51 43' 21" N, 02 06' 54" W	In Parish Church					X		X				X		No	X		X	1939 – 1945 separate plaque	2 Great War plaques in the church	
Fretherne		51 46' 50" N, 02 23' 14" W	Outside Parish Church		X					X	X*		No	X			X			1939 – 1945 (mention of 1936-1941 ship)	All who served are not listed	
Frocester		51 43' 36" N, 02 18' 42" W	Crossroads on road side					X		X				X		No	X		N/C	1939 - 1945	Inscription Fading	
G																						
Gloucester	1933	51 51'35"N 2 14'28"W	(Main) Corner of Park						X	X				X		Yes	X		No	1939 – 1945, Burma 1942, Korea, HMS Jamaica		
Gloucester Regiment	1925	51 51'35"N 2 14'28"W	Corner of Park				X			X				X		No	X		No		5 th Gloucester. Regiment Memorial Plinth	
Gloucester Cemetery	1923	51 50' 57" N, 02 13' 42" W	In City Cemetery		X					No Date				No Names	-	-	X		No		Cross of Sacrifice	
Gloucester Hussars	1922	51 52' 03" N 02 14' 55" W	Outside Gloucester Cathedral		X					X				X		No	X		No	1939 - 1945		
Gloucester - St Catherine's Church	1921	51 54' 00" N 02 09' 04" W	In the Church					X		X				X		N/C	X		No	1939 – 1945 plaque added separately below		
Gotherington	1919	51 57' 52" N, 02 03' 10" W	High Street Crossroads Prominent					X		X				X		N/C	X		No	Yes		
Great Barrington	1921	51 49' 16" N, 01 42' 00" W	Road roundabout		X					X				X		N/C	X		No	1939 - 1945	Inscription of names fading/unreadable	
Great Rissington	1921	51 51'09" N, 01 43' 05" W	Inside Parish Church					X		X				X*		No	X		No	No	*5 members of the Souls Family recorded	
Gretton	1920	51 58' 7" N 1 59'08"W	High Street						X	X				X		No	X		No	1939 - 1945	Mem incorporating a fountain - *inscription fading	
Guiting Power	1920	51 55'17"N 1 51'51"W	Village green		X					X*				X		N/C	X		No	No	Possible that original dates are 1914-1919	
H																						
Harrow Hill		51 50' 44" N, 02 30' 48" W	Corner of churchyard		X					No Date				No Names	-	-	X		N/C	No	Only the words "Lest We Forget"	
Hartpury	1920	51 55' 20" N 02 17' 31" W	At town Cross Roads		X					X				X	X*	No	X		No	1939 - 1945	Only casualty names noted	
Hatherop		51 44' 39" N, 01 46' 42" W	In Parish Church					X		X				X		No	X		No	1939 - 1945	Inscribed names fading	
Hatherop		51 44' 42" N, 01 46' 31" W	Memorial Lych Gate			X				X				No Names	-	-	X		No			
Hawkesbury Upton	1920	51 34' 51" N, 02 19' 08" W	In town square		X					X				X		No	X		No	1939 - 1945		
Hawling		51 54' 18" N, 1 54' 33" W	Parish Church Lynch Gate			X				X				X		No	X		No	1939 – 1945 (added in 1978)		
Hempsted		51 51' 04" N, 02 16' 16" W	In Church yard		X					X				X		No	X		No	1939 - 1945	Only by archive photo	
Hillesley	1920	51 36' 21" N, 02 20' 07" W	Village Green		X					X				X		No	X		N/C	No	Inscription Fading	
Horsley	1921	51 40' 52" N, 02 14' 06" W	Side of Road		X			X		X				X		No	X		No	1939 - 1945	Possible women's name in WW2 Roll	
Hucclecote	1920	51 51' 15" N, 1 54'33" W	On main village street at corner		X					X				X		No*			No	1939 - 1945	Women noted as WW2 Casualties	
Huntley	1925?	51 52' 18" N, 02 24' 07" W	Village green		X					X				X		No	X		N/C	No		
I																						
Icomb	1919	51 54' 07" N 01 41' 31" W	Village green		X					X				X		No	X		No	1939 - 1945		
Ilmington		52 05' 15" N, 01 41' 41" W	Raised Village green		X					X				X	X	No	X		No	1939 - 1945	Inscriptions fading	
Iron Acton		51 32' 57" N, 02 27' 42" W	In Parish Church					X		X				X		No	X		No	1939 - 1945		
J																						

Location	Date	Memorials Location	Visibility/Accessibility	Style of Memorial							Great. War Years Inscribed			How Names are Listed			Upkeep (and are inscriptions able to be read)			Modifications		Comments /Oddities
				C e n o t a p h	C r o s s	G a t e	S c u l p t u r e	O b e l i s k	P l a q u e o r T a b l e t	O t h e r	1914- 1918	1914- 1919	Other (note dates)	Cas. Only	Cas & Ret	Women noted	P o o r o r F a i r	G o o d	V e r y G o o d	Moved	Added War Rolls of Honour	
K																						
Kemble	1920	51 40'17"N 2 01'02W	Crossroads outside parish church		X						X*			X		No	X		No	No	Date amended to 1918 from 1919?	
Kemerton	1921	52 01' 59" N, 02 04' 48"	At road junction	X							X			X	No	X		No	1939 - 1945	3 Atkinsons named in WW2 Roll of Honour		
Kempsford	1920	51 40' 03" n, 01 46' 01" W	In Church Yard	X							X			X	No	X		No	1939 - 1945	Woman noted WWII		
Kemerton		52 01' 59" N, 02 04' 48" W	At Village Road Junction	X							X			X	No	X		No	1939 - 1945			
Kingscote	1921	51 39' 53" N, 02 15' 51" W	Outside of Parish Church Gate	X						X				X	N/C	X		No	1939 - 1945	Stylized Cross		
King Stanley	1920	51 43' 48" N, 02 16' 26" W	Village Crossroads	X							X			X	No	X		No	1939 - 1945	Stylized Cross		
Kingswood	1921	51 37' 35" N, 02 22' 04" W	At crossroads acting as shelter							X	X			X	No	X		N/C	1939 – 1945, Korea	Erected by public subscription		
L																						
Lechlade	1920	51 41' 35" N 01 41' 34" W	Memorial Tablet						X		X			X	No	X		No				
Lechlade		51 41'52" N, 01 41' 30" W	Memorial Hall						X	-	-	-	No Names	-	-	X		No	-			
Leckhampton	1920	51 50' 35" N 2 04' 46" W	Side of road	X						X				X	No	X		No	1939 - 1945	Full details of WW1 Roll of Honour		
Leighterton		51 37' 03" N, 02 15' 06"	Inside Church - Graveyard						X	-	-	-	X	No	X		No			Flag but No real memorial at church		
Leonard Stanley	1920?	51 43' 42" N, 02 17' 14" W	Road Junction in front of Parish Church	X							X			X	No	X		No	1939 - 1945	Notes Died of Diseses and wounded		
Little Sodbury		51 32' 51" N, 02 21' 05 W	In Parish Church						X	X				-	-	-	X	N/C	1939 – 1945	THANKFUL VILLAGE		
Longborough	1921	51 57'53"N 1 44'28"W	Side of road – village green	X						X				X	No	X		No	1939 - 1945	Inscription needs cleaning or painting		
Longhope		51 51' 55" N, 02 26' 53 W	Side of Hwy and road junction			X				X				X	N/C	X		No	1939 – 1945, 1973			
Long Marston		52 07' 53" N, 01 46' 41" W	Churchyard - Lychgate						X	X				X	No	X		No	1939 - 1945			
Lower Cam	1921	51 42' 03" N, 02 21' 53" W	In Churchyard	X						X				X	No	X		No	1939 - 1945	Inscriptions Fading		
Lower Quinton		52 07'17" N, 01 43' 58" W	In Churchyard	X						X				X	No	X		No	1939 1945	Possible old cross beside newer cross		
Lower Slaughter		51 54' 06" N, 01 45' 39" W	In Parish Churchyard	X						X				X	No	X		No	1939 - 1945	No Gt. War Names		
Lower Slaughter		51 54' 06" N, 01 45' 39" W	In Parish Church						X	X				X	No	X		No	No	Roll of Service		
Lower (Nether) Swell	1921	51 55'41"N 1 44'54"W	Village green off Hwy.						X	X				X	No	X		No	1939 - 1945	Form of a burning Urn – Names from Great War only Edwin Lutyens		
Lydney		51 43' 15" N, 02 31' 57" W	Roadside outside parish church	X						X				X	No	X		N/C	1939 - 1945			
M																						
Maisemore	1922	51 53' 33" N, 02 16' 20" W	In Front of Parish Church	X						X				X	No	X		N/C	1939 - 1945	Inscriptions difficult to read		
Mangotsfield		51 28' 56" N, 02 29' 05" W	On central square	X						-	-	-	X	No	X		N/C	-				
Marshfield		51 27' 43" N, 02 19' 01" W	Central road Island	X						X				X	No	X		N/C	1939 - 1945			
May Hill		51 53' 08" N, 02 25' 32" W	At Road Junction	X						X				X	No	X		N/C	1939 - 1945			
Meysey Hampton		51 41' 57" N, 01 49' 53" W	In Parish Church						X	X				X	No	X		No	1939 - 1945			
Mickleton		52 05' 22" N, 01 45' 56 W	Inside Parish Church						X	X				X	No	X		No	No			
Minchinhampton	1920	51 42' 19" N, 02 11' 09" W	Plaque on town Market						X	X				X	No	X		No	1939 - 1945			
Minchinhampton		51 42' 19" N, 02 11' 09" W	Cross at Roundabout	X					X	X*				X	No	X		No	1939 - 1945	Inscription on cross notes both 1918 and 1919		
Miserdean	1921	51 46' 43" N, 02 05' 38" W	Across street from Church	X						X				X	No	X		No	1939 - 1945			
Mitcheldean		51 51' 53" N, 02 29' 21" W	In Parish Churchyard not obvious	X						X				X	No	X		N/C	1939 - 1945	Memorial is inconspicuous in the churchyard		
Morton-in-Marsh	1921	51 59' 27" N, 01 42' 11" W	Village Market Square			X				X				X	No	X		No	1939 – 1945, 1953	Sculpture of St George and the Dragon		
N																						
Nailsworth	1920	51 41' 40" N, 02 13' 05" W	Main Street Corner	X						X				X	N/C	X			Yes			
Nailsworth		51 41' 46" N, 02 13' 04 W	Clock Tower						X	X												
Naunton		51 54' 33" N, 01 50' 07" W	Outside Baptist Chapel	X						X	X			X	No	X		N/C	1939			
Naunton		51 54' 34" N 01 50' 11" W	St Andrews Parish Church						X	X				X*	No	X		No	1939 - 1945	Also Roll of Service and Battlefield Cross		
Newent	1920	51 51' 55" N, 02 24' 12" W	In Churchyard - Parish Church	X						X				X	No	X		No	1939 - 1945			
Newnham on Severn		51 48' 13" N, 02 26' 59" W	Grassy verge off main road in town	X						X				X	No	X		N/C	1939 – 1945, Kenya, Munitions,	Civilian from Munitions industry		
North Cerney		51 46' 13" N, 01 58' 23" W	Memorial Hall Roll of Honour						X	X				X	No	X		No	1939 – 1945 and Roll of			

Location	Date	Memorials Location	Visibility/Accessibility	Style of Memorial							Great. War Years Inscribed			How Names are Listed			Upkeep (and are inscriptions able to be read)			Modifications		Comments /Oddities
				C e n o t a p h	C r o s s	G a t e	S c u l p t u r e	O b e l i s k	P l a q u e o r T a b l e t	O t h e r	1914-1918	1914-1919	Other (note dates)	Cas. Only	Cas & Ret	Women noted	P o o r o r F a i r	G o o d	V e r y G o o d	Moved	Added War Rolls of Honour	
Shurdington		51 54' 01" N, 02 03' 19" W	St Paul's Parish Church						X			X			X		No		X	No	1939 – 1945 separate plaque	
Siddington	1921		In Parish Church - St Mary's						X		X			X		No	X					
Slad		51 46' 08" N 02 11' 05" W	Side of Road		X							X			No	X						Inscription Fading
Slimbridge	1921	51 43' 47" N, 02 22' 38" W	In Parish Churchyard		X						X			X	No			No		1939 - 1945		Plaques redone
Snowhill		52 00' 05" N, 01 51' 37" W	In Parish Churchyard		X						X			X	No	X		No		No		Inscription Fading
Sopworth		51 34' 29" N, 02 14' 59" W	In Parish Churchyard		X						X			X	No	X		No		1939 - 1945		
South Cerney	1919	51 40' 16" N, 01 55' 56" W	At Village Crossroads		X						X			X	No	X		No		1939 - 1945		
Southam & Cleeve Hill	1920	51 55' 45" N, 02 02' 27" W	Village cross roads		X						X			X	No	X		No		1939 - 1945		
Stanton	1920	52 00' 23" N, 01 54' 08" W	Crossroads of main roads						X		X			X	No	X		No		No		
Stanton	1920	52 00' 25" N, 01 54' 03" W	Parish Church		X						X			-	-	-	X		No		No	
Stanway	1920	51 59' 16" N 01 54' 46" W	Hwy Corner outside Village Prominent				X			X				X	No	N/C	X		No		No	Memorial to Manor House and two villages
Staunton & Corse		51 57' 41" N, 02 19' 08" W	Outside Church Yard		X					X				X	No	N/C	X		N/C	1939 - 1945		Inscription Fading
Staverton		51 54' 37" N, 02 09' 38" W	In Parish Church						X		X			X	No	X		No		1939 - 1945		Women noted for WW2
Stichcombe	1920	51 41' 17" N, 02 23' 34" W	Forms Roundabout		X					X				X	No	X		No		1939 - 1945		Inscription Fading
Stone & Woodford	1921	51 39' 24" N, 02 27' 26" W	Inside Parish Church						X		X			X	No	N/C	X		No	1939 - 1945		
Stonehouse	1924	51 44' 54" N, 02 17' 03" W	Village Green		X						X			X	No		X		No	1939 - 1945		Cleaned in 2009
Stow-on-the- Wold	1921	51 55' 47" N, 01 43' 25" W	In Parish Church						X		X			X	No		X		No	1939 - 1945		Addl plaques
Stratton		51 44' 03" N, 01 59' 06" W	Corner of Village Park		X						X			X	No		X		N/C	1939 - 1945		Needs cleaning
Stroud		51 44' 52" N, 02 12' 52" W	Peace Memorial Town park	X						X				-	-	-	X		No	1939 – 1945 & N. Ireland 1945 - 1983		Notes other campaigns to 1983
Stroud	1922	51 53' 35" N, 02 12' 31" W	Memorial Wing of Hospital							X				-	-	-	X		No			Inscription needs Cleaning
Swindon Village	1920	51 55' 22" N, 02 05' 47" W	St Lawrence Parish Church						X		X			X	No		X		No	1939 - 1945		
T																						
Taynton		51 53' 50" N, 02 23' 00" W	Parish Churchyard		X						X*			X		No	X		No	1939 - 1945		*New Plaque changed date to 1918 from 1919
Teddington		51 59' 42" N, 02 03' 12" W	In Parish Church						X		X			X	No	X		N/C		1939 -1945		
Temple Guiting	1920	51 56' 55" N 01 52' 07" W	St Mary's Parish Church						X		X			X	No		X		No			
Tetbury	1921	51 38' 16" N, 02' 09' 46" W	In Churchyard		X						X			X	No		X		No	1939 - 1945		
Tewkesbury	1921	51 59' 32" N, 02 09' 26" W	Central Roundabout		X						X			X	No		X		No	1939 – 1945, N. Ireland		Original inscrip. fading
Tewkesbury		51 59' 32" N, 02 09' 26" W	In Tewkesbury Abbey						X		X			X	No		X		No	1939 – 1945, N. Ireland		Original inscrip. fading
Thornbury	1919	51 36'46" N, 02 31' 47" W	In Churchyard		X						X			X	No		X		No	1939 - 1945		
Thornbury	1920	51 36'46" N, 02 31' 47" W	Parish Church						X		X			X	No		X		No	1939 - 1945		Brass Plaque in entrance & wooden plaques in church
Tibberton		51 53' 40" N, 02 21' 13" W	In Parish Church						X		X			X	No		X		No	1939 – 1945 on addtl plaq.		Addtl Indiv. Plaque
Tirley	1921	51 57' 18" N, 02 14' 02" W	In Parish Churchyard		X						X			X	No		X		N/C	1939 - 1945		
Toddington	1919	51 59' 25" N, 01 55' 54" W	Side of Hwy Roundabout Prominent	X							X			-	-	-	X		No	No		Unique Inscription, No Names
Tormarton		51 30'28" N, 02 20'04" W	In Church Yard		X						X			X	No		X		No	1939 - 1945		
Tortworth	1921	51 35' 33" N, 02 28' 47" W	Inside Parish Church						X		X			X	No		X		No	No		
Tredington		51 57' 48" N, 02 08' 22" W	Inside Parish Church						X		X			X	No		X		N/C	1939 - 1945		
Turkdean	1921	51 51' 18" N, 01 50' 44" W	In Parish Church						X		X			X	No		X		N/C			Plaque for individual only
Twiginworth		51 51' 37" N, 02 13' 51" W	In St Matthews Parish Churchyard		X						X			X	No		X		No	1939 - 1945		
Tytherington	1921	51 35' 33" N, 02 28' 47" W	Corner of Parish Churchyard		X						X			X	No*		X		N/C	1939 - 1945		Women's Name WW2 only 2 died 1924 & 1925
U																						
Uckington, Elkstone, Hardwicke	1923	51 55' 59" N, 02 07' 02" W 51 55' 19" N, 02 07' 18" W	St Mary Magdalene Church. Originally on the Tewkesbury road at Uckington						X		X			X	No		X		Yes	No		Original cover is still in Place
Uley & Owelpan	1921	51 41' 06" N, 02 18' 12" W	Parish Churchyard Uley		X						X			-	-	No	X		N/C	No		Insc. Men of this parish No Names
Upleadon		51 56' 27" N, 02 21' 44" W	At village crossroads		X						X			X	No		X		N/C	No		
Upper Lydbrook		51 50' 18" N, 02 34' 42" W	Memorial Hall						X		X			X	No		X		No	1939 - 1945		

Location	Date	Memorials Location	Visibility/Accessibility	Style of Memorial							Great. War Years Inscribed			How Names are Listed			Upkeep (and are inscriptions able to be read)			Modifications		Comments /Oddities
				C e n o t a p h	C r o s s	G a t e	S c u l p t u r e	O b e l i s k	P l a q u e o r T a b l e t	O t h e r	1914-1918	1914-1919	Other (note dates)	Cas. Only	Cas & Ret	Women noted	P o o r o r F a i r	G o o d	V e r y G o o d	Moved	Added War Rolls of Honour	
Upper Slaughter		51 49'21" N, 02 13'13" W	Memorial Hall							X										No	1939 - 1945	THANKFUL VILLAGE
Upton Saint Leonards		51 49' 58" N, 02 12' 01" W	On grounds outside Parish Church gate		X							X		No		X			No	1939 - 1945	WW1 Casualties listed by year of death	
V																						
W																						
Warmley		51 27'38"N, 02 28'42"W	Village Park		X						X		No		X			No	1939 - 1945			
Welford-on- Avon		52 09' 51" N, 01 46' 56" W	Main street - Memorial Hall						X		X		No		X			No	1939 - 1945			
Westbury-on-Severn		51 49'26" N, 02 24'40" W	Outside parish Church wall		X						X		No		X			No	No			
West Littleton		51 28' 40" N, 02 20' 46" W	In Parish Church					X			-	-	None		X	No	X	No	No	Plaque difficult to read		
Weston-Sub-Edge		52 03' 50" N, 01 48' 50" W	Church Lych gate			X					X		N/C		X			No	1939 - 1945			
Whitminster		51 46' 14" N, 02 19' 29" W	Village Green (now part of a housing estate)		X						X		N/C		X			N/C	1939 – 1945, 1950- 1953	Two additional inscription plaques		
Whittington		51 53' 19" N, 02 05' 13" W	In Village Churchyard		X					N/A			No		X			No	1939 - 1945	Possible Gt. War plaque in the church		
Wickwar	1921	51 35' 53" N, 02 24' 02" W	In Parish Churchyard		X					X			-	-	-	X		No	1939 - 1945	Inscription Fading		
Winchcombe	1920	51 57' 09" N, 01 57' 57" W	Town Square Prominent		X					X			N/C				X	No	1939 – 1945, Kenya, Northern Ireland, H.M.S. Affary			
Windrush	1920	51 48' 57" N, 01 43' 16" W	On Wall surrounding Parish Church						X		X		No		X			No	1939-1945	Only one WW2 name noted + a separate plaque to a pilot		
Winstone		51 46' 58" N, 02 03' 04" W	In Parish Church						X			X	No		X			No	No			
Winterbourne & Frenchway	1922	51 30' 41" N, 02 30' 45" W	On Whitehall Common		X					X			No		X			No	1939 - 1945			
Witcombe & Brockworth		51 50' 50" N, 02 09' 24" W	In village 1 street back from high street					X			X		N/C		X			N/C	1939-1945			
Witcombe & Brockworth Parish Church		51 50' 03" N, 02 09' 33" W	At Parish Church	X						X		No Names	-	-	X			N/C	1939 – 1945 dates only	No Names Inscribed		
Withington		51 50' 19" N, 01 57' 22" W	In Parish Church					X		X		No		X				No		Church also contains Roll of service		
Woodchester	1917	51 42' 29" N, 02 13' 43" W	In Parish Churchyard		X					X		No	X					No		Inscription Fading		
Woodchester	1920	51 43' 09" N, 02 13' 54" W	Roadside on back road		X						X		No	X				No	1939 - 1945	Inscription Fading		
Wooten-Under-Edge	1920	51 38' 19" N, 02 20' 59" W	Town roundabout						X		X		No	X				No	1939 - 1945			
Wyck Rissington		51 53' 30" N, 01 43' 16" W	Located in Parish Church					X		X		No		X				No	1939 – 1945 added	2 Separate plaques for a VC recipient & Medic		
X-Y-Z																						
Yanworth		51 49' 24" N, 01 53' 10" W	Located in Paris Church					X		X		No*			X			No	Separate plaque for 1939-1945	Dates listed for the dead. No women listed for WW1 *WW2 Plaque lists 2 Women and all who served		
Yate	1921	51 32' 35" N 02 24' 49" W	Church Lych Gate			X				X		No		X				No	1939 - 1945			

Key to Terms

N/A – Not Applicable

N/C – Not Clear

Gloucester Cathedral.

RULES FOR MEMORIALS IN THE CATHEDRAL OR PRECINCTS.

- 1.—Memorials to individuals or groups of individuals will only be considered in the case of those who have rendered exceptional services to the Nation, City or County, and the decision as to whether such services are of a nature to justify the application shall rest with the Dean and Chapter.
- 2.—Applications for Memorial Tablets or any Memorials in the form of windows or otherwise in the Cathedral or Memorials in the Cathedral precincts shall be sent to the Chapter Clerk for submission to the Dean and Chapter, together with a short description of the form the memorial is proposed to take and the name of the designer.
- 3.—Should the application be favourably considered by the Dean and Chapter, the applicants will be notified as to possible positions for the proposed memorial and the approximate limits as regards size.
- 4.—Before definite sanction for the erection of a memorial is given, a detailed design or designs for the proposed memorial shall be submitted for the approval of the Dean and Chapter and their Architect, and any modification or alteration in the type or size thereof deemed desirable by them shall be incorporated in the design to be carried out, or should the design be deemed unsuitable an entirely new design shall be submitted.
- 5.—Before the design is finally approved a full sized model in any suitable material, if required, shall be set up for approval, and any further modification that is deemed desirable shall be made in the model and and if approved incorporated in the final design.
- 6.—All arrangements for erection of a memorial, particulars and samples of materials to be used and the methods of execution of the work, shall be subject to the approval of the Cathedral Architect acting for the Dean and Chapter.
- 7.—By Act of Chapter passed in 1829 a minimum fee of £10 is payable to the Dean and Chapter, the amount varying according to the space occupied by the memorial.

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REGULATIONS
OF
THE ROYAL INSTITUTE OF BRITISH ARCHITECTS
FOR
ARCHITECTURAL COMPETITIONS.*

It is assumed that the object of the Promoters is to obtain the best design for the purpose in view. This object may best be secured by conducting all Competitions upon the lines laid down in the following Regulations, which have been framed with a view to securing the best results to the Promoters with scrupulous fairness to the competitors.

Members of the Royal Institute of British Architects and Allied Societies do not compete excepting under conditions based on these Regulations.

The Conditions of a Competition shall contain the following Regulations (A) to (F) as essential :—

- (A) There shall be appointed for every Competition one or more fully qualified professional Assessors, to whom the whole of the designs shall be submitted.
- (B) No Promoter of a Competition, and no Assessor engaged upon it, nor any employee of either, shall compete OR ASSIST A COMPETITOR, or act as Architect, or joint Architect, for the proposed work.
- (C) Each design shall be accompanied by a declaration, signed by the competitor, or joint competitors, stating that the design is his or their own personal work, and that the drawings have been prepared under his or their own supervision. A successful competitor must be prepared to satisfy the Assessor that he is the *bona fide* author of the design he has submitted.
- (D) The premiums shall be paid in accordance with the Assessor's award, and the author of the design placed first by the Assessor shall be employed to carry out the work, unless the Assessor shall be satisfied that there is some valid objection to such employment, in which case the author of the design placed next in order of merit shall be employed, subject to a similar condition. The award of the Assessor shall not be set aside for any other reason.
- (E) If no instructions are given to the author of the design selected by the Assessor to proceed within twelve months from the date of the award, then he shall receive payment for his services in connection with the preparation of the Competition drawings of a sum equal to $1\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. on the amount of the estimated cost. If the work is subsequently proceeded with, the $1\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. previously paid to him shall form part of his ultimate commission.

* The Regulations are not intended to apply to small limited private competitions.

Appendix 4. Regulations of the Royal Institute of British Architects for Architectural Competitions

Appendix 4. Regulations of the Royal Institute of British Architects for Architectural Competitions (cont'd)

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(F) The selected Architect shall be paid in accordance with the Schedule of Charges sanctioned and published by the Royal Institute of British Architects.

1.—The Promoters of an intended Competition should, as THEIR FIRST STEP, appoint one or more professional Assessors, architects of established reputation, whose appointment should be published in the original advertisements and instructions. The selection of an Assessor should be made with the greatest possible care, as the successful result of the Competition will depend very largely upon his experience and ability. The President of the Royal Institute of British Architects is always prepared to act as honorary adviser to Promoters in their appointment of Assessors.

2.—The duties of an Assessor are as follows :—

- (a) To confer with and advise the Promoters on their requirements and on the questions of cost and premiums to be offered.
- (b) To draw up instructions for the guidance of competitors and for the conduct of the Competition, incorporating the whole of the clauses of these Regulations which are applicable to the particular Competition.

Note.—It is essential in drawing up the Instructions to state definitely which of the conditions must be strictly adhered to, under penalty of disqualification from the Competition, and which of them are optional.

- (c) To answer queries raised by competitors within a limited time during the preparation of the designs, such answers to be sent to all competitors.
- (d) To examine all the designs submitted by competitors and to determine whether they conform to the Conditions and to exclude any which do not.
- (e) To report to the Promoters on the designs not so excluded and to award the premiums in strict adherence to the Conditions.

3.—Competitions may be conducted in one of the following ways :—

- (a) By advertisement, inviting architects willing to compete for the intended work to send in designs. FOR COMPETITIONS FOR PUBLIC WORKS OF GREAT ARCHITECTURAL IMPORTANCE THIS METHOD IS RECOMMENDED.
- (b) By advertisement, inviting architects willing to compete for the intended work to send in their names by a given day, with such other information as they may think likely to advance their claims to be admitted to the Competition. From these names the Promoters, with the advice of the Assessor, shall select a limited number to compete, and each competitor thus selected shall receive a specified sum for the preparation of his design.
- (c) By personal invitation to a limited number of selected architects to join in a competition for the intended work. Each competitor shall receive a specified sum for the preparation of his design.

Note.—Where a deposit is required for supplying the Instructions it shall be returned on the receipt of a *bona fide* design, or if the applicant declines to compete and returns the said Instructions within a month after the receipt of replies to competitors' questions.

4.—The number, scale, and method of finishing of the required drawings shall be distinctly set forth. The drawings shall not be more in number or to a larger scale than necessary clearly to explain the design, and such drawings shall be uniform in size, number, mode

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of colouring, and mounting. As a general rule a scale of 16 feet to 1 inch will be found sufficient for plans, sections, and elevations, or in the case of very large buildings a smaller scale might suffice.

Unless the Assessor advises that perspective drawings are desirable, they shall not be admitted.

5.—No design shall bear any motto or distinguishing mark; but all designs shall be numbered by the Promoters in order of receipt.

6.—A design shall be excluded from a Competition—

- (a) If sent in after the period named (accidents in transit excepted);
- (b) If it does not give substantially the accommodation asked for;
- (c) If it exceeds the limits of site as shown on the plan issued by the Promoters, the figured dimensions on which shall be adhered to;
- (d) If the Assessor shall determine that its probable cost will exceed by 10 per cent. the outlay stated in the Instructions, or the estimate of the competitor should no outlay be stated. If the Assessor be of opinion that the outlay stated in the Instructions is inadequate, he shall not be bound in the selection of a design by the amount named in such Instructions, but the question of cost shall nevertheless be a material element in the consideration of the award;
- (e) If any of the Conditions or Instructions other than those of a suggestive character are violated;
- (f) If a competitor shall disclose his identity or attempt to influence the decision.

7.—All designs and reports submitted in a Competition for a public building, except any excluded under Clause 6, shall be publicly exhibited after the award has been made, which award shall be published at the time of exhibition; and all designs and reports submitted in a competition for a private building shall be similarly exhibited to the competitors.

8.—All drawings submitted in a Competition, except those of the design selected to be carried out, shall be returned to the competitors.

The usual R.I.B.A. Scale of Charges for Assessing Competitions, whether by jury or otherwise, is the sum of Thirty Guineas, plus one-fifth per cent. upon the estimated cost of the proposed building.

IAN MACALISTER,
Secretary R.I.B.A.

THE ROYAL INSTITUTE OF BRITISH ARCHITECTS,
9 Conduit Street, Regent Street, London, W.

Re-issue after revision: December, 1910.

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Postcard Photo - 'Cam Peak From Upper Cam', Cam 1910.

Postcard Photo - 'Cenotaph London', *circa* 1919.

Postcard Photo - 'Cenotaph London & Unknown Warrior Procession', 11 November 1920.

Postcard Photo - 'Gloucester Yeomanry War Memorial Gloucester', Ref 593.22.

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