# The Materiality of Remembrance: Twentieth Century War Memorials in Devon

## Volume One of Two

**Samuel Walls**

I certify that all material in this thesis which is not my own work has been identified and that no material has previously been submitted and approved for the award of a degree by this or any other University.

Signed............................................................................... Samuel Walls

# ABSTRACT

The armed conflicts of the twentieth century have arguably been one of the most dramatic social forces to have influenced British society, its memories, identities, and the modern landscape. One of the most evident of the physical traces of the impact found in almost every parish in Britain is the *ubiquitous* war memorial. War memorials are a symbol identifiable to almost all Europeans, and much of the world (Davies 1993). As such the investigation of these commemorative forms can provide useful insights into how death in conflict, warfare, the community and the nation were perceived and materialised. They also provide material traces of how different conflicts and political situations have subsequently shaped their retention, destruction, use, and meaning over the course of the twentieth century. It is apparent that war memorials acted as a distinctive commemorative element, which is largely still visible today, that were constructed to help people and communities come to terms with both individual and collective losses through warfare during the 20th century. The losses commemorated by these war memorials and styles have since the 1990s not only been used to remember deaths in conflict, but other to commemorate other emotional losses and events (such as the death of Princess Diana and the abduction of Madeline McCann).

The thesis analyses the twentieth century war memorials from two study areas in Devon (the South Hams and East Devon), areas which were previously much neglected in terms of their military heritage and post-medieval archaeology. The two study areas also provide a range of settlement sizes and types, as well as in terms of the dominance of the Church of England and in the size of the non-conformist communities in these areas. Both areas also had some atypical war experiences during the World Wars in particular, with various military bases and training facilities existing for varying lengths and dramatically shaping the commemorative landscapes of the regions. The commemorative patterns which emerge from the two study areas are also set against the wider regional and national patterns of remembrance in order to provide detailed discussion on the changing nature of conflict commemoration during the twentieth century. The analysis of materiality of twentieth century war memorials evidences not only the biographies of the memorials, but also their roles in memory and identity formation, articulation, and manipulation.

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# 1.0   INTRODUCTION

*Archaeologists typically engage new periods by first examining evidence for warfare and conflict .... Perhaps this is because there is something captivating and compelling about warfare, and why people fight. Perhaps it is because for some periods the material culture of war and conflict is the most obvious; the most monumental.* Schofield (2005: 13).

Whatever else we may think, conflict and in particular armed conflict, has played a central role in the history of the twentieth century. The armed conflicts of the twentieth century dramatically shaped the landscape, individuals, and society. These conflicts left innumerable physical and mental scars upon both people and place. The scars armed conflict in the twentieth century left upon British society were often materialised through acts of commemoration and remembrance, most prolifically by the erection of war memorials. It is this materiality of remembrance (i.e. war memorials) which lies at the heart of this thesis. The desire to commemorate conflicts was not a phenomenon unique to the twentieth century, as the remembrance of the fallen had provided *peace of mind* in the present and *prospective memories* for future generations (Holtorf 2001) for thousands of years (see Quinlan 2005). It is however the ubiquity of the use of war memorials in the twentieth century which mean that they have become one of the most enduring and recognisable symbols of the period (Davies 1993).

The previous archaeological investigation of war memorials has tackled issues such as their functions as expressions of identity (e.g. Rowlands 1993; Parker Pearson 1982), emotion (Tarlow 1997; 1999a; Trigg 2007), and of being multi-vocal expressions, often acting as sources of conflict in themselves (e.g. Walls and Williams 2010; Rainbird 2003). This thesis however sets out to construct a detailed methodical approach to analysing twentieth century war memorials, which includes not only the large scale *monumental* memorials, but also of the smaller personal scales of commemoration. It will also address some of the assumptions and imbalances in studying the processes of conflict commemoration in the twentieth century (such as the First World War bias). The author believes that a study which included all publically located war memorial types of the twentieth century was required, and that by doing so, a much clearer picture as to how communities and individuals reacted and coped with death in conflict would be created. By focusing upon developing a suitable methodological approach to analysing this group of monuments, it is hoped to further the understanding not only of war memorials, their biographies, materialities, landscape settings, and the memories and identities which they embody, but also to provide clear directions for future archaeological research on other monument types.

## 1.1 Aim

The aim of this study is therefore to apply archaeological techniques of investigation and recording to all twentieth century war memorials within two large study areas. The data collected will then be used to compare and contrast these two regions against each other and the wider regional and national patterns of commemoration over the twentieth century. By analysing the development of conflict remembrance across the two study regions, and against the wider commemorative patterns of conflict in Britain, an enhanced appreciation of how war memorials functioned in the landscape and society will be achieved.

## 1.2 Objectives

In order to accomplish the above aim there are six main objectives:

1. The advancement of a methodology suited to the investigation of twentieth century war memorials from an archaeological perspective. This methodology should be applicable to all categories of war memorial, resulting in the standardised recording and investigation of the monuments within this study, and will enable detailed comparisons to be made between memorials.

2. To readjust the biases which currently exist in the investigation of twentieth century war memorials by the inclusion of an analysis of all publically located commemorative forms within the study areas.

3. To provide the first detailed contextual investigation of twentieth century war memorials in Devon, which focuses upon and their social, cultural and private roles and significance in grief, memory and identity.

4. The creation of a comprehensive database of the war memorials recorded which can be interrogated to compare and contrast memorial forms, locations, biographies and inscriptions across the study areas and beyond.

5. To include the detailed analysis of the materiality, landscape, and biography of the recorded war memorials in order to understand the motivations behind each memorial's from and their changing meanings and use within society, particularly in relation to the memories and identities of individuals and communities over the course of the twentieth century.

6. To enhance the appreciation of the nuances of each war memorial's specific context, form, biography and meanings, even given any overarching regional, national or international commemorative patterns and traditions.

**1.3 Research Themes**

The objectives of this study (Chapter 1.2 above) show up a series of themes which this research will supplement. These are discussed separately below.

### 1.3.1 Furthering current war memorial research

This research aims to create a much more detailed and contextual appreciation of twentieth century war memorials, which can then be applied to understanding wider patterns of commemoration and in determining methodologies and directions for future studies. The research will not only greatly add to the work done within the Southwest, which has previously been restricted to the research of the war dead of a specific town or village, and only touched upon the processes of commemoration within this context (for example, Metter and Woodcock 2003; Ryall 1993; Brine 2010; Hill 2009; Armstrong 2004; etc.). By providing a much wider focus in studying the patterns of commemoration over large parts of the region, this thesis will considerably add to the limited literature which currently exists. Also the study will supplement the quantity of the recorded war memorials for Devon (e.g. O'Kelly 2008; Furlong *et al* 2002), adding to the number and detail of those listed by the United Kingdom's National Inventory of War Memorials (UKNIWM hereafter). The clearer understanding which this research will provide of the local processes of commemoration in the twentieth century will complement the existing research on other regional (Grieves 2000; Trigg 2007; Gaffney 1998), national (Quinlan 2005; King 1998; Rowlands 2001; Gregory 1994) and international levels (Rainbird 2003; Sherman 1998; Winter 1995b). It will also remedy some of the huge biases and gaps which currently exist within these studies, such as the lack of appreciation of the small-scale context of each memorial, the preferential treatment of external memorials, and the dominance of First World War narratives.

### 1.3.2 Memory and commemoration

The research will also add to the existing vast literature on memory studies (Halbwachs 1992; Fentress and Wickham 1992; Samuel 1999; Connerton 1989; Middleton and Edwards 1990). Within this broad category of *memory studies*, there are also a series of other sub-sections which will be more specifically discussed within this thesis most notably of *commemoration* (e.g. Tarlow 1999a; Bodnar 1992; Schwartz 1982). It will achieve this objective by providing a clear focus upon the materially tangible and intangible memories which war memorials attempted to physically commemorate and preserve. This will include an analysis on how these memorials materialise forgetting as much as remembrance, and how the re-remembrance of these pasts has often resulted in conflicting commemorative narratives. In particular, the evolution of war memorial traditions over the course of the twentieth century will be analysed (from their

eighteenth and nineteenth century origins) in order to ascertain the impact of subsequent conflicts. The effects that the memories, feelings, and identities connected to each conflict had upon the existing and new commemorative practices will be analysed in depth during this study. Most notable will be an analysis of the impact local memories and experiences of these large-scale international conflicts had upon commemoration.

### 1.3.3 The role of identity

Closely connected with the role of memory in these monuments is their significance in the creation, manipulation, and materialisation of identities. There is vast literature relating to the role(s) war memorials, and other public monuments, have played in relation to local and national identities (e.g. Cooke 2000; Basu 1997; 2001; Osborne 2001; 1998; Rainbird 2003; Johnson 1995). The thesis will therefore build upon this existing literature in analysing the function(s) war memorials played in the construction of individual, local and wider identities in Devon. This will be achieved by analysing the contrasts which exist between the use of *local* elements (such as materials and architects), and the national evocations (such as the use of *King and Country* in inscriptions). The identities of the war dead, their families, community, and the nation are therefore all materialised in the forms, locations, inscriptions and biographies of war memorials. These memorials act as material reflections of various identities and scales of identity. Identity can be seen to have operated in parallel to memory, in continually evolving, shifting, and being manipulated (Johnson 1995). In order to appreciate the local context of war memorials, each memorial will be recorded separately and compared with neighbouring examples and to the wider commemorative patterns.

### 1.3.4 Landscape

By focusing upon the contexts in which war memorials are positioned, an understanding of their roles in the landscape and in the creation of *place* will be analysed. For example, where in the landscape were war memorials sited, and what did these locations mean and embody prior to and after the erection of a war memorial? Cultural geographers (and others) have spent considerable time in focusing upon the meanings behind the location of national and urban war memorials (and other monuments) in the twentieth century, particularly the relationships between positioning with power, politics, memory, and identity (e.g. Gough and Morgan 2004; Basu 1997; Withers 1996; Johnson 1994; Schwartz 2008). However, considerably less work has been conducted upon lower levels of commemorative process, particularly within rural communities (with a few notable exceptions such as, Bartlett and Ellis 1999; Grieves 1999; 2000; 2001; Mansfield 1995), or beyond the dominance of the secular versus non-secular discussions (e.g. Webster 2008). By including an understanding of the spatial relationships and locations in which war memorials

are positioned will enable some clarification as to the common patterns which emerge. For example, not only is the affiliation with the church considered in this study, but also the relationships which exist within these spaces, such as the associations to directions of movement, other memorials and boundaries.

### 1.3.5 Materiality

War memorials can be interpreted to represent material expressions of grief, religion, politics, patriotism, nationalism, and power relations (e.g. Parker Pearson 1982; Tarlow 1999a; Rainbird 2003; Winter 1995b). It is therefore not surprising that the forms of war memorials have received considerable attention by archaeologists (e.g. Saunders 2003; Rainbird 2003) and other disciplines (e.g. Black 2004; Grieves 2000). These studies have typically focused upon the mentalities behind a specific choice of form, rather than upon the changes which occurred in the materiality of memorials as being representative of changes in the memories and identities of communities. It is these modifications in the material forms and surroundings which archaeologists are particularly well positioned to appreciate, and will be analysed throughout this study. The ubiquity of war memorials has led to several assumptions about their uniform materiality, symbolism, and meanings within society (e.g. Davies 1993: 116). However, there is however a much greater variety amongst twentieth century war memorials than is commonly assumed (e.g. Trigg 2007; Black 2004). War memorials as symbols of remembrance present a range of memories, identities and evolving meanings through their material forms and the changes which occur to the memorials.

### 1.3.6 Biography

The changing biographies of war memorials are a further aspect of research which this study will use in order to investigate the changing nature of the meanings of these structures. The shifting worth of conflict over time has received some attention (e.g. Black 2004; Walls and Williams 2010; Trigg 2007), but this has usually focused upon the large scale changes in identities and memories. This study will employ a more nuanced approach that analyses the smaller scale shifts in the changing meanings of twentieth century conflicts and memorials. By scrutinizing the changes that occurred to and through each individual memorial within the study areas the existence of common patterns should be easily identifiable, such as which other memorials and structures are allowed to be placed in close association and why? The value placed upon the history and biography of objects and memorials by the communities themselves will also be touched upon in this study, by investigating the use of relics, objects, and spaces which had witnessed events explicitly connected with conflicts, most explicitly seen in the use of soil, transport and other materials used in vastly ritualised burial of the Unknown Soldier at Westminster Abbey (Hanson 2005).

## 1.4 Summary

This thesis therefore focuses upon the archaeological investigation of twentieth century war memorials in two study areas within Devon, and their evolution as a commemorative form over the course of the century. Through these investigations a clearer appreciation of the role conflict commemoration had within the county and British society will be achieved. The detailed recording and analysis of twentieth century war memorials from an archaeological perspective has previously been limited in range and scope, a problem which also evident in cultural geographical and historical approaches. The biases inherent to current techniques of investigating war memorials as a commemorative media will be addressed by this research and through the establishment of a detailed methodology. The thesis will also focus upon emphasising the roles memory, commemoration, identity, biography, materiality and landscape, had within the dataset.

## 2.0   THE STUDY AREAS

This study will research war memorials from two large study areas in Devon in order to ascertain the value of investigating the forms, locations, landscape settings, relationships, inscriptions, and biographies of these memorials, as sources for understanding individual and communal identities, the processes of commemoration, and memory construction. This chapter outlines the boundaries of these two study areas, their historical and social backgrounds, and the previous research into conflict commemoration which has been conducted in the region.

### 2.1 Introduction

The choice of the two study areas was partially governed by the relative lack of previous research which has been conducted in Southwest England, with neither conflict commemoration nor twentieth century remains having received significant attention by archaeologists, or by researchers from other disciplines. There are a few notable exceptions, particularly amongst social historical studies, which have occasionally focused upon the war experiences of the county during the First (e.g. Wasley 2000) and Second World Wars (e.g. Bradbeer 1973; Blacksell 1999; Wasley 1994; Gray 2005). There are also several local history pamphlets and books which deal with many of the county's villages and towns individual war experiences during these conflicts, especially during the Second World War (e.g. Gosling 2005; Doughty 1993), but typically this is as a component to the complete history of these places (for example, Goodman 1998; Berry and Gosling 2003). The majority of these studies also include mention of the local war memorials, and the names listed upon them. They rarely however contain any information about the actual processes of commemoration, or any detail on how the memorial fits in with wider patterns of commemoration, identity formation, and memory work within these communities or the broader region. These references are also usually restricted to the main external war memorial of the village or town, and only rarely include any details about other war memorials (Shaw 1966 is one of the few exceptions).

The dominance of external war memorials is also reflected in those few publications specifically concerned with researching the war memorials and war dead of Devon, such as those for Tavistock (Mettler and Woodcock 2003), Newton Abbott (Armstrong 2004) and Winkleigh (Side 2009). The majority of these studies concentrate upon the biographies and histories of those men listed upon the memorial, rather than upon those names which were missed from the memorials (e.g. Mettler and Woodcock 2003; Oswald 1996; Perrin 2003). Nor do they discuss the biographies of the monuments themselves in any depth, typically only including a descriptive level of detail about the memorial itself

which consists of the date of erection, location, architect, and inscription (for example, Brine 2010; Side 2009; Hill 2009; Roll of Honour 2009). Only one study (O'Kelly 2008) focuses upon the wider commemorative patterns and traditions of Devon in any depth (following the approaches of Grieves 2000; Gaffney 1998; Bartlett and Ellis 1999). However, O'Kelly's work is focused upon a limited number of public First World War memorials from an unspecified geographical area (i.e. *South Devon*), and it treats these largely in isolation from earlier or later commemorative traditions and private memorials.

The majority of the archaeological work on the material remains of twentieth century conflict which has been conducted in the Southwest is related to the region's defences of the Second World War, with substantial recording of the airfields (e.g. Francis 1996; Freeman 1978; Smith 2000), Stop Lines and the coastal defences of Devon (e.g. Foot 2006; Dobinson 1996; The Defence of Britain Project 2002). The training camps (e.g. Francis 2002) and prisoner of war camps have also received some attention (e.g. Hellen 2004; Thomas 2003). There are however still extensive gaps in the recording and research of these sites, particularly into their significance beyond their military roles and considerably less work has been conducted into the impact that these, and other aspects of twentieth century conflict (including war memorials) had upon the Devon landscape and its people (outlined by Webster 2008: Research Aim 64b). For example, little archaeological research or even recording has been conducted in Devon on hospitals, farming, housing, transport, or the role of the church during the conflicts of the twentieth century. The scarcity of research is evident in the lack of detail which the regional research framework report was able to contain in the discussions on these datasets (Bone and Dawson 2008: 249-267).

Most pertinently to this study, the war memorials of the region have also received very little archaeological attention, which is typified by the fact that only eight war memorials are listed (as of 10/4/2008) on the Historic Environment Resource (HER hereafter) of the county. This is in stark contrast with many other county HERs which often include a much more extensive number of listings, and often have their own dedicated war memorial recording projects. For example, Leicestershire's County Council is currently running the *War Memorials Project*, which aims to record all of the known and lost war memorials across the county (Blood 2009). It is therefore perhaps now surprising that the Leicestershire HER currently (as of 24/7/2009) has 50 war memorials listed (Leicestershire County Council 2009). Despite this lack of archaeological investigation in Devon many of the county's war memorials (and across the rest of Britain) have had the benefit of being recorded by the UKNIWM (e.g. Furlong *et al* 2002). The work of UKNIWM does create a stark contrast from the complete lack of investigation many of the other elements of the material remains of conflict have witnessed (e.g. see review by Bone and Dawson 2008). Their exploration of memorials has been an important step forward, enabling researchers

to work from a detailed database, which includes the majority of extant (and some of the missing) war memorials from across Britain (Fig. 2.1). In total, 1447 war memorials of all periods are currently listed in Devon (UKNIWM accessed online 8/11/2009), which has grown (and continues to do so) from the 1275 listed memorials on 8/11/2001 (Furlong *et al* 2002).
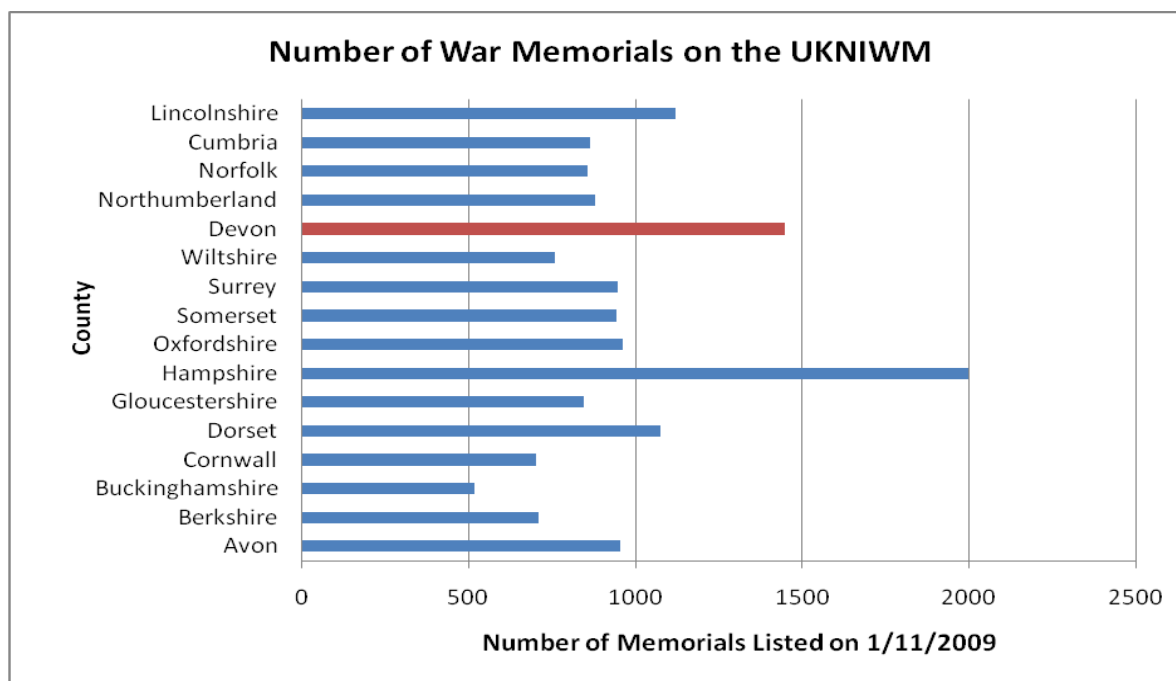


*Figure 2.1 – The number of recorded war memorials on the UKNIWM inventory (accessed online 8/11/2009). Compared to the counties of similar physical size (above Devon), and neighbouring counties (below Devon). Surrey, Hampshire and Gloucestershire were the only counties in this list which had larger populations than Devon in 1911, yet it is only Hampshire which has more recorded memorials. This may be reflective of biases in the number of volunteers and the depth of recording across the country, but it also hints at the importance of conflict commemoration in the county's history and identity.*

The body of the UKNIWM recording has been conducted by volunteers, and there are some major errors and repetition in the records. For example, Noss Mayo's War Memorial Obelisk has two listings, and is mistakenly titled the Noss Mayo Cross (which probably accounts for this mistake) in one of these listings (UKNIWM number's 25647 and 25663). Also, despite the standardised recording form (see Appendix 2), there is still significant divergence in the categorisation of memorial types and the detail of recording. For example the Sheldon War Memorial Cross's description is limited to solely include the memorial's form and the material used (UKNIWM Number 25482), while that for the nearby memorial tablet at Kentisbeare has a much more detailed recording, including the full inscription, names, and a detailed description of its form (UKNIWM Number 25320). The remit of the UKNIWM has not been in studying

specific regional patterns or processes of commemoration (although general trends have been identified (see Furlong *et al* 2002; Knight and Hewitt 2001)), but to produce a national database, accessible online, which will allow for further research to be conducted and will *promote the appreciation, use and preservation of war memorials* (UKNIWM 2009). It is therefore perhaps surprising that Bone and Dawson fail to highlight commemoration in the regional research framework as a category of evidence in need of further detailed regional investigation (Bone and Dawson 2008: 250), especially given the broad overview and national origins of the UKNIWM and the gaps and mistakes which exist.

The lack of archaeological research within the Southwest in relation to war commemoration which is hinted at by Bone and Dawson (2008) is corroborated by this study, and emphasises that a huge gap exists in this field of research (as well as most other aspects of twentieth century archaeology in the region). Despite the identified lack of investigation, the regional research framework does not include commemoration (or many other post-medieval datasets) within the list of major research questions to be addressed (Webster 2008). As Tarlow (1999b) has noted the archaeology and landscape of the recent past has tended to be neglected due to its *perceived familiarity* having resulted in *contempt*, or *at least indifference in the British archaeological community* (*Ibid* 1999b: 263). Therefore the neglect of war memorials as a potential research source can be seen as a result of their abundance, being observed as *saturating the landscape* and therefore undervalued as a resource for further research (Trigg 2007: 312). It also reflects the frameworks heavily weighted bias towards prehistoric research agendas, and other more characteristic arenas of archaeological research. In fact it is likely that as so little work has been done on twentieth century commemoration in Devon, that it has not even been identified as a subject in need of further study. It is evident that twentieth century war memorials as a dataset in the Southwest are an undervalued and neglected resource, with the limited research which has been conducted being almost solely restricted to data collection and the recording of extant examples.

This problem is not, however, unusual in either conflict archaeology or post-medieval archaeology more generally as a discipline, and there is still a clear struggle which exists in moving beyond the creation of gazetteers and typologies towards a more reflective cross-disciplinary approach, which is arguably still developing (e.g. Tarlow and West 1999; Schofield 2005; Klausmeier *et al* 2006). There is still a drastic need for conflict and post-medieval archaeology (particularly in Southwest England) to move away from solely listing and recording historic or archaeological features, and in being used as a methodology with which to supplement the gaps of the historical records. This is not to suggest that the discipline should not continue these detailed recording processes, as extensive gaps do still exist, but to demand however that the social significance of these material objects in the past and present, and how people engaged with the

material remains and voids created by conflict are also investigated. Therefore a more nuanced approach to historical archaeological datasets and their social meanings in memories, histories and identities is required to push conflict archaeology forward and beyond the fringes of historical and archaeological research (especially in Southwest England), and thereby furthering the engagement of the discipline in theoretical and methodological debates in archaeology.

## 2.2 Study Areas

To investigate the possibilities and potential of twentieth century war memorials as an archaeological resource, it is necessary to focus upon a substantial range of memorial types from over a large area, and to assess these memorials against each other and alongside those found elsewhere in Britain (e.g. Trigg 2007; Grieves 2000; Gaffney 1998). To create a detailed evaluation this study focuses upon two main areas in Devon: - the South Hams; and East Devon. These study areas were comprised of a range of different settlement types and sizes varying from upland, lowland and coastal villages, to large market towns and holiday resorts, to parishes of dispersed hamlets and farmsteads (Gilig 1999b; University College of the South West 1947). As such they encompass a substantial range of war memorial types, sizes, biographies, locations and scales of conflict commemoration (see UKNIWM 2009; Brine 2010) and thereby ensure a large, yet manageable database can be constructed within the time constraints of this research. The evidence will be further strengthened by utilising other war memorials and commemorative processes occurring beyond these two zones in order to illustrate differences and emphasise any identifiable patterns. By recording the commemoration of conflict in two tightly defined study areas and linking it with wider patterns should prevent the loss of the nuances in the data which an archaeological approach can provide, while still providing a sufficient sample size which could be lost in attempting to record the evidence from a complete county or region (for example, Gaffney 1998).

The choice of these two areas was directly influenced by the oversimplified assumptions which are typically made for twentieth century war memorials in other studies. In particular the assumed similarities in the commemoration of the Second World War (and as a result, subsequent conflicts) with that of the First World War, which in itself is seen as a dramatic shift from the commemoration of the South African War. The perception of the existing First World War memorials and utilitarian forms being the dominant commemorative forms for the Second World War (e.g. Corke 2005: 17; Furlong *et al* 2002: 13; Tarlow 1999a: 167) relegates the memories and losses of the Second World War to a footnote in twentieth century conflict remembrance. However, this disguises the divergences which have, and still continue to occur in the conflicts remembrance, and the two study areas were chosen to address these biases. This will particularly become apparent as parts of the two study areas include some atypical Second World

War experiences, namely of the evacuation of a large part of the South Hams for military occupation, and the positioning of three large airbases and a major Stop Line in East Devon. The atypical experiences and impacts that these events may have had upon the commemorative traditions and repertoire of communities will be used to argue against these biases.

The South Hams study area (Fig. 2.2) is comprised of 60 parishes, which covered some 187,210 acres and had a population of 51,523 in 1901 (Great Britain Historical GIS Project 2009). The area currently has 185 war memorials recorded on the UKNIWM database (UKNIWM 2009) and has 320 CWGC burials listed within its boundaries (CWGC 2009). For the purposes of this study the boundaries defined geographically, historically, or by the modern district (e.g. Willy 1955: 5), were not rigorously followed, with comparable sized regions and a range of settlement types the determining factors. Therefore the East Devon study region (Fig 2.3) is also comprised of 60 parishes. The East Devon study area covered some 193,934 acres and had a population of 43,653 in 1901 (Great Britain Historical GIS Project 2009; Devon Library and Information Services 2005). The area currently has 134 war memorials recorded on the UKNIWM database (UKNIWM 2009) and 177 CWGC burials (CWGC 2009).
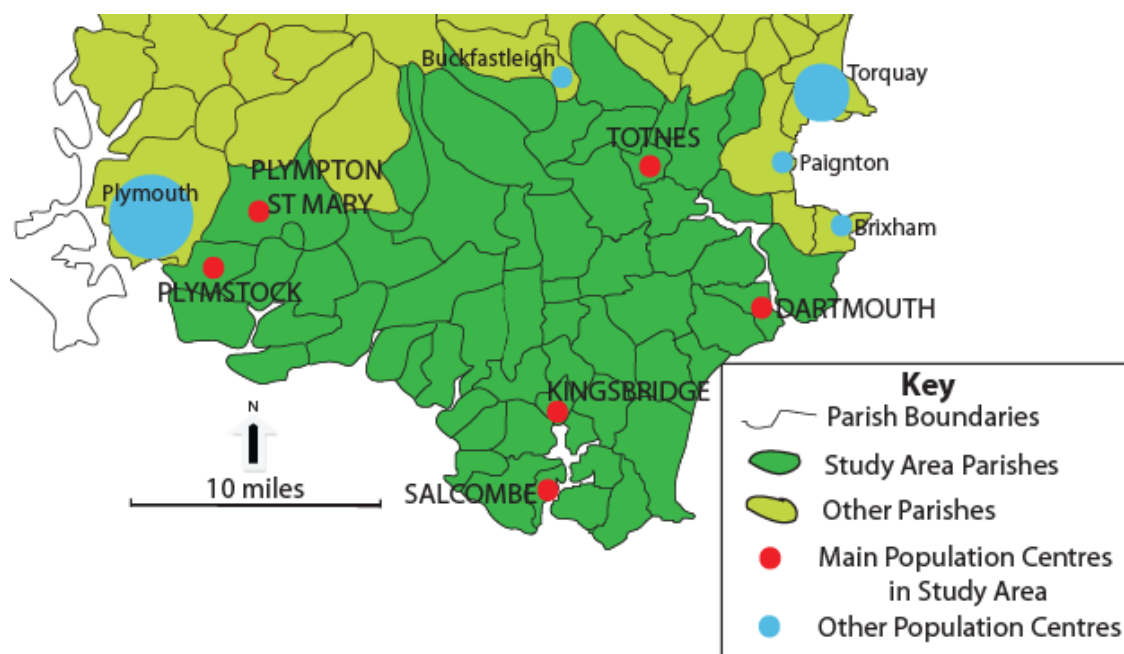


*Figure 2.2 – A map of the South Hams study area, which includes the parishes of Plymstock and Plympton which have since been absorbed as suburbs of Plymouth (in April 1967). The six main population centres of the region in 1901 were (from largest to smallest) Dartmouth, Plympton St. Mary, Plymstock, Totnes, Kingsbridge, and Salcombe.*
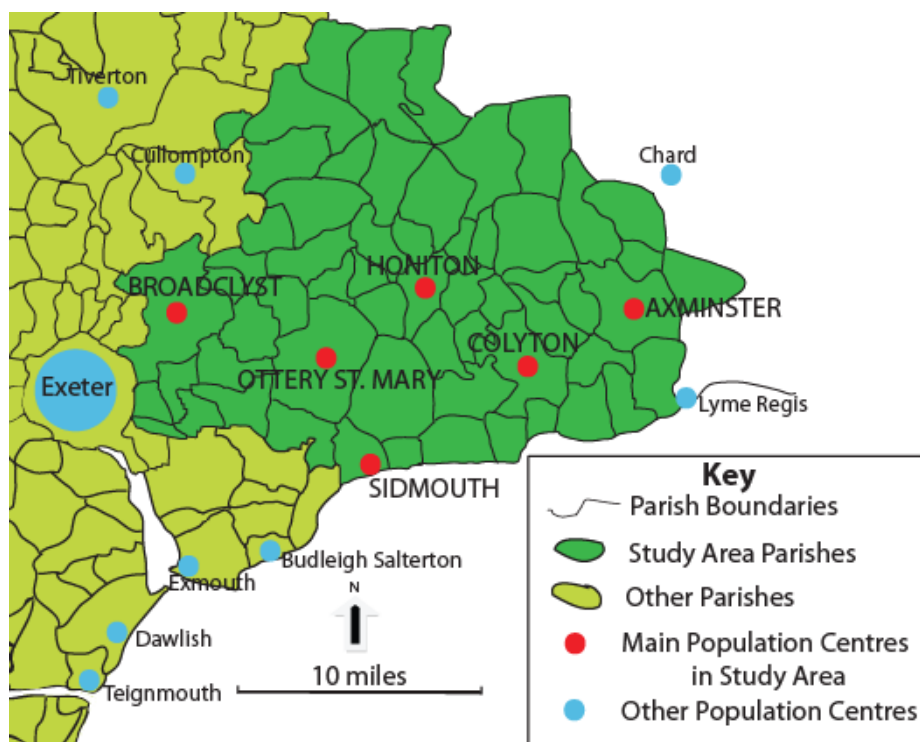
*Figure 2.3 – A map of the East Devon study area which includes the six main population centres of the region in 1901. From largest to smallest these were Sidmouth, Ottery St. Mary, Honiton, Axminster, Colyton and Broad Clyst.*

## 2.3 The Devon Landscape: Rural, Urban and Coastal

Pre-1914 Devon was composed mostly of small villages, which were still dependent for some services upon their nearest (ancient) market towns (after Haydon 1994), many of which had declining or stagnating populations at this time, particularly in North Devon (Hoskins 1968). The newer coastal resorts and towns such as Torquay, Paignton, Dawlish, Teignmouth, Exmouth and Sidmouth had grown rapidly (and continued to do so in the early twentieth century) through an influx of retired residents, and the growth in tourism, which had replaced the majority of the former rural professions in these coastal areas (for example, Hoskins 1968; University College of the South West 1947; Shaw *et al* 1999; Wasley 2000: 8). The county as a whole was largely rural at the turn of the twentieth century, with the limited manufacturing and mining industry which had existed already in decline (Hoskins 1968). This included the closure of the majority of metal mines and a drastic reduction in the quarrying of Dartmoor granite by the outbreak of the First World War (Harris 1994; Wasley 2000: 12). Therefore a higher proportion of the county's workforce was employed on the land than the national averages between 1840 and 1914, but these numbers were gradually declining as agricultural methods slowly changed (Finch 1987: 98). For example, in the 1911 census Devon, recorded approximately 48000 people working on the land,

compared to 58000 in 1871, and 81000 in 1851 (Great Britain Historical GIS Project 2009; Hoskins 1968).

Despite this apparent agricultural dominance and prominence (for example, Fig 2.4; Turner 2007: 27) the majority of the county's population actually resided in towns by the turn of the century, with the percentage of the population living in urban centres rising from 54% in 1841 to 74% by 1901 (Carter 2002: 9). This growth in urban and suburban living continued throughout much of the twentieth century (Gilig 1999b; Brayshaw 2006) with 54% of the county's population in 1931 living in the eight largest settlements of Plymouth, Exeter, Torquay, Paignton, Newton Abbot, Barnstaple, Exmouth and Teignmouth (Wasley 1994: 1). This urban lifestyle is however ignored in many academic discussions of the county, largely because of the surviving dominance of the rural landscape, and probably also because of the romanticism felt towards the rural heritage of the county (for example Hoskins 1968: 167).
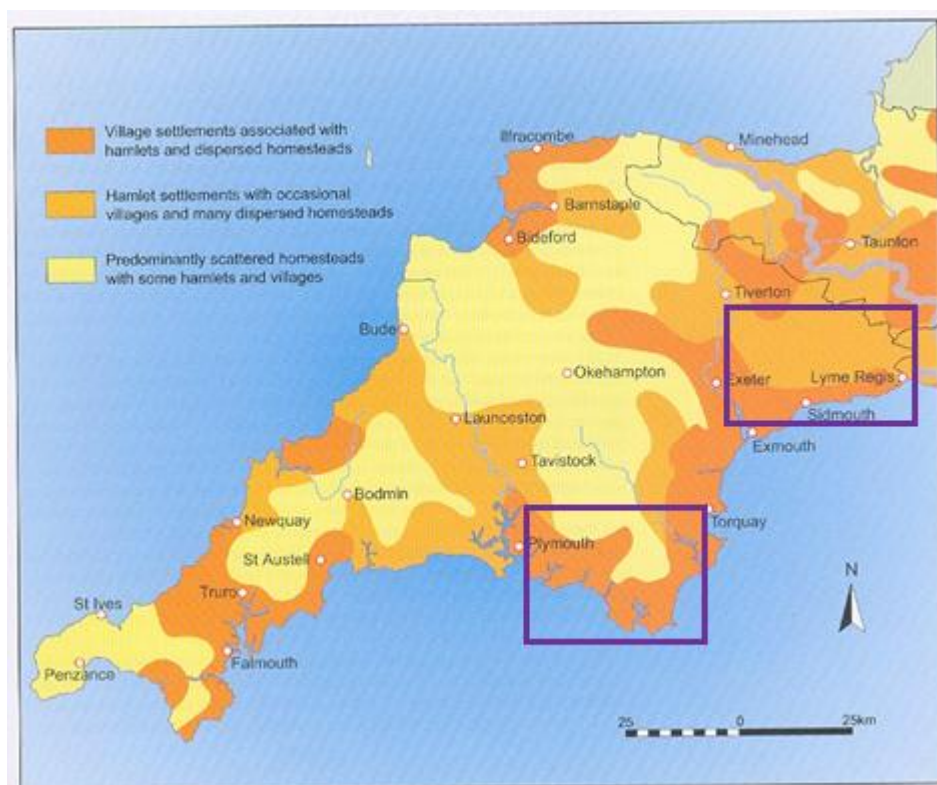


*Figure 2.4 – A map of the main settlement types in the Southwest, with the study areas highlighted by the purple boxes (After: Overton 2006: Fig.1). These settlement patterns have bearing on the social relationships within communities, their closeness and lifestyle, and therefore also upon the commemorative strategies which were adopted in the twentieth century.*

The main population centres therefore exerted considerable and growing influence over their surrounding rural districts in the early twentieth century, with people increasingly residing, working, and visiting the social facilities of the main urban areas in the county. This had been partly enabled and accelerated through the impact of the train in Devon, with those urban centres and villages on the train routes typically having static or growing populations from the late nineteenth century (Appendix 1). Indeed transport had become one the largest employers in the county by 1911, with a total of 23000 Devonians employed in this industry (Hoskins 1968: 160; Gilig 1999a), the majority of whom were employed on the railways, with a growing number (particularly after the First World War) employed by motorbus companies or working with cars, motorbikes and bicycles, and a gradually dwindling percentage with the horse (Gosling 1994: 145; Payne 1988: 102). The main three urban centres of Devon were also those which most dramatically influenced the communities of the two study areas, with Plymouth and Torbay (to the west and east of the South Hams) and Exeter (to the west of East Devon area) being particularly significant to the histories of these regions in the twentieth century (e.g. Gilig 1999b). The influence of these cities and urban regions upon the study areas was not solely confined to the economic. They also had dramatic social impacts throughout the century. For example, these three centres acted as the main hubs of military activity for the region with troops being based, leaving for the front, and returning to these centres, particularly during the South African War and First World War (Wasley 2000; Cornforth 2009; Moseley 2007; Pike 1996). They also became (especially Plymouth and Exeter) symbols of the county's (and to some extent country's) suffering during the Second World War, having been afflicted by heavy bombardments and casualties (Wasley 1994; Gray 2005; Brayshaw *et al* 1999: 534). The influence of urban centres was however unlikely to have been only a one-way process, with the rural settlements and communities (which make up the majority of the study areas) often affecting the landscape of these urban centres both physically and socially.

Alongside the division between the urban and the rural landscapes and lifestyles, the seascape also had a significant impact upon the identities and experiences of Devonians in the twentieth century. The seaside had traditionally played a central role in the unique character and identity of the region, (particularly within the two study regions with their long coastlines) and it continued to do so in the twentieth century. This close relationship with the sea had historic roots with heroic figures such as Jack Rattenbury (smuggler), Sir Walter Raleigh (both in East Devon), Sir Francis Drake, the Pilgrim Fathers (in the South Hams) and numerous others cementing the seafaring tradition with Devonian identities (for example, The Express and Echo 1923). The importance of the sea to the people of Devon is manifested by the fact that about 20,000 people were employed in the navy in 1911, a further 5000 in shipbuilding, 4000 in fishing, and a growing number in providing services to the tourists in the county's seaside resorts (Travis 1993;

Hoskins 1968: 159-160; Stankey 1999). The importance of the sea during the twentieth century therefore continued many communities' traditional roles and experiences. It also meant that the lack of recovery of a body for burial and the death of young people, which are considered to have played such important roles in the war memorial tradition of the twentieth century (e.g. Heffernan 1995), was not a unique or new experience for Devon's coastal communities with losses at sea a regular occurrence.

The experiences, lifestyles, histories, memories and identities which connected Devonian communities closely with the sea and the largely rural landscape, while the majority resided in urban centres, can therefore be anticipated to have played a dramatic role in the planning and erection of war memorials. These three aspects of the landscape (i.e. the rural, urban and coastal) and lifestyles of Devon therefore helped shape the commemorative forms, size, positions, and inscriptions which emerged in the county during the twentieth century.

### 2.4 Demography

Devon had changed from having the fourth largest population in England in 1831 to the thirteenth by 1914. This was largely because of the lack of industrialism and the huge numbers of people who had emigrated from the county to industrial regions elsewhere in Britain, or for better opportunities across the Empire (Fig. 2.5; Hoskins 1968: 158). Many of these emigrants would go on to serve their *homeland* during the First World War and be commemorated (if they still had direct family in the county) upon Devon's war memorials (for example see Mettler and Woodcock 2003). The majority of Devon's villages therefore had falling populations from the 1850s until the middle of the twentieth century, especially amongst those communities in which agriculture had remained the principal occupation. Other parishes had stayed more static (or even grew) if another industry (especially tourism) had filled the gap (Coleman 2006; Hoskins 1964).

The drain of people out of the countryside continued after the First World War as the high prices seen during the war fell with the inevitable growth in foreign competition (Hoskins 1968: 167). This resulted in many of the social situations which had existed at the outbreak of the First World War, namely of rural stagnation and coastal growth, persisting until after the Second World War (see Appendix 1). These processes of falling rural populations will have meant that the impacts of the First World War (and to a slightly lesser extent the Second World War) may have been felt even more strongly in these communities, as not only did the dead not return, but many of those who had served and survived chose not to return to their home villages, seeking employment and a better standard of living outside of the parish, often in nearby urban centres, elsewhere in Britain, or across the Empire. The shrinking and stagnating populations seen in most of Devon's parishes in the first half of the twentieth century may also

have had effects upon the financial capabilities of communities, and resulted in them being unlikely to be able to finance the building of an expensive village hall or other larger war memorial (even if they had wanted to) when their populations were decreasing (e.g. Mettler and Woodcock 2003: 1).

Both of the study areas experienced these typical falling rural populations in the first half of the twentieth century, with parts such as the Black Down Hills in East Devon (for example Luppitt where the population went from 557 in 1891 to 391 by 1951) and the central portion of the South Hams (such as East Allington where the population went from 469 in 1891 to 334 in 1921, before recovering to 420 by 1951) exhibiting sharp decreases in population (see also Appendix 1; Hoskins 1964; Devon Library and Information Services 2005; Great Britain Historical GIS Project 2009). These processes were however generally less dramatic in these regions than in the north and west of the county, largely thanks to the coastal resorts, which often experienced steady growth across this period (Wasley 1994: 4; Gilig 1999b). For example in East Devon, Sidmouth continued to grow from the late nineteenth century as did its surrounding rural district of Sidbury, Salcombe Regis and Newton Poppleford. The same process also occurred at Seaton and Beer. In the South Hams area Salcombe and its surrounding district of Malborough, South Huish, South Milton and Thurlestone also grew rapidly, especially following the opening of the railway at Kingsbridge in 1893 (with the population in Salcombe growing from 1710 in 1901 to 2032 by 1911). These growing villages and towns usually had rail links, which had facilitated a greater access to the coastal regions and partly enabled their dramatic growth, especially when compared with the coastal areas which were harder to access. For example, Ringmore, East Portlemouth, and Kingston in the South Hams, and Branscombe in East Devon, exhibit patterns of falling populations similar to rural parishes inland in the early twentieth century (Appendix 1).

The population of Devon was also increasingly elderly with 10% of the county's population over the age of 65 in 1930, an increase from the 7.7% over 65 in 1911 (Great Britain Historical GIS Project 2009). This was a result of the large-scale outward migration of the younger generations (both before and after the First World War), and because the majority of immigrants were of an older generation or retired. The sole exception to this pattern was Plymouth's Naval and light industrial employment which did attract some younger people, many of whom were from elsewhere in Devon (Coleman 2006: 73). Therefore as a whole the two study regions witness a largely falling and ageing population from the mid-nineteenth century until 1931 (see Gilig 1999b), and even in several instances until after the Second World War, such as Ashprington, Berry Pomeroy, Northleigh and Clyst Hydon (see Appendix 1). Other parishes, most notably the inland towns of East Devon (for example Axminster and Honiton) and those with good transport links in the South Hams (such as Yealmpton, South Brent and Staverton) had largely stagnant

populations from the late nineteenth century until after the Second World War. Any growth in population between 1841 to 1921 was largely restricted to parts of the south coast of both areas, which were bucking the trend of migration and stagnation seen throughout the rest of the county (Fig 2.5; Coleman 2006: 73; Carter 2002). These patterns of population movement will have affected the capabilities of communities to erect war memorials (particularly after the First World War), and are an important consideration in the analysis of the commemorative processes witnessed in Devon.



Figure 1: Migration Rates in Devon, 1841-1910

unweighted average of decennial migration rates for each population district.

less than -5.0 and districts of migration gain

-5.0 to -11.0

-11.0 to -14.5

-14.5 to -17.0

over -17.0
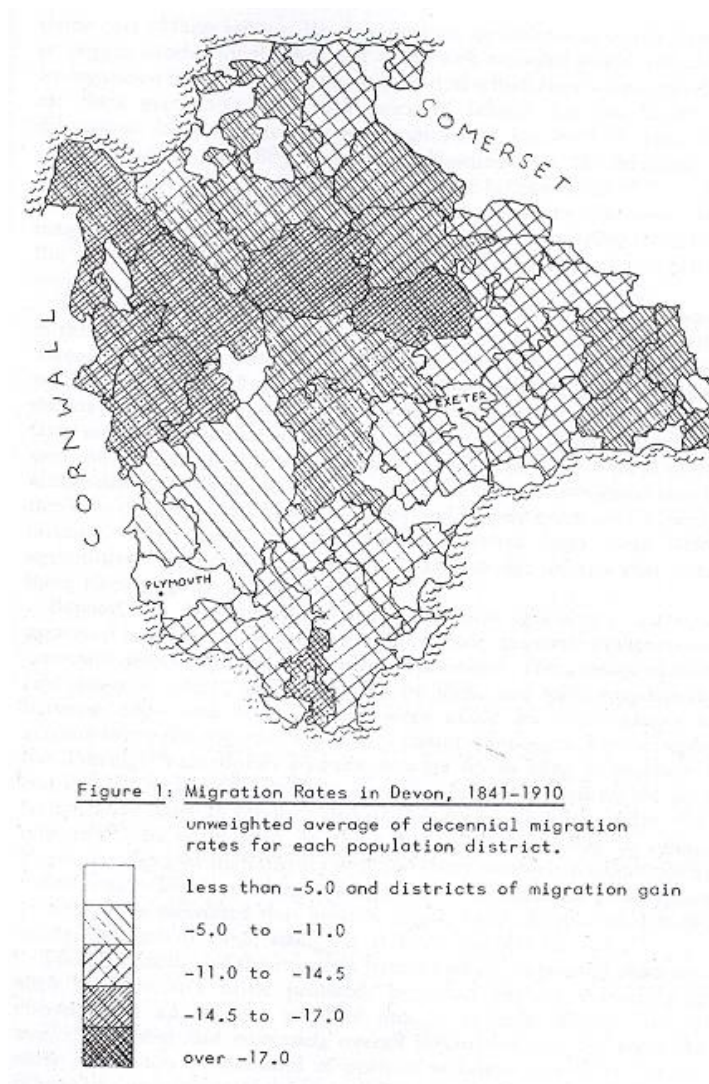
*Figure 2.5 – The Migration Rates in Devon from 1841 to 1910 (Finch 1987: Fig.1). Although creating a generalised picture of the complex processes which were occurring at this time, it presents an overview of the general processes of population movement. Most importantly in relation to this study is that both East and South Devon show similar patterns of decrease, with only some of the coastal parts actually showing low rates of migration and even slight growth.*

## 2.5 The South African War

*The Boer Wars were the first major wars fought after a raft of reforms, which had changed the character and image of the British Army at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.* (Furlong et al 2002: 9)

The South African War (also known as the Second Boer War) was the first major conflict which Britain was involved in the twentieth century (1899-1901). It is typically viewed as *the last of Britain's expansionist imperial wars* (Judd and Surridge 2003: 1). In many ways the conflict set several precedents which were to appear in subsequent conflicts, particularly the First World War, not only in terms of the nature of the conflict, but also in its commemoration (Furlong *et al* 2002: 9-12). The similarities included that both wars had occurred after a lengthy period of deepening crisis, included large numbers of non-professional troops, had proved to be larger undertakings than predicted, provided numerous examples of embarrassing British offences, and proved costlier in lives, resources, and time than the British public (or authorities) had anticipated.

The South African War was far from the glorious end to the century which had been predicted, and it is now seen as a harrowing prequel to the subsequent conflicts of the century (Judd and Surridge 2003: 9-14). The conflict arguably had a greater social resonance and emotive impact upon Devon, than many other counties or regions of Britain. This was partly because of the prominence and heavy casualties of the Devonshire Regiment in the conflict, with 465 dead (258 of whom are listed on the county war memorial), and having received one V.C. (Victoria Cross), Eleven D.S.O.'s (Distinguished Service Orders) and 32 D.C.M.'s (Distinguished Conduct Medals) in the conflict (Biggins 2009; The Times 1903). It was also due to the fact that several of the leading figures and officers in the conflict came from Devon, most notably; General Sir Redvers Buller, *the Reliever of the Siege of Ladysmith* and Lieutenant Colonel Robert George Kekewich, *the Defender of Kimberley* (Fig. 2.6). The mixture of pride and grief which Devon's communities therefore experienced in the South African War is likely to be reflected in the commemorative monuments erected to the conflict.

The growth of the labour movement after the South African War and the growing suffrage movement were beginning to challenge the traditional Victorian views at the turn of the century (Judd and Surridge 2003: 1-21; Tanner 1988: 17). However these changes were barely felt in Devon (Wasley 2000: 13), with a few notable exceptions, such as when suffragettes painted slogans on Smeaton's Tower on Plymouth Hoe prior to a visit by the Lords of the Admiralty on the 3<sup>rd</sup> April 1913 (Hoskins 1964). Politically Devon as one of the *great chapel-going counties* had traditionally been a Liberal county, but on the outbreak of the First World War it had elected mostly Conservative representatives (with only two liberals). This

situation persisted after the first post-war election with the same Liberals (from South Molton and Barnstaple) re-elected whilst the rest returned Conservative candidates (Newton 1968; Hoskins 1964: 189-190).



*Figure 2.6 – Two of the Devonian heroes of the South African War, General Sir Redvers Buller (a), who resided at Downes, Crediton (Photo: Author); and Lieutenant Colonel Robert George Kekewich (b) who lived at Peamore, Exminster (British Battles.com 2007).*

The extent of the non-conformist tradition in the county is revealed by the statistic that about 30% of the churches in Devon and Cornwall were Methodist in 1851, and that a similar amount were other non-conformist chapels (Harvey 2006: 82). A large proportion of these churches were in Cornwall, but there was a strong non-conformist (largely Baptist) element in East Devon, and a large Methodist presence in west Devon (see Harvey 2006). The effect of this strong non-conformist element upon the commemorative strategies of the twentieth century in the Southwest should not be underestimated, as although much of the past focus has been upon the role of the Anglican church as the traditional focus of commemoration and as the controller of national identity until after the First World War (for example, Webster 2008; Grieves 2001), the chapels had an important role to play in either accepting or challenging this dominant narrative, which can be seen reflected in the erection of war memorials in Devon (e.g. O'Kelly 2008).

## 2.6 The First World War

*Undoubtedly the First World War changed the men who took part in it and survived. Before, they led quiet lives. Many of them had been solitary workers in the fields. After the agonies of the trenches, they knew they were returning to a new kind of world – an upheaval in society and the genuine small peasant communities which they had left.* (Martin 2000: 246).

The First World War's impact upon the Devon landscape during the war years was largely one of absence, with the peace and rural nature of the county often viewed to have largely persisted during, and after the conflict (e.g. Bradbeer 1973: 27). The exception to this would be the large numbers of troops who trained in the county, particularly on Dartmoor (e.g. Francis 2002; Blacksell 1999), or who were stationed in the county. However there were only a limited number of military facilities established at this time, most typically hospitals and munitions factories, and only a few of these are within the two study areas (Bone and Dawson 2008; Blacksell 1999; Wasley 2000; Bradbeer 1973: 24). In the South Hams for example, a small Royal Naval Air Service (RNAS) station for around 180 men, covering an area of 50 acres was opened at Prawle in April 1917 with the aim of U-boat hunting off Start Point. The airfield was only in use for a short-time and closed in February 1919, after being the first airfield established in South West Britain for Land Planes (Collings 2008; Wasley 2000: 112).

A base for seaplanes had been set up at Mount Batten, Plymstock in 1916 with four hangers, slipways, accommodation and workshops all established and continuing in use until 1992 (Bone and Dawson 2008; Wasley 2000; Blacksell 1999). There were also a number of coastal defences established, especially around the harbours and ports of the region in case of U-boat attack or invasion, many of which were manned throughout the war (Blacksell 1999). Dartmouth was another central focus of military activity in the South Hams, largely because the Naval College had been built here in 1905 to replace the Royal Naval training ship *Britannia* which had been harboured in Dartmouth since 1863 (Russell 1950: 168). All naval officers trained there and the town through its association therefore mourned large numbers of losses from its classes. East Devon in contrast witnessed the use of Aylesbeare Common and Woodbury Common for the training of soldiers (before, during and after the First World War), however unlike in Dartmouth the presence of these troops was for short durations, and had occurred at a distance from any nucleated settlements within the area (Blacksell 1999).

A direct experience of the conflict which more Devonians encountered was the influx of Belgian refugees, and by the end of the war around 8000 Belgians had been assisted and cared for in Devon (Cornforth 2009; Wasley 2000: 46). Several died while in the county and were buried in local cemeteries,

while other tributes were given by the evacuees to the villages and towns which had accommodated them (e.g. Bradbeer 1973: 25). Dominion troops also built a variety of lasting bonds with many of Devon's communities. Typically these relationships were only fleeting, but many returned to visit after the war, or married local women (see Pike 1996). For example, Exeter had large numbers of troops pass through and staying for various lengths of time in the city, and national flags were presented to the city as tokens of thanks (The Express and Echo 1918a; Cornforth 2009). Devon therefore witnessed the arrivals of large numbers of service personnel, for example on the 14th October 1914 at short notice the Canadian army landed at Plymouth, due to threats of German U-boats leading to a change in the landing site from Southampton to Plymouth, when over 32,000 soldiers disembarked (Moseley 2007; Wasley 2000: 47-49).

In 1914 there was a climate of suspicion in the country, and the Government's Alien Restriction Act which prohibited foreigners to travel more than five miles from their home and required them to report to the local police station (Cornforth 2009). Throughout Devon the small numbers of German nationals present in the county were arrested by the police and transferred to camps, many of which were established at former tourist hotspots, such as Seaton (Gosling 2005). These foreign nationals were typically released or moved elsewhere as the numbers of prisoners of war grew, and by 1917 around 600 German prisoners of war were working on Devon's farms, a greater number than anywhere else in Britain. These German prisoners of war were seen as good workers, and many farmers complained that they were not receiving their share of POW labour (Wasley 2000: 117-126). For example, Sir Charles Cava of Sidbury opened a private camp which employed large numbers of prisoners (Softly 2000). The use of parts of Devon for prisoners of war and other potentially dangerous or undesirable individuals, such as over 1000 conscientious objectors who had been interred in Dartmoor Prison, Princetown (Peace Pledge Union 2008; Dartmoor Prison Museum 2009), evoked the use of forced labour during the Napoleonic Wars in the county. The First World War prisoners were kept in a large number of camps across the county, however little physical trace usually remains of their presence, and they seem to have had little impact upon the commemoration of conflict in the county.

The other war experience which many of those on the home front had was in witnessing the returning injured and wounded. In fact Exeter, Newton Abbot and Torquay were the first Voluntary Aid Detachment (VAD hereafter) hospitals in the country to receive any of the wounded direct from hospital ships (which had docked in Southampton) after the retreat from Mons in late summer 1914 (Moseley 2007; Wasley 2000: 41). The wounded usually arrived in Devon by ambulance train, where a batch would be removed at Exeter before carrying on down the line (Cornforth 2009; Pike 1998). Initially crowds of people gathered at the stations to watch the servicemen arriving, but as it became such an everyday

occurrence the crowds dwindled, although the sympathy towards the wounded persisted (Wasley 2000: 117). As well as these wounded men, many officers came to Devon to convalesce in private homes and hotels, thereby again continuing the traditional role the county had served since during the Napoleonic Wars, as a suitable mild and clean climate in which to convalesce (e.g. Sutton 1953).

The sight of wounded servicemen was therefore common to most Devonians because in addition to the existing military and naval hospitals (Cornforth 2009; Wasley 2000: 41), 34 private houses (such as Oldway Mansion in Paignton (Pike 1998)) and various public buildings (such as Hyde Park school, Plymouth (Moseley 2007) and Torquay Town Hall (Pike 1998)) were converted to VAD hospitals and convalescent homes (see Fig. 2.7). Many of these men recovered and were returned to the front. Others were permanently invalided and returned home or remained in institutions. However, a proportion of them died and were buried in local churchyards and cemeteries, or returned to their hometowns for burial. Their presence, and particularly their deaths, therefore had a lasting impact upon the people and landscape of Devon. For the majority of those on the home front the it was the wounded which acted as the only physical traces of the conflict (there were however plenty of absences) and many war memorials have been positioned in deliberate close association with hospitals or burials. For example, the Honiton War Memorial Cross placed in front of St. Pauls Church has the added significance of being placed opposite the site of the former VAD hospital in the town (Yallop 1989: 10). The majority of VAD hospitals returned to their original uses after the war, although the huge impact of around 27% of servicemen receiving wounds, and the large proportion of these who were permanently disabled (Winter 1985: 72) placed added pressures upon the existing hospitals, and may have exerted direct influence upon many memorial schemes (e.g. Caldwell 1972).
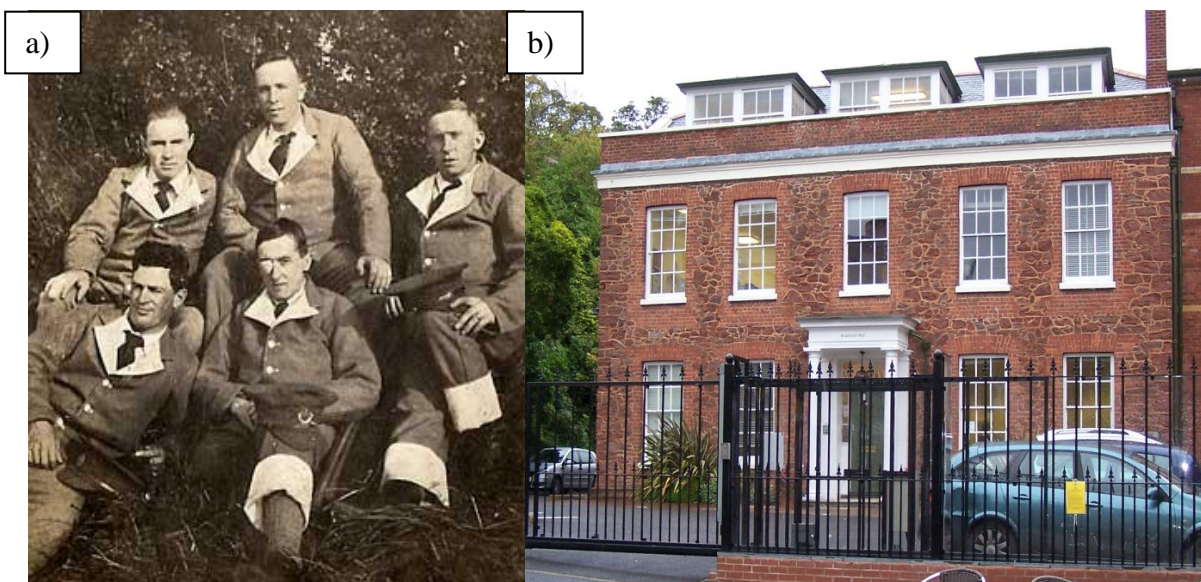
*Figure 2.7 – A group of wounded Canadian soldiers (a) recovering in Exeter in the blue jackets and red ties issued to all wounded servicemen (from Cornforth 2009) and Bradninch House at Exeter Castle which acted as VAD Hospital Number Five in the city during the First World War (Photo: Author).*

The Lord of the Manor still ruled in the majority of Devon's rural communities, and also occasionally in the region's towns at the start of the twentieth century, for example in Sidmouth where Colonel John Edmund Heugh Balfour still exerted great influence into the mid-twentieth century (Laver 1987: 97). Their dominance is reflected by the biggest employment in 1911 being in the domestic service industry (although this is also perhaps a reflection of the burgeoning tourism industry), with 55,000 persons employed in this way, 7000 more than farming (the traditional occupation of the county) (Great Britain Historical GIS Project 2009; Hoskins 1968). However, this is often seen as the last generation of these landed elite, especially with the increased costs of employing staff and many of their heirs killed serving in the First World War (Sutton 1953; Hoskins 1968; Parker 2007). A significant proportion of the sons of the *old estates* led the attacks in France and Flanders and fell there (e.g. Winter 1985: 92-99), leaving a last (largely elderly) generation of Lords of the Manor in many parishes, with the last vestiges being swept away after the Second World War (Martin 2000).

The traditional rural leaders were not only diminishing in number and power, but also found their positions undermined by the increasing influence of the wider world through the improving technology of communication. The experiences of so many of the younger generation in the First World War had further diminished the control of (and respect towards) these traditional rural authorities and as Hoskins stated, *the year 1914 marked the end of an age, the end of the country house, the squire, and the old village life* (ibid 1964: 298). They still however had a major role in the commemoration of the war, as not only had they suffered such extensive bereavement themselves (Winter 1985) but they also used the process to attempt to re-exert their power and influence over their community.

It was not solely the Lords of the Manor which suffered this change in their authority, respect and power, with the Anglican clergy, the other traditional branch of the rural elite, also finding their dominance suffering at this time (Grieves 2000). The Anglican leaders of Devon's parishes had often held their positions for very long durations through the late Victorian period with 30, 40 or 50 years, not uncommon in many instances. This generation were largely coming to an end between the turn of the century and the early 1920s (Hoskins 1964: 300). For example, the Reverend Horace W. Thrupp was Rector of St. Michael's Church, Musbury from 1863 until his death in 1906 (the subsequent vicars were to serve the parish for 14, 12, 10 and 7 years respectively). Anglican churchmen had often been turned to (or determinedly led the way) in all communal activities in the rural parishes and small towns of the county

acting as the *cement binding* these parishes (Hoskins 1964: 301). This included the processes of erecting war memorials to the South African and First World Wars. However, in those parishes which were spiritually led by new ministers at this time it is possible that they may not have been able to exert the same influence or power over the congregation and wider parish as the vestiges of the long serving, Victorian clergy could.

The early twentieth century was therefore a period when the clergy and the Lords of the Manor were gradually losing their controlling powers over parishes and that the voices of dissent could be heard for the first time (for example O'Kelly 2008; Grieves 2000). This process was accelerated by the First World War, and by the experiences of those who had served (Mansfield 1995) which were to sometimes become publically expressed through the commemorative strategies adopted by communities in the aftermath of the First World War (see Grieves 2001). The Anglican Church had lost the dominating authority it once had (Hoskins 1964: 301), and although it had been largely responsible for conditioning the sense of patriotism in those who had volunteered for the South African and First World Wars, this was to be the last generation so extensively shaped and dominated by these traditional leaders (Wasley 2000: 33). This does not however mean that there was a complete break with tradition, and in many parishes, villages, and towns life continued much the same as before the First World War, with the Lord of the Manor still acting as the main employer and alongside the local vicar, led the direction of the commemoration of conflict until after the Second World War (e.g. O'Kelly 2008: 44). Tradition and change in the social hierarchy at this time should therefore be visibly expressed in the forms and methods of public commemoration which were adopted by communities in the study areas, particularly when analysing how these processes changed over time.

## 2.7 The Second World War

*The topic of the Second World War in the South West is enormous as "total war" affected all facets of life.* Bone and Dawson (2008: 260).

The Second World War is often seen as having a greater physical impact upon the British home-front than the First World War, and in many ways this is very true with coastal and inland defences much more extensive (e.g. Foot 2006; Dobinson 1996) and aerial bombardments changing the character of many of the regions cities, towns and villages forever (e.g. Venning 1988; Shaw 1966; Gray 2005). This impact upon the home front can be seen for example at Sidmouth, where there were over 500 air-raid alerts sounded, the occasional bombing, an extensively mined and barbed wired seafront and various other coastal defences. This strongly contrasts to the impact of the First World War on the town which had been largely restricted to the absence of those on active service and the sight of recovering officers (Laver 1987: 97). The threat from invasion and death on home shores was heightened during the Second World War. However many of the activities related to the conflict in Devon were similar to those of the First World War, such as the establishment of hospitals, prisoner of war camps, coastal defences (although more extensive), rationing (although more extensive and long lasting) and the presence of foreign troops and prisoners of war.

One of the main impacts the Second World War had upon the *safe* rural Devon, was the arrival of thousands of evacuees and refugees from London and Bristol (see, Pike 2000; Gray 2005: 134-169; Edmund 1990; Wasley 1994: 23-29; Channon and Channon 1992). The majority of these evacuees were children, although they were sometimes accompanied by their mothers or teachers, and a number of private individuals also chose to move to the county for varying durations during the conflict for the same reasons. Although this resulted in a huge number of children and their families having suffered the traumatic and dramatic experience of evacuation, their social and physical impact upon the Devon landscape was minimal, and was largely restricted to an impact upon their foster families, and the schools of the county, which struggled to cope with the huge influx of students (e.g. Gosling 2005). Their contribution to the commemorative landscape therefore is also likely to be minimal, as although a formative experience, they were too young to impact upon the decision making processes during their stay or in the immediate aftermath of the conflict (for exception see Wasley 1994: 182). However, their commemorative impact has grown in recent years as they materialise their experiences within their temporary rural homes, and there are currently listed eight evacuee memorials in Britain on the UKNIWM database (UKNIWM 8/11/2009).

In contrast the other main group of incomers to the county, namely foreign troops, both allied servicemen and prisoners of war, has had a much longer lasting and dramatic impact upon the county's landscape and its commemorative traditions. Numerous Allied troops were stationed across the county including French, Polish, Czechoslovakian, Canadian, Spanish, and of course British personnel (Wasley 1994; Gosling 2005). For example, in Uffculme, the Baptist Sunday School was occupied by the British military during the war, while nearby Grantlands was used as a convalescence site for British troops, and later, along with Bradfield House, as a military base for the U.S. 17th Field Artillery Observations Battalion, with huge numbers of Nissen huts set up in their grounds (Payne 1988: 81).

It was the American presence in Devon was arguably the most notable for the county's communities, not only because they were stationed in the area in such large numbers, and spoke English, but also because so many left the region for war in Europe and were killed (Bradbeer 1973; Small 1989; Lewis 1990; Blacksell 1999; Bone and Dawson 2008: 260). The presence of these American troops has had a dramatic impact upon the landscape of Devon, particularly within the study areas which include centres that were used for the congregation of troops (Operation Overlord camps) before the invasion of Normandy (Foot 2006: 17) and also of other military facilities such as the Axminster American Hospital (Berry and Gosling 2003: 65) and Dunkeswell Airfield (Francis 1996). Most dramatically however was the evacuation of an area of about twenty-five square miles in the South Hams (Fig. 2.8) which was taken over as a battle-practice ground in preparation for the invasions of France. Six parishes were completely emptied of civilian life, livestock and belongings, and for six months American troops practiced there in live-fire training exercises (Bradbeer 1973; Hoyt 1988; Willy 1955: 202; Chard 1980).
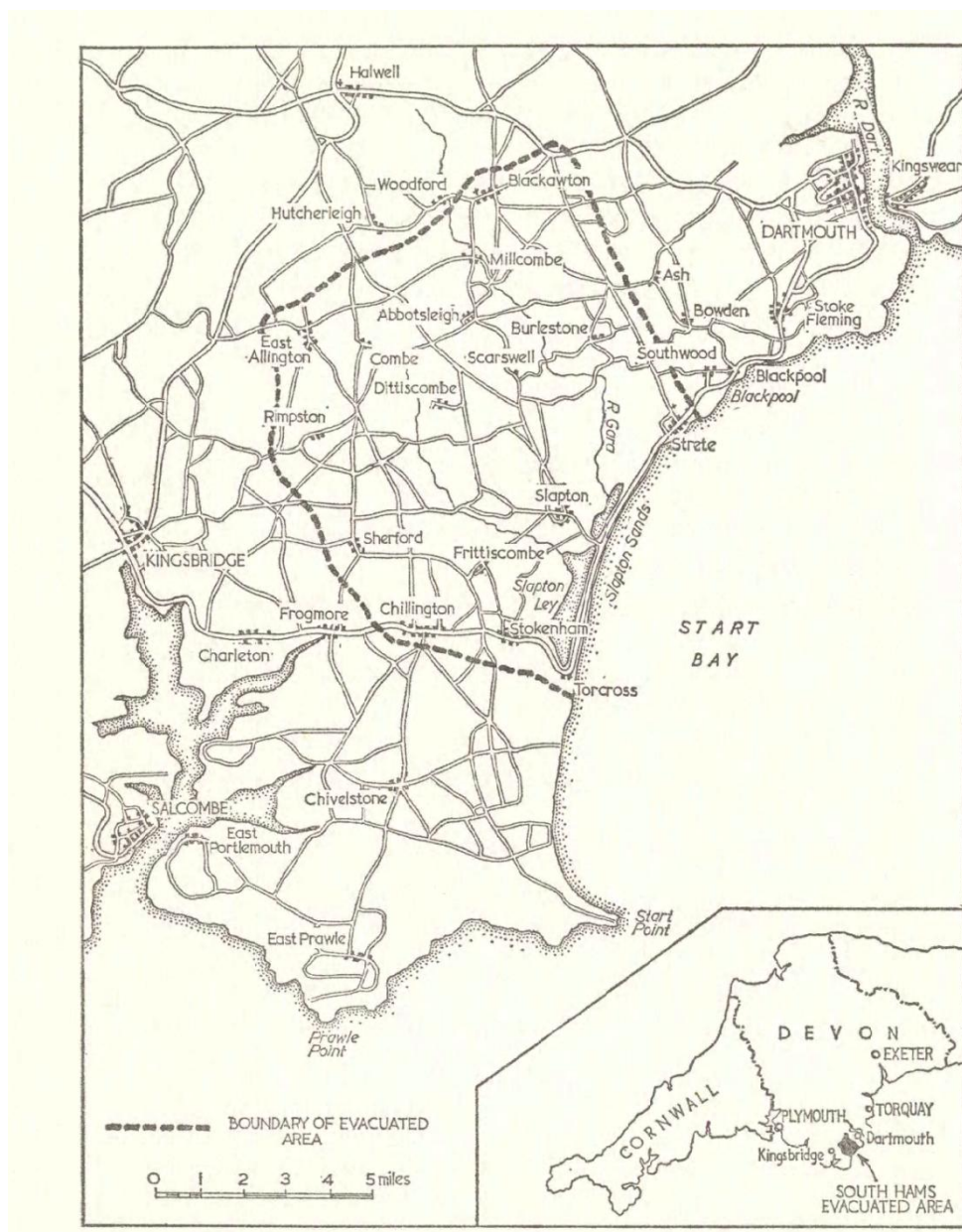
*Figure 2.8 – The evacuated area of the South Hams (From: Bradbeer 1973).*

The other traumatic experience which shaped the memories (and commemoration) of the conflict in the county was the aerial attacks inflicted on the villages, towns and cities of Devon. The impact of these attacks on Exeter (e.g. Venning 1988; Gray 2005) and Plymouth (e.g. Brayshaw *et al* 1999: 534-535; Wasley 1994; Moseley 2009) are typically those which have received the most attention. Many other communities especially within the two study areas were hit by enemy bombs or gunfire. For example in the South Hams Aveton Gifford, Beesands, Kingsbridge, Dartmouth, Modbury, Sherford, Salcombe, Stoke Fleming, Plymstock  and Plympton were amongst the parishes within the study area which were attacked (e.g. Shaw 1966; Brine 2007; Wasley 1994). The East Devon region also suffered a similar

number of air attacks (although a lower number of casualties) with bombs dropped at Axminster, Whimple, Sidmouth, Seaton, Colyton, Honiton, Ottery St Mary, Gittisham and Uffculme (e.g. Laver 1987; Berry and Gosling 2003; Wasley 1994). The impacts of these attacks are still very visible within the landscape, particularly in those villages and towns which were heavily hit, and have a large number of repaired and replaced buildings. The deaths of civilians also created a very different war experience in Devon than seen during other twentieth century conflicts, and their deaths were much harder to frame within the same liturgy of noble sacrifice, as they had not been killed in the line of duty, but in going about their normal day-to-day lives. Their commemoration (or lack of it) therefore provides an important contrast to that of service personnel and was a dilemma largely restricted to the commemoration of the Second World War in Devon.

## 2.8 Later Conflicts

*Since 1945 nearly every international crisis involving Britain has been compared to, or seen through the lens of, the Second World War*. Connelly (2004. 268).

The various international emergencies and small wars (both in length and number of casualties) which have occurred since the Second World War have arguably had less dramatic impacts upon the home front, especially in terms of commemoration, than the World Wars, or even the South African War (Bone and Dawson 2008: 267). This decline in commemoration of armed conflicts can be seen as Connelly (2004: 267-297) has suggested to be a reflection of the decline of Britain as an international power, and of a lack in military experience for the majority of the population. The majority of these later wars also did not have tangible results of impacts for the British public. Although this is not to suggest that the on-going threat of the Cold War did not have vast consequences on the Devon landscape or the mentalities of its occupants, but that it was not a conflict which required commemoration through a host of new war memorials, as the casualties were much harder to define (Schofield 2005).

The continuing military importance of Plymouth and the large number of military bases in the region has meant that conflict has retained a prominent role in the region, with a close affinity often felt towards the armed forces, particularly in those communities near military facilities (e.g. Moseley 2010). For example, Bickleigh (near Plymouth) as the site of a Royal Marines Barracks, and Mount Batten, Hooe (Plymstock) with the continued presence of the RAF at until 1992, had continuing close engagement with the armed forces. Casualties from these later conflicts were not as numerous and therefore their impact was only upon a smaller number of communities, and the need to erect new war memorials rarely existed (Bone and Dawson 2008).

## 2.9 Summary

The amount of research which has been conducted in Devon by archaeologists (or for that matter other disciplines) on the war memorials of the region is minimal. In fact relatively little work has been conducted on any aspects of the impact twentieth century conflicts had (and continue to have) upon the communities within the two study areas. This thesis will adjust this imbalance, as well as offering wider discussions on the processes of conflict commemoration in the twentieth century, and the changing significance and meanings placed upon war memorials over time. The processes of remembering, commemorating, materialising and interpreting international conflicts and their casualties and impacts were key themes for all communities during and after such traumatic and dramatic events throughout the twentieth century.

# 3.0  LITERATURE REVIEW

The archaeological investigation of twentieth century war memorials, although a relatively new area of study has very solid existing foundations (e.g. Rowlands 1993; Rainbird 2003; Saunders 2003; Tarlow 1997; Trigg 2007). These previous investigations have drawn heavily from memory theory (Chapter 3.1), identity theory (Chapter 3.2), landscape studies (Chapter 3.3), object biographies (Chapter 3.4), and other monumental studies (Chapter 3.5). Archaeology is the sole discipline which can apply investigations into all of these themes successfully, and is therefore perfectly placed to facilitate a thorough and complete appreciation of all aspects of war memorials, their histories, social significance, and landscapes. This chapter provides a comprehensive review of the existing literature of these four main themes, as well as of the existing war memorial studies (Chapter 3.6).

## 3.1 A Critical Review of Memory Studies

*The individual calls recollections to mind by relying on the frameworks of social memory. In other words, the various groups that compose society are capable at every moment of reconstructing their past..... the individual would forget if others did not keep the memory alive for him. But, on the other hand, society can live only if there is sufficient unity of outlooks among the individuals and groups comprising it.*

*(*Halbwachs 1992: 182)

These words from Maurice Halbwachs *the father of collective memory studies* (Falasca Zamponi 1998: 420) provide a useful synopsis into the nature of memory and its role within social groups. He argued that memory was socially constructed, but was remembered by individuals within these social groups, and thereby fading with the diminishing size of the group and social changes. In this way memory can be seen to be ever evolving (Young 2002: 15), and it is a cognitive process, remembered in a particular time and space, but is solely the product of human minds and hands (Young 2002: 11). It is always *fluid* (Campbell 2006), being altered to fit the present (for example, Olick 1998b; Crumley 1999: 274), and the perceived future (Holtorf 1998; Holtorf and Williams 2006). However, the persistence of several memories of the same events, monuments, and individuals can exist at the same time, some of which may have not been dramatically changed to fit the present (Schwartz 1990). Memory privileges and excludes as much as it preserves (Sherman 1999: 6; Mizoguchi 1993), it therefore acts to divide as much

as it unites (e.g. Charlesworth 1994; Young 1989), and sometimes becoming a heavy burden (Sherman 1999: 29). Attempts to remove, change, or distort memories are even more prevalent in these divisive or emotional contexts. The past cannot always however legislate for the problems in the present (Olick 1998b: 564), and so it has to be manipulated through its deliberate (and accidental) forgetting, ignoring, removal, manipulation, or reinvention to face the new situations and social context (Olick 2008).

Memory is a constructed entity that is *pruned and shaped* to meet current requirements (Innes 2001: 20). Memory is thus an active cognitive process (Billig 1990: 60; Olick and Robbins 1998: 133), which occurs in human minds and is often physically represented through actions, objects and the landscape. Memories changes in form and in their place within society over time and space (Olick 1998a: 381). Therefore memory can be seen as an *invention of pasts in the present for the future* (Holtorf and Williams 2006). Memory is a creation of the present, which is influenced by future concerns and by the present. Historical reliability is of little relevance to looking at the formation and survival of memories (Van Houts 1999; Olick 1998a: 383). In fact the original meaning is not (and, indeed, may never be) known, but is invented and reinvented by people over successive generations and for different motives (Harvey 2003). We should not therefore be looking for *truths* within memories, but at their social relevance and the significance of their retention and use. Memory is historically conditioned, *changing colour and shape according to the moment*, and cannot be seen to have been handed down in a timeless tradition, but progressively altered from generation to generation (Samuel 1999). Remembering is not like knowing, it is selective, an experience or an activity which is performed by an individual's mind, and stimulated by the social group (Holtorf and Williams 2006).

**3.1.1 The differing scales of memory**

*Collective memory is by definition multiple, with as many memories as there are groups.* (Crane 1997: 1377)

Memories exist in a range of different scales, and previous studies have tried to analyse the nature of each of these types of memory (for example Fentress and Wickham 1992). This approach at attempting to identify different types/scales of memory and looking at them separately (as well as how they interact) is a valid one. Particularly in terms of the contrasts which exist between using social (also known as collective memory (e.g. Fentress and Wickham 1992), group memory (e.g. Zerubavel 1994; 2004), cultural memory (e.g. Holtorf 1998), or public memory (e.g. Bodnar 1992) and individual memories. Greater focus has tended to be upon collective memory in recent years (for example, Holtorf and Williams 2006), but previously memory had been seen as an activity of the individual. Both are correct in that memory is an individual faculty, but it is largely formed based on social group interactions (Fentress and Wickham 1992), and it is now a difficult task to analyse both together and separately in a manner which does not merely use a broad single category of memory. Other terms have also however been used to categorise narrower types of memory, such as mythological, genealogical, post-memory, and counter-memory. The variety in the terminology can lead to confusion, and the generalisations that the terms have embodied in many studies provide warnings to the difficulties in understanding and defining memory succinctly.

It is in society (rather than on their own) that people recall, recognise and localise their memories (Halbwachs 1992; Olick and Robbins 1998: 109). Halbwachs (1992) emphasise that people think, feel, or act in harmony with the mental attitude (world-view) that belongs to the group. However, this is obviously not always the case as people do not function simply as robotic conformists, and peoples' thoughts, actions, and feelings are not completely or solely governed by collective memory (see also Olick 1998b: 555). Klein (2000) for example warns that the term *collective memory* must be used carefully, as only individuals (not the collective) are capable of remembering. Klein therefore prefers the term *social memory*, as it does not suggest a *floating entity of memory* but solidly *grounds* memory within individuals (*Ibid* 2000: 133). This is important, as it is individuals who remember the social memories, their memories cannot exist outside of human minds, although individual minds can be

prompted by physical objects and actions. Social memory can be defined as the *ideas, assumptions and knowledge* that structure the relationship of individuals and groups to the past (Sherman 1999: 2). However, social memory is also used to fulfil present functions (Dietler 1998), such as a means of legitimisation (Ashworth 1994: 13; Dietler 1994), or in identity construction (Brace, Bailey and Harvey 2006). Social memories can do this as they are malleable (Olick 1998b: 549; Innes 1998: 6), meaning that they are shaped to have relevance to the present social conditions and do not preserve a factually true past. Social memory is also a selective process (Olick and Robbins 1998) giving meaning and cultural significance to the past in the present (Holtorf 1998: 24).

Schwartz (1991) outlines two theoretical approaches towards social memory, a *constructionist group,* who suggest that the present creates the past, and a *reactionary* school of thought, who advocate that the present is *shaped* by the past (*Ibid* 1991: 221-222). Schwartz utilises the case study of George Washington's remembered image to argue that the past can both continue, and also be manipulated in the present. Thus both persistence and innovation can occur but it is not as simple as mixing the two approaches together into a third theory, but we should be aware of both continuity and changes occurring in social memories (*Ibid* 1991: 234). It is therefore realistic to interpret the memories of any past group as partly resulting from continuity of the *true past* and also as a construction of the present (Esbenshade 1995: 73; Spillman 1998). Schwartz (1991) for example argued, that if Washington did not already possess certain traits, they would not have been able to be emphasised or manipulated in favour of others, thus much of Washington's image was not invented but rediscovered (*Ibid* 1991: 232). However, this example obviously emphasises a historic figure whose character had been extensively written about, and could be rediscovered through texts. It would be difficult to suggest that such *rediscovery* could occur in prehistoric, proto-historic or even historic periods for the majority of individuals or cultures.

Other scholars have generally concluded that any social memory's survival is based upon contemporary concerns (for example, Olick 1999; Innes 1998). There is variation in the survival and robustness of social memories, which is determined by a series of factors that can account for change of some elements and persistence of others. Generational experience (Schuman and Scott 1989), the role of institutions, identity investment, individual determinants, records, memorials, lectures and mementoes all influence what may be remembered and similarly forgotten (Spillman 1998; Saunders 2003; Moshenska 2008).

Spillman (1998) argues that not all persistence in social memory is resultant from contemporary concerns, with the past having constraining powers on the present through traditional patterns of belief being insistent for both *functional and charismatic reasons* (*Ibid* 1998: 449-450). Flexibility leads to a greater robustness in social memories. Survival of memories is partially based upon their openness to opposition and manipulation (Olick 1998a; Spillman 1998), but not to critique. Societies often maintain variant memories at the same time (see Schwartz 1996), and change comes through superimposition, or *Blotting out* (Fentress and Wickham 1992) more than through displacement. Thus although the past is malleable, it is constrained in terms of the changes possible by contemporary interpretations and its original form (Schwartz 1996; Spillman 1998).

The malleability (*charisma*) of symbols, memories, monuments, and objects is something which is intrinsic to their forms, often leading to them being *meaningful across generations and across patterns of institutional change* (Spillman 1998 *her emphasis*). This results in sustained social memories, and explains why some past objects and events are more powerful and persistent than others. Thus if events or objects offer the chance for construction and contention of memories, but not the chance of critique, these are likely to persist in social memory (Spillman 1998). However, Spillman's chosen case studies are related to memories of the founding of Australia and the United States, and these events, although charismatic and pliable, also maintain a function in expressions of (national) identity. Therefore they largely persist because contrary to Spillman's main argument of them holding *charisma*, they were also functional and served the present (*Ibid* 1998). The social memories and symbols which materialise them in Spillman's examples are compliant to contemporary concerns (such as indigenous residents, and multiculturalism) and therefore exhibit the necessary flexibility and charisma to endure. However, this is more through the process of (re)constructing the past to fit the present, than through an original openness to reinterpretation or charisma.

*Social memory* is often tied to *official memory* (Olick 1998b) in that it is seen as a construction of the memories of dominant groups within a society, an aspect particularly seen in relation to studies in nationalism (such as Dietler 1994; Hamilakis and Yalouri 1996; White 1999). Social memories can however only persist if they are accepted, supported, or initiated by the majority, except in the extreme circumstances of oppression or propaganda (Corney 1998; Falasca Zamponi 1998). Beneath this highest level of *official* social memories are those on regional, familial, communal and personal levels that are

sometimes at odds with the official narratives (e.g. Hamilakis 2002; Gregory 1994: 6; Hamilakis and Yalouri 1996). Memory is not always decided from the top down. Nor do the memories of the elite/authorities always receive a successful reception or consumption of the intended messages which the dominant groups constructed (e.g. Dietler 1998). Many historians and archaeologists idealise that *unofficial memories* are preserved beneath the official ones (suggested by Corney 1998: 397), but in some cases these (practically) no longer exist as they have been so extensively oppressed and propagandised against (Corney 1998; Nora 1996). It is important to realise that social memory is not subscribed onto a blank slate (Dietler 1998: 85), nor is it a construction solely of dominant groups. Memory is contested from both above and below, the centre, and the periphery (Olick and Robbins 1998: 126). Understanding contestation is therefore central to interpreting social memories because great variability can exist within and between social memories (Middleton and Edwards 1990c: 4), with vast changes occurring over time.

Middleton and Edwards (1990c: 8) discuss social commemorations, which they suggest have a more fixed nature and *silence contrary interpretations of the past*. This does not always seem to be the case and despite constructing a monument or object in an attempt to fix meanings, these need not always be the memories intended. Also contradictory memories can simultaneously exist. For example, Schwartz (1990) argues that a dual image of Abraham Lincoln persisted as a folk hero (touchable) and as an epic hero (no common touch, and unreachable). His image became increasingly manipulated not due to the discovery or creation of new facts or myths about him, but because the present social conditions *made him a more valid hero* (*Ibid* 1990*:* 101; see also Harvey and Jones 1999). This has also led to his memory being continually changed to fit current conditions and for contradictory images to exist simultaneously (Schwartz 1990). Fentress and Wickham (1992) argue that all social memory exists because it has meaning to the group that it serves (*Ibid* 1992: 87). Even in this case study of Lincoln the contradictory images of Lincoln both had *meanings* to different social (class) groups in America, which thus accounts for their survival, as both images served the present social situations to these groups (Schwartz 1990).

Social memories are often simplified images of the reality, and any event which is remembered is not a completely retained perception of the real event. It is instead comprised of various memories which can have gaps, created links, re-constructions and simplifications (Fentress and Wickham 1992: 58; Middleton and Edwards 1990b: 35). Olick and Robbins (1998: 130) suggest that past events are

remembered or forgotten depending on their *constitution*, in that if the events and memories can be simplified into a series of symbols the event would be more likely remembered. For example, poppies, trenches, gas, mud, death, crosses, and poor leadership, are all used as symbols for the First World War (Sherman 1999: 64; Todman 2005). The meanings of the symbols can be lost as context changes, and this will often lead to forgetting, but in some cases elements may be *preserved in decontextualised forms* to which new meanings can be added (Fentress and Wickham 1992: 68). When elements can be freed from their context and appropriated with new understandings they can often persist in social memory for long durations (Fentress and Wickham 1992: 72). Social memory is therefore fragile and volatile, because much of *memory* is completely context dependent information, and therefore as long as we remain in these contexts we remain surrounded by clues (e.g. memorials, actions, dates, etc.) that prompt our memories (Fentress and Wickham 1992: 73; Samuel 1999).

The differences in social memories result in (or from) differences in identities and we cannot separate the analysis of social memory from any analysis of identity and society (Fentress and Wickham 1992: 126). Social memory reassures the members of a society of their identity and supplies them with an awareness of unity and a *historical conscious* (Holtorf 1998: 24). Memory is a central if not the central medium through which identities are constituted (Olick and Robbins 1998: 133) and the production of social memories is crucial in the construction of group and individual identities (e.g. Dietler 1998). The divisions that occur within identities transpire along nationality, generational, familial, religious, class, regional, ethnicity and dozens of other levels of distinction (Olick and Robbins 1998: 123; Fentress and Wickham 1992: 92) also occur in the social memories of these groups. Social memories are not however exclusive to any one identity, but are multi-tiered and overlapping, particularly as the individuals forming each social groups are potential members of an array of possible social groupings (Innes 1998: 6). Thus each individual has social memories that fit in with a variety of communities, making each individual's identity unique as their social (and individual) memories are distinct because of their social situations and relations (Crane 1997: 1383).

Memory is structured by language, teaching, observing and by shared experiences and ideas, which makes memory social. It is however subjective because it is individually held (Fentress and Wickham 1992: 7) and therefore social memory cannot be physically located (Crane 1997: 1381) except within and by understanding individuals. However, Klein (2000) makes a valid argument in suggesting that many

authors move freely from memories being individual, to memories being from a *shared group consciousness*, without stipulating any differentiations. The generalised term of *Memory*, to Klein has therefore become *a new cliché* (*Ibid 2000*: 136), and this study will attempt to move away from such broad generalisations as memory. It is particularly vital not to forget that social memories are retained in individuals, and that although they are often expressed through material culture and actions, each individual will remember differently. Klein's (2000) rather critical analysis of the use of the term *memory* and how it is a theme derived from the *wounds of modernity*, is harsh upon the results gained from studies into the materiality of social memory and remembrance. Many of the warnings Klein provides, such as identity and memory becoming automatically tied together, memory being used as a replacement word for history, and the ambiguity of many author's uses of the term memory are valid and can be used to provide some guidance for other authors. However, memory is not an invalid topic and although it is selectively distorted and inaccurate, it is *exact in its social relevance* (Fentress and Wickham 1992).

### 3.1.2 Forgetting

Forgetting is an important part of the nature of remembrance (Samuel 1999; Holtorf and Williams 2006; Fentress and Wickham 1992), and it is a necessary precondition to enable remembrance (Jones 2003: 67). Any study of social memory should equally include as much evidence of what is forgotten, as that which is remembered (Fentress and Wickham 1992: 39). Forgetting led to reinvention, rediscovery, and innovation (Mullin 2001). New associations could be forged or invented both accidentally and deliberately. Forgetting can therefore be an active process, with suppression, transformation and reshaping of memories by political leaders and the elite frequently identifiable in the archaeological and historical records (Hope 2003: 120 and Manning 1998). For example, the construction of war memorials can be seen to have embodied attempts not to forget the conflict or those listed upon them (King 2001; Winter 1995a; 2006; Rowlands 2001) but they frequently omitted names (e.g. Williams and Evans 1997; Mettler and Woodcock 2003), and details of the nature of the deaths.

Forgetting can also encapsulate deliberate acts of destruction in the most extreme circumstances (Manning 1998; Holtorf and Williams 2006). For example, Assmann (2002) outlines how some ancient Egyptian social memories were forgotten (or at least attempts were made to erase them) by deleting

names from the historic records. This process was also done by destroying buildings or other constructions which were connected with the individuals or periods that were wished to be forgotten by the new rulers (*Ibid* 2002: 222). Randsborg (1998; 1999) also emphasise attempts to *kill the influence* of the dead by the removal or destruction of objects and therefore partly forgetting (and emotionally distancing the dead). Pasts can therefore be denied destruction (Holtorf 1998: 33), with new narratives *renegotiating and rewriting the past* (Manning 1998). However erasing names and destroying buildings need not erase them from memory (Barrett 1993; Assmann 2002). In some cases deliberate destruction may have been used as a mnemonic device, this has been argued particularly for hoards (e.g. Bradley 1993), and monuments (e.g. Manning 1998). Rowlands (1993) suggests that building monuments is part of the material culture of remembering, while *drying, chopping, cutting and burning are all acts of forgetting* (*Ibid* 1993: 144). I would argue however that acts of deliberate destruction or damage can also be conducted as a mnemonic device to remember events, people, or objects (e.g. Küchler 1987; 2001; Forest and Johnson 2002).

Forgetting is not always a violent process of suppression, time, and perhaps most importantly, cultural value, leads to the majority of forgetting (Holtorf and Williams 2006). What matters is the present, and whole social memory systems can seem irrelevant in relation to a new present, thus having no cultural value and being forgotten (Manning 1998: 48). This is particularly easy if no formal material marker (e.g. a monument) is erected for events or people as they remain largely invisible and are therefore easily forgotten (Buchli and Lucas 2001: 80; Holtorf and Williams 2006). Individuals would have unknowingly made changes in the traditions, rules and actions within society even when they were conceived as the same as those that their predecessors also followed (Mizoguchi 1993: 231). Thus although use and routine led to their preservation they were also gradual changed, which reflects remembering and forgetting. Transforming the appearance of something thus reflects new beliefs and values, which created new memories to replace unacceptable or outmoded ones (Longden 2003). Elements of the material past were thus selectively remembered or forgotten (Holtorf and Williams 2006). Mullin (2001) discusses forgetting as *wiping the slate clean*, however it is vital to look at forgetting not in isolation but as related to remembering. Often memories, events, and sites are not completely forgotten, just of less relevance and as such they gradually disappear over time (Blake 1998). They can however persist in other forms of media such as artefacts, stories, songs, ritual performances and folk beliefs. Although the relevance of particular pasts can change, and be forgotten, with sharp breaks occurring in the

archaeological record representing changes in the relevance of previous memories (Manning 1998), this does not indicate complete forgetting.

Dramatic changes in land-use often represent attempts to assimilate past memories into new associations (e.g. Manning 1998) such as the placement of churches on or near prehistoric barrows (Semple 1998: 120). This is suggestive that many of these ancient sites were still foci for communal memories (although heavily distorted from their original meanings and significance) and that the church wanted not only to actively destroy some of these memories, but also to appropriate selected ones (such as a long established link to the community) within new traditions to legitimise their authority. The incorporating and subsuming of previous generations memorials by constructing things over the top (Manning 1998: 51) reflects attempts to *actively forget* (Mullin 2001). The same monuments can mean different things over time, but they were different, as although the structures may be the same, the memories attached to them created a series of different monuments (Blake 1998: 68).

## 3.2 The Role of Identity

*Monuments and memorials are important symbolic sites in the articulation of national identity. They can give a focal point around which a vision of national identity can be forged, tied up with a sense of a shared past, pointing to a shared present and future. They are part of the meanings passed down from generation to generation in traditions, institutions and rituals: social and cultural practises whose purpose or effect is the representation of the past and the perpetuation of its memory*. (Cooke 2000: 449)

Memories of the past and aspirations of the future, were a consequence of, and had a profound impact upon, identities (Holtorf and Williams 2006). The relationship between memory and identity is not straightforward and it goes beyond being simply reflective of an individual's ego to also include social dimensions (Barash 1997; Holtorf and Williams 2006). The production and nature of identities are contested processes, which involve institutions, communities, and individuals in their construction (Brace *et al* 2006). Communities are not reflections of stable homogenous unified identities, but are frequently reasserted through actions including commemorative performances and rituals. Communal

identities are *constantly nurtured to give a meaningful sense of belonging* through these practices (Brace *et al* 2006).

Identity is a term that (like memory) embodies a variety of different categories, all of them fluid and shifting, such as gender, class, religion, ethnicity, age, sexuality and place (Johnson 1999; Brace *et al* 2006; Handler 1994). For example, the church and the nation often establish their legitimacy by establishing a provenance in local geographies and history, constructing their identity in a series of repetitive ritual performances (Brace *et al* 2006). These religious narratives and cultic traditions became essential ways in which communities remember, retell, and re-articulate aspects of their communal identity (*Ibid* 2006). Group and individual identities tend to be defined by contrasts to others, thus communities selectively stress and appropriate those aspects of the past, which symbolically highlight their distinctiveness for other people (Dietler 1994: 597; Fentress and Wickham 1992: 118). The differences can be marked by places, style of dress, material culture, boundaries, territories, group affiliations and various other physical and geographical contrasts (Wright and Garrard 2003). Most societies use the past in order to legitimise a community's existence (Hamilakis and Yalouri 1996; Newman 1998: 130) and the deliberate reinvention of aspects of their past(s) and social memories are utilised as part of the strategies adopted in the projection of contemporary identities (Hingley 1996). The past (and social memory) were therefore used to provide a sense of continuity, permanence, historicity and authenticity (Hamilakis and Yalouri 1996).

Nationalism is a particularly strong and prevalent theme within memory studies (for example Geary 2002; Dietler 1994; 1998; Gillis 1994) and these frequently emphasise the creation of *invented traditions* (Hobsbawm 1983) and the construction of *imagined communities* (Anderson 1983; Withers 1995). Nationalism is explained as using a conceived past to legitimise current political borders and establish an *authentic* version of a country's past (see Dietler 1994: 585; Hamilakis and Yalouri 1996). What creates a nation (or any community) is its past, and what justifies a nation against another, is their different pasts (Hobsbawm and Kertzer 1992: 3). It is argued that it is the elites who tend to mobilise memories and identities for their own political purposes, in the construction and manipulation of nationalism (Geary 2002). The state constructs and manipulates emotionally and symbolically these *invented traditions* in the service of itself, particularly in order to emphasise continuity and authenticity (Dietler 1998; 1994).

Places and objects can be made into powerfully evocative symbols to authenticate these constructed traditions (Dietler 1994).

By invoking the *aura of the past* to create legitimacy of the present politicians, elites, and nations justified themselves (Falasca Zamponi 1998: 439). Legitimisation through referencing the past (Innes 2001; Mizoguchi 1993; Harvey 2003) did not always have to portray the past through *rose-tinted glasses*, and in many instances a past that was *chaotic or bad* was remembered, through rituals, memorials, monuments, myths and stories (Assmann 2002: 109). Sites of grief are often of more value in constructing identities than those of victory, for example the Alamo, Culloden, the Somme, highland clearances and Gallipoli stir greater emotions and can be used to focus identities (Dietler 1998; Basu 2001; Garton 2000; Hoffenberg 2001; Gough 2004b; Osborne 2001a). The *invention of traditions* is not only a top-down system, nor are traditions adopted by communities unchanged or unquestioned. For example, Webster's (1999) investigation into *traditions* in the Outer Hebrides shows how communities rarely accept material culture changes in a complete wholesale revolution, but instead modified elements which suited their own local familial and personal identities and memories. The partial adaption in Webster's example resulted in a large number of imported bowls, which fitted with the existing eating habits of the Outer Hebrides but did not extend to the absorption of all the available new ceramics (Ibid 1999). Webster's (1999) article is also interesting in showing how through a single generation many of the local memories and traditions have disappeared, due to a desire to distance themselves from the traditions which became seen as from a period of hardship and being poor, while younger generations are now resurrecting (constructing) these traditions to fit their own needs to legitimise their pasts (Webster 1999: 67).

**3.3 Landscape**

*…. landscape….. is the arena in which and through which memory, identity, social order and transformation are constructed, played out, re-invented, and changed.* (Knapp and Ashmore 1999: 10)


Landscape is the main locus for social memories and identities, with both history and myth inscribed, upon it through activities such as monument construction, rituals, stories, songs and use. Beliefs, myths, identities, and memories can often lead to metaphorical and physical (re)constructions of the landscape to materialise and fix social and individual histories in space (Knapp and Ashmore 1999: 13). The materiality and symbols created and encountered in the landscape functioned as a *means of retrieving memories and meanings from the country* (Gosden and Lock 1998: 5). The *retrieval* which Gosden and Lock discuss seems suggestive of memory being retained in a complete and uncorrupted form, although through the act of remembrance a different past is (re)constructed (e.g. Fentress and Wickham 1992; Middleton and Edwards 1990a). However, this is not to deny the suggestion that the landscape is a focus for social memories or that these are constructed, reworked and remembered through a variety of strategies within these spaces. Landscape like memory are never inert, people engage with it, re-work it, re-appropriate it and contest it (Bender 1993). It is the communities and people who continually *rewrite landscapes* through the incorporation of their beliefs (Parcero Oubina *et al* 1998), continually altering their surroundings both physically and mentally in relation to their memories and identities (e.g. Worthy 2004).


People did not live in empty spaces (any more than they lived in isolated times), people used and *fitted into a landscape* (Holtorf 1998: 31) which already had meanings and significance attached through memories. Holtorf and Williams (2006) describe landscape palimpsests as reflective of *retrospective memory* in which the past appears to impact upon the present through its remaining physical traces. These *retrospective memories* can be passed on through social practices, oral and literary transmission, and implant the local topography with myths, legends and memories (Harvey 2000a; 2000b; Tilley 1994). These retrospective memories (like all memories) are not about remembering the past accurately, but in giving meaning to the present and in embodying aspirations for the future (Holtorf and Williams 2006). Ashworth takes this further in arguing that *no place is fixed to a particular time*, because of the continually changing nature of the memories attributed to each site (Ashworth 1994: 18).

It is important to realise that the meanings and emotional significance of places and monuments continually change and are often multi-layered with several conflicting memories of any one site existing at the same time (see Riley and Harvey 2005; Alderman 2000; Johnson 1995). The past landscape inevitably impacts upon the present social memories, but the present also impacts upon the past and attempts to shape the future (see Holtorf and Williams 2006).

It is people who transform *space* into *place* by assigning their own stories, purposes and meanings to spaces within a landscape (Sherman 1999: 215). The creation and use of places acts as a means of generating memory, but also of forgetting (Fowler 2003: 60). Places are invariably local in character, although a minority hold regional, national, or international significance (Campbell 2006: 115) and are therefore used to define various levels of identity (Kealhofer 1999). Place is *known* through reference to past experience and actions (Barrett 1999: 259) and it is possible to identify these *places of memory*, but not necessarily all of the memories that have been attached over time (Englund 1992: 304). Archaeology provides great potential in viewing past landscapes and understanding how communities used and interacted with them, in the construction of memory, rather than in identifying the memories themselves. For example, Knapp and Ashmore (1999: 10) warn of the archaeological record freezing meanings and memories, although the meanings and memories can be inferred through the archaeological record these should not be frozen in their interpretation but open to reinterpretation.

For example, Setten's study (2004) raises some valid points as to the nature of how memories structure everyday experiences. He analysed a group of Norwegian farmers and showed how memories of what they and their fathers or grandfathers (very gender specific biased!) did in the past affects their present management of the farm (*Ibid* 2004: 396). These *memories* are being questioned by government schemes and grants, which are affected by very different official memories and moral judgments (*Ibid* 2004: 399). Setten (2004: 408) emphasises that these different perceptions of the landscape reflect two alternative forms of remembering. The government (and outsiders) view the past through objects (and wish to preserve these in order to remember), while the farmers (insiders) remember through/with the body and by reproducing past practices, and it these practices which act as symbols of the past to them. These different ways of remembering lead to very different attitudes towards the landscape, with the farmers seeing no need to preserve past objects (unless they are still part of their practices). How

people and communities engage and remember within the landscape can therefore take very different forms, an aspect which is frequently neglected in studies of social memory and its material remains.

## 3.4 Biography

*The term 'reuse' is straightforward yet not unnuanced. It connotes a discontinuity between the original and subsequent uses, either due to a time lapse or a change of use or of the users.* (Blake 1998: 60)

This description of reuse from Blake (1998) describes the way in which most scholars have applied the term. However, this has its limitations as it covers very separate changes, time, use, users (and for objects place), and *reuse* could apply to the same person reusing the site after a day, or someone 3000 years later reusing it (Gosden and Lock 1998). There has been a general over-emphasis in archaeology of the significance of *reuse* in indicating memories of the past (for example Hingley 1996, Whyte 2003; Williams 1998 and Blake 1998). Many of these authors have been keen however to emphasise that *reuse* does not mean a continuation of memories or practice, but that these places, monuments, and objects are recognised as being from the past and are reinterpreted within the present social situation (Mullin 2001). It is the use of the term *reuse* which I would argue creates the problem as it implies *continued traditions* (Holtorf 1998: 30), when it has typically been applied by archaeologists to mean that people of later periods rediscover, reinterpret and *use* structures in their own ways, while drawing upon *traditions* and the past to legitimise identities and authority (Holtorf 1998: 30). Places and objects are continually reworked (Gosden and Lock 1998: 4) and any *images of unbroken continuity are illusions*, as the transmission of social memory is always a process of evolution and change (Fentress and Wickham 1992: 200).

Gosden and Lock (1998) attempted to correct the abuse of the term *reuse* by dividing into two categories. Reuse that resulted from the repeated use and maintenance of places and objects with known antecedents, and those giving new values within the contemporary setting to *ancient features* (*Ibid* 1998: 4). Gosden and Lock suggest that the obscure origins of the latter allow for greater latitude in the manipulation possible for elites or communities to recreate the past (*Ibid* 1998: 6). I would argue that although the origins of *ancient features* may be completely forgotten to a greater degree than

places and objects still in regular use, that both could (and were) manipulated in the present to reconstruct the past. The division between the two categories of reuse is therefore slightly flawed in that in both instances they represent the reconstruction of memory and of deliberate or accidental forgetting. This is not to suggest that the reuse should not be a concept considered by archaeologists, but that the term should always be quantified in terms of legitimisation and the construction of (new) memories, no matter what the temporal distance.

The reuse (on a regular or infrequent basis) of objects, places, and monuments can lead to physical changes being made to these objects and locations materiality which is traceable in the archaeological record. The changing uses and meanings of places and objects are not always however physically embodied through material changes in forms, locations, or surroundings. Therefore not all of the shifts which occur in social memory or identity are evident in the surviving places or objects. Changes in materiality also do not have to symbolise dramatic shifts in meanings, or the patterns of reuse, and are often representative of only slight changes in memories. It is also important to emphasise that the complete destruction of monuments, buildings or objects is just another part of their biographies, and does not result in their death, but represents another stage in their lives (Moreland 1999: 209; Küchler 2001). This can be emphasised through the significance empty spaces, plinths, or new building often have in relation to social memories, not only in terms of remembering monuments or events that had occurred on these sites, but also what these had embodied (e.g. Verdery 1999).

## 3.5 Monuments

*.....memories could be conditioned by strategic actions in the present. Archaeologically, this is most commonly visible in the construction of monuments, which imply a commitment to memory – to interact with the monuments of the past is to engage in an act of remembrance.* (Campbell 2006: 102)

Monuments are often seen as constructions of memory, *joining the past to the present* (Bradley 1993: 2), as well as how people want to be remembered in the future (Holtorf 2003: 281). Remensnyder (1996) discusses how memorials and monuments are constructed in attempts to *fix a memory*, for the present and the future (*Ibid* 1996: 884; see also Young 1993). Remensnyder goes on to describe how their meanings are not fixed and are destabilised by the nature of memory, which over time creates reinterpretations of every monuments in relation to current needs and desires (*Ibid* 1996: 884). Monuments are not themselves inert, with their design and style in part determining the range of possible meanings and interpretations communities can make of these monuments. Restrictive forms are therefore more prone to being remodelled or destroyed, as they cannot be easily manipulated to fit current memory interpretations and political situations without physical changes to their form (e.g. Longden 2003; Verdery 1999). Neither a monument nor its meaning are everlasting, both the monument and its significance *are constructed in particular times and places contingent on the political, historical, and aesthetic realities of that moment* (Young 2002: 94). Thus monuments do not have a single meaning, but are created through successive interpretations, reflecting changing cultural memories and diversity of history cultures (Harvey 2003).

Monuments may not always remember events so much as *bury them beneath layers of myth and explanation, coarsening understanding as much as generating it* (Young 1993: 94). They gesture towards their own past, intending to fix a set meaning to a place, appropriating a location for memories and identities (Holtorf and Williams 2006; Osborne 1998). The construction of monuments and memorials also implies a *commitment* to memory (Campbell 2006). The desire to remember is only however meaningful in as much as it is significant for the social memory and history of a given society (Harvey 2003). The meaning of a monument is therefore not perceived (rightly or wrongly), but determined by whoever interprets them (Harvey 2003). Monuments are constructed with the intention of fixing and transmitting a particular set of memories into the future. However, meanings are rarely fixed for long periods of time and monuments meanings are continually changing and being reinterpreted. Sometimes

when there form prevents reinterpretation, or is not explicit enough, they are physically altered, destroyed or ignored (for example, Remensnyder 1996). Changes in form appear in the archaeological record and make it possible to reinterpret some of the changes in social memories which led to the alterations or destruction of older forms.

Public monuments were erected as acts of commemoration (e.g. King 1995), which are *an intrusion of elite and official views of history into a public space* (Osborne 1998: 452; see also Morgan 1998). The significance of this use of monuments to preserve and emphasise an elite's view can be seen as attempts to control and dominate the past, present and future. Monuments therefore embody attempts to preserve a single view of the past for the future, and although this never occurs, it does not prevent people attempting to control and influence public spaces (and the people) through monuments and buildings (for example, Flath 2004; Giles 2005; Basu 1997). For example, a large proportion of public monuments commemorate *great men* (for example; Osborne 1998; Withers 1996), yet these monuments are not necessarily concerned with preserving the memory of that individual  but rather what that individual symbolised or exemplified (Bindman 2001: 94). The elite(s) used monuments to important individuals to embody characteristics or deeds which they deemed appropriate for people to follow (Morgan 1998). Therefore a statue to a soldier (for example the General Buller Monument in Exeter) tends to emphasise his noble, courageous example, and his victories, not his family or communal relationships or military defeats. It does not however have to be the ruling elite which preserve their memories through public monuments, and minorities are increasingly attempting to preserve their histories through public monuments. For example the suffragette movement (e.g. Kean 2005) and the Royal British Legion (e.g. Marshall 2004) have both unveiled several public memorials, and often lead commemorative projects locally and nationally.

Commemoration is always a political act it is never neutral (Winter 1995a: 82), thus we should always be aware that although memories will be embodied in all commemorative actions, these were selective, and many alternative narratives existed. The construction of a monument physically places the events and their meanings into a fragile, complex and sometimes *volatile mixture* of memory and forgetting (Sherman 1999: 220). Monuments created experiences for the people using and encountering them and they were constructed from a rich context of meanings, memories and mythologies (Cummings 2003: 39). For example, Whelan's (2001; 2002) studies into the evolution of monuments erected on Dublin's

central thoroughfare, establishes how the political changes that were occurring over time in Dublin are embodied in the people commemorated, the positions they were afforded, and the choreography of the unveiling ceremonies (*Ibid* 2001: 30). Monuments are therefore often politically motivated, and are constructed by the ruling or dominant groups in societies, and within urban spaces and centres. However, minorities frequently appropriated particular monuments to commemorate alternative discourses.

Monuments were often constructed to garner support, but they also acted as foci for dissent (Whelan 2001: 13). For example, the statue to the first Duke of Sutherland on Ben Bhraggie has been the focus of several attempts to have it demolished, as he is largely remembered as the main instigator of the highland clearances and the hardship and cruelty which this symbolises to many Scots (Withers 1996; Basu 1997). The Duke of Sutherland memorial therefore functions as a focal point for dissent for both past and present injustices, with the memorial perceived in a variety of different ways in local and wider social identities (Withers 1996; Basu 1997). Dissent can take various physical forms, such as damaging, defacing or demolishing monuments. For example, the police memorial in Chicago, which was constructed to the policemen killed during the Haymarket strike of 1886, was vandalised for decades, being physically destroyed twice, before being moved indoors in order to preserve and control its meanings (Shackel and Palus 2006: 50). Dissent can also however be apparent in the creation of alternative narratives (and memories) for monuments, which ignore or attack the *official* memory and narrative (e.g. Fig. 4.5).

Basu (1997) describes how the creation of intentional and unintentional monuments in the highlands of Scotland, both act to materialise attempts to both remember and attempts to forget (*Ibid* 1997: 1). Monuments (no matter what their form) are always about forgetting (or that which is forgotten) as much as they are about remembrance. The representation of a past in the form of a monument helps to forget, as well as remember (Von Henneberg 2004; Winter 1995a: 115; Williams 2003c: 247). Forgetting is not always intended to be literal (although it often is), but as a way of forgetting loss, traits, events, or individuals, as well as being a method utilized for coping with death, grief and trauma (Tarlow 1999a; Williams 2003d; Sherman 1999). The materialisation and de-materialisation of events and people acts to both *forge memories and facilitate forgetting* (Buchli and Lucas 2001: 80), and this is particularly evident in the construction of memorials. Objects and memorials produce memories but do function to plainly

recall them, because they also allow for forgetting to occur and are always selective in the past they present. Forgetting begins immediately when a monument is decided upon, and only stops with its complete fading from memory.

Withers (1996) study on the memories of contemporary highland communities argues that the creation of place is a highly *contested and far from collective process* (*Ibid* 1996: 325). He goes on to suggest that memorials can carry a variety of symbolic meanings, with elite, popular, and individual memories all physically represented by a memorial. Thus memory (and commemoration work) occurs in *complex and opposing ways to shape identities* (Withers 1996: 333). Withers uses three different monuments to support his arguments, and his third case study of the erection of a cairn to commemorate the 1887 Park Deer Raid at Balallan in 1994 is a particularly interesting example of how attempts are made to shape the narratives and memories attached to a monument through the creation of symbolic connections. These included that the materials used for its construction was partly derived from the former houses of the original raiders, and in a style to mirror other local vernacular architecture. Also the monuments orientation is aimed to commemorate the events, with three entrances all aligned on the communities the raiders had come from, and three protruding stones on the top of the monument pointing to the key events of the raid.

The intention of the various stylistic choices made for the memorial cairn at Balallan relate to attempts to mythologize the memorial (and the raid) in local memories and identities. The memorial's success is dependant however upon people visiting, engaging, and re-interpreting the monument. Many of the attempts to shape the way in which the events and monument are remembered are perhaps too subtle to have a lasting effect (for example pointing to where the events happened and the doors pointing to where they lived may get switched). It provides a useful example of how monument designers make very conscious decisions in attempts to fix memories, identities and power relations (see also Hanson 2005). For example the opening ceremony of the cairn included a range of *invented (timeless) traditions,* such as a large procession to the monument, a re-enactment of the raid by a local theatre group, the playing of a tune written to commemorate the raid, the creation of a new tartan pattern, and an encouragement for local children to *raid* the cairn (Withers 1996). The extent these events will sustain the local memory of past events is debatable, however the fact the raid is being drawn upon to express

local identity reflects the use and motivations behind many monuments. In that they were constructed to be representative of local community memories and identities, rather than of official ones.

Commemoration is not a static process, but is a highly complex action (Jennings 1998: 564), which registers those events and people that embody *our deepest and most fundamental values* and are considered *sacred* (Schwartz 1982: 377). These events and people however can be reinterpreted, and may become discarded over time in favour of others, or their meanings change, embodying different memories, which justify present social-circumstances (for example, Martin *et al* 1997; Young 1993). The person or event commemorated is usually found in the past, while the motivations that select and shape this are found amongst the concerns of the present (Schwartz 1982: 395). It is surprising however how many monuments were (and are) erected memorialising people who were (are) still living. For example, in Exeter the General Buller Statue on New North Road and the statue to Sir Thomas Acland in Northernhay Gardens were both unveiled while the men they commemorated were still alive (Cornforth 2008). This slightly strange commemorative practice reveals that it is the younger days and careers of these individuals' lives that the monuments (and the monuments organisers) wished to commemorate. The events and people selected for commemoration generally have some factual and social significance to be selected (Schwartz 1982: 396), but this does not mean that they need to have really happened, just that they had to have significance in the present.

Monuments have to be viewed as places not where memory is stored, but as sites that act as mnemonic *stimuli,* creating the past in the present through the act of remembrance (Holtorf 1997: 50). Despite the fluid nature of memory most commemorative efforts (prior to the counter-monument movement of the 1980s) claim that a memorial and its message or meaning will be everlasting (see Young 2002). Young (2002; 1992) discusses *counter-monuments* as a self-conscious form of memorialising, which challenge their own being, forcing the passersby to interact. *Negative monuments*, such as empty spaces, or monuments that disappear, are conceived by their artists to provoke not console, and not to be everlasting but temporary (Young 2002; Sturken 1991; Wagner-Pacifici and Schwartz 1991). I would argue that counter monuments in the majority only work where some visible trace is maintained (either in the form of empty space, plaques, or a demarcated area). Their role in commemoration and memory work is also only enabled if they have been seen, or interacted with by large numbers of people before their disappearance (thus in their memories), as for many people it would be easy to move through an

empty space and not realise that this was a monument. Young (1993) outlines many of these points himself despite arguing about the effectiveness of this form of memorial in remembering an *absent people through a vanishing monument* (*Ibid* 1993: 7). Young (2002; 1993; 1992) discusses counter-monuments as a recent phenomenon, however one could argue that many monuments through the ages have attempted to create memories by not existing or disappearing (Williams 2003b: 6).

Monuments and memorials *are part of the material culture of remembering* (Rowlands 1993: 144), and are not built for utilitarian purposes, but as *invented traditions*, which attempt to pass on a view (or idea) of the past to future generations (Boholm 1997: 251; Mytum 2004: 152; Osborne 1998: 434). These physical attempts to ensure the *preservation and continuity of memory* (Hallam and Hockey 2001: 53) in what Holtorf terms *perspective memories* (Holtorf 1997: 47) can be seen as reflected by the materials, sizes and visibility of the majority of monuments (Osborne 1998: 434; Holtorf 1997: 45). The physical traits of monuments represent conscious decisions of attempting to create longevity and therefore preserve particular views and ideas (although see Young 2002 on the emergence of counter-monuments, built to disappear). However, these attempts to preserve ideas are rarely successful as future generations are free to reinterpret these monuments, allowing them to choose to neglect, forget, demolish, or *reuse* them as they wish (Boholm 1997).

## 3.6 War memorials

*It was with commemorations of those lost in World War I that communal monuments became very widespread in most of the western world.* (Mytum 2000: 99)

The First World War (and twentieth century war memorials more generally) led to a huge explosion in the number and distribution of monuments in Britain (Inglis 1992; Moriarty 1990; Winter 1995a; Borg 1991; Quinlan 2005). First World War memorials were typically amongst the first large scale monuments to be erected in many modern community's public spaces (particularly in suburbs and villages), and they were also amongst the first monuments to be organised by the local community, or at least several representatives of it (Tarlow 1997: 114; Mytum 2004: 152). They were also typically funded by a large proportion of the population through their own choice (although perhaps a degree of fitting in with everyone else), and not instigated by the government but by the public (for example; Gregory 1994; Tarlow 1997). The belief that war monuments prompted the beginnings of widespread communal monument construction can also be seen as resulting from the survival of large amounts of written evidence for these monuments, unlike many of the earlier public monuments, which were organised by individuals rather than committees (Mytum 2000: 152).

War memorials (like other monuments) were in part constructed to facilitate active forgetting (Batten 2005). Their inscriptions and materiality not only emphasises particular characteristics of those commemorated, but also the in part denies the realities of their deaths, and therefore enable remembrance to focus upon their sacrifices (Rowlands 2001: 137; Winter 1995a: 94; King 2001: 152). For example, Hoffenberg (2001: 129) suggests that the construction of Australian Anzac war memorials and the rituals associated with the construction and unveiling were attempts to heal the divisions created or intensified during the war years. Thomson (1990; 1994) supports this point by suggesting that the returned Anzac soldiers were seen as an undisciplined threat to authorities, particularly judging by the large number of riots and high unemployment. Thomson (1990) and Hoffenberg (2001) both suggest that the construction of monuments silenced these alternative discourses, or as Thomson suggests *defeated and forgot these alternatives* (Thomson 1990: 76).

It is the absence of the deceased from war memorials that is one of their most striking features, and indicates the symbolic nature that these commemorative forms took from their construction onwards (Heffernan 1995: 294; Turpin 2007; Trumpener 2000). War memorials and the CWGC policies attempted to stop the dead from *passing unnoticed* into the private domain of families, as it would have *dramatically diminished their collective cultural impact,* allowing for popular criticism of the war (Heffernan 1995: 313). War memorials helped to create a *myth of the war experience* which was neither celebratory (patriotic triumphalism) nor condemnatory (antiwar statements) (Mosse 1990, see also Heffernan 1995: 312-313). It is important to remember that the pattern of commemoration seen in twentieth century Britain (and on its battlefields) did not emerge without controversy and conflict, particularly the relationship between personal and official remembrance (Gough 2004b; Winter 1995b; Morris 1997; Heffernan 1995). War memorials can be seen as an active intervention by the state, the community, the bereaved, and other groups, in an attempt to reassert the connections between the living communities and the war dead (Heffernan 1995: 294; Tarlow 1997; Gregory 1994). These complex commemorations tend to escape from the intentions of their original architects *as the values and ambitions of new generations impose themselves and reinvent the meaning and significance of remembrance and commemoration* (Heffernan 1995: 313).

Identity is clearly reflected in the construction of all memorials (e.g. Hoffenberg 2001; Lahiri 2003; Osborne 1998; Heynen 1999; Gordon and Osborne 2004), and also in the subsequent memories that become associated with these commemorative forms. The identities that are played out through monuments are typically viewed as having taken two main forms, the national (often patriotic), and the local (pride in differences to other neighbouring communities and of their role in the national). For example, Jennings (1998) discusses the late arrival of First World War commemoration on Guadeloupe and how only a couple of monuments were erected prior to the mid 1920s at which time they began being erected in virtually every village, despite some only bearing a single name (*Ibid* 1998: 584). Jennings (1998) suggests that the profusion of monuments compared to the number of casualties is in vast contrast to that seen in France, and was part of the island's attempt to beautify itself in the 1930s following the depression and a devastating hurricane. The war memorials of Guadeloupe also became important sources of local pride and competition between communities, but more importantly was their connection to Frenchness, which the Guadeloupe communities wished to emphasise, partly as a result of rumours that the country was going to be sold to the United States (Jennings 1998). He also

emphasised that these war memorials served as *interfaces between local and national identities* (*Ibid* 1998: 587) (see also Mosse 1990: 99).

It can be argued that war memorials should therefore not just be viewed in relation to nationalism (e.g. Rowlands 1993), but also in terms of local relationships to the dead, and local identity construction (e.g. Tarlow 1997; Trigg 2007). War memorials generally reflect a strong sense of local pride and identity (Mansfield 1995: 82), rather than containing a strong patriotic national tone (Bushaway 1992: 142). For example, Tarlow (1997; 1999a) suggests that the majority of war memorials were chosen to represent intense and personal feelings of grief and shock, with responses (in the form of monuments and other material culture) representing local and individual levels of remembering, as well as national trends (Tarlow 1997: 105). Tarlow outlines that the local community commissioned most local monuments, and that they would have had no interest in monuments having nationalistic overtones, but to *express personal grief and bereavement (*Tarlow 1997: 114). Heffernan (1995) supports this by demonstrating that the dead were even remembered by the CWGC (an imperial organisation) with little reference to patriotism (Heffernan 1995: 312). The war memorials of twentieth century Britain tend therefore to emphasise the equality of common sacrifice and communal loss rather than overtly nationalistic characteristics. The presence of national pride in war memorials (particularly the CWGC's practices) is always however present, as is evident in the Guadeloupe example (Jennings 1998). The patriotic is not completely removed from local memorials, but it is depicted by a set of abstract virtues, such as honour, courage, and determination, (Davies 1993), which although related to national overtones are only secondary to the local ones.

Even when larger groups of people were involved in instigating the construction of a monument, these did not necessarily reflect the society in which they were constructed. For example, First World War monuments were normally chosen and constructed by the efforts of small committees, these committees did not reflect the social reality but were formed from the male social elite, particularly landowners, councillors, churchmen, and representatives of leading families, commerce and industry, often they even neglected the bereaved (Bartlett and Ellis 1999: 234; Bushaway 1992: 147). Bartlett and Ellis (1999) suggest that some committees were less socially exclusive and in their example from Northop, Flintshire, the committee was formed from a large group that included members of all the local churches, chapels, communities, the bereaved, and *a token woman* (Bartlett and Ellis 1999: 235).

All committees had biases and agendas and the Northop committee contained mostly church men of some sort (Bartlett and Ellis 1999: 236). In Cambridge the committee had several of the local hospitals governors on its board, who proposed a large proportion of the funds raised for commemoration should go to the hospital (Inglis 1992: 589). One could therefore suggest that based upon the small numbers of people normally involved in instigating the construction of a monument that there was no such thing as a public monument as they are all reflective of only a few people's views, politics and memories. This however, is a negative view, as despite these few people's intentions (preserving their views with a monument), did not prevent the monument from being reflective of wider public views, or stop the reinterpretation of the monument by the public.

One can also discuss the biases created by the proportions of funding given by different people, which then allowed them to express an amount of self-interest in a monument's style and location. For example, war memorials were normally funded by public subscriptions, which were sometimes dominated by a single person's donations, sometimes in the form of land or money (Mansfield 1995: 78). One only has to look at the example of First World War memorial plaque erected in the parish church of Northop, Flintshire where the largest landowner contributed the main proportion of the fund, and also had the most say in the form and location the memorial took (Bartlett and Ellis 1999). This bias in funding allowed for landowners and industrialists to dominate proceedings by pledging the majority of the funds for the construction of monuments.

### 3.6.1 Locations

Location therefore not only determines how a monument is viewed at the time of construction but also effects how it is viewed in later periods (Foster 2004). For example national monuments in Italy which are located in parks, are often magnets for graffiti artists or drug users, while those on central traffic islands which although having their peace shattered, are not secluded and liable to being forgotten (Von Henneberg 2004: 49). It is therefore essential to consider how the surroundings of a war memorial will work alongside its form in restricting and affecting the memories placed upon it (Sherman 1999: 220). For example, Tarlow emphasises war memorials are often separated from the rest of the landscape and other monuments, by having fences or other constructions which define a set sacred space around the memorial (*Ibid* 1997; 1999a).

Tarlow (1997: 116) suggests that the references to religion found in war memorials relate to ways of viewing death, and were attempts at making sense of the deaths (such as sacrifice) more than overtly religious statements. Despite the consolation religious symbols often had, the majority of the monuments connected to remembrance of the First World War avoided direct reference to the church or God, as they were more about *peace of mind* than theology or politics (Bushaway 1992: 158). The lack of direct reference to the church also reflects the lack of comfort and solace which the bereaved felt they could attain through religion (Bushaway 1992: 140; Cannadine 1981). For example, Troyansky (1987) analyses the location of village war memorials in Aisne, France, and suggests that most memorials were not situated near the church unless it was a convenient location, such as also being a crossroads. However he does emphasise that many of the monuments had religious connotations or meanings, which was further emphasised by the ceremonies conducted at them which resemble religious forms such as speeches sounding like sermons and oaths like prayers (*Ibid* 1987: 130). However, in Britain the role of the church and churchyard as locations used for the placement of war memorials is explicit, being the preferred commemorative location for the majority of rural communities for the South African and First World Wars (Grieves 2001; O'Kelly 2008).

The majority of war memorials in Britain are found in direct relationship with Anglican churches and other religious buildings and spaces. Several studies (for example, Sherman 1998; Bartlett and Ellis 1999; Mansfield 1995; Davies 1993; Grieves 2001) emphasise the significant role some churches, vicars, and churchmen played in the choice of commemoration, and in particular during the dedication and commemorative ceremonies which followed their construction. The choice of locating a war memorial near to a church can be seen as reflective of several main aspects. First, and perhaps foremost, it reflects an attempt to ensure the permanence of the memorial, in an effort to prevent the dead or event from being forgotten. The church remained as one of the main links to the past, and communities (authorities) had faith that it would forever be part of the community (Bartlett and Ellis 1999: 232; Mansfield 1995: 79). Second, the church was also the location for normal mourning and burial practices to occur, meaning that it was a natural choice for remembering and commemorating the dead of a community. For example, it was where the families of those killed in the First World War had been buried in the past (and would be in the future) therefore it was seen as fitting that the war dead should not be absent from this location (Bartlett and Ellis 1999: 233). The third and final main aspect behind a location near to the churches was that it often acted as an embodiment of communities, (particularly in

villages) and its role in communities and their identities was re-emphasised through the construction of monuments inside churches, churchyards or in relation to them (Mansfield 1995: 79).

Graveyard memorials are very amenable to archaeological investigation (Mytum 1994), not only the form of the monument, (size, shape, colour, material, decoration and text) but also their positioning in relation to topography, vegetation, and existing monuments can be investigated. They also reflect contemporary attitudes and fashions, as well as occurring in large enough numbers to give statistical validity (see also Newman 2001: 178 and Tarlow 1999a). The erection of any graveyard memorial is culturally specific, and various aspects of individual and communal identities are reflected in these commemorations, they can be said to have *contextualized* the deceased in relation to their families and communities (Mytum 1994: 261). The planning, arrangement and location of cemeteries and the war memorials (and other monuments) within them, reflects attempts to affect the form of future commemorations (Holtorf and Williams 2006: 248). The possibilities of investigating commemoration, and the types of memories which were attached to these war memorials in their heavily permeated mnemonic surroundings, has considerable scope for further work, particularly in relation to existing patterns of familial and local commemoration.

Twentieth century war memorials in Britain are not however simply restricted to locations within churches, churchyards, or cemeteries, and a range of other locations, such as village greens, road junctions, parks, and squares are utilised (Gaffney 1998; Grieves 2001; Trigg 2007). The use of these alternative locations is often highlighted as evidence of the decreasing influence and role which the Church and religion played in British society in the twentieth century (e.g. Grieves 2000; 2001; Mansfield 1995; Furlong *et al* 2002). The use of both secular and religious locations for the commemoration of conflict does however require much more detailed and contextual study, particularly in terms of the simple division which is typically portrayed between these locations and their symbolism (e.g. Inglis 1992).

**3.6.2 Aesthetics and materiality**

The forms chosen for public monuments are also important to consider, as they are often symbolic of wider meanings, be they references to the past, religion, identity or to place. For example crosses are a popular form of war memorial, not solely because of their religious connections, but also because of the large numbers encountered and objectified by soldiers at the front, they became symbols of the soldiers' (and community's) sacrifices (Saunders 2003; Rowlands 1993: 146). The similarities between the story of the Passion of Christ and the First World War was heavily emphasised, with the key elements of the story; death as voluntary sacrifice, betrayal both before and after death, and salvation and redemption through sacrifice, being emphasised in remembrance activities and constructions (Davies 1993: 116-117; MacLeod 2002). The range of Christian references seen in war memorials can be seen as reflections of the malleability and applicability of these symbols to the present situation (Winter 1995a: 91). Tarlow (1997) suggests that the use of antique, natural, and Christian symbols, were all chosen as they had a timeless aura, as well as being consolatory and expressive (Tarlow 1997: 115). The form and location of a war memorial *not only reflected the grief of the bereaved, but also shaped the expression and understanding of bereavement in the war by establishing spatial and figurative structures of remembering* (Tarlow 1997: 119).

Boholm (1997) suggests that the form and *messages* which some memorials have symbolically inscribed upon them, effect the later reactions and attitudes towards them (Boholm 1997: 250). In this way the memories and interpretations of monuments are not entirely freely *invented* and although memory is continually reinterpreted and reproduced, some objects can transmit past meanings into the present, through ideas, symbols and images (Boholm 1997: 250). Boholm (1997) argues that it is impossible to escape being informed by the messages which are inscribed on these past monuments (presumably only if they still exist), and that all reactions and attitudes are shaped by these. To a degree this is accurate in that the form of many war memorials and commemorative landscapes shaped later reactions (e.g. Gough 2004b). However, this does not mean that later interpretations have to follow earlier ones in any way, and it is possible for them to be completely constructed based upon present interpretations. The literal and symbolic meanings of monuments are not exhausted by their iconography and project several messages at once, which although having one intended dominant discourse, are not static and fixed, despite their physical appearance (Troyansky 1987; 1999). I agree that the relationship between tradition and invention is *complementary and not independent* (Boholm 1997: 267), but neither should

the past be seen as a constraint, or the present as completely a free invention of the past (e.g. Black 2004).

Bartlett and Ellis (1999) suggest that every twentieth century community which raised a war memorial must have had some level of disagreement as to the form these memorials should have taken (*Ibid* 1999: 234). For example, much debate centred upon whether a memorial should be a utilitarian construction, such as a library, cottages, or hospital, or be a purely artistic and aesthetic memorial (Bushaway 1992). For example, Mansfield (1995) suggests that many *working people* wanted *useful memorials*, often in the form of memorial halls, and these were normally chosen in larger villages and small towns which had no dominant landowner (*Ibid* 1995: 77).

Aesthetic monuments had the benefit of being only a one off payment, so many *struggling landowners and indifferent members* of the community may have favoured their construction over useful memorials (Mansfield 1995: 78). In the majority of instances however it was *not the construction of homes fit for heroes in post-war Britain, but the construction of vast cities of the dead* that characterises the commemorative landscape of Britain, particularly for the First World War (Bushaway 1992: 150). In many instance those committees which did choose utilitarian constructions, were still attempting to achieve a *fitting memorial* to the dead, as much as they were to be useful for the living. There may have been conflict over the type of monument, and criticism of the designs finally chosen, but it is argued that all communities followed the symbolism of the *cenotaph* after the First World War (Cannadine 1981: 225). Although, perhaps it would be fairer to suggest that rather than imitating the national remembrance monuments, communities were creating their own tributes to the sacrifice that represented their feelings and attitudes. Especially given that tensions often existed between local authorities that wanted memorials of their own and the construction of regional and national monuments (Bartlett and Ellis 1999: 236). The attaining of funds for these regional monuments was often difficult, as people had often committed money to their local projects. For example, the town of Cambridge raised the majority of the Cambridgeshire war memorial's funds, as the people in the country and at the university had committed money to their own local projects (Inglis 1992: 591).

Memory, experiences and identities were embodied in the choices of the form of all monuments, not only those related to wars, but every public monument. It is therefore important to view the forms of monuments, as a result of a variety of choices that were made in deciding what should be remembered and those elements which should be forgotten. The result being that by investigating every choice, for example, the material used, or the colours used, reflects attempts to construct particular memories and associations, while forgetting others. It is however key to investigate each individual monuments biography (Rainbird 2003: 30) not just their form as even though the same types or forms occur, each individual monument has unique memories and identities attached, and had its form chosen for a variety of different reasons.

### 3.6.3. Inscriptions

Many war memorials carry inscriptions as part of their attempt to *fix* memories (Sherman 1998: 453), and these are often quite simple such as just giving names and the dates of the dead and the dates of the conflict in which they died. How individuals were remembered by war memorials is a particularly selective category and normally ignores many of their roles, such as familial relationships, their home, job, etc. It should be emphasised that the inscriptions on civic war memorials were chosen by the organisers (often the elite), and rarely by the public or its designer (Kidd 1998: 159). Many inscriptions include very conscious choices by their organisers reflecting what aspects of the conflict which they wanted to be remembered, often complementing (although sometimes contrasting) with the imagery of the memorial's form. For example, on First World War monuments *the language of remembrance was based on the notion of sacrifice rather than the patriotic virtues of duty* which earlier war memorials are argued to have embodied (Bushaway 1992: 148). This common theme of sacrifice in war memorials can be seen as a reaction to the inability to comprehend or justify to the bereaved the military or political justifications for the deaths (Bushaway 1992: 149). The language of volunteering, offering and sacrifice had become well established before the end of the war and it was a natural progression from these terms being used for the war dead in reports and papers, to them becoming used on war monuments (Inglis 1992: 586; Bushaway 1992: 143).

Bushaway (1992) discusses how a variety of national groups and events helped to shape this language of remembrance. For example, the Royal Academy set up a committee to offer advice on war memorials in

1918, however Bushaway suggest that they were rarely consulted for guidance as local committees preferred to keep matters within their communities (so cannot be seen as having much influence). The CWGC was also very influential, and created many of the symbols used in post-war Britain to remember the dead, with headstones, the *Cross of Sacrifice*, and the *Stone of Remembrance* manipulated within local commemorative projects (Bushaway 1992: 144; Fuchs 2004). One can also emphasise that many of the architects) involved with the war graves commission (such as Edwin Lutyens and Reginald Bloomfield also designed many of the First World War memorials in Britain. The language used by the war graves commission was also used in Britain, particularly Kipling's *lest we forget*. A third national influence on the words and forms of war memorials after the First World War was an exhibition of war memorials at the Victoria and Albert Museum in 1919, these included inscriptions drawn from a variety of literary sources, and occasionally from the earlier South African war memorials (Bushaway 1992: 145).

Names of individuals are often included on the inscriptions of monuments, not only on statues commemorating specific figures, but also the names of the masses can be commemorated, as on war memorials. Hawkins (1993) emphasises the importance of these names in relation to grief, and how the threat of forgetting a name would allow *death to have the last word* (Hawkins 1993: 752; see also Gough 2004a: 435-438). He emphasises how the design of the Vietnam Veterans Memorial reflected the importance of names, in that the architect deemed that the names were all that were needed for the memorial to be effective, no exquisite architecture or symbols had to be included (Hawkins 1993: 754). The poignancy names therefore bring to monuments can have resonance for the individual mourners (Sherman 1998: 446), but also as representing a community's loss and grief, while preventing the subsuming of individuals into a single (patriotic or critical) larger meaning (Sherman 1998: 443). The names on war memorials therefore acted as substitutes for the traditional rituals that would have centred on the bodies or grave of the dead (Sherman 1998, 1999; Hoffenberg 2001: 125).

Names of individuals on World War One monuments were grouped according to particular allegiances such as, affinities or associations, workplace, profession, regiment school, university, club, church or community (Gough 2004a; Mytum 2004; Bushaway 1992). Names therefore allowed various groups to provide consolation for the bereaved, but also formed the basis of the new forms of commemorative activity in the public sphere, which attempted to include individual mourning and memory of individuals

into a collective narrative about the war (Sherman 1998: 447). Therefore names not only trigger memory but also *stake claims for the communities right for commemorative spaces* (Sherman 1998: 455), and the community's role and contribution to the war effort (local pride). The collecting of these names became part of the communal ritual of remembrance, in that the communities gathered them not by asking military authorities for a list but through their own actions (for example; Inglis 1992: 593; Bartlett and Ellis 1999). In this way names were almost treated as being *sacred* (Inglis 1992: 593) providing comfort and solace for both individuals and the community (Bushaway 1992: 140; Cannadine 1981). Therefore names on memorials constitute signs of mourning, expressing both the individual and communal grief, bringing meaning to the conflict (Sherman 1999: 66).

Forgetting, although often of an accidental nature is often apparent in the lists of names included upon war memorials, with names frequently missed from the inscriptions upon communal war memorials. For example, the First World War memorial at Northop, Flintshire, missed at least three names off the list of deceased, although these were to be included on the other local memorials which were constructed at slightly later dates (Bartlett and Ellis 1999; Williams and Williams 2010). In the Northop example there is also an example of the deliberate denial (forgetting) of familial and personal grief, as there was one name (Frank Brookes) which had initially been included on a draft list for the memorial, but not the memorial itself. Frank Brookes had twice enlisted, and been discharged during the war, and died in November 1918 during the flu epidemic, his brother is however included on the monument despite also dying of flu only two weeks earlier, but he had died in a military hospital while still enlisted (Bartlett and Ellis 1999: 237; Williams and Williams 2010).

**3.6.4 Rituals and ceremonies**

War memorials became and remain focal points for ritual ceremonies, and in this way become *active sites of ideology and memory* (Gough 2000; see also Osborne 1998: 434). The involvement of communities and social groups in these commemorative ceremonies acted to reinforced social bonds or divisions (Osborne 1998: 435). As such, commemoration after wars or death can be seen as a process which attempted to reinforce a solidarity of community (be it on a family, local, or national level), particularly when these events had threatened to disrupt the community's existence, identity and social memory (Sherman 1999: 6; Hallam and Hockey 2001). The public participation in ceremonies, commemorations and the construction and use of memorials attempts to fix a social memory, in a conscious effort to preserve a particular view of the past and present (Osborne 1998: 436). For example, it is noticeable that many communities deliberately include large numbers of children in ceremonies, which can be seen as an attempt to preserve and pass-on communal memories (e.g. Sherman 1998: 455). However, it is also essential to remember that monuments not only acted as foci for public ceremonies, entertainments and participations, but also as locations for protest (e.g. Osborne 1998).

Commemorative acts are very repetitive and formalised. They are often enhanced by coinciding with the anniversaries of the events which the monuments commemorate, with the intention of creating further mnemonic links between the past and the present (Jarman 2001: 172). For example, the two-minute silence on Armistice Day has proven to be a relatively successful communal ritual not only as there is solidarity in being silent together, but that this communal silence also allows for the ritual to be an individualised and private activity (Gregory 1994). The solidarity and isolation created through this ritual event on the anniversaries of Remembrance Sunday and 11th of November has created further significance to the act of commemoration that occurs at war memorials and other locations. It is also worth noting that war memorials are an unusual category of monument in that they have often remained the focus for commemorative ceremonies on an annual basis, while the majority of other monuments are only the focus of a single unveiling ceremony. The nature of the commemorative ceremonies, whether they are formal or informal, religious or non-religious, military or less military in character  are all important to consider in relation to the communities identity and the memories being played out and constructed through war memorials and their associated commemorative rituals (Mansfield 1995: 80). For example, the individual who unveiled a war memorial can be seen in relation to how the community (or at least officials) wanted the wider community to remember the events and

people commemorated. These could range from politics (a local dignitary), grief and sorrow (a widow), or with an eye to future remembrance of these values (children or orphans) (Mansfield 1995: 80).


## 3.7 Summary

War memorials are a data-set which has seen a great deal of interest and analysis from a variety of disciplines, and these investigations (for example Ashplant 2000; Grieves 2000; Gregory 1994; Holtorf 2001; Tarlow 1999a; etc.) have shown the huge potential for interpreting these memorials through a range of different methodologies. However, very few of these studies have attempted to look at more than one or two aspects of war memorials (for exceptions, see Winter 1995a; 2006; Tarlow 1997). Also very few studies have looked in detail at several study areas, preferring to focus upon single memorials, or picking and choosing the interesting memorials or those with the greatest amount of historic records (for exceptions, see Gaffney 1998; Grieves 2000; 2001). These two main flaws in previous studies should not detract from the detailed and articulate work which already exists, and this thesis attempts to build upon this previous work, and compensate for these failings. Twentieth century war memorials offer great potential as a subject for a methodical and detailed investigation, both as memorials in their own right, and as a critique upon previous archaeological approaches to monuments, memory, identity, object biographies, and landscape studies.

# 4.0 METHODOLOGY AND SOURCES

The five main themes which are central to this analysis of twentieth century war memorials (i.e. memory, identity, landscape, materiality and biography) will form the core elements of the research, and the methodology is designed to reflect these issues. The five main topics are frequently intertwined with each other and produce a series of related issues which have helped to define the methodology. These main themes are therefore addressed individually below, before the methodology is outlined in detail. There is also included a discussion on the resources which will be utilised in this study.

## 4.1 Main Themes

There are two central themes which are at the heart of this thesis, namely the roles of memory and identity in the construction, manipulation, and function of war memorials. In order to assess how memories and identities are expressed and used in war memorials this study will investigate three core aspects of each memorial. The landscape settings, materiality, and biographies of the war memorials are the aspects which are considered in depth. The assessment of each aspect will be compared and analysed in order to appreciate how individuals and communities used, and reused, these monuments in identity formation and commemoration. Each of these topics brings with them certain questions, which have to be considered within the methodology design, and these are discussed below.

### 4.1.1 Memory and Commemoration

Twentieth century war memorials were constructed as *les lieux de memoire* (Nora 1989), or more pertinently as *les lieux de non oubliant* (sites of not forgetting). The desire not to forget is clearly emphasised by the memorials themselves, with a large proportion of memorial inscriptions stating *Lest We Forget* or other similar adages (Fig. 4.1a; Moriarty 1997: 137; Bushaway 1992; Davies 1993; Laqueur 1994). This theme of remembrance (or at least anti-forgetting) ties all types and forms of war memorial together because they were all erected to remember armed conflict(s), no matter which different events, individuals, animals, or battles were emphasised. The processes of remembrance through traditional commemorative forms were however selective, and the memorials materialise an *active process of forgetting* the realities of death and hardship (see Rowlands 2001). It is therefore essential in any attempt to understand a war

memorial's meaning and significance, to appreciate what they were being constructed to remember, and equally, what they were being constructed to forget. The majority of investigations into the memory work which war memorials embody have however only focused upon large external (and urban) memorials (e.g. Johnson 1995; Gough and Morgan 2004; Inglis 1992). A much greater range of commemorative forms were created and erected during the twentieth century than is typically presented, even within those studies which include assessments of rural or wider patterns of conflict commemoration (e.g. Grieves 1999; 2000; 2001; Bartlett and Ellis 1999; Gaffney 1998; O'Kelly 2008). Previous war memorial studies have therefore typically been restricted to *public* commemorative forms.
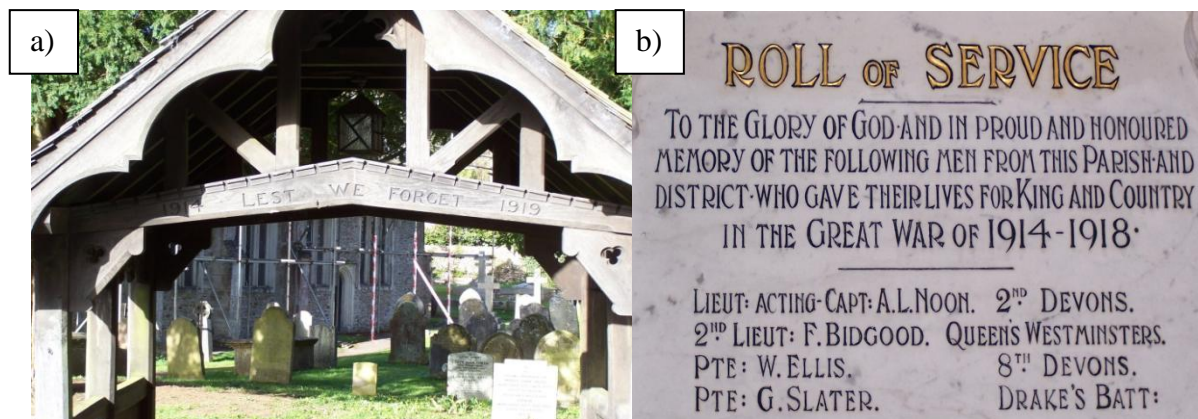


*Figure 4.1 – The war memorial lych gate at St. Andrew's Church, Feniton, explicitly refers to 'not forgetting' (a), while the Butterleigh war memorial tablet in St. Matthew's Church emphasises 'memory/remembrance' (Photos: Author).*

The use of the term *public* in this thesis is used to refer to war memorials which were funded by a group of people (beyond the family), such as a regiment, school, company, community, or government (see also King 2001). The term *public* is also used in this study to refer to memorials which although funded and chosen by a single individual (or family) commemorated the wider community, or a conflict more generally (e.g. Fig. 4.2). The dominance of civic memorials (social memory), in other studies frequently neglects private responses to conflicts. This is despite the dominant role which personal motives and experiences clearly had upon the construction of the majority of public war memorials.

This study will attempt to adjust these biases by not only including research into all of the public war memorials of the two study regions, but also of the privately funded commemorative responses to conflicts. This will enable the study to focus upon the differences which exist between private and public memorials materiality, biography and landscape positioning. Analysis will also be conducted into the existence of any contrasting narratives which may have been presented by these private forms. Also it will identify if any distinctive patterns have occurred in the public and private processes of remembrance and forgetting. The thesis will also include the investigation into the burial monuments of war casualties and (identified) veterans. These will be incorporated within the private memorial category, as they usually commemorate single individuals and were funded by the families of the deceased. The exceptions to the private funding of headstones are the CWGC war graves, which can be interpreted to have presented official narratives of sterilised conflict remembrance (e.g. Heffernan 1995). These CWGC headstones therefore arguably present a third narrative and range of memories from the private grief and bereavement of personal remembrance forms, and from the local communal and civic memorials.

The war memorials which will be studied from the South Hams and East Devon areas will articulate three distinctive types of memory, the private or familial, that of the wider local community or local authorities, and the national (CWGC). The methodology is therefore designed to be inclusive of all categories of memorial erected within public spaces (i.e. village halls, churches, churchyards, cemeteries, roadside, etc.) during the twentieth century. Equally important commemorative activities and forms also occur within the homes of the bereaved, which perhaps complimented or conflicted with official and publically located commemorative narratives (Carr 2010; Saunders 2000). These privately located forms will not however be considered within this thesis as access may prove difficult. Especially as death in conflict of family members is such an emotive issue, and homes often a very private and guarded space. The problems and difficulties which could occur in gathering a complete, or even representative sample, meant that their inclusion within this study was unfeasible.

The publically located war memorials materialise memories of conflict, and as such acted to relieve much of the *burden* of remembrance for communities and individuals (Young 1999). The

creation of these fixed locations of public and familial remembrance enabled communities and individuals to express grief and pride, as well as reaffirming identities after the traumatic events and bereavements' caused by conflict's (Osborne 2001c; Laqueur 1994; Moriarty 1997; Winter 1995b). Therefore although the creation of a permanent monument does not lead to the forgetting of the events or people commemorated, it does produce a limited (and partially fixed) interpretation, which leads to their gradual forgetting over time. Public war memorials, unlike many other memorial types, or the majority of private examples, have had the benefit of often remaining the foci of ritual activities and conflict remembrance throughout the twentieth century. These remembrance rituals have continually renewed, refreshed, and attached new memories and significances to these war memorials (Gregory 1994; Marshall 2004; Walter 2001).

The methodology is designed in order to attempt to understand not only some of the original meanings of the designers and planners of each war memorial, but also of the changes in their value. This will be achieved by analysing how the form and context of each memorial changed over time, and in trying to identify any wider patterns. The biographical changes which are identified for war memorials should also lead to the recognition of some memorials which have been forgotten or lost (e.g. Marshall 2004). Comparisons between these *forgotten* examples and those which have continued to flourish will enable further discussions about the nature of memory, and identify if any aspects of memorials forms or locations were more liable to being forgotten. The thesis will analyse the *memory and forgetting* which war memorials attempted to embody (see also King 2001; Rowlands 2001). This will be achieved by studying all of the publically located war memorials within the two study areas, and putting these within their wider local and national contexts.

The changing biography of war memorials in the study areas, particularly in terms of their contexts and form, will be used to understand some of the shifting meanings and memories of conflicts and of the memorials themselves. Changes in the nature of remembrance and collective memory will be particularly evident in the failures of those memorials which have been lost or superseded by other commemorative forms, but will also be apparent through other physical changes. The study will be restricted to publically located (or formerly located) and tangible

monuments, rather than scholarship or awards, and will therefore incorporate all of the memorials recorded by the UKNIWM (UKNIWM 2009) and CWGC (CWGC 2009).

**4.1.2 Identity**

Memory is completely entwined with identity, and war memorials materialise various identities (just as they do memories) through their locations, materiality, their associated remembrance rituals and material culture (e.g. Gordon and Osborne 2004; Hay *et al* 2004; Saunders 2003; Johnson 1995). Identities are far from static, and changes in identity can lead to physical alterations in the memorials' forms and surroundings, while the memorials themselves can also help shape identities, becoming symbols of shared origins, community, history and futures (see Walls and Williams 2010; Bartlett and Ellis 1999). War memorials can also reflect several different identities within the same memorial, both personal and communal, acting as expressions of local, regional, national, and international identities. War memorials achieve this by commemorating the local aspects of international conflicts, such as through the use of local materials and craftsmen, and by the commemoration of local people and events. Identity is also linked closely to power relations, especially in terms of whose identities are most strongly emphasised in a memorial. For example, is a Christian identity (i.e. the wording of inscriptions or the use of Christian symbols) more explicitly emphasised in war memorials located inside church boundaries (where the church could more emphatically emphasise their control).

Identities are expressed, contested and altered through public war memorials, and although the construction of memorials attempted to fix and articulate particular identities, these have subsequently shifted and mutated over time (e.g. Johnson 1995). By focusing upon visiting each memorial in two large and geographically separate study areas this thesis will be able to analyse and contrast the identities (and memories) which were originally articulated through each monument. The project will also analyse how these identities have changed over time, and become materialised in the archaeological record through alterations being made in their form, inscription and surroundings of each war memorial. The approach adopted in this study will attempt to understand the identities which war memorials expressed through the analysis of the forms, locations, inscriptions and biographies of each memorial. The connections between identity and power relationships which are expressed by war memorials will also be touched

upon in this study, supplementing the extensive coverage this has already received (for example, Rainbird 2003; Tarlow 1997; Gough and Morgan 2004). However, it is not solely whose identities these memorials reflect, but how identities were articulated by war memorials, and the reasons behind the successes and failures of these attempts to emphasise different identities through the forms, locations, and inscriptions.

The interrelationship between private and public identities and memories was a process which was essential for a public monument to have meaning and significance to the individuals within that community and to function as intended in communal remembrance (Bartlett and Ellis 1999; see Fig. 4.2). War memorials also exhibit differences between different religious identities, which were expressed through their forms, inscriptions and locations, and the contrasts and similarities between conformist and non-conformist memorials is something which will be analysed through the inclusion of all war memorials from the study areas (see also Gaffney 1998). Particularly of note will be the differences (or lack of them) which occur within those communities and parishes which have more than one church, and how these communities chose to remember conflicts. Did they erect separate memorials or work together and place a single memorial in a neutral location? This is possible to analyse through the surviving documentary records (e.g. O'Kelly 2008), but will also be materialised in the number of war memorials to each major conflict, and the contrasting choices of locations and forms within, and between, parishes. The competition to emphasise different identities in war memorials which occasionally occurred between religious groups, could also involve other communities, such as ex-servicemen groups, the bereaved, the local elite, and the authorities. Therefore the roles these individuals and groups may have played in the commemorative processes will also be considered in this study.

*Figure 4.2 – The First World War memorial board in St Mary's Church, Diptford, was funded by Major G.M. Conran. The consequence of this memorial being instigated by an individual was that it is his and his family's identity, which is most strongly emphasised. However, it was (and is) still accepted by the wider community as a suitable public memorial because it commemorated all who served and died from the parish (Photo: Author).*

### 4.1.3 Landscape

War memorials do not sit in isolation, but are part of a wider landscape, often within a functional everyday landscape (e.g. a village green or cross roads), as well as part of a commemorative and ritualised landscape (i.e. tied to remembrance activities and the Church of England). The choice made by communities and families in the locations used for every war memorial created links to the existing landscape, its meanings, and how these spaces are/were used. The placement of war memorials also established links between the memorial with the history and character of the communities in which they represented. An appreciation of the spatial context of a memorial is therefore vital in understanding the memories, identities, and associations these monuments

attempted to create, and how attempts had been made to preserve them. In addition, the changing use of the space around memorials often reflects changes in the memorials meanings, and the role it had in society and remembrance over time (e.g. Osborne 2001b).

In order to understand the landscape setting of war memorials it will therefore be essential to focus upon maps and plans of the sites, and to conducting visits to these memorial sites. These sources will enable the study to include investigations into the roles the visual (and to a lesser extent the aromatic and acoustic) landscapes had upon the placement of each memorial, and its subsequent role in embodying changes in remembrance, memories, and identities. The prominence and visual impact of the memorials themselves within the landscape is also an important consideration, which can only be ascertained through visiting these sites and a complementary desktop based assessment. By focusing upon field-visits to these sites, and supplementing this with evidence from maps, plans and documents it will be possible to record the relationships between memorials with topography, natural features, existing buildings, the Church, and other war memorials or commemorative media. The detailed investigation into the landscape of each memorial will produce a series of results, which can then be compared to indicate if any common themes emerge, such as positional preferences.

Amongst the relationships which will be analysed in this study is the placement of war memorials in relation to the routes and pathways within communities. The associations which exist between war memorials and directions of movement will be investigated through the same datasets gathered from site visits and map evidence. For example the questions asked will include; are these memorials located on the main road into the village; and do the memorials have footpaths or defined directions of approach and movement? By asking these questions it should be possible to understand how people moved and interacted with the memorials in both formal and informal commemorative ways and in an everyday capacity. The approach will also assist in understanding how the location of existing roads and paths partly determined a memorial's orientation and location.

The liminality (i.e. on boundaries and junctions) and, or, centrality (i.e. in the middle of the village or church), of war memorials are also important issues which will be explored. Especially in terms of considering the creation of semi-sacred spaces around public war memorials, which

they were either placed within or had attempted to create. The liminal and yet central placement of memorials is not only a relationship which may be present within each settlement, but also exists in the spatial relationships between war memorials and other important communal spaces such as the church, churchyard, village hall, and other public memorials (see Fig. 4.3). The context of each monument and the reasons alternative locations were not chosen is an essential aspect in attempting to archaeologically interpret the choices and motivations behind the location of each individual war memorial, as well as enabling comparisons to be made between each memorial. Again this will be analysed through site visits which will scrutinize the location and relationships which exist between war memorials and their historic setting, and within the subsequent landscape which has emerged around them.

The study will also attempt to take into account that some war memorials may have been moved, or had dramatic changes in their location for a variety of reasons, such as the construction of later buildings, road widening, or tree planting. These moved memorials therefore gain new associations and meanings through these changes in landscape, particularly where they have been physically moved, but also in situations when developments and structures have encroached upon their physical space or visual impact. The thesis will attempt to ascertain why these changes have occurred and how it has affected the memorials' relationships to their surroundings, and what these modifications embodied or created in the meaning, memories, and identities connected to each war memorial.

*Figure 4.3 – The First World War Roll of Honour in St. John the Baptist's Church, Littlehempston is located in the porch of the Church. The close relationship between war memorials and entrances, both in churches and other buildings is a common association. The choice is not only liminal because of it being on the boundary between the inside and the outside of the building, but also between the sacred and the profane spaces. It is also a very visible and prominent location, which can therefore be seen as 'central' to the community, as it was prolifically encountered (Photo: Author).*

The landscape that existed before, and the landscape which was subsequently created and altered by the construction of a war memorial, is a key component in understanding the meanings and memories the design committees intended for the memorial. The changes that occur in the landscapes around war memorials can also be interpreted to have partially reflected the successes or failures of the memorials organisers, and of their changing significance in community memories and identities. By investigating the contemporary and past landscapes of each war memorial through site visits, maps, and documentary records, should allow for an understanding to be established into the significance which is placed upon each memorial. The (dis)continuing role war memorials have played within communities during the twentieth century can also be interpreted through these landscape changes. By studying the landscape in which the memorial is located, the *place* which was thereby created by the memorial, and that in which it now exists,

will reflect some of the changing meanings, memories, identities, and associations which war memorials have represented to Devon's communities.

### 4.1.4 Materiality

Twentieth century war memorials are amongst the most explicit material objects located within the landscape, especially in terms of the material traces of the conflicts that they commemorate, which for the majority of the twentieth century had left greater physical traces upon foreign soils. War memorials have material properties both intentionally and unintentionally created by their designers. While other material aspects of these memorials have occurred naturally (or often been denied) over time, such as weathering, the fading of inscriptions, and lichen growth. It is the material properties of war memorials which express how the organisers of the memorials intended the conflict to be remembered or forgotten. This is essential in both their successes and failings as commemorative forms (Saunders 2003).

The symbolism, size, shape, colour, texture, form, wording, style of script, and decoration, all effect how the monument is viewed, understood, and the conflict and its casualties remembered (or forgotten) within communities (e.g. Fig. 4.4). A huge combination of different material aspects can occur and despite the *assumed* ubiquity of twentieth century war memorials, great variation does exist (Trigg 2007: 297). A huge variety of different choices were possible for every organising committee, and many of the choices made will have expressed very particular meanings, histories, memories and identities. This is not to suggest that every material aspect of a war memorial's materiality was intentionally chosen to have significant meanings. Many aspects were probably not considered in detail, especially as mass-produced designs and forms were frequently selected (e.g. Sherman 1994: 188). However, each memorial's materiality is specific to its social and physical context and this study will attempt to analyse this through the detailed recording of the memorials materiality during site visits and through documentary research.

*Figure 4.4 – The Brampford Speke War Memorial Entrance, which is comprised of two large granite gate posts, a material which dominates the external war memorials of Devon (Photo: Author). Ironically however much of the granite used in Devon is of Cornish (or other) origin rather than from Dartmoor, as the majority of the Dartmoor quarries had closed by 1918, although the end of the war and growth in commemorative forms did create a short-lived revival (Stanier 1986).*

The materiality includes not only the form and material the memorial is made from, but also the more ephemeral material objects, which become temporarily or semi-permanently associated with the memorial, such as flowerpots and wreaths. The relationships with nature, especially with flowers, plants, trees and the lawned grounds in which many memorials were located, as well as temporary tributes of cut flowers, remembrance crosses and wreaths are an important part of the materiality of the commemoration of conflict (e.g. Gough 2004b: 250; Marshall 2004: 48). These ephemeral material parts of commemoration include not only plants, but also other objects related to remembrance, and those used as part of commemorative rituals, such as string to secure wreaths, or chalk marks on the pavement marking places for people to stand during ceremonies. These ephemeral material elements are as important an aspect of the commemorative functions of these sites as the more permanent material elements. However, it will not be possible to ascertain the ephemeral traces of earlier commemoration activities archaeologically, but the current processes hint at the evolving nature of remembrance, and of the changing roles which war memorials have had over time. The photographing and recording

of these traces during site visits however, is an aspect which has received little attention elsewhere, despite being an integral part of the archaeology of conflict remembrance.

### 4.1.5 Biography

The biographies and histories of the development of war memorials is an essential part of this archaeological study, particularly with regards to the physical changes in the materiality and surrounding landscape of the memorials. The histories and changes which occur to the forms and surroundings of a memorial both determine the meaning and also act as reflections of its meanings. In order to understand each war memorial's biography, it is therefore essential to consider the ways in which the monument was intended originally to be remembered, and why, and how, its meanings have been transformed (e.g. Rainbird 2003). The study will achieve this by conducting searches through the written records, as well as by visiting and recording each war memorial, looking specifically at what different choices were made in the form, inscription and positioning, and how have these been physically altered. For example, how have the changing memories and emotive significance of the conflicts represented in material changes to a monument's form and surroundings? The changes over time could be investigated both within each individual commemorative project, such as the changes between the initial proposed design and the final memorial, and also the differences in choices made by a community over time, and also between parishes. The timing of a monuments' erection is also an important aspect of the memorial's biography. For example, it only became appropriate to raise a monument to many events after some considerable time, such as the commemoration of deserters, animals, and evacuations (e.g. Black 2004).

Equally important in the biographies of memorials is what has been omitted, and therefore forgotten. The inclusion of who or what, is not commemorated by these war memorials, and do these individuals or aspects get commemorated elsewhere by other memorials or other commemorative media. The study will therefore include those elements which have been forgotten since a monument's erection, especially those aspects of a memorial which were deliberately emphasised during the erection or planning, but which have since become largely ignored, reinterpreted, or forgotten. For example, a large proportion of war memorials in Devon have the dates 1914-1919 inscribed upon them (instead of 1914-1918). This not only reflects the

dates when a large proportion of the Devonshire Regiment were still in active service, and therefore still suffering casualties, but also when peace was confirmed by the signing of the Treaty of Versailles (Larnder 2006: 4; Hanson 2005: 412-13). However these facts are forgotten and many assume it reflects deaths from the effects of active service.

The processes of forgetting and remembering have not only been accidental, as in the case of the dates above, but also through the deliberate actions and omissions often by individuals and groups who have re-appropriated the meanings and memories for their own purposes. For example war memorials often act as foci for protests (e.g. Fig 4.5). It is these contrasts between the forgotten and remembered, which have often resulted in dramatic changes in both the biographies and forms of war memorials, with the amendment of names or dates often made to these existing memorials, or more dramatically the construction of new commemorative forms which correct these forgotten aspects, and readjust the remembrance of these conflicts. This study will not however attempt to uncover the forgotten or ignored aspects of conflicts, but rather through the detailed investigation of all war memorials within the two study areas discuss how the recovery of *forgotten* or neglected memories has resulted in alterations to the commemorative landscape, and to the biographies of war memorials.



*Figure 4.5 – Anti-war protestors in front of the Exeter and Devon War Memorial, Northernhay Park (Photo: Kate Phimister in Parks 2003).*

The biographies of war memorials can be multi-layered, and it is important to emphasise contestation, remembering and forgetting within each memorial's biography. The biography of a memorial has very close links to its landscape and form, with changes in these affecting, and reflecting, the memorial's biography. However, a memorial does not have to be physically altered either in its form or location for its significance in remembrance or identities to be altered, and hence for a memorial's biography to evolve. The biographies of war memorials relate closely to the people who interact with them, both in terms of their identities, memories, emotions and experiences of communities and individuals.

## 4.2 Methodology

The designed methodology includes extensive fieldwork, which will comprise the recording of all publically located war memorials, war graves and commemorations of military identities or events from within the two study areas. Support will be drawn from a desktop based assessment of the sites, from maps, the UKNIWM database, primary accounts (particularly contemporary local newspapers and memorial committee minute books) and also secondary sources, such as recently published rolls of honour (e.g. Williams and Evans 1997; Mettler and Woodcock 2003; Side 2009). The analysed dataset does not however include those memorials and commemorative objects erected in the homes and private spaces of the bereaved. The methodology was designed having considered the disadvantages which would have been created by using approaches such as oral histories (e.g. Gray 2005), or in conducting the detailed survey of each memorial. Both of which as techniques would have only enabled the study, given its time constraints, to focus upon a much smaller group of memorials than is possible using this broader survey.

The methodology draws upon phenomenological approaches, in that in will involve visiting (and thereby experiencing) each war memorial within the two study areas. These site visits will include writing detailed and structured notes and extensively photographing each memorial, following a standardised recording form (Appendix Four). This will result in an approach which is considerably more methodical and detailed than is common within most archaeological applications of phenomenology (e.g. Tilley 1994). This is particularly appropriate given that different people will have experienced each war memorial in a variety of ways, depending upon their own memories, experiences, identities, and their spatial and temporal context. The author

will however gain a greater insight into the meaning and experience of each memorial through these visits. It will be impossible to understand how any one individual or group will have interpreted and interacted with these memorials beyond one's own experience of these sites (e.g. Barrett and Ko 2009: 279). This is not to suggest that there is no validity in this approach and the direct experiences of visiting and encountering a site or object should be an essential part of any archaeological study, but that it should not be utilised as a methodology on its own (Fleming 2005: 930; *Ibid* 1999).

Despite it not being possible to directly experience war memorials as one of the bereaved, designer, or commissioner it will be possible to focus upon how attempts were made to control and restrict people's experiences. For example, how the memorial was designed to be approached and encountered from certain directions and in specific ways. In consequence it is possible to interpret each memorial's intentional (and unintentional) objectives; the range of possible interpretations and experiences of these memorials. This study will draw upon phenomenological methods, but only in conjunction with the empirical recording, photographing and data processing for each memorial.

The recording form which will be used in this study (Appendix 4) was composed by the author, with its basis having being derived from the recording methods used for the standardised recording of war memorials by the UKNIWM (Appendix 2**) and by Mytum (2000) for headstone (Appendix 3). The UKNIWM form has been extended to include considerably more detail about the location of each memorial, and particularly the physical and contextual relationships which exist with other commemorative media, plants, war memorials, and buildings. The UKNIWM lack of detail regarding the locations of war memorials is understandable given their focus upon recording (and preserving) the monuments themselves. However, this is also a problem with the detailed recording form and methodology which Mytum (2000) outlines for headstones and churchyards (Appendix 3). Both recording forms treat the positioning of memorials as a largely secondary concern to the detailed recording of the form and inscription of each memorial. For example the UKNIWM recording form does not even include some of the more basic levels of detail, such as the orientation of the memorials.**

Mytum does in contrast discuss the importance of making *an accurate plan of the burial ground* as part of any churchyard recording process (2000: 137). The compilation of an overall plan of a cemetery or churchyard does however result in the loss of some of the specific detailed contextual relationships which existed. This is particularly true within the remit of this study which is restricted to the investigation and recording of only a small minority of the memorials within a church or churchyard. In contrast to studies which analyse the whole churchyard the direct spatial relationships are much more important to consider for each individual memorial within this study, and as such detailed plans or surveys of war memorials, churches or churchyards will not be compiled.

The emphasis upon forms within Mytum's work will provide much of the terminology which is used within this study, particularly the categorisation of cross types (Mytum 2000: 108-109), headstone shapes (*Ibid* 110-117), and for additional features, such as text panels, kerbs, and decorative elements (*Ibid* 118-128). The use of this terminology will thereby extend beyond the more limited terms used by UKNIWM, which is, by necessity of the numerous volunteer recorders, simplified. The prominence given by both the UKNIWM and Mytum's recording sheets to the form and inscription of memorials will be largely maintained in this study. Some of the detail is however considered to be unnecessary. For example, the recording of accurate dimensions for each memorial is considered superfluous in this study, because whilst it is important in relation to the visual impact of war memorials, and also provides direct evidence of the financial capabilities of communities, estimated measurements will suffice. This is also partly an ethical decision. Having conducted several test surveys which included the detailed measuring of memorials, several members of the public and a member of the clergy raised issue with the measuring being *disrespectful to the dead*. No such issues were raised when solely photographing and recording these sites in notes, and so the surveys became more concentrated upon detailed photographic records and sheets. However it was also decided during the trial study that the inscriptions would also not be copied in the field, and would solely be documented through the photographic record, mainly because this proved a time consuming process which was awkward when a key holder had enabled access.

**4.3 The Fieldwork Processes**

Although this study can be viewed as having multi-disciplinary influences, it still remains an explicitly archaeological investigation of war memorials, and as such, the main source of information will therefore be derived from extensive fieldwork and recording.

The fieldwork will involve extensive photography, taking a panoramic sweep of the views from the monument, and also photographing the monument from a variety of distances, particularly from the direction(s) of approach. The photographic record will also include photographs of the spaces, objects, buildings, and particularly other commemorative forms which have close relationships with each memorial, not only of a visual or spatial relationship, but also with regard to dating. The other recording process which will occur during these site visits is the sketching of plans and the annotation of maps with details about vegetation, street furniture, other memorials, structures, and direction(s) of orientation and approach. To contrast with these observations I will take a series of photographs and notes on alternative locations within the same parish, which have typically used for war memorials elsewhere in Devon. In this way it will hopefully be possible to ascertain why certain locations were chosen over others, such as a higher visibility, or the existence of another memorial. As part of the fieldwork I will also gather data on all publically located war memorials, and in contrast to many other studies, this will include the graves and headstones to the war dead and veterans, and the relationships between these headstones and other war memorials. For the fieldwork, only a limited amount of equipment will be required, which consists of a digital camera, scale, compass, clipboard, maps, the recording forms, and all of the known information already gathered about the sites.

**4.4 The Historic Records**

The importance placed upon visiting and recording the war memorials from the two study areas will be used in conjunction with information gathered from the historical records, which will be used to support the patterns and conclusions made. The historical records will not only be used to provide evidence of who organised a monument, its designers, and dates of their erection, but also of some of the debates and conflicts which occurred during their planning. This information will be used to further emphasise the evidence gleaned through the archaeological investigations of these memorials, their locations and biographies. Therefore, the patterns suggested by the

archaeological record about the forms, locations, inscriptions and biographies of monuments identified through the fieldwork will be supported (or undermined) by the historical evidence.

The Devon Record Office's (DRO) and Westcountry Studies Library's (WSL) contain a huge number of resources relating to war memorials, and the processes behind their funding, design, construction, and unveiling. The DRO for example currently contains 25 war memorial committee minute books (on 25/7/09), several rolls of honour, as well as numerous other written records concerning the construction of war memorials. The records held vary in their detail, depth and geographical spread, and for the majority of parishes there are little or no contemporary records about the construction of war memorials, beyond requests from churches for permission from the cathedral authorities (e.g. Stockland War Memorial Tablet Faculty (DRO 1215Aadd6/PW1)), or brief mentions in the Parish Council Minutes (e.g. Yarcombe Parish Council Minute Book 1894-1941 (DRO 1150A/PP2)). Those that do have detailed records can be used to support or disprove many of the interpretations made during this study, particularly in relation to the motivations behind choices in form and location, thereby validating or damaging the use of an archaeological approach and methodology. However, the lack of historical records which survive in relation to many of Devon's war memorials does in itself provided added validity to an archaeological survey and investigation of war memorials.

Although individual parish records and minutes frequently contain further information concerning both the erection and the subsequent treatment and physical changes to war memorials and are another useful source, these will not be used to their full potential within the remit of this study, which focuses upon the physical remains. The written records are not the main focus of this study, and a separate thesis can be written based upon these records, as has already been the case for other areas of Britain (for example, Gaffney 1998; Grieves 2000; 2001; etc.). The study therefore focuses upon the written records which are connected with the two study areas rather than those for the whole region.

This selective use of the historic records will also be applied to local newspapers. Local newspapers often include detailed information relating to the erection of most public war memorials in Devon, and of details about many of the individual casualties, burials, and sometimes of private memorials. They are only used to a limited extent in this study, with the

Totnes Times and the Kingsbridge Gazette used for the South Hams study area, and the Express and Echo (Exeter's Paper) for East Devon.

The other important resource which this study will utilise is Ordnance Survey Maps, in particular the first County Series Revision which was published from 1891-1912 and the second County Series Survey, published from 1904 to 1939. Edina Digimap (2009) is an invaluable resource which will allow quick and easy access to maps of varying dates, from which comparisons can be made. Print outs of these maps will be used on field visits, with annotations of additional information such as trees, flowerbeds, and benches appended onto these maps. These maps will then form the basis for plans of these sites, and be used for comparisons to be drawn between different memorials and communities' commemorative strategies.

## 4.5 Creating a Database and Presenting the Results

The information gathered from the fieldwork and documentary research will be entered into a Microsoft Access 2007 database. This database will be compiled to include the details recovered for each war memorial from the two study areas, and from the other sites visited across the rest of the county (See Appendix 6). Some of the categories would be difficult to create into standardised answers, and I have had to create a series of simple fields for some of the information. Other fields have required more detail, such as the inscriptions which will be fully reproduced in the database. By including all of the details recorded during this study a very large catalogue will be produced, which will enable fair comparisons to be drawn between memorials and of the wider commemorative patterns which exist. This database will also be linked with a photograph of each memorial taken by the author to enable quick visual comparisons to be made (Appendix 6). The study will attempt to gather data on all of the war memorials within the two study areas, which will be supplemented by including in the database the same level of information and recording about other war memorials within the county.

The aim of this study is not solely to produce a database of monuments, as national lists of war memorials and war graves already exist (e.g. UKNIWM 2009; CWGC 2009; TWGPP 2009). It is the interrogation and particularly the detail included about each memorial which will set this research apart. The gathering of data and its integration into an Access database is only the first step, and it is the presentation and the discussion of the results which form the key element of

this research. The database is itself included as two appendices (Appendix 6 and 7), while the results will also be analysed and displayed through the production of a series of graphs (see Chapters 5-7). This will emphasise not only the percentages of various types of materiality, landscape, and biography within the two study areas and the region, but also lead the discussions upon the issues of memory and identity which are so intrinsic to these memorials' meanings and significance.

**4.6 Summary**

The methodology is designed to archaeologically investigate the roles memory, identity, landscape, materiality and biography played in the construction, maintenance and social significance of war memorials in the twentieth century. Although the methodology draws heavily upon the existing recording processes put forward by Mytum (2000) and UKNIWM (2009), it greatly extends their practices, particularly in relation to the individual context and surroundings of each war memorial. The information recorded during this fieldwork and desktop based assessment will be used to compile a database of the war memorials within the two study areas and from a wider sample from across Devon. This database will then enable comparisons to be made between memorials, parishes, the two study areas, and against wider regional, national, and international studies.

# 5.0 CASE STUDY ONE: THE SOUTH HAMS

This chapter sets out the findings of the investigation into the commemorative arrangements of war memorials from the 60 parishes in the South Hams Study Area (see Fig. 2.1 and Appendix 1). The results from these parishes are discussed in relation to various aspects of the patterns which occur in the commemorative landscape. This will especially focus upon the materiality, location, biography and inscriptions of these memorials. Several comparisons are made to the East Devon study region; although these will also be continued in the subsequent chapter's analysis. The commemorative data (see Appendix 6) is thereby used to underline the contrasts and similarities which existed in the commemorative arrangements made throughout the twentieth century within the South Hams, and to those occurring in East Devon.

**5.1 Introduction**

For the South Hams study area a total of 1334 war memorials were recorded during this study (see Appendix 6). This is by no means every war memorial which had been erected in the region, with those memorials erected in homes, businesses, schools, and society clubhouses (e.g. Masonic lodges) the most likely to have been neglected. This study has not deliberately sought to record these privately located examples due to the difficulties encountered in accessing these spaces, but those examples which were recorded on UKNIWM database have been included (UKNIWM 2009). A few further memorials may have potentially been overlooked, and these are most likely to include examples which were placed in unusual or concealed locations. Although potentially other memorials may have been missed, especially those that took the forms of awards, commemorative names, utilitarian projects, or of obscured headstones. Therefore although this study has been extensive the 1334 recorded memorials are not an exhaustive total, especially given the continuing evolution of these spaces and the addition (e.g. Slapton Sands Memorial Tank Limited 2007) or recovery of further memorials (e.g. The Herald Express 2008b). The figure can however be taken as being representative of the range of memorial types, locations, and forms, which existed in the twentieth century. It also touches upon the earlier and continuing traditions of conflict commemoration encountered in the region.

The majority of the memorials in the South Hams (80.8% of them) have been categorised as private memorials (Fig. 5.1a). A substantial proportion of which take the form of burial monuments (43.1%) and were erected by CWGC over the course of the twentieth century (Fig. 5.1b). This high percentage of burials also occurs within the East Devon study area, which although having a lower number of CWGC headstones (186 compared to 294 in the South Hams), has an only slightly inferior 42.7% of memorials categorised as burial monuments (Fig. 6.1b). The dominance of CWGC headstones amongst the South Hams memorials emphasises that despite the majority of service casualties having been buried away from the homes of the bereaved (see Lloyd 1998; Winter 1995b; Heffernan 1995), significant numbers were buried in their home parishes (see CWGC 2008) affording families the chance bury, grieve and visit their loved one. The higher proportion of CWGC headstones which occurs in the South Hams compared to East Devon (which has 20.1% CWGC memorials) is largely the result of the use of

Dartmouth and to a lesser extent Salcombe and Kingsbridge as ports and bases for service personnel. This has resulted in higher numbers of non-residents (particularly during the Second World War) being buried in these town's churchyards and cemeteries than occurred in East Devon. For example, Salcombe has 24 CWGC burials from the World Wars, which is considerably higher than the East Devon towns of Honiton (with eight) and Axminster (with thirteen) despite their larger populations during the first half of the twentieth century (see Appendix 1).
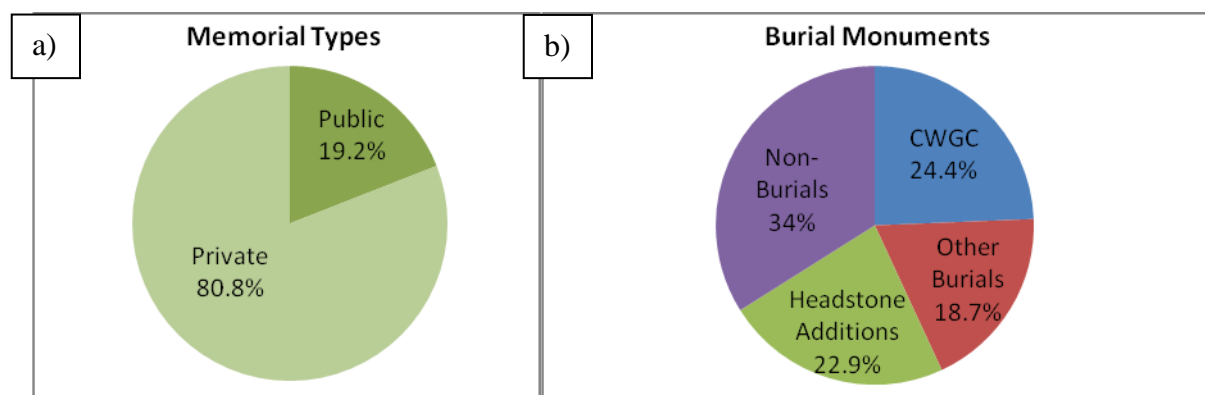


*Figure 5.1 – The percentage of public and private war memorials in the South Hams (a). A large proportion of private memorials take the form of burial monuments, and almost a quarter of the recorded war memorials in the region were erected or are maintained by the CWGC (b).*

The memorials recorded in this study have also included those erected to commemorate pre-twentieth century conflicts. The choice to incorporate these was in order to enable the investigation into the influences (if any) which these earlier war memorial types may have exerted upon the locations, forms, and inscriptions of the regions twentieth century memorials. In total 100 (7.5%) of the recorded memorials in the South Hams were erected before the twentieth century (Fig. 5.2a), which is only a slightly higher proportion than the 7.2% recorded for East Devon (see Fig. 6.3a). These were erected in commemoration of a wide range of conflicts, battles and military veterans (see Fig. 5.2d). However, the majority date to the nineteenth century, although 7% of examples (and a slightly lower 5.1% in East Devon), date to the eighteenth century. A further eight memorials in the South Hams (0.6%) were erected during the twentieth century in commemoration of earlier conflicts (see Fig. 5.2b and 5.3). Several further 20th century memorials were also likely to have been erected to veterans of nineteenth century

conflicts. These have been included within the twentieth century figures however as the names of the specific conflicts in which they had served were not included upon the memorial inscriptions. Pre-twentieth century memorials therefore only form a minor part of the commemorative landscape for both study regions.
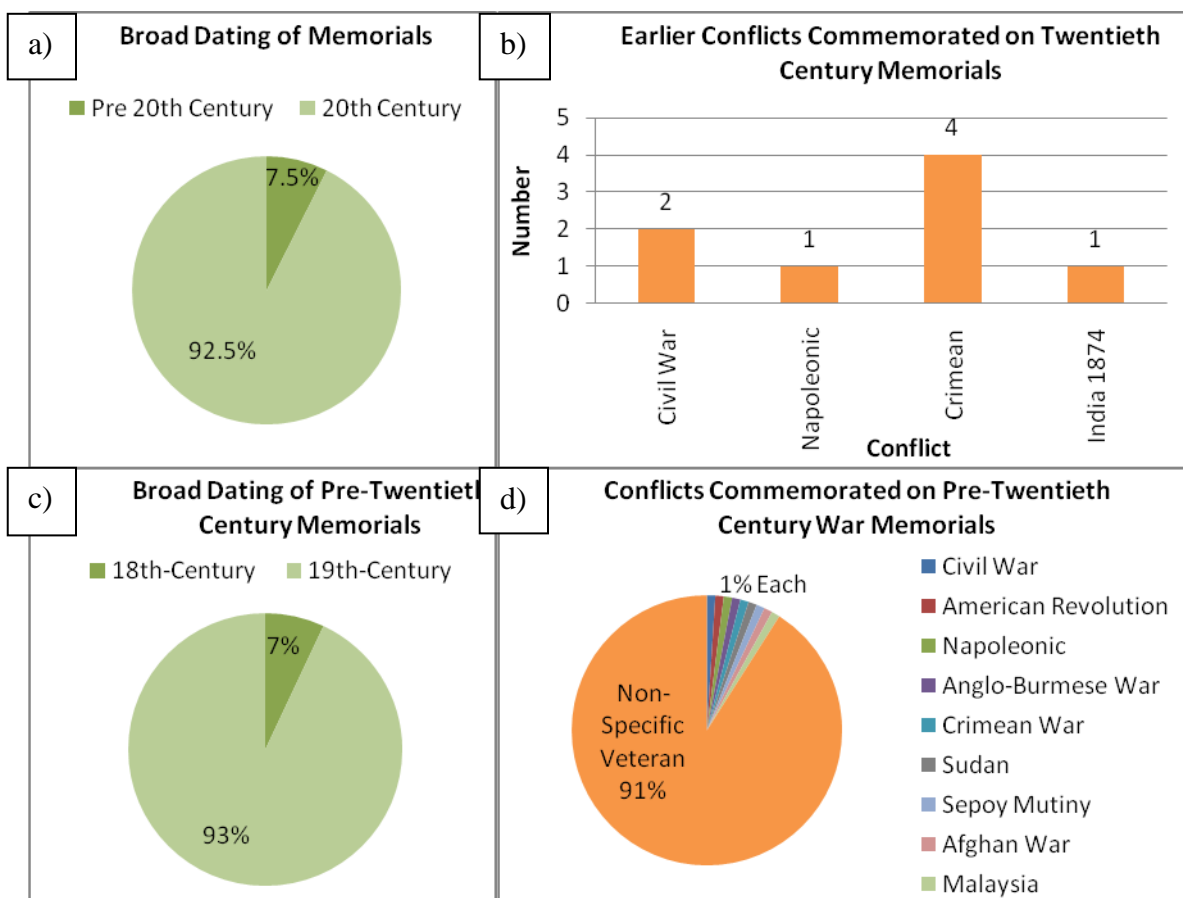


*Figure 5.2 – The broad dating of the war memorials of the South Hams (a), although a small number of pre-twentieth century conflicts were also commemorated by twentieth century memorials (b). The majority of the pre-twentieth century war memorials date to the nineteenth century (c), and include examples erected in memory of a range of conflicts (d).*

The erection of memorials to pre-twentieth century conflicts during the twentieth century was a largely later phenomenon, with the majority having been erected since 1995 (e.g. Figs. 5.3a-b). They have also continued to be erected into the twenty-first century (e.g. Fig. 5.3c). The growth in numbers can be viewed as a reaction to the growing interest in local history, and also of the direct influence commemorative formats such as English Heritage's Blue Plaque Scheme

(English Heritage 2009; Quinlan 2005: 369) have had in the commemoration by local councils and other interest groups of important individual's connections (e.g. Figs. 5.4a and 5.4c). The commemoration of earlier conflicts in the twentieth century is also a reaction to the lack of physical presence that these individuals or battles had within the twentieth century landscape, and of their virtual absence in community's memories and identities. It can perhaps even be viewed as a counteraction to the saturation of the landscape by twentieth century conflicts narratives and memorials. In that these earlier conflicts enabled councils and parishes to present to the community and wider public a more distinct history and identity than was possible through twentieth century conflicts narratives (see Walls and Williams 2010 for exception).

The erection of memorials to pre-twentieth century conflicts in the twentieth century is therefore a reflection of an increased desire not to forget *relevant* individuals, events, or conflicts. The process of remembering *relevant* individuals is also apparent in other late-twentieth century memorials and commemorative actions. Such as the corrections that were increasingly (and have continued to be) made to existing monuments, as seen on Kingswear's and Berry Pomeroy's First World War Memorial Boards (Fig. 5.62a and Fig. 5.62b). The events or individuals which were deemed *relevant* had largely been determined by local councils and veteran groups. These agencies actions were often stimulated by interested individuals (see Small 1989; Lewis 1990), or by the families of the deceased.



*Figure 5.3 – A few examples from the South Hams of the commemoration of earlier conflicts during the twentieth century include the Runaway Lane Civil War memorial plaque at Modbury (a), the Mount Batten Civil War Memorial on Lawrence Road, Plymstock (b), and the Trafalgar Oak (yellow arrow) in St. Lawrence's Churchyard, Bigbury (c), which is located adjacent to the parish's First World War memorial (blue arrow) (Photos: Author).*

The commemoration of earlier conflicts during the twentieth century can be viewed as being largely atypical, and it is apparent that in the few instances in which memorials occur in the South Hams that they are largely representative of the commemoration of local battles, or of native Victoria Cross winners (VC hereafter) who had not been buried in the parish. For example, at Dean Prior three memorials were erected to commemorate Corporal John Prettyjohns (Fig. 5.4d) who was born in the parish in 1823. He had been awarded a VC during the Crimean War and had subsequently retired from the Marines to the Manchester area, where he was buried in 1887, having left no physical trace, to the parish of his birth. The commemoration of these earlier national and international conflicts in the twentieth century therefore acts in parallel to the majority of other war memorials of this date. They had been erected to highlight and remember local contributions, individuals, or events, and thereby act to mediate national narratives through local agents, narratives and identities (e.g. Fig. 5.3a and b).

The commemoration of VC winners in the South Hams also extends to that of twentieth century recipients. For example in Kingswear three memorials commemorate Lieutenant Colonel Herbert Jones, a resident of the village who was posthumously decorated for his actions during the Falklands (Fig. 5.5c). It is also seen in Dartmouth where two memorials commemorate Corporal Theodore Veale, a First World War recipient of the VC who had been born and resided in the town at the time of his award, but had subsequently in later life moved to Middlesex. These few exceptional individual's memorials are as much about local pride and identity as about commemorating the specific conflicts, veterans, or casualties. There is however a common link in the commemoration of the three VC winners discussed (Fig. 5.4a-d), in that they had all been born, or resided in these parishes at the time of their awards. They therefore stand in stark contrast to those winners of the VC who had moved to the area in later life, and were therefore buried in the South Hams (unlike these examples). In these instances the individuals have not (yet at least) received the same level of public recognition within the region as native recipients. This is perhaps partly as they are already commemorated by their burial monument's, and also because they had fewer familial connections with the area (see Fig. 5.5f-g). This process is also witnessed in the East Devon study area where the sole commemorated VC winner (Colonel Grant) was also a non-native, and is only commemorated by a burial monument in Sidmouth Cemetery (see Fig. 6.3b).

*Figure 5.4 – The commemoration of VC winners includes two memorials to Corporal T. Veale, at Royal Avenue Gardens, Dartmouth (a), two memorials to Lieutenant Colonel H. Jones in St Thomas of Canterbury's Church, Kingswear (b) and a further memorial on the Higher Ferry Slipway (c). Three memorials are found to Corporal J. Prettyjohns at St. George the Martyr's Church, Dean Prior (d). VC winners who moved to the region have not received such public recognition, partly as they were buried in their parishes of residence, as with P.S.W. Roberts' cremation tablet in Holy Cross Churchyard, Newton Ferrers (e), and Major F.C.H. Farquharson's headstone in St. Andrew's Churchyard, Harberton (f) (Photos: Author).*

The majority of the pre-twentieth century war memorials in the South Hams commemorated military veterans, rather than specific conflicts casualties, or even for that matter the names of these conflicts (see Fig. 5.2d above). It is also notable that the veterans that were commemorated tended to be officers rather than members of the *rank and file* (Furlong *et al* 2002: 9). Although four non-commissioned officers are commemorated by pre-twentieth century memorials, these individuals all had either very long durations of service, or had died as a result of an accident or

disease while on active service (see also Fig. 6.2c). For example, Sergeant Major A. Farrell's headstone in Yealmpton Churchyard was established by his *corps* in recognition of his 23 years active service (Fig. 5.5a). All of the examples which commemorate non-commissioned officers are dated to the late nineteenth century (i.e. 1873, 1890, 1894 and 1897), which emphasises that a gradual shift was occurring at this time in the perception of military service (e.g. Judd and Surridge 2003; Knight and Hewitt 2001). A similar pattern was also encountered in East Devon where three memorials were erected to non-officers who had all died after periods of long service, and not in battle. Therefore prior to 1900 commemoration of death in battle was still seemingly restricted to officers, yet the perception of military identities was changing, and is archaeologically visible through their more widespread inclusion in the commemorative landscape.



*Figure 5.5 – The headstone for Sergeant Major A. Farrell (1873) at St. Bartholomew's Churchyard, Yealmpton (a), the headstone addition for Sergeant Major G. Newcombe (1894) on his parent's grave in St. George's Churchyard, Modbury (b), and the memorial screen (and plaque) to Sergeant Major F. Bond (1897) in St. Thomas of Beckett's Church, Dodbrooke (c) (Photos: Author).*

This changing perception of military identities becomes much more explicit with the commemoration of the South African War at the start of the twentieth century (commemorated between 1900-1908) with a dramatic growth in the number of war memorials (see Fig. 5.6). The majority of these (ten of the twelve) commemorate, or include the commemoration, of men as

well as officers. The South African War therefore sets the precedent (although based upon a few late nineteenth century examples) of being the first conflict which is commemorated largely through its casualties rather than by veterans, and in commemorating ordinary soldiers as well as the officers. The start of the twentieth century therefore represents a shift in the nature of conflict commemoration, and the South African War memorials are the first symbols of this change (e.g. Fig. 5.6). It is however the First World War which most explicitly expresses this dramatic shift, with a desire to remember every *suitable* casualty and as such it is these memorials which have typically been portrayed as representing the shift in commemoration (e.g. DRO 1579A/17/44). In the two study areas however, it is the South African War memorials which should be viewed as evidence of the first widespread conflict commemoration of the *modern* era.



*Figure 5.6 – The public South African War Memorials in the South Hams are found in the Parish Churches of Totnes (a), Sherford (b), Ermington(c), Galmpton (d), and Holbeton (e and f) (Photos: Author).*

It is clear that this growth in conflict commemoration after the South African War was completely eclipsed by the veritable explosion of war memorials to the First World War. In the South Hams the First World War is commemorated upon 584 (43.8%) of war memorials in the region. It is as prolifically remembered in East Devon, being remembered by 391 memorials (43.5%). This growth in commemoration is seen on both the broader scale, and within each parish. Typified by First World War memorials occurring in 59 of the 60 parishes in the South Hams study area (e.g. Fig. 5.7), and 58 in East Devon. This is compared to only ten parishes in

the South Hams, and a slightly higher thirteen in East Devon, having South African War memorials. The other marked difference in the commemoration of the First World War from earlier conflicts is that larger proportions of the conflicts casualties died and were buried in Britain (e.g. Figs. 5.7d-g.). Although the direct experience of the conflict was limited for those who did not see active service during the conflict, there were notable exceptions within the South Hams. These were largely the result of enemy actions in the coastal waters, with several seamen of various nationalities being buried in South Hams churchyards having been killed off the coast (e.g. Fig. 5.7e).



*Figure 5.7 – The First World War memorials erected in Slapton include the Slapton War Memorial Cross (a), the Roll of Honour Frame (b), Lieutenant W. Bastard's memorial tablet (c), headstones for Private A.J. Foxworthy (d), Boatswain C. Hayter (e), Seaman J. Perring (f), Lance corporal W.F. Cole (g) and a headstone addition for Private S. Blank on his mother's gravestone (h) (Photos: Author).*

The Second World War was also prolifically commemorated in the South Hams and is listed on 446 memorials (33.4%). However unlike their First World War counterpart a significant

proportion of the commemorations of the Second World War are included upon earlier war memorials. All of these inclusions were upon memorials which were erected to the First World War, with 9.4% of First World War memorials having the Second World War appended onto them. Although there are also a small number of memorials which were erected after the Second World War which include the First World War upon their inscription or during their dedication (1.1% of Second World War Memorials). It is also apparent that the forms of Second World War memorials also often bear close relationship to First World War examples (e.g. Fig. 5.8b). This close relationship between the two conflicts commemorative forms also extends to spatial relationships between Second World War memorials and First World War examples (e.g. Fig. 5.8d). The most marked difference in the commemoration of the Second World War in the South Hams however, was created by the deaths of civilians through *enemy action* (e.g. Fig. 5.8c).



*Figure 5.8 – The Second World War memorials of Slapton, include the addition of the names of the parish's casualties to the First World War memorial cross (a), a roll of honour frame (b), and a headstone to H.S. Whitaker, a civilian killed by 'enemy action' in Slapton (c).  Three Second World War casualties are commemorated on their parents' gravestones by headstone*

*additions, namely Warrant Officer G.H. Ellis (d), Lieutenant J.H.C. Torr (e) and Marine F. Blank (f).*

The commemoration of the Second World War is therefore almost as prolific as the First World War. It stands in contrast however to post-1945 conflicts commemoration in the region. These are only commemorated on eleven (0.8%) war memorials (see Fig. 5.9b-d), a proportion not significantly different from that encountered (0.7%) in East Devon (see Fig 6.4). However, the notable difference in the memorial processes between the two regions for this commemoration of post-1945 conflicts is that in the South Hams several memorials often exist to the same casualty (and conflict) within a parish. This occurs for example at Kingswear where three memorials commemorate Lieutenant-Colonel Jones (see Fig. 5.4b-c). It is also seen in St. James' Church and Churchyard, Kingston, where four memorials list T. Randle, a casualty of the Malayan Emergency (see Fig. 5.15e and 5.23c). This pattern is rarely replicated in East Devon except for Corporal G.C. Birstow. He was killed in Northern Ireland and buried in Honiton, but is also commemorated on the town's war memorial cross (Fig. 6.5a-b). It therefore appears that the commemoration of post-1945 conflicts is slightly more widespread in East Devon, and that these remembrance activities are more commonly afforded separate commemorative forms than in the South Hams.

*F*igure 5.9 –The conflicts commemorated on the twentieth century memorials of the South Hams (a). The memorials to post-1945 conflicts are limited to a few examples, such as the H.E. Holmes headstone addition at Totnes Cemetery (b) and Captain A.F. Jenkins headstone addition in Ivybridge Cemetery (c), which both commemorate Korean War casualties. However very few public war memorials commemorate post-1945 casualties and the war memorial board at St. Petrox Church, Dartmouth (d) is amongst the few exceptions (see also Fig. 5.33d) (Photos: Author).

## 5.2 Materiality

The war memorials of the South Hams can be broken down into 25 types (Fig. 5.10). However, six of these classifications are only comprised of a single example each, namely the mosaic, award, shelter, water trough, life saver, and model categories. In fact the majority of types only occur in less than ten instances (less than 0.7% of the recorded memorials), with only fabrics/fittings, crosses, windows, and buildings occurring more frequently (see Fig. 5.10). The form chosen for a war memorial was however restricted by the location in which it was placed, and as such a clear division exists between internally and externally located memorials. This is

not to suggest that there were no common forms or themes which run between these locations, but that it provides a useful division in analysing the materiality of these memorials.
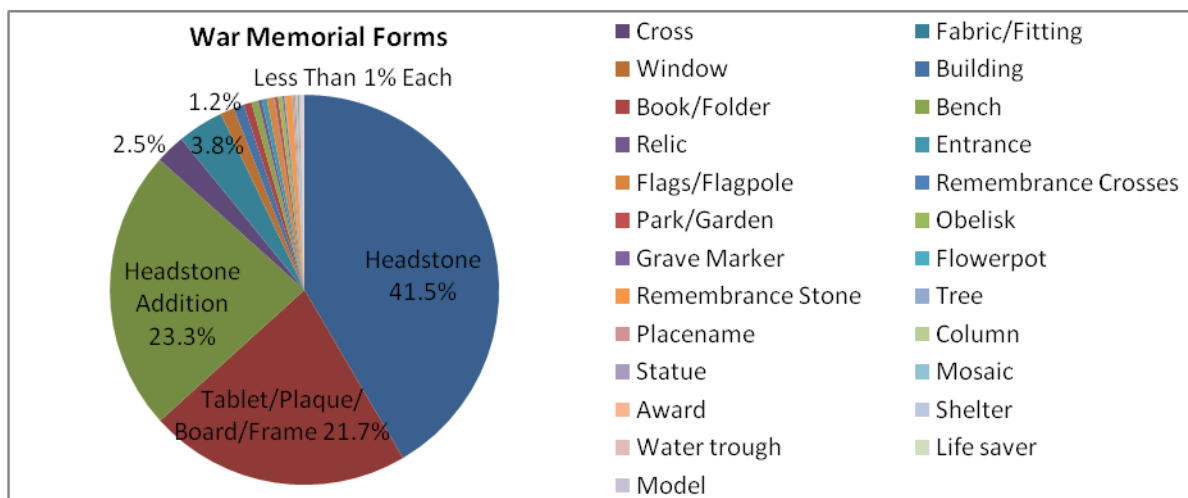


*Figure 5.10 – The percentages of the various war memorial forms recorded in the South Hams study area.*

## 5.2.1 Internal memorials

Most of the examples of internal memorials are located inside churches, although twelve were recorded in halls, schools and veteran clubs, while a further four survived in non-conformist churches (Fig. 5.11a). There are also a further two memorials (in Ermington and Salcombe) which have been moved to the local parish church upon the closure of Methodist churches. The few examples which were erected inside non-religious and non-conformist buildings all take the forms of tablets (i.e. the main visible material is stone), boards (main element is wood), plaques (main element is metal) and frames (main element is paper or card). A much greater variety of types occurs inside Church of England buildings, although it is still these four types which make up the majority (see Fig. 5.11b). They represent 76.7% of the internal war memorials in the South Hams (and 78.4% in East Devon), as well as representing 21.7% of the total number of recorded memorials (see Fig. 5.10). The use of plaques, tablets, boards and frames all represent similar choices however, with the differences in material often simply determined by the character of their surroundings, cost, durability and local, ministerial, or familial preferences. Despite these practical motivations several patterns of evolution and use of these forms exists.
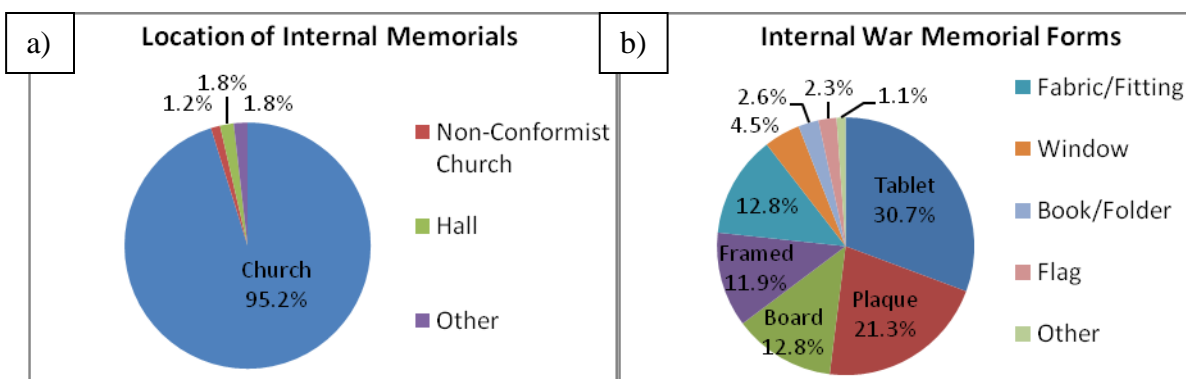
*Figure 5.11 – The locations of internal memorials in the South Hams (a) and the range of forms (b).*



*Figure 5.12 – The main internal memorials are tablets, such as from Harberton (a), plaques, as at Dartington (b), boards, as at Rattery (c), frames, such as from Chivelstone (d), folders, as at Ashprington (e), flags, such as the Cenotaph flag from Plymstock (f), and grave markers as at*

*West Alvington (g). A great variety of fabric and fittings were also utilised as internal memorials, including windows such as this one from Ringmore (h), readers as in memory of Lieutenant-colonel Hancock in Dittisham (i),altar rails, such as the one in memory of Edwin Steer at Aveton Gifford (j), and candlesticks such as to Percival Weekes in Modbury (k) (Photos: Author).*

The dominant materials which are used in the construction of the internal war memorials of the region reflect these forms, with wood the most widely used, having not only been used for memorial boards, but also often as a back for plaques, tablets, and frames (Fig. 5.13a). The specific woods which were used have not always been identifiable during this study as many have been painted, covered or varnished (over 16% of examples). A general preference though towards oak in both study regions was evident, especially amongst memorial boards, perhaps partly as a result of the desire (and often requirement) to integrate with the existing fabric and fittings of their surroundings. The majority of lighter coloured wood examples are located in halls rather than inside churches, although there was a slight growth in the use of lighter woods for Second World War boards, as occurred at Halwell (see Fig. 5.13d).
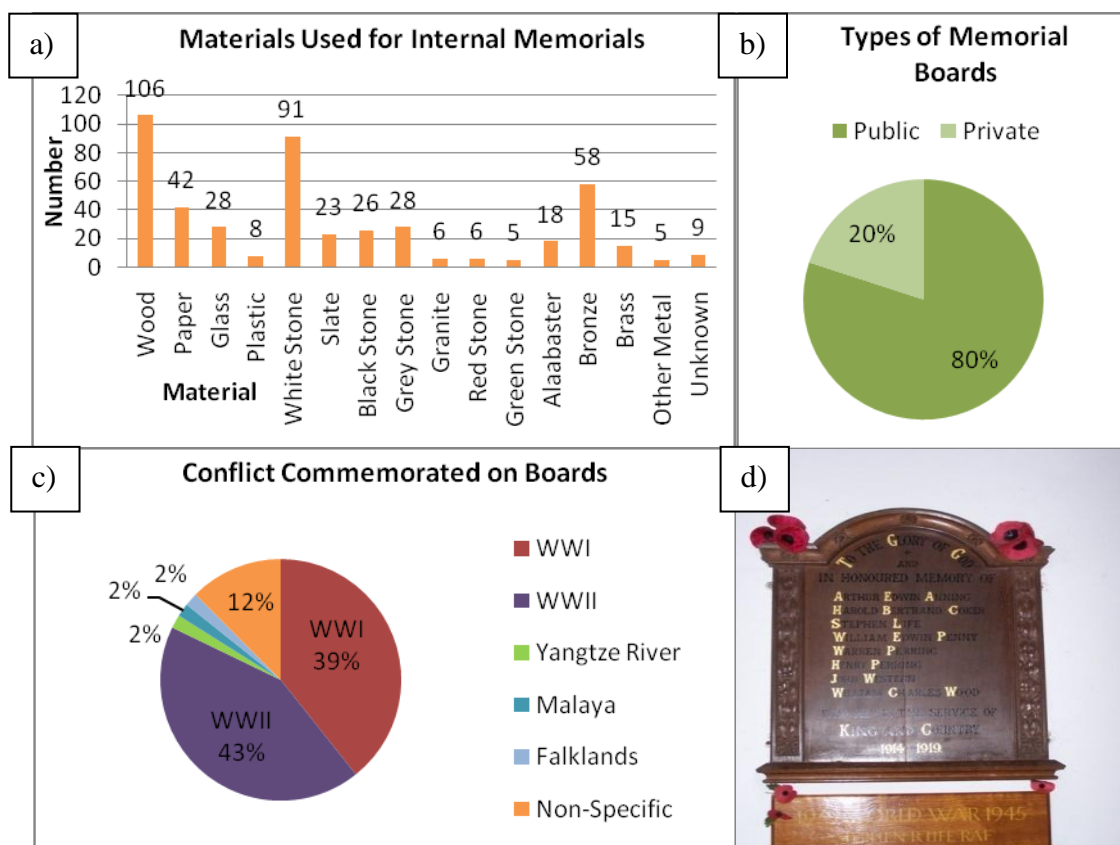
*Figure 5.13 – The materials used in the internal war memorials of the South Hams (a), this graphic does not include the materials used in commemorative fabric and fittings as their forms were largely determined by their function. The majority of the region's memorial boards are public (b), and commemorate the World Wars (c). They are also largely constructed from oak and other dark hardwoods, although lighter coloured woods became more widely used in the commemoration of the Second World War, as at St. Leonard's Church, Halwell (d) (Photo: Author).*

It is notable that the breakdown between which conflicts were commemorated on memorial boards emphasises a slight growth in their use for the commemoration of the Second World War (Fig. 5.13c). A pattern which also occurs in East Devon (see Fig. 6.12a), and is in contrast to the diminished use of tablets and plaques as Second World War memorials in the South Hams (Figs. 5.16b; 5.16d). Boards therefore have much more in common with framed memorials both in terms of their dating, and because of their prolific use as public memorials (Figs. 5.13a; 5.14a). In fact the divisions between the conflicts commemorated by framed memorials are almost identical to those on memorial boards, exhibiting a slight growth in use for the commemoration of the Second World War and very similar percentages used for both World Wars, and non-

specific conflicts (Figs. 5.14b; 5.13c). Framed memorials can however be divided into a greater variety of forms than memorial boards (Figs. 5.14c-f). The majority of which were added in the 1990s to supplement existing commemorative forms, or to adjust the commemorative narrative to include elements which had little remaining physical trace, such as of VC Winners (see Figs. 5.4b; 5.4d), bombing raids (see Fig. 5.14c), and evacuees (Fig. 5.14e).
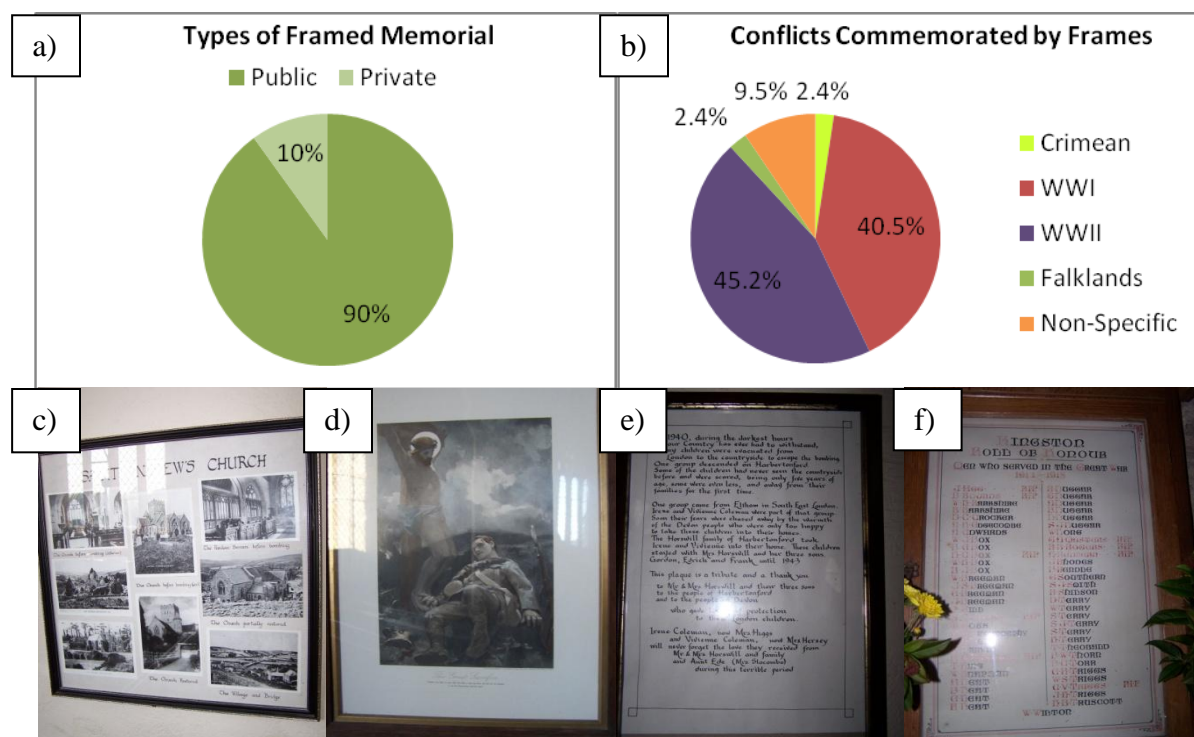


*Figure 5.14 –Framed memorials are mostly public (a) and commemorate the two world wars (b). These include examples of photographs, such as from St. Andrew's Church, Aveton Gifford (c), and paintings or prints such as of 'the Great Sacrifice' by James Clark at All Saints Church, West Alvington (d). There are also frames which provide detailed information about specific conflicts as occurs at St. Peter's Church, Harbertonford about Second World War evacuees (e), and Rolls of Honour, such as this example from Kingston (f) (Photos: Author).*

The majority of the framed memorials in the South Hams (50%) represent rolls of honour (Fig. 5.15a), a pattern which is replicated in East Devon which has 53% of its framed memorials utilised as rolls of honour. These rolls of honour typically list all who served from a parish or community in a specific conflict, and not just those who had died (e.g. Fig. 5.14f). Alternatively however these forms only listed the casualties, but provided much more detailed information

than the other parish memorials by including further details such as the casualties' full-names, regiments, ages, and dates of death (see Quinlan 2005: 105). These rolls of honour are further supplemented by the 0.65% of the memorials in the region which take the form of remembrance books or folders, as these can also be categorised as rolls of honour. These are a slightly different type because they were often compiled in recent years, although not exclusively (e.g. Fig. 5.15c), in an attempt to re-remember the individuals from the parish who had died during twentieth century conflicts. For example, the Ashprington roll of honour folder commemorates all of those killed in the two World Wars who were listed on the village's memorial cross (Fig. 5.12e). The folder dates to 2003 and is located in St. David's Church and typifies the desire to re-remember by stating in its introduction that *...it occurred to some of us that we know next to nothing about these young men*.

Frames, folders, and books are not however the only examples of rolls of honour in the region and nine further monuments commemorate all who served (Fig. 5.15b). The majority of these examples (seven) are boards (e.g. Fig. 5.15d), which again underlines the close similarities in the commemorative functions of boards and frames in the twentieth century. A further two rolls of honour, at Littlehempston and Aveton Gifford (Fig. 5.15e), take the form of tablets. This pattern of different memorial forms being used for rolls of honour was also recorded in East Devon, and there are similar proportions of memorial boards (five examples) and tablets (two examples). The notable exceptions in East Devon however are the three external rolls of honour to the First World War, which occur in the form of an obelisk at Willand (Fig. 6.54d), a memorial cross at Sowton (Fig. 6.34a), and a lych gate at Widworthy (Fig. 6.23c). The division between the conflicts commemorated by rolls of honour is almost identical for both regions (see Figs. 5.15b and 6.13b). This sees the commemoration of the First World War dominating, and the majority of Second World War examples occurring in parishes with existing rolls or at least First World War antecedents. In the South Hams this is seen for example at Slapton (Figs. 5.7b and 5.8b), but in at least five other parishes (Modbury, Strete, Chivelstone, Noss Mayo, and Newton Ferrers). A process which is also repeated in East Devon, with four of the five framed rolls occurring in parishes which had surviving First World War precedents (e.g. Fig. 6.13e).
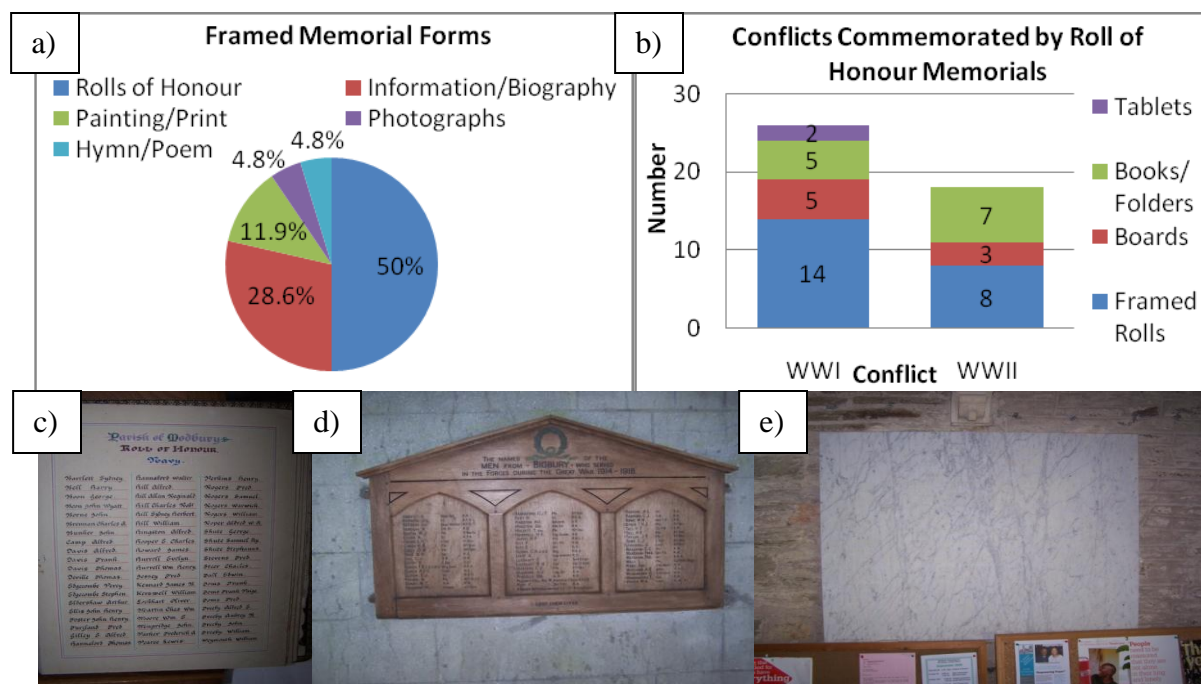
*Figure 5.15 – The breakdown between the various types of framed memorial in the South Hams (a) emphasises that 'rolls of honour' are the dominant type. These rolls of honour all commemorate the World Wars (b), and not only take the form of frames but also include books (and folders), as at St. George's Church Modbury (c); boards, such as at St. Lawrence's Church, Bigbury (d); and tablets, as at St. Andrew's Church, Aveton Gifford (e) (Photos: Author).*

Rolls of honour were typically amongst the earliest types of public war memorial which were erected after (and frequently during) the First World War, and to a lesser extent the Second World War. These early forms and lists can be seen to have partly influenced subsequent commemorative forms, and not only in terms of the compilation of Second World War rolls. The clearest examples of an evolution in commemorative from rolls of honour are seen at Aveton Gifford (Fig. 5.57d), Bigbury, Kingston (Fig. 5.34d) and Modbury. In these few parishes external First World War memorials list the casualties in the order of death, and rolls of honour survive nearby. The evolution process is also hinted at by several commemorative forms in other parishes. Such as in Newton Ferrers, Dartington (Fig. 5.12b), and Holbeton (Fig. 5.34e), where the names upon the main parish war memorials are in the order of death, and are therefore suggestive of the compilation of lists/rolls during the First World War. These three examples do not however have surviving (contemporary) rolls, either as they have subsequently been lost, are

held by private individuals, or only survive in the parish records (e.g. DRO 6231A/PX1; Brine 2009c). The arrangement of names by other means does not however signify that rolls of honour had not been compiled, just that they may not have so dramatically influenced these later forms. For example, in Chivelstone the war memorial cross lists the First World War casualties in order of rank (then alphabetically), yet the Roll of Honour inside the church lists the names in the order of enlistment (Fig. 5.12d).

The limited use of tablets (and the non-existent application of plaques), for rolls of honour in the South Hams does not reflect a lack of use of these forms for twentieth century war memorials (Fig. 5.11b). In fact tablets and plaques are the most prolific of internal memorials in the twentieth century (Fig. 5.16a), and tablets were also extensively used in pre-twentieth century conflicts commemoration (Fig. 5.16b). The majority of tablets and plaques are private memorials (Figs. 5.17a-b), a pattern which is also true for East Devon (Figs. 6.15a; 6.18a). However the proportions in East Devon suggest that they were slightly more frequently employed as public memorials (39.8% of tablets and 32.6% of plaques) than in the South Hams (33.3% and 28.4% respectively). This pattern coincides with the lesser use of boards and frames in East Devon, and can be argued to be evidence for a greater concern with durability, and perhaps also a greater investment (financial and temporal) in commemorative forms by these communities. It is also suggestive that the temporary commemorative forms (of boards and frames) were perhaps viewed as more suitable to act as one of the main commemorative elements within the South Hams than in East Devon. This is typified by Dean Prior, which chose to erect a war memorial cross, but did not include the names upon the memorial, with a roll of honour frame (circa 1918) retained opposite the church's entrance.
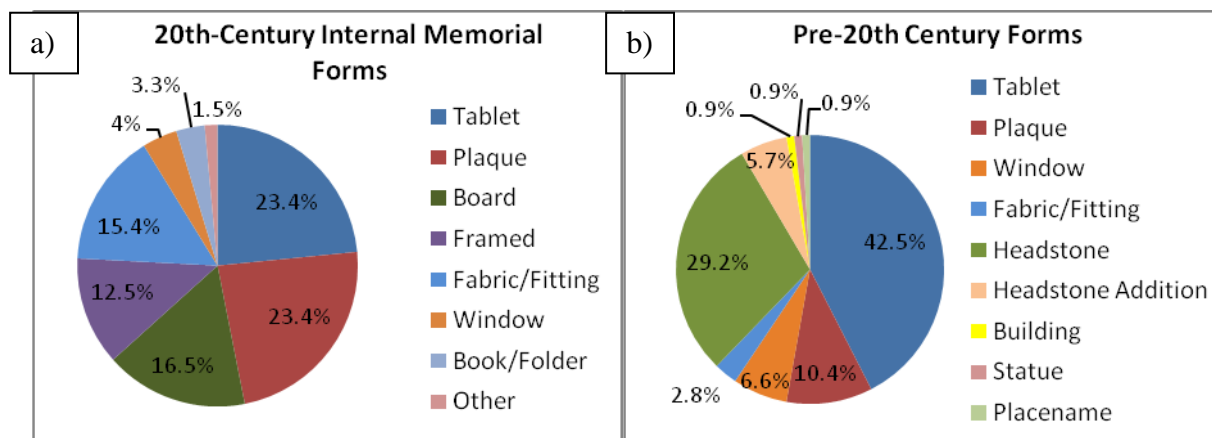
*Figure 5.16 –Tablets and plaques dominate the internal memorials of the South Hams in the twentieth century (a), and they were also the most prolifically used varieties for pre-twentieth century memorials (b).*

Almost half of the memorial tablets in the South Hams are to non-specific veterans (Fig. 5.17c) a pattern which is replicated in East Devon (Fig. 6.15b). Plaques also have high proportions which were erected in memory of military veterans (32%) a statistic also seen for East Devon (26.5%). Although the majority of plaques in both areas, 48% in the South Hams and 39.8% in East Devon, were erected to commemorate First World War casualties. The sharp contrast in the commemorative functions of tablets and plaques to boards and frames is underscored by this drastic difference in use. This is most distinguishable in the relative lack of use of memorial boards and frames for the commemoration of military veterans. The pattern of use for these forms is a reflection of the less immediate needs families of the deceased to commemorate veterans' deaths, while the boards and frames, particularly those which take the forms of Rolls of Honour evidence the raw needs of bereaved communities to publically express grief. The evolution of commemorative needs and forms during the First World War (and to a lesser extent the Second World War) is thereby materialised by the development of war memorials from these immediate needs, to the creation of permanent records (see also Trigg 2007: 307). The retention of many of these frames (and to a lesser extent boards) after the World Wars emphasises that the emotional connection, which communities had established during the war years to these forms had ensured their survival, despite their function usually having been replaced by more durable forms.
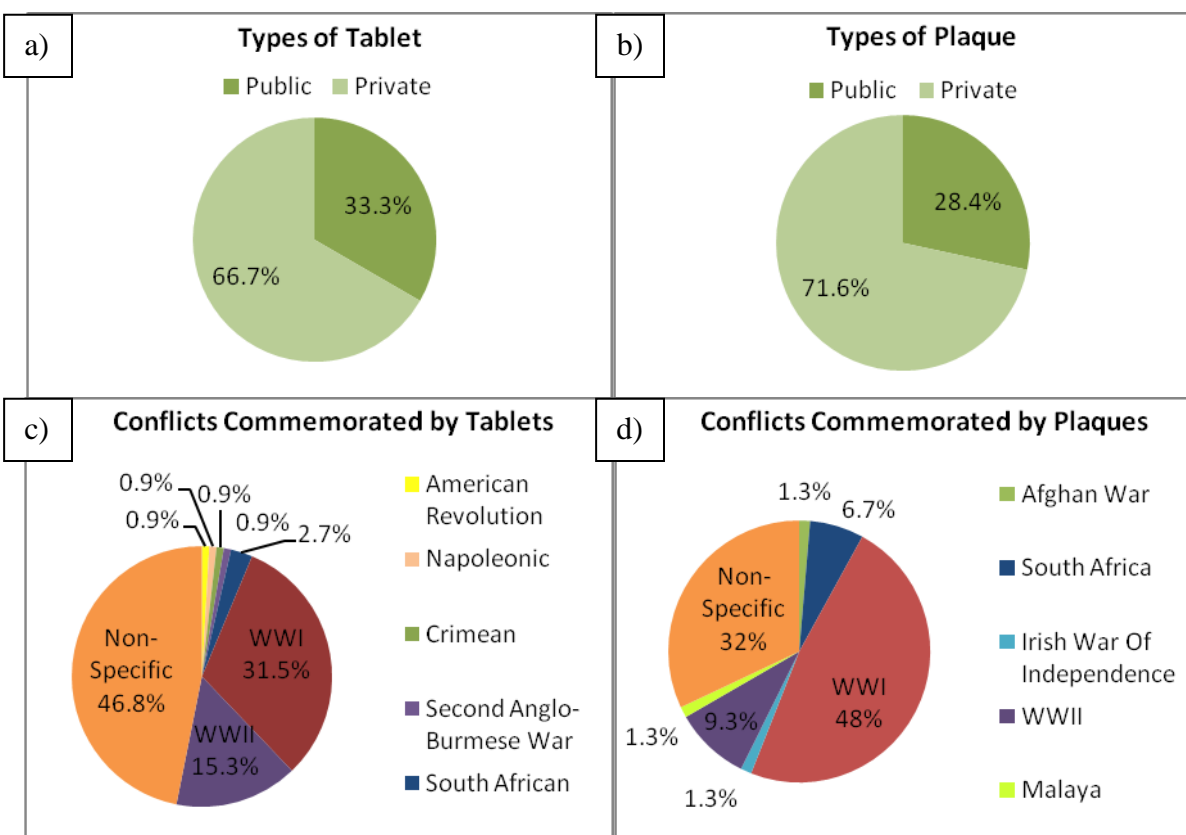
*Figure 5.17 – Tablets (a) and plaques (b) are typically private memorials, an aspect that is reflected by large proportions of tablets (c) and plaques (d) being to veterans of non-specific casualties.*

### 5.2.2 Utilitarian memorials

The other main group of internal war memorials found in the South Hams can be broadly categorised as fabric and fittings (Fig. 5.12h-k). These elements are usually found inside churches and include a range of examples, from the large scale additions and refurbishments which were typically publically funded, such as altars, bells, chapels, tower clocks, organs and pulpits. To smaller scale fittings such as candlesticks, alter crosses, bowls, and shelves, which were usually erected by bereaved families rather than wider communities (Fig. 5.18a). These commemorative fabric and fittings can be categorised as one of a group of memorials which are classified as utilitarian (see 5.18b). This classification as *utilitarian* means that all fabric and fitting memorials had functional applications which fulfilled *everyday* needs, as well as having symbolic and commemorative functions (Inglis 1992; Furlong *et al* 2002: 5). Utilitarian constructions although common only constitute 7.5% of the regions memorials, with symbolic

memorials dominating the total (Fig. 5.18c). It is however the fabric and fittings which represent the majority of these utilitarian constructions in the South Hams, with 3.8% although this rises to 4.9% if windows are included (Fig. 5.10a).
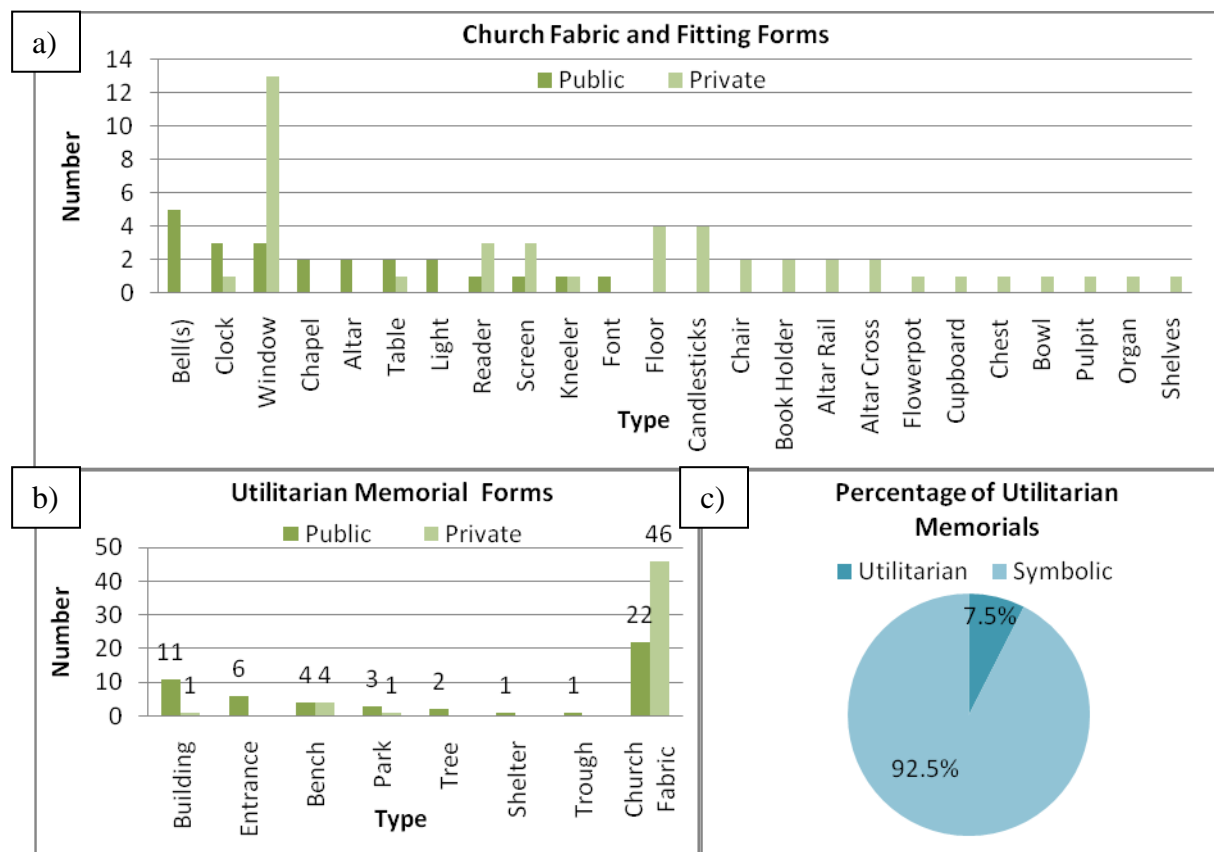


*Figure 5.18 – The breakdown between the fixtures and fittings used as war memorials (a). It is these fixtures and fittings which dominate the utilitarian memorials of the region (b), yet utilitarian memorials only form a minor part of the commemorative landscape of the South Hams (c).*

Windows although often included as a utilitarian fitting (e.g. Furlong *et al* 2002) are a slightly more complicated commemorative form than other utilitarian constructions, because despite being physically part of the fabric of churches they usually contain elaborate decorative elements. The decoration gives them more in parallel with purely symbolic memorial forms such as tablets, plaques, boards, and frames than with other utilitarian constructions (see Fig. 5.19). The equally prominent symbolic function of memorial windows can be viewed as accounting for them being the most prolifically encountered utilitarian form in the region (see Fig. 5.18a). An aspect supported by the fact that the symbolic possibilities, which were enabled through the use

of windows, were utilised to their full potential in the majority of instances. The sole exception to this occurs in St. Petrox Church, Dartmouth. This window did not utilise any symbolic decoration, although the scheme included two other purely symbolic memorials nearby (namely a restored cross and memorial board). This single example in the South Hams can therefore be identified as the sole completely utilitarian window in the region.

There are only three public war memorials, located at Ringmore (Fig. 5.12h), St. Petrox (Fig. 5.19e), and Kingswear (Fig. 5.19d), all of which commemorate the First World War. A further four private examples commemorate the First World War, while the four examples erected to commemorate the Second World War were also all privately funded in commemoration of single individuals or families (e.g. Fig. 5.19a and c). Memorial windows are however much more prolifically used in East Devon, which although having the same number of private examples (thirteen), has seven public examples (Fig. 6.20a). This significantly higher number of public memorial windows suggests that it may have been viewed as a more appropriate form for public commemoration in East Devon than in the South Hams. This may have perhaps been as a direct influence of Exeter, and specifically the County's South African War memorial window (Fig. 7.9a) and the Devonshire Regiment's Second World War memorial both in Exeter Cathedral. This is supported by the majority of the examples being located in parishes within fifteen miles of Exeter Cathedral. Exeter's high profile memorial windows may therefore have provided some inspiration for these public commemorative schemes, but other more local motivations are also likely to have been influential. For example, at Broadclyst the vicar (Rev. C.P. Whitaker) lost his son in the First World War and led the parish's commemorative scheme to erect a public memorial window as he planned to also erect a window to his son (Figs. 6.41a; 6.41d).
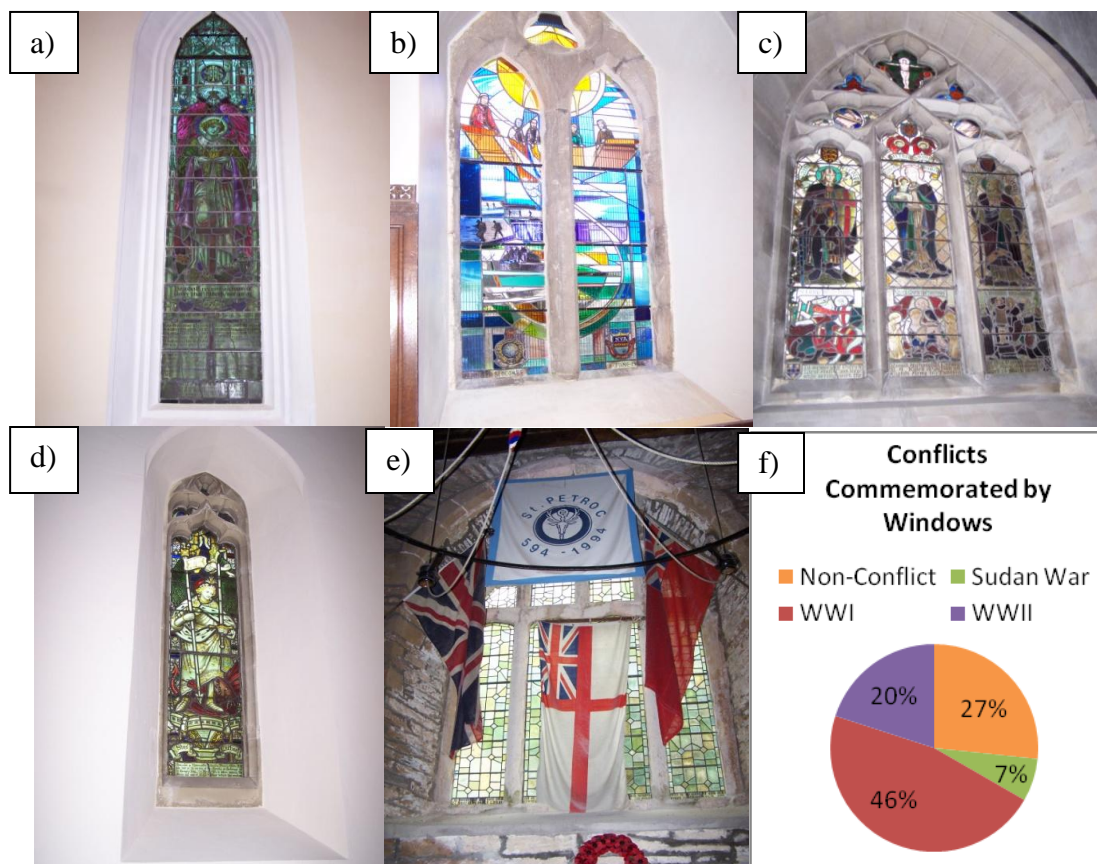
*Figure 5.19 – The de Courcy Stretton family window at Holy Trinity Church, Salcombe (a), K. Slocombe's window at St. John's, Hooe (b), Lieutenant De Cready's window at St. Bartholomew's Church, Yealmpton (c), Commander Gibbs' window at St. Thomas of Canterbury's Church, Kingswear (d), and the First World War memorial window in St. Petrox Church, Dartmouth (e). The breakdown between the conflicts which are commemorated by memorial windows emphasises the dominance of the First World War (f) (Photos: Author).*

The other utilitarian memorial categories (see Fig. 5.18b) are all externally located memorial, yet are included within the following discussions as they are representative of the similar functional motivations as commemorative fabric and fittings. This is best exemplified in the broad patterns of the dating of these utilitarian types (Figs. 5.20a-b). This reveals that although a greater number of public utilitarian memorials were erected in external locations, that there is a direct correlation between the two groups of utilitarian memorials. The utilitarian memorials of the region are largely restricted to the commemoration of the World Wars (Fig. 5.20a), or to veterans of non-specified conflicts (33 examples), with only four exceptions erected to other conflicts (e.g. Figs.

5.20c and 5.3c). Almost all of the utilitarian war memorials have been erected in the twentieth century and largely since the First World War. The exceptions to this pattern largely take the form of windows, with only two other pre-twentieth century examples (Figs. 5.20d-e). A similar pattern occurs in East Devon which also has seven pre-$20^{th}$ century memorials, four of which are windows. This emphasises that utilitarian war memorials are largely a twentieth century phenomenon, with the exceptions of stained-glass windows and a few other church fittings and public house names.
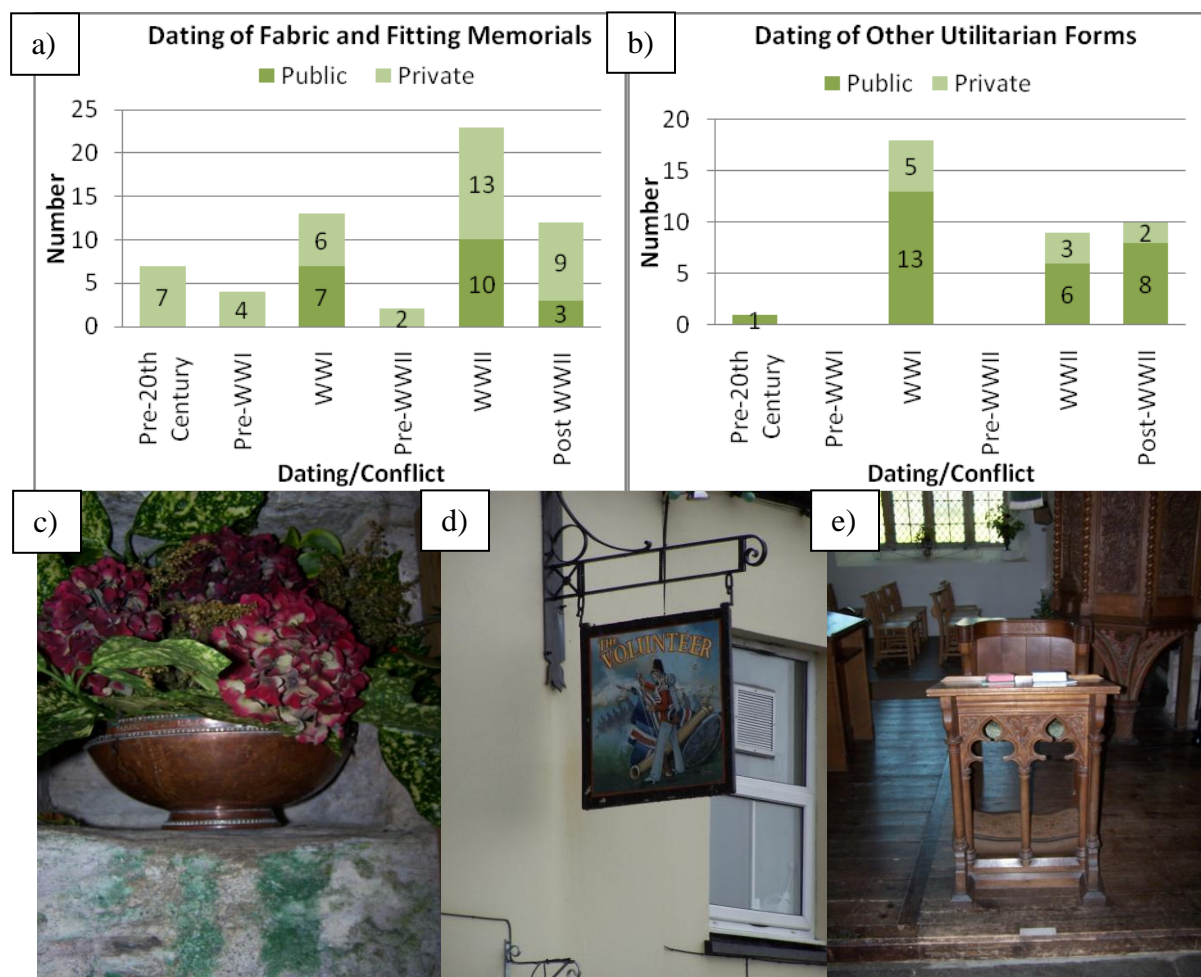


*Figure 5.20 – The dating of the fabric and fittings in the South Hams are largely restricted to the commemoration of the world wars (a), a pattern which is further emphasise by the other utilitarian memorials of the region (b). Only four utilitarian memorials are to other named conflicts in the South Hams, such as the T. Randle Bowl (Malayan Emergency) from St. James' Church, Kingston (c). A limited number of utilitarian memorials date to before the twentieth century, such as the Volunteer public house (nineteenth century name) in Yealmpton (d) and*

*Lieutenant W.H. Wyllys' memorial reader (circa 1873) from St. James' Church, Slapton*
*(Photos: Author).*

All of the public utilitarian memorials which were erected in the South Hams after the First World War functioned as only one element of the public commemoration of the conflicts within parishes. This process of dual commemoration was furthered during the commemoration of the Second World War, with the names often added to existing symbolic memorials and a similar number of utilitarian projects embarked upon (Fig. 5.20a). This is particularly evident amongst examples such as clocks (and bells), which although prominent in terms of the visual and acoustic landscape were not suitable for the inclusion of inscriptions as they would be rendered largely illegible or unseen upon their installation. For example, at West Alvington the tower clock was added as the parish war memorial, but was supplemented by two tablets, two framed images, and also atypically for the study area by two grave markers returned from Flanders (Fig. 5.21). There is a stark contrast however between the two study areas in the use of war memorial clocks, because the South Hams has four examples (one is only a part of a clock), while none were recorded from East Devon. This disparity could simply be the result of the majority of East Devon churches already having clocks installed (e.g. Goodall 2007). It may also reflect the prominence of clocks and clock towers in nearby Torbay (Mallock's Clock 1902) and Plymouth (Derry's Clock 1862, refitted in 1920) influencing the memorial schemes of the South Hams. The four war memorial clocks in the South Hams all commemorate the First World War, which in part supports this suggestion, but also perhaps provides evidence that they were no longer seen as a suitable commemorative, as by placing emphasis upon time so directly evokes absence (and grief) as much as remembrance.
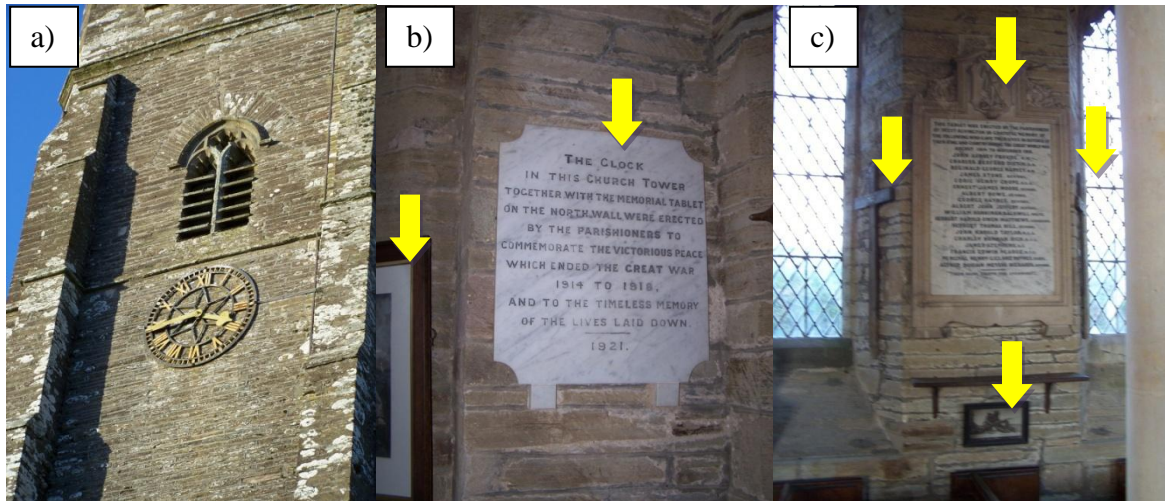
*Figure 5.21 – The war memorial clock on All Saints Church tower, West Alvington (a), was supplemented by a memorial tablet explaining the clock's dedication, a framed print (b), a framed photograph, a further tablet listing the names, and two grave markers (c) (Photos: Author).*

### 5.2.3 External war memorials

A much greater diversity exists amongst the external war memorials of the South Hams than their internal counterparts, both in terms of forms (e.g. Figs. 5.22b and Fig. 5.23), but also in terms of locations (e.g. 5.22d). Headstones dominate the external memorial types with 56.3% of external examples being burial monuments, and a further 31.6% being headstone additions (Fig. 5.22a). The majority of the recorded external memorials are therefore to be found in the churchyards and cemeteries of the region (5.22c), and even when burial monuments are discounted from these figures (5.22d) it is these traditional commemorative locations which still contain the largest proportion of external memorials (43.2%).

a)

b) **External Memorial Forms**

- Headstone
- Headstone Addition
- Other Monumental
- Utilitarian

3.8%
8.2%
31.6%
56.3%

c)

d) **Breakdown of External Monumental Memorial Forms**

- Obelisk
- Pillar
- Statue
- Other Stone
- Board
- Framed
- Relic
- Mosaic
- Remembrance Crosses

3.7%
1.2% 1.2%
2.5%
1.2%
Plaque 18.5%
Cross 42%
Tablet 9.9%
9.9%
6.2%
1.2%
2.5%
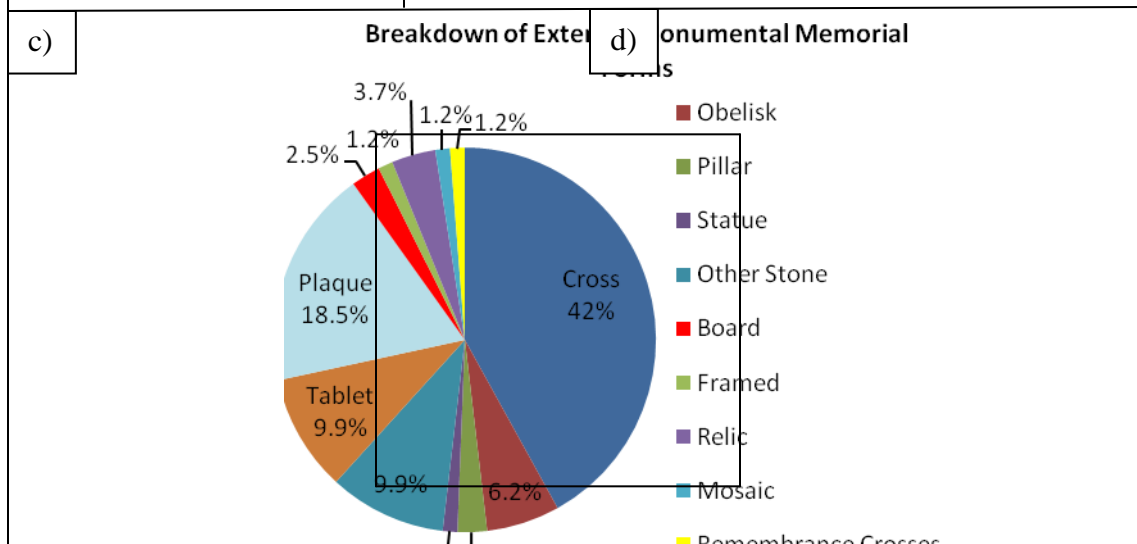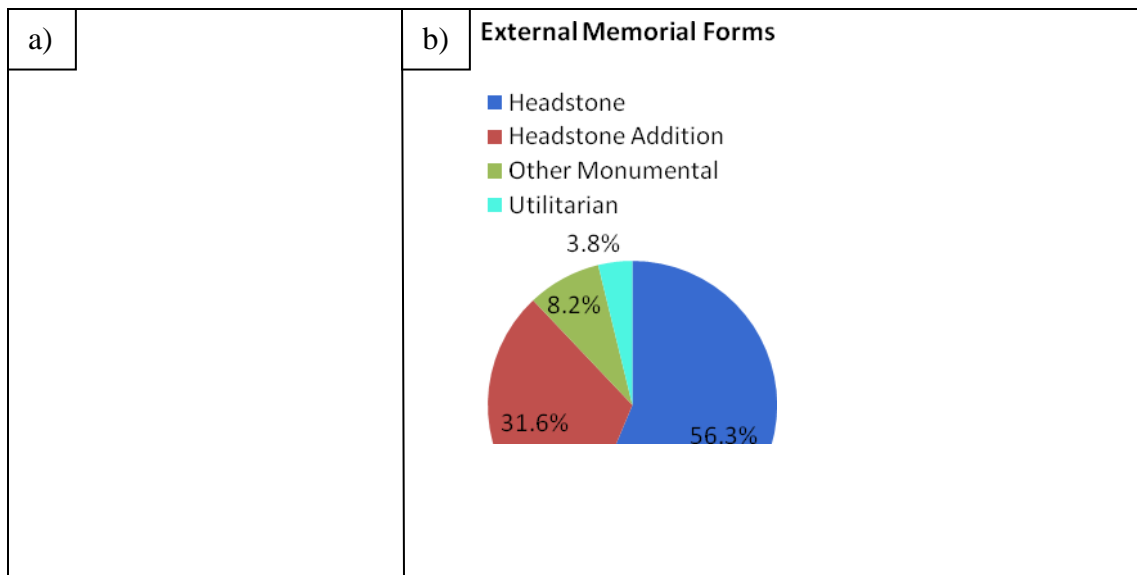
**Locations of External Memorials**

1.3% Less than1%
1.5%
1.5%

- Churchyard/ Cemetery
- Site Occurred
- Main Road
- Garden/Park

Village Hall
Road Junction
Village Green
Other Road

93.3%
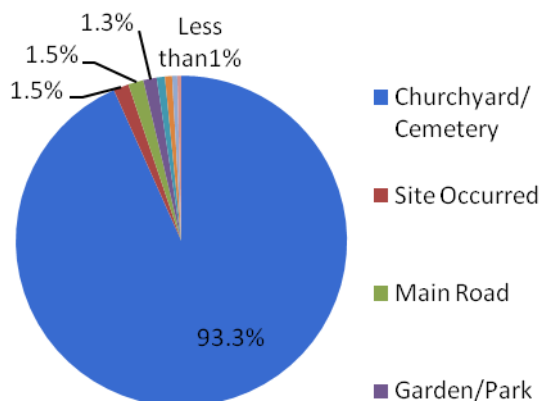
**Locations of Non-Burial Memorials**

4.2% 4.2%
4.2%
5.1%
7.6%
11.9%
11.9%
11.9%
43.2%
11.9%
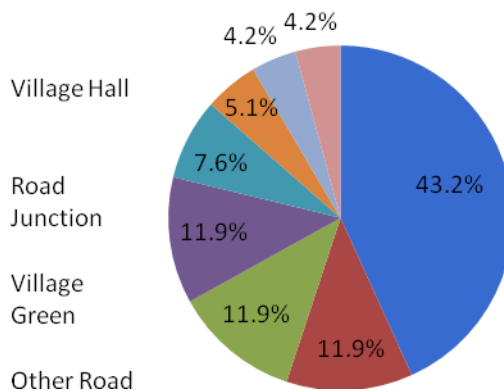
*Figure 5.22 – The external war memorials of the South Hams are dominated by headstones and headstone additions (a), although a multiplicity of other monumental categories and utilitarian memorials exist (b). The dominance of the churchyard and cemetery in the locations of memorials is partly a reflection of the huge numbers of burial monuments (c), and a greater diversity is evidenced if burials are removed from this analysis (d).*
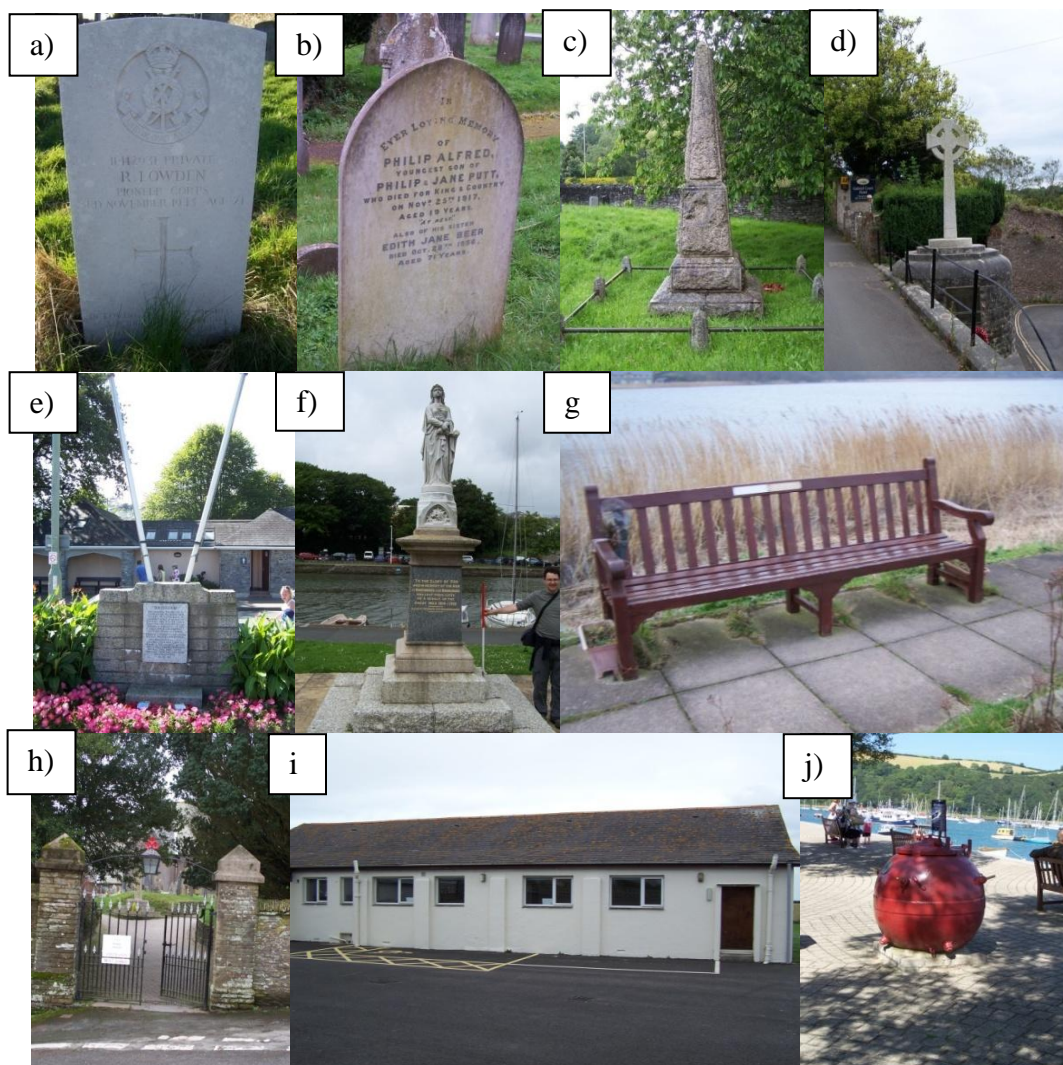


*Figure 5.23 – The main external memorial types in the South Hams are headstones which were erected either by the CWGC, as this example to Private R. Lowden, found at All Saints' Churchyard, West Alvington (a), or privately, such as this one to P.H. Putt in Salcombe Cemetery (b). The other main external monuments include obelisks, as at Harbertonford (c), crosses such as at Stoke Gabriel (d), a variety of other memorial stones such as the D-Day Memorial at Dartmouth (e), and a single statue in Kingsbridge (f). The external utilitarian forms*

*include benches, as at Torcross (g), entrances, such as at St. Peter's Church Stoke Fleming (h), and buildings such as the Bigbury Memorial Hall (i). A limited number of relics such as this sea-mine from Dartmouth also occur (j) (Photos: Author).*

Stone is the most widely used material amongst external memorials (Figs. 5.24; 6.26), perhaps inevitably given its durability (e.g. Gough 2008: 219). It is white stones (of various types) which are amongst the most dominant material amongst headstones, especially as many of the 200 headstones which have been classified as *other grey stone* are actually white stone which has weathered or has extensive lichen growth (see Fig. 5.25a-c). The dominance of white stone amongst burial memorials in the South Hams (especially Portland Stone) is partly the impact which CWGC headstones (166 of the 258 uses of white stone) had upon the commemorative landscape. However white stones were rarely used for other external war memorial types, with the sole exception being the Kingsbridge war memorial statue (Fig. 23f). This is despite white coloured stone also being the dominant stone used for internal war memorials (see Fig. 5.13a). Light grey granite in contrast was much more commonly encountered amongst external memorials than their internal counterparts. This preference for granite is partially reflective of a concern for durability (see Stanier 1986: 7), but also of the character of the Devonian landscape. For example, the Totnes War Memorial Committee chose to ignore the designer's (Sir Reginald Bloomfield) advice not to use Dartmoor Granite for the town's First World War memorial, despite following many of his other suggestions (DRO 1579A/17/44). There is a clear dominance of lighter coloured stones (white or grey) in external war memorials of both study regions, which can be seen to reflect a desire to ensure the visibility of these memorials by their planners. This visibility was particularly evident at the time when they were first erected (e.g. Fig. 5.25d), but has often been safeguarded through the careful maintenance of many of these sites by local councils, veteran groups, and the CWGC (see Figs. 5.25e and 5.23b).
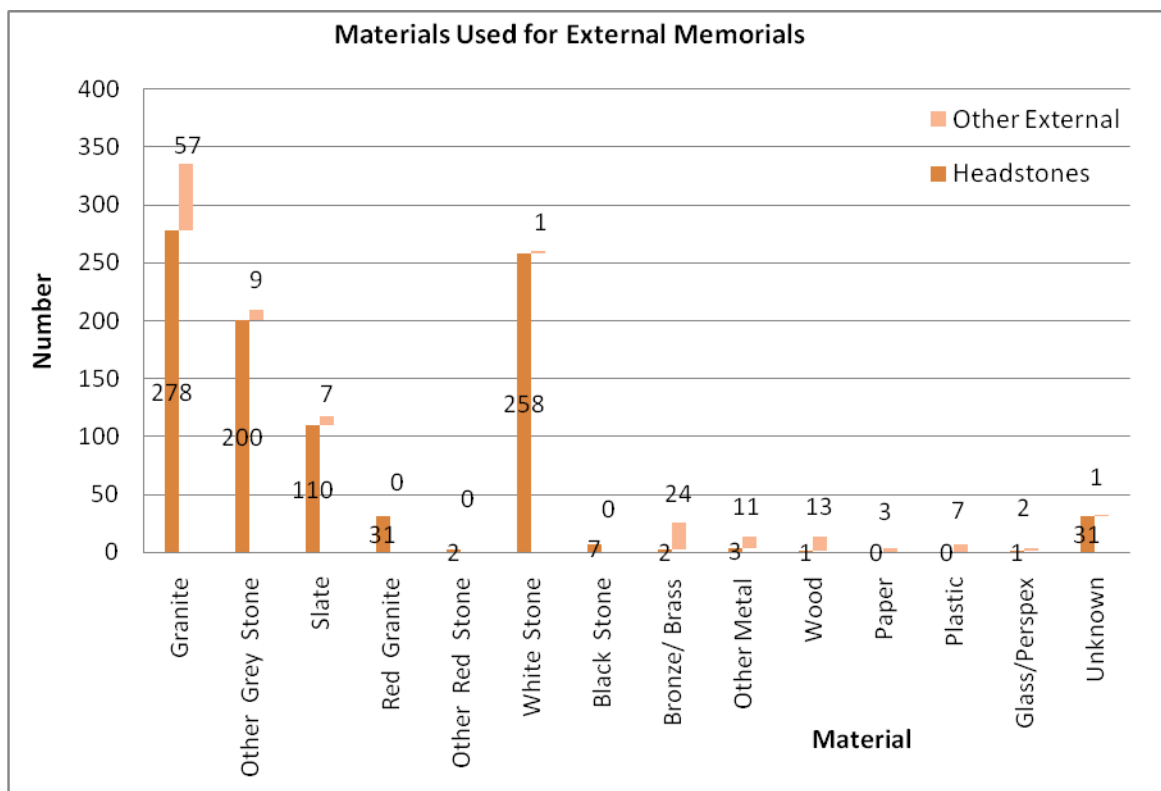
*Figure 5.24 – The breakdown between the materials used for external war memorials in the South Hams.*
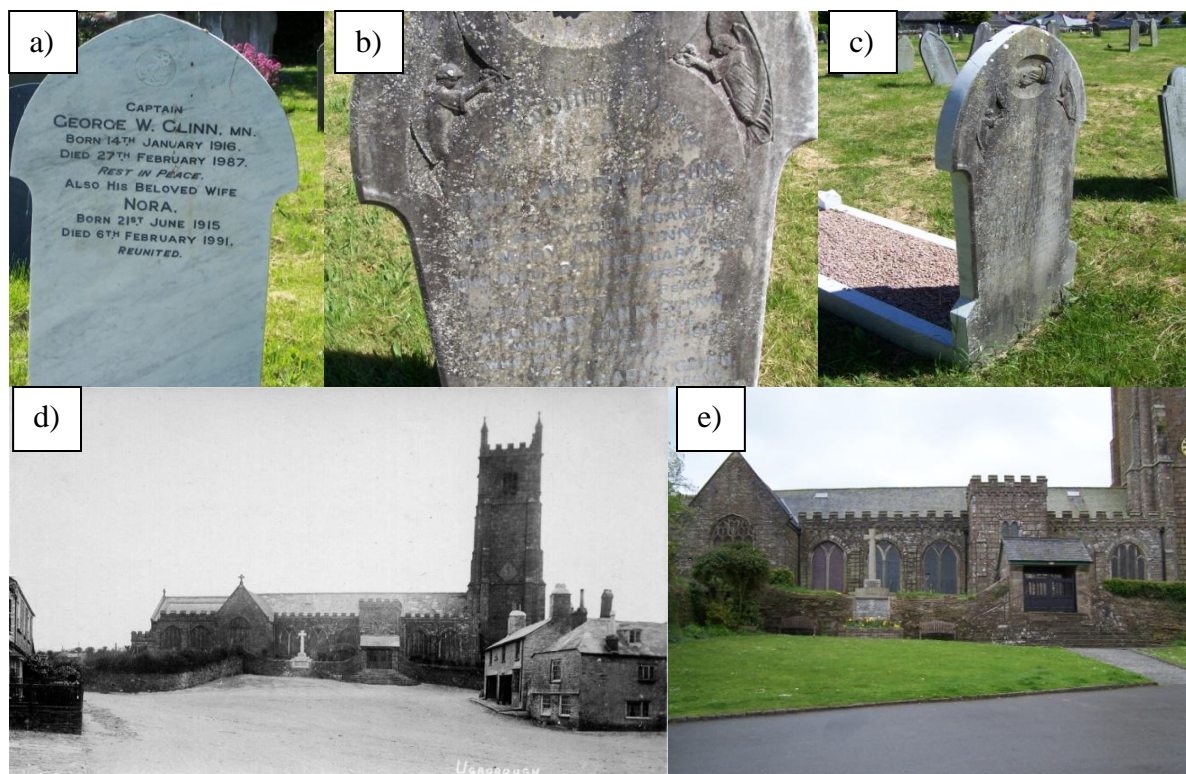
*Figure 5.25 – The Glinn Family Headstone in St. John's Churchyard, Hooe is constructed from a white stone (a), yet the patina on the front of the memorial (b-c) has resulted in several examples elsewhere in this study being mistakenly classified as grey stone (Photos: Author). The high visibility which granite afforded war memorials such as the Ugborough War Memorial Cross, photographed shortly after its erection in 1920 (From: Heard 2009), may have diminished slightly over time, but the careful maintenance of many memorials has resulted in them still standing in contrast from surrounding buildings, memorials and structures, as at Ugborough (e) (Photo: Author).*

Slate is the next most dominant material which was used in the South Hams, particularly amongst external memorials (Fig. 5.24). This contrasts dramatically with the war memorials of East Devon, where it is only utilised for only ten external memorials (see Fig. 6.26). The use of slate, at least in contrast to the use of granite and white stone, can however be viewed as perhaps surprisingly low, especially considering its dominance in the rest of the region's landscape, and amongst earlier commemorative forms. This can, in part, be accounted for by the closure of all of the South Hams slate quarries by the time of the First World War (Born 1988) and prior to the explosion of conflict commemoration. This industrial decline is reflected by the materials used in

the pre-twentieth century war memorials of the region with 36.5% made from or including slate elements and a much more limited use for the majority of twentieth century war memorial types (Fig. 5.26b). The sole exception to this pattern was amongst headstones, which continued to be frequently erected in slate (Welsh or Cornish types) into the early 1920s (see Fig. 5.7f-h).

The use of slate in the South Hams is therefore noticeably restricted to privately funded memorials, with only six public examples (Fig. 5.26a). The majority of these public memorials have been erected in recent years, with the only notable exceptions dating from earlier in the twentieth century being the Ermington War Memorial Cross (Fig. 5.26d) and the Buckland Tout-Saints War Memorial Entrance (Fig. 5.26e). The relatively recent revival (since the 1980s) in the use of slate in the South Hams as an appropriate material for commemorative forms (especially non-headstone types) is reflective of a wider revival of slate in the building and monumental trades (Born 1988: 64). Its growth in use is also perhaps a reflection of the mounting value placed upon slate materialising the distinctive character of the region. The use of slate in the churchyards, buildings and field boundaries of the region became identified as a physical and cultural element unique to the South Hams landscape (e.g. Bradbeer 1973: 17; South Hams District Council 2009).
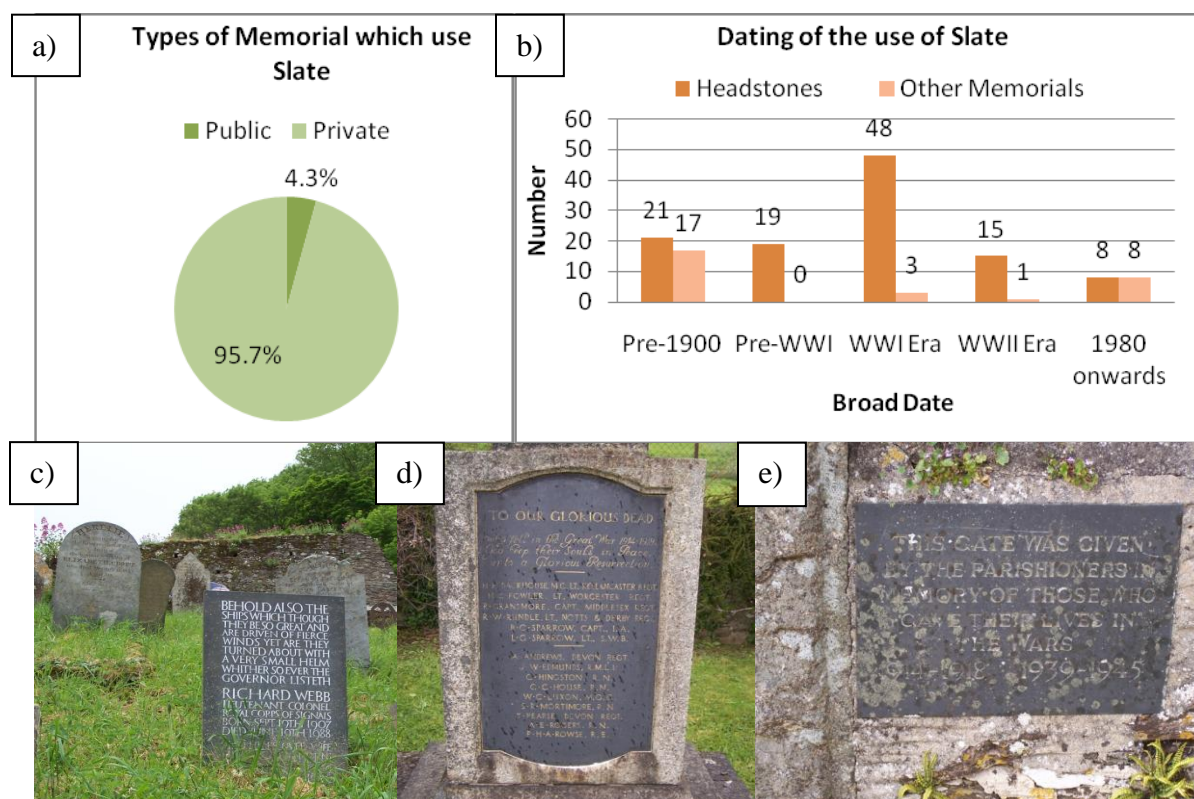
*Figure 5.26 – The use of slate in the South Hams study region is largely restricted to private memorial types (a), and most prolifically headstones. Amongst other war memorial forms its use peaked during the nineteenth century, with a slight revival occurring since the 1980s (b). The majority of the twentieth century examples of the use of slate in the region do not however use local slates (in background to c), and imported types dominate (in the foreground to c). The relative dearth of slate amongst twentieth century memorials (except headstones) has two notable external exceptions, the Ermington Memorial Cross (d) and the Buckland Tout Saints Memorial Entrance (e) (Photos: Author).*

The dominant CWGC headstones (see Fig. 5.1a) mostly commemorate service personnel who died on active service during the years of the two World Wars or in their immediate aftermath (between 4/8/1914 and 31/8/1921 for the First World War, and between 3/9/1939 and 31/12/1947 for the Second World War). A small proportion of CWGC headstones in the region commemorate casualties who have died on active service since the Second World War (Fig. 5.27a). For example in St John's Churchyard, Hooe, there are five headstones to airmen from the nearby R.A.F. Mount Batten who were killed in accidents between the late 1960s and early 70s (Fig. 5.27b). The vast majority of CWGC burials have the typical CWGC headstone types marking the burial plot (Fig. 5.27c). A significant proportion, particularly of First World War examples have however local craftsmen's headstones erected in preference (and sometimes ignorance) of these forms. The uses of local forms are often the result of the casualties having been buried in an existing family plot, or occasionally because family members have subsequently been added to the plot (e.g. Fig. 5.27d). In many instances though it was simply the choice of the families to have a local craftsman's work (e.g. Fig. 5.7f) or because the deaths had occurred in the early years of the First World War before CWGC forms had become standardised (e.g. Fig. 5.7g), or before they had become desirable symbols of sacrifice to many of the bereaved (Todman 2005: 57).

The use of local forms does not restrict these memorials from maintenance by the CWGC as the individuals had died on, or as a result of, active service within the required date ranges (see above). However there are frequently individuals who died of the effects of active service within the required dates, but were not commemorated. For example, Thomas Shelton a former Private of the Coldstream Guards, committed suicide in April 1920 having *struggled to sleep* after

returning from active service (The Kingsbridge Gazette 1920a). He was subsequently buried in St. James the Less' Churchyard, Kingston and commemorated by a private headstone (Fig. 5.28a). His suicide is paralleled by that of Arthur Edgcombe from Aveton Gifford in December 1919 (The Totnes Times 1920a). However, Edgcombe's headstone although manufactured by a local craftsman is maintained by the CWGC, which evidences the inconsistency of the commemoration of First World War casualties (Fig. 5.28b). The lack of commemoration by the CWGC of individuals like Thomas Shelton is often being gradually corrected through the work of volunteers and research bodies, which estimate that there are around 1500 First World War casualties who qualify for commemoration by the CWGC (e.g. Denham 2010).
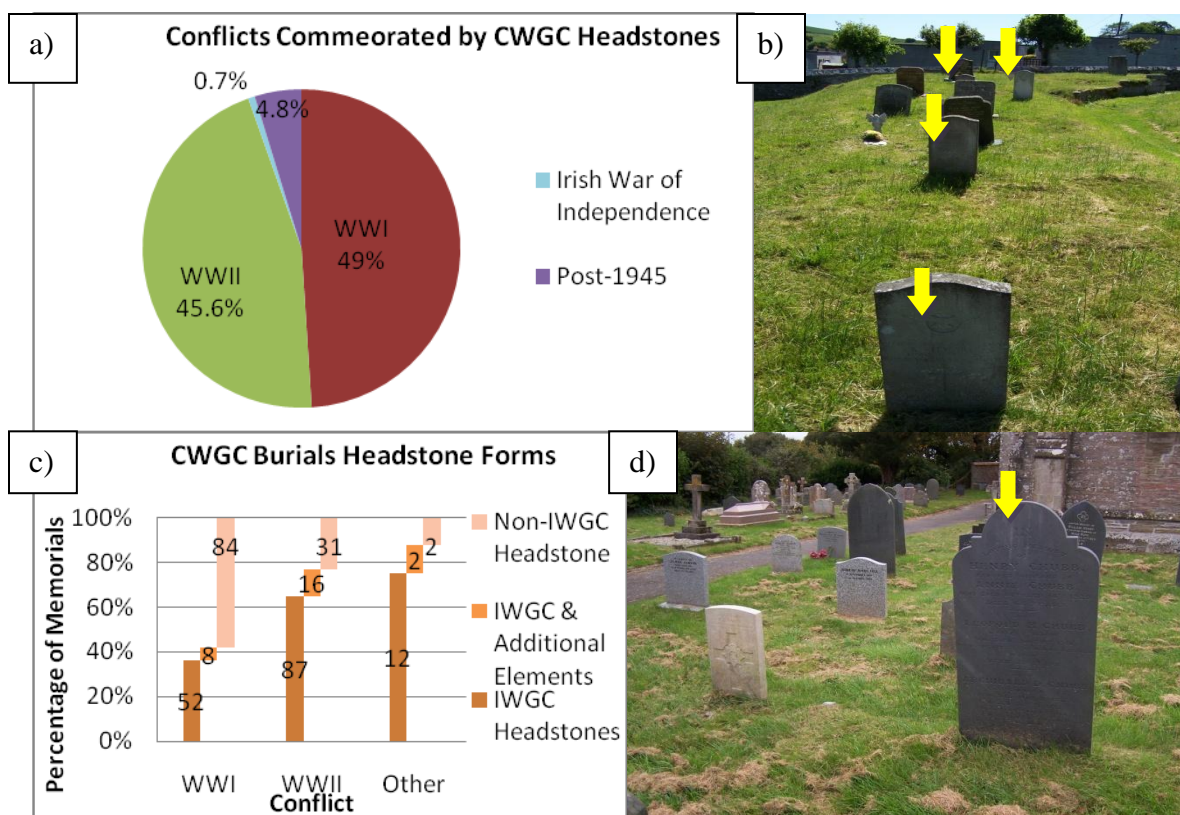


*Figure 5.27 –The dating of CWGC headstone in the South Hams (a) shows that only a few of the recorded examples are to servicemen who have died since 1945, such as at St. John's Churchyard, Hooe (b). Those who have qualified for CWGC headstones have not always had them erected, and in fact only around 40% of First World War examples take the form of the typical slightly curved topped white stone headstones (c). The use of other forms for CWGC burials were motivated by numerous reasons, for example Lance-Corporal L.H. Chubb (yellow*

*arrow) in St. Lawrence's Churchyard, Bigbury (d), had his father buried in the same plot in*

*1920 and a (replacement?) headstone was erected on his burial site, which included details of*

*them both and subsequently his brother who had died from the effects of his service in the First*

*World War (Photos: Author).*

The inconsistency in who was commemorated by the CWGC can be largely accounted for by the lack of communication between bereaved families and the CWGC, with many families desiring the more individualised expression of identity and familial connections which local forms afforded. It is clear that during and after the First World War there were a variety of objections to the CWGC policy of uniform headstones, many of these protests suggested that crosses should have been used for the headstones, or at least as an option (see Heffernan 1995: 302; Todman 2005: 57). These objections are perhaps hinted at by the alternative headstone forms used for CWGC burials in the study areas (Fig. 5.27c). Bereaved families could have an input in the CWGC burials within their local churchyards that were not allowed or physically possible for the battlefield cemeteries. It is therefore no coincidence that Private Shelton's headstone and 19% of the CWGC headstones which took non-war grave forms are crosses (Fig. 5.28c-d). The use of the cross form for war graves are even more prominent in East Devon, where 61% of non-war grave forms for the First World War are crosses.

The higher use of the cross in East Devon continued amongst the Second World War examples in with 30% of non-war grave taking cross forms (e.g. Fig. 6.28f), compared to a single example in the South Hams (the Douglass family headstone at St. Petrox, Dartmouth). The elevated use of the cross for war graves in East Devon appears to have resulted from more than just regional preference. For example, amongst the other headstones used for conflict commemoration in the South Hams 16.8% take the form of crosses, while 19.4% of these other headstones take the form of a cross in East Devon. This suggests that although the use of a cross for headstones was slightly more popular in East Devon, that there was another process at work. The author would suggest that this may again hint at the direct influence which Exeter was exerting upon East Devon particularly after the First World War. The Bishop of Exeter's wife (Lady Florence Cecil) was amongst the most vocal and prominent opponents of the CWGC decision not to use crosses for headstones after the First World War. Lady Cecil (who had lost three sons in the conflict)

even presented a petition of 6,666 signatures of the bereaved calling for the option to erect a cross as a war grave to the Commissions President, the Prince of Wales (The Times 1919). The influence of her arguments and petition upon East Devon is supported by the majority of the cruciform war graves in the region having been constructed for late (from July 1918) First World War burials, a pattern not repeated in the South Hams.

A clear evolution is seen in the South Hams in terms of the use of CWGC headstone becoming increasingly dominant form used for war graves since their instigation during the First World War (Fig. 5.27c). A more complicated picture however existed in East Devon not only for the First World War (discussed above), but continuing in the war graves of the Second World War. For example 36% of war graves in East Devon are of local headstone types (e.g. Figs. 6.28c; 6.28f), compared to 23% of the South Hams examples. The author would argue that this contrast between the two regions for the Second World War can be largely accounted for by the higher numbers of non-local servicemen burials which occurred in the South Hams during the conflict. These *non-locals* headstones were more likely to have been of the standard CWGC form as the families of the deceased had less input, and were less likely to be appended upon the headstones themselves. This would also account for the lower percentage of additional elements which occurs for both Second World War and later CWGC headstones in the South Hams (Fig. 5.27c) because there were no family members added to the plot. Unlike in East Devon where amendments were more frequently encountered as relatives died locally and were commemorated upon these earlier memorials (e.g. Figs. 6.28b-f). Despite the frequent use of non-CWGC forms, it is clear that white stone forms still dominated (Fig. 5.28c). Slate and granite however are also frequently employed, as they are occasionally for CWGC headstones (Fig. 5.28b). These materials therefore reflect the wider patterns of use amongst other headstones in the churchyards of the region (Fig. 5.24).
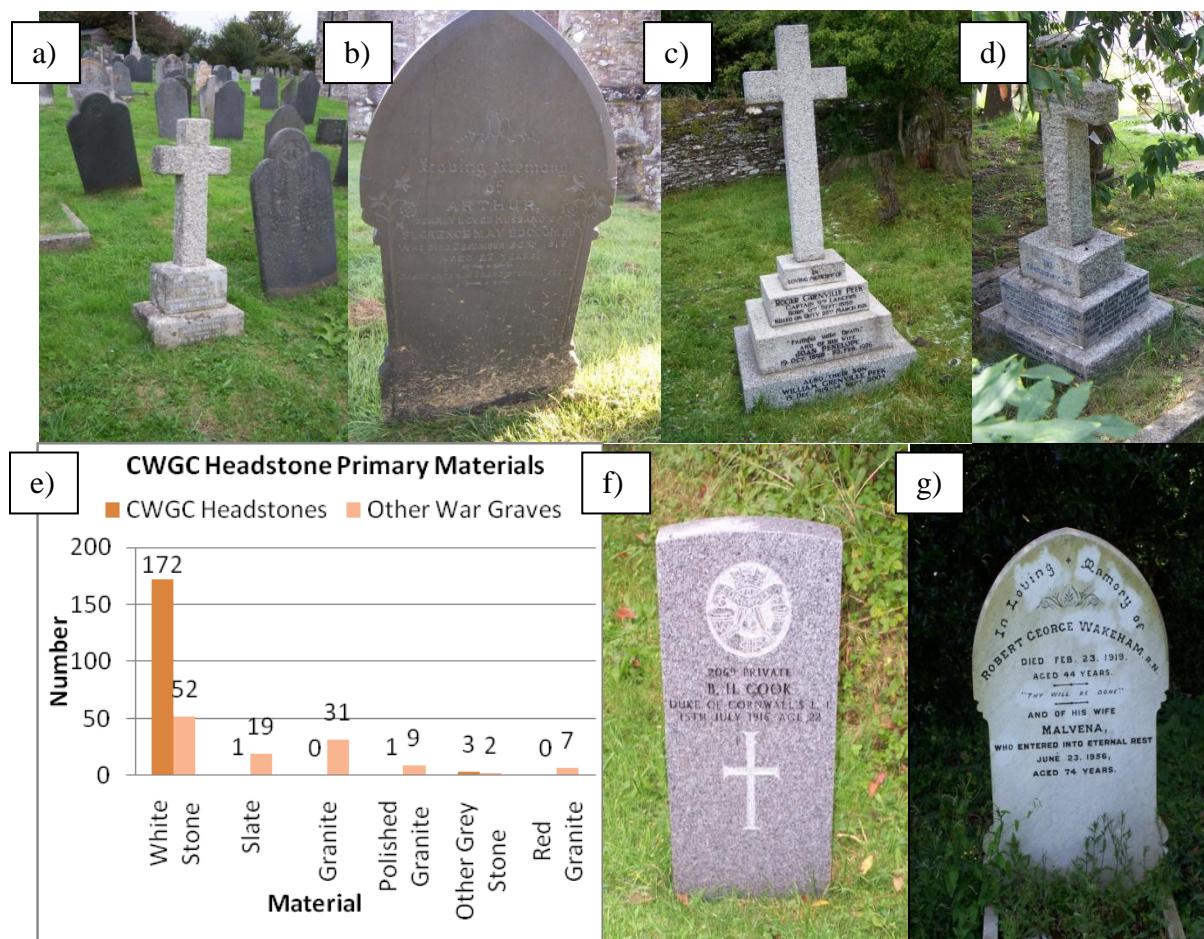
*Figure 5.28 – T. Shelton's (1920) headstone in St. James the less' Churchyard, Kingston (a), A. Edgcombe's (1920) headstone in St. Andrew's Churchyard, Aveton Gifford (b), Captain R.G. Peek's (1921) headstone at St. Michael and All Angels' Churchyard, Loddiswell (c), and Lieutenant R.F. Bettridge's (1921) headstone from Bridgetown Cemetery, Totnes (d). The materials used for CWGC headstones were typically white stone types (e), with a few exceptions such as Private B.H. Cook's (circa 1916) polished granite headstone in South Brent Cemetery (f). The non-CWGC forms used for war graves exhibit greater variation, although white stone still dominates, as with R.G. Wakeham's (circa 1919) headstone in St. Thomas of Beckett's Churchyard, Dodbrooke (g) (Photos: Author).*

The other recorded burials in the South Hams are dominated by non-specified military veterans who died during the twentieth century (Fig. 5.22a). Large numbers of veterans are however unlikely to have had this aspect of their identities commemorated, with the sole exceptions either having long military careers or having attained higher ranks. The majority of those who served,

especially during the World Wars, were not however career service personnel and although this military service was a dramatic part of their life stories, it was not typically how they were remembered by others (i.e. on their burial monuments). Therefore for the majority of the twentieth century the militarian aspect of veterans identities was not seemingly viewed as worthy of remembrance, with the sole exceptions being those individuals who had died in the immediate aftermath of a conflict as a result of wounds or disease contracted during their active service (e.g. Fig. 7.32).

The remembrance of military veterans has however gradually changed since the 1960s, and a much more widespread commemoration of First and Second World War service has occurred upon burial monuments (e.g. Fig. 5.29b). This has especially been the case since the late 1980s and 1990s, which has seen military service during the world wars become something worthy of remembrance and veneration, an aspect particularly apparent in East Devon (see Figs. 6.30c-f). A clear pattern emerges however for both study regions of active service in major conflicts (namely the Crimean War, First World War, and Second World War) being a commemorated part of individual identities for those who died in the years immediately after their service, and for those individuals who represented the last surviving *living memories* of these conflict's (Nora 1989: 12). The last living veterans of other conflicts were not seemingly commemorated in the same ways, perhaps as the conflicts in which they provided links too were of less importance in local or national memories and identities at the time of their deaths. This process is particularly evident amongst South African War veterans, with only a single veteran's burial commemorating service in South Africa (Fig. 6.5c). Only a minority of military veterans have their active service commemorated upon burial monuments and many more were likely to have been buried in the regions churchyards and cemeteries. As these individuals' military identities are not commemorated it has been beyond the remit of this study to include these memorials.

The dominance of non-specific $20^{th}$ century military veterans is also seen in East Devon (79.5%). The slightly higher proportion in East Devon is accountable for by the lower numbers of recorded Second World War civilian burials from the region. In fact only four individuals were commemorated by three headstones in East Devon, compared to 54 individuals on 34 headstones in the South Hams. These figures partially reflect the true numbers of civilian deaths during the

Second World War within the two regions, with 115 occurring in the South Hams and 11 in East Devon (from CWGC 2009). The disparity between the numbers recorded and the totals killed can be seen to be partially a reflection that many of the civilian casualties' burial monuments included no reference to their deaths being as a result of enemy action (e.g. Fig. 5.29d). The lower numbers of burials are also a reflection of a number of these casualties being evacuees to these *safe* rural regions and therefore being buried outside of the study areas (e.g. Gosling 2005: 71).
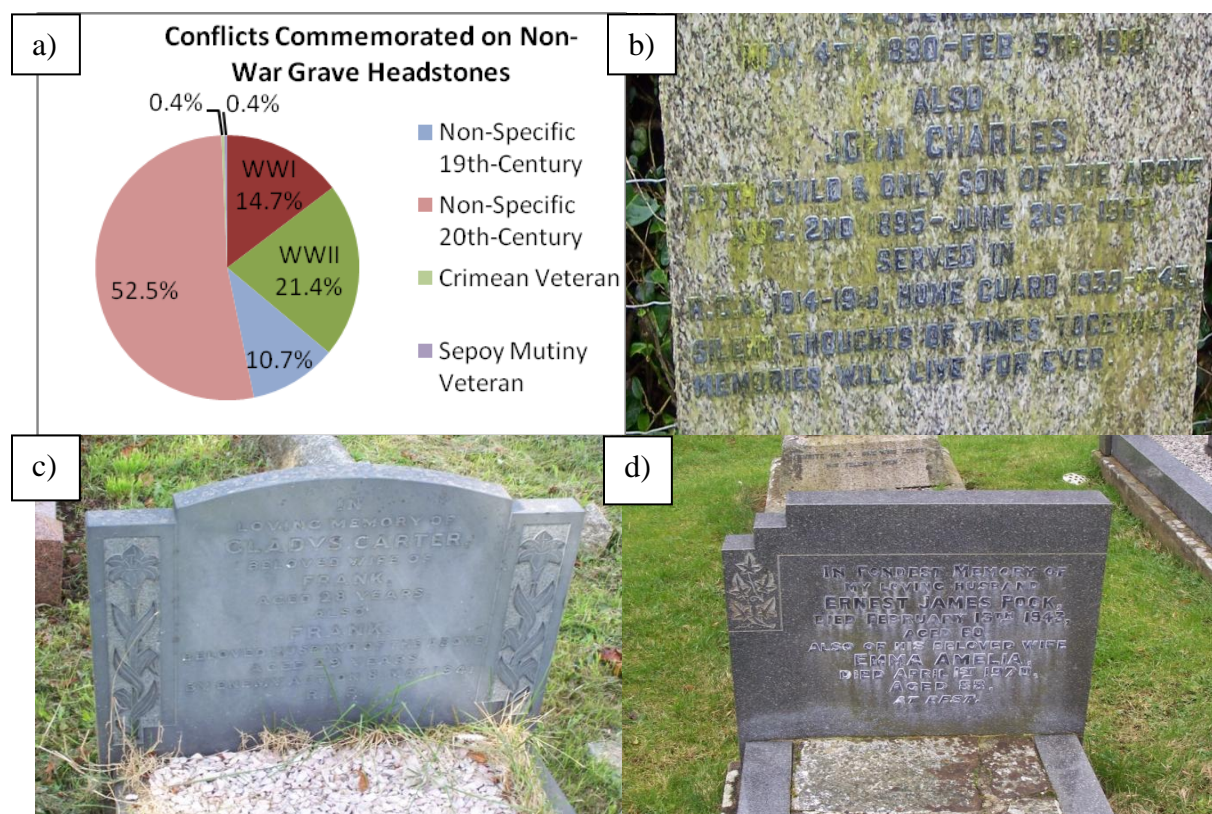


*Figure 5.29 – The breakdown of the conflicts which were commemorated by the non-war grave burial monuments in the South Hams (a), only a minority of which are to veterans to specific conflicts, such as J.C. Easterbrook's (1967) headstone in St. Peter's Churchyard, Cornworthy (b). A significant proportion of the headstones in the South Hams commemorate civilian casualties of the Second World War, such as the Carter family (1941) in St. Mary's Churchyard, Brixham (c). The proportion would however be higher if all of the burial monuments to these casualties made reference to their deaths being as a result of enemy action, but up to 50% do*

*not, such as E.J. Pook's (1943) headstone in St. Clement's Churchyard, Dartmouth (d) (Photos: Author).*

The materials used for these non-war grave headstones are likely to be similar to those encountered for all headstones across the region over this period. On a basic level this does appear to be the case with slate dominating amongst earlier examples, granite becoming the dominant material from the 1930s, and with the continued use of white stones throughout the twentieth century (Fig. 5.30a). This is supported by the breakdown of materials used amongst headstone additions (Fig. 5.30b), which except in a few cases (e.g. Fig. 5.8d) had been chosen primarily as headstones for non-conflict related deaths. They can therefore be seen to materialise the wider commemorative processes of their time and social context, as much as the patterns of twentieth century conflict remembrance. The similar extents of use for polished black stone, polished granite and red granite are particularly noticeable in comparing non-war grave headstone types (Figs. 5.30a) with headstone additions (Fig. 5.30b). The slightly higher percentages for slate and grey stone amongst headstone additions can in contrast be accounted for by the dominance of First World War additions (Fig. 5.30c) which largely occur on family headstones dating from between 1900 and 1930 (see Fig. 5.26b).
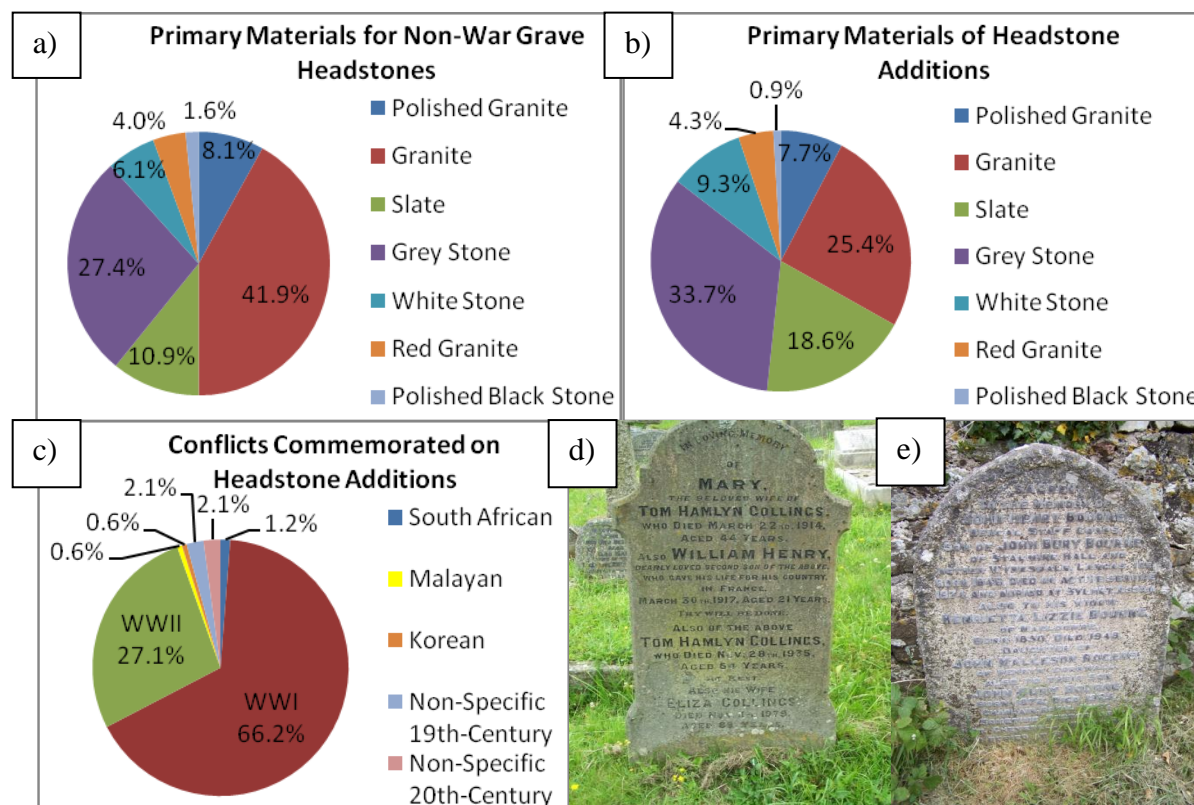
*Figure 5.30 –The materials used for the non-war grave burials in the South Hams (a) and for headstone additions (b). The breakdown between the conflicts which are commemorated upon headstone additions (c) reveals that the majority commemorate First World War casualties, such as the Collings family (1914) headstone in St. Mary and St. Gabriel's Churchyard, Stoke Gabriel (d). Only a few examples commemorated pre-20th century casualties, such as the 1874 casualty included on the Bourne family's (1948) headstone in St. Sylvester's Churchyard, Chivelstone (e) (Photos: Author).*

Headstone additions are placed upon a variety of types, styles, dates and sizes of burial monument (e.g. Fig. 5.31b-e). The majority of these additions are placed upon the burial memorials of parents (65.4%), which can be seen as a reflection of the young ages of the majority of casualties. It is also a manifestation of parents typically having pre-deceased their offspring (e.g. Fig. 5.31b), or more frequently of having been the next close relative to pass away (e.g. Fig. 5.32b). This is also evidenced by the next most prolific relationship seen amongst headstone additions occurring upon siblings' headstones, with 14.1% of additions (Fig. 5.31a). This relatively high percentage is a reflection of headstone additions often appearing upon war graves, with twelve casualties (3.7%) appended onto conflict fatalities graves (e.g. Fig. 5.32c). It

is also clear that the majority of these additions to siblings' headstones represent First World War casualties (73.6% of them). This is not surprising given the higher numbers of deaths which occurred amongst children and young people in the early twentieth century, most prolifically from the Spanish flu outbreak at the end of the First World War (Winter 1985; Davidoff *et al* 1999).

Small proportions of headstone additions are also included upon grandparents, children, great-grandchildren, in-laws, and even occasionally uncles or aunts headstones (Fig. 5.31a). Most of these examples are appended within ten years of the conflict, presumably while grief and loss were most keenly felt. The exception to this pattern is those additions which were added to a partner's headstone, presumably by their offspring (e.g. Fig. 5.31e). Second World War headstone additions also emphasise a slightly different pattern to earlier conflicts, as they are still frequently occurring (e.g. Fig. 6.30e). However, this is partially the result of no major wars having curtailed and supplanted the conflicts commemoration, as well as arguably acting as a reflection of the limited range of existing commemorative forms to this war.

Headstone additions in East Devon in contrast only comprise 14.3% of the total. The reason for this disparity could be reflective of differences in the extent of recording between the two regions, but this seems unlikely given the standardised approach and the similar percentage of headstones which were recorded for the two regions. The pattern is supported by direct comparisons between the numbers of headstone additions in individual parishes with similar sized populations from the two study areas (Appendix 1). For example, St. James the Less' Churchyard, Kingston (in the South Hams) has three First World War (Fig. 5.31b-d) and two Second World War headstone additions (e.g. Fig. 5.31e). This compares to only two First World War examples being located in St. Andrew's churchyard, Feniton in East Devon (Figs. 6.32b-c). This example suggests that it was a lack of commemoration after the Second World War which accounts for the lower percentage of headstone additions in East Devon. However this only appears to be part of the picture as 27.1% of headstone additions in the South Hams commemorate Second World War casualties (Fig. 5.30c), compared to an only slightly lower 25.8% found in East Devon. It may therefore be seen as a manifestation of the diminishing significance of the churchyard and cemetery in the twentieth century remembrance of the dead

(and in consequence the war dead) in East Devon, compared to that which occurred in the South Hams. This is not however borne out in the proportions of non-burial war memorials situated in churchyards with a lower percentage (43.2%) of South Hams memorials located in churchyards or cemeteries (Fig. 5.20d) than occurred in East Devon (51.4%) (Fig. 6.25d).
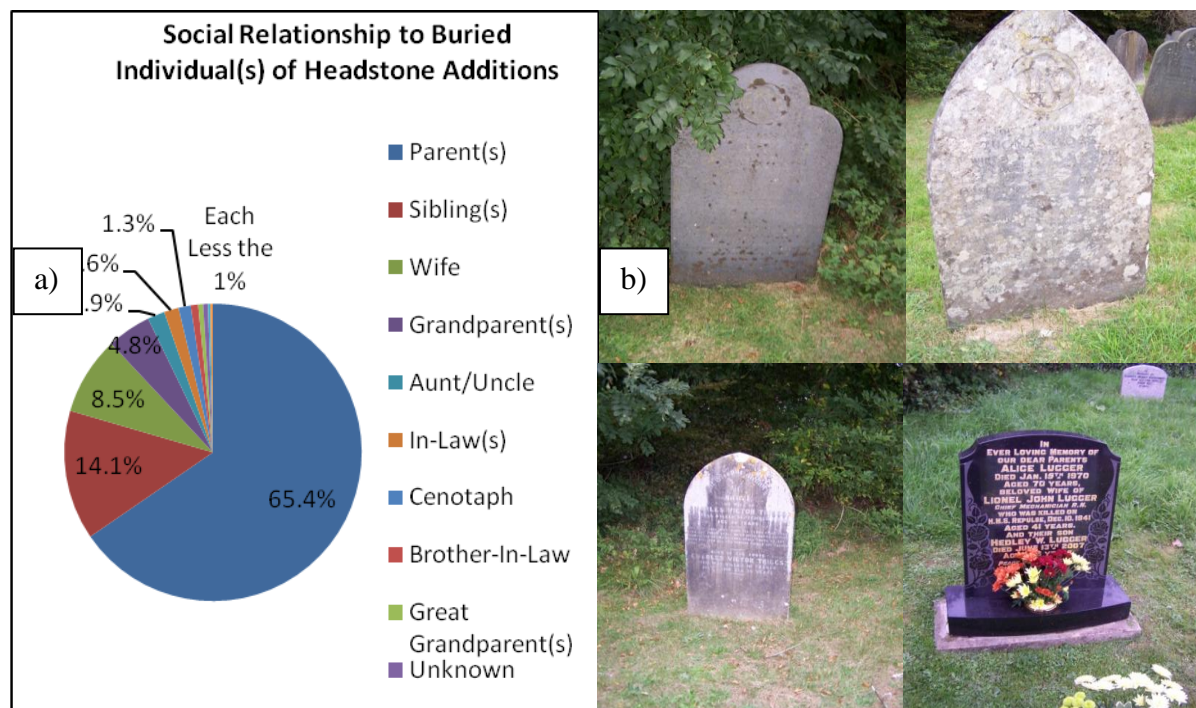


*Figure 5.31 – A graphic showing the breakdown in the familial relationships between those commemorated by headstone additions, and those listed upon the* c) *stone prior to their appendage (a). The headstone additions in St. James the Less Churchyard, Kingston include for the First World War, J. Agg on his first wife's (1903) headstone (b), S.A. Goss on his father's (1906) headstone (c), and C.V. Triggs on his wife's (1924) headstone (d), and for the Second World War, L.J. Lugger was included on his wife's (1970) headstone (e) (Photos: Author).*

Headstone additions (alongside other private memorial forms) offer great potential as one possible method of identifying through the archaeological record how public memorials nearby were received by the bereaved. They therefore bear witness to how, and if, public memorials had successfully mediated the grief and mourning of the families who's loved ones had been killed, or if other forms of public expression were used by the bereaved. On a basic level therefore the number of headstone additions in a parish may have a direct relationship with the reception of the parish memorial. However, this is not a straightforward process, as it is dependent upon the

deceased's family members having been buried in the local churchyard or cemetery and is also dependent upon the timing of these family member's deaths.

For example, the village of Loddiswell (Fig. 5.32) has seven First World War and two second world war casualties added onto family headstones in its three burial grounds. Three of the First World War headstone additions and a single war grave are not listed on the war memorial obelisk. However two of these died in 1920, while the burial dates from 1921, which suggests that their deaths occurred after the war memorial had been erected, therefore creating the motivation for the families to publicly commemorate these three individuals (Fig. 5.32c and Fig. 5.50c). The final casualty not listed upon the war memorial is Arthur Stanley Prout is commemorated upon his parent's headstone in the congregational cemetery (Fig. 5.32b). This cemetery served a larger area than just the surrounding parish, which suggests that he either hailed from a nearby parish (not that he is commemorated elsewhere in the study area), or that his parents had moved to Loddiswell after his death. This is the only headstone in the village to have taken the same form as the parish war memorial, which may have been a deliberate choice to reflect that the memorial commemorated a war casualty. It also emphasises the success of the parish war memorial, in that its form was being utilised for other conflict commemorative forms nearby.
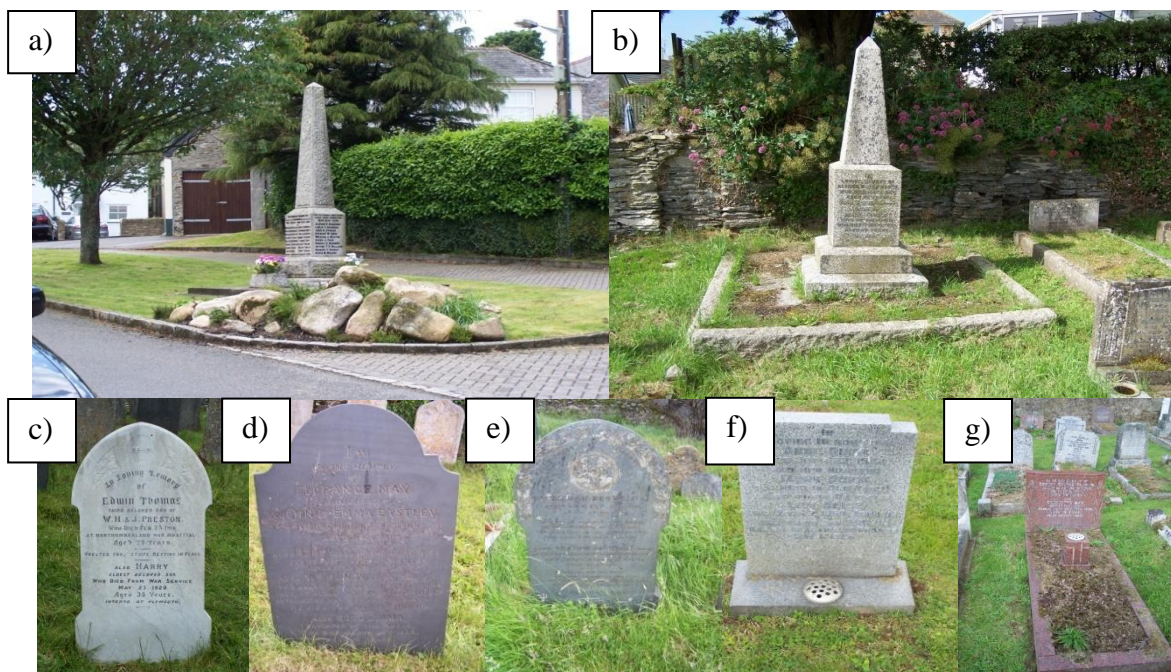
*Figure 5.32 – The Loddiswell War Memorial Obelisk (a) and the Prout family (1927) headstone (b). The Preston brothers (1916) headstone (c), Eastley family (1906) headstone (d), Brooking family (1911) headstone (e), Quick family (1968) headstone (f) and the Skinner family (1952) headstone (g) are amongst the headstones in the parish which include additions for men listed upon the war memorial obelisk (Photos: Author).*

Three of the First World War headstone additions in Loddiswell were inscribed upon earlier family headstones which dated from 1906, 1911 and 1916 (see Fig. 5.32c-e). One of these examples (Fig. 5.32c) is not included upon the parish war memorial, which accounts for its addition, but the other two examples were probably appended during the war years before any plans for public commemorative schemes were in place. None of the other First World War additions date from the immediate years after the war, and it is apparent that this is not solely the result of when family members died. For example, the Quick family headstone in the churchyard extension (1968) includes reference to Edwin Quick who was killed in action in 1915 (Fig. 5.32f). He is therefore commemorated upon his mothers and sisters headstone, despite his father having been buried in the old churchyard in the early 1920s. This emphasises that in the immediate aftermath of the war the public war memorial obelisk was the only public expression required to aid mourning and remembrance for most families, but that as his immediate family passed away there was a desire to re-emphasise familial connections and revitalise remembrance,

as the living embodiments of his memory could no longer discuss and embody his sacrifice. This is not to deny that something more personal and private was not also *needed* by the bereaved. But that this rarely took the form of publically located forms of private memorial, which is in stark contrast to the suggested function of private memorials and headstone additions in Northop, Flintshire (see Bartlett and Ellis 1999: 242).

The same commemorative patterns and timing of headstone additions is not apparent for Second World War casualties. For example the two Second World War headstone additions in Loddiswell dated to within the first decade after the end of the conflict (e.g. Fig. 5.32g). This is suggestive of the obelisk (and other commemorative processes) although seemingly well received by bereaved families after the First World War, was no longer adequate for the bereaved of the Second World War. The less explicit commemoration of the Second World War in the parish (i.e. simply appending the names and dates upon the obelisk and a memorial playing field) can therefore be seen to have resulted in a greater desire by the bereaved to publically commemorate their losses in the immediate aftermath of the conflict. A pattern further hinted at by the average proportions, which indicate that a higher percentage of Second World War casualties (Fig. 5.33b) were appended in the first decade after the conflict than occurred amongst First World War examples (Fig. 5.33a).

**a) Broad Dating of Headstones used for First World War Headstone Additions**

Pre-War 35.7%
War Years 28.1%
First Decade After 16.2%
10 years+ 20%

**b) Broad Dating of Headstones used for Second World War Headstone Additions**

Pre-War 35.9%
War Years 21.7%
First Decade After 18.5%
10 years+ 23.9%

**c) Dating of Headstones used for First World War Headstone Additions**

Pre-20th Century 12%
1900s 15.3%
1910s 38%
1920s 16.7%
1930s 6.9%
1940s 5.1%
1950s 5.1%
1960s 0.5%
1980s 0.5%

**d) Dating of Headstones used for Second World War Headstone Additions**

Pre-1930 20.7%
1930s 14.1%
1940s 31.5%
1950s 13%
1960s 6.5%
1970s 7.6%
1980s 2.2%
1990s 2.2%
2000s 2.2%

*Figure 5.33 – Graphs showing the broad dating of the burial monuments which headstone additions for the First (a and c) and Second World Wars (b and d) are included upon.*

The next most abundant type of external memorial is the cross (3.4% of external memorials) which are also the most prolific external form of public war memorial (see Fig. 5.22b). These crosses are typically composed of granite, with a single wooden example (see Fig. 5.34a). War memorial crosses in the South Hams rarely utilize other materials in their forms being almost exclusively constructed solely from granite, although bronze is used for plaques and decorative elements on three examples (Fig. 5.34b). The memorial crosses can be broken down into three main types (Fig. 5.34c). The Latin cross, has a straight edged cross head, a straight or slightly tapering shaft, is usually on three square or octagonal steps and often a trapezoidal base for the inscription (e.g. Figs. 5.34d-e). The ring cross, which has a cross head with expanding terminals connected by a ring of stone, a shaft typically tapering towards the base, and was erected upon a trapezoidal base, typically though with fewer steps (Fig. 5.34f). The cross with expanded terminals, the third main type, is half-way between these (Fig. 5.34g). These cross heads have

expanding arms, but no ring of stone interconnecting the arms, typically a slightly expanding shaft, and a greater variety in the composition of the type and number of steps. The majority of the war memorial crosses from the South Hams are Latin crosses (50%), although there are significant numbers of crosses with expanded terminals and ring crosses in the region (Fig. 5.34c).
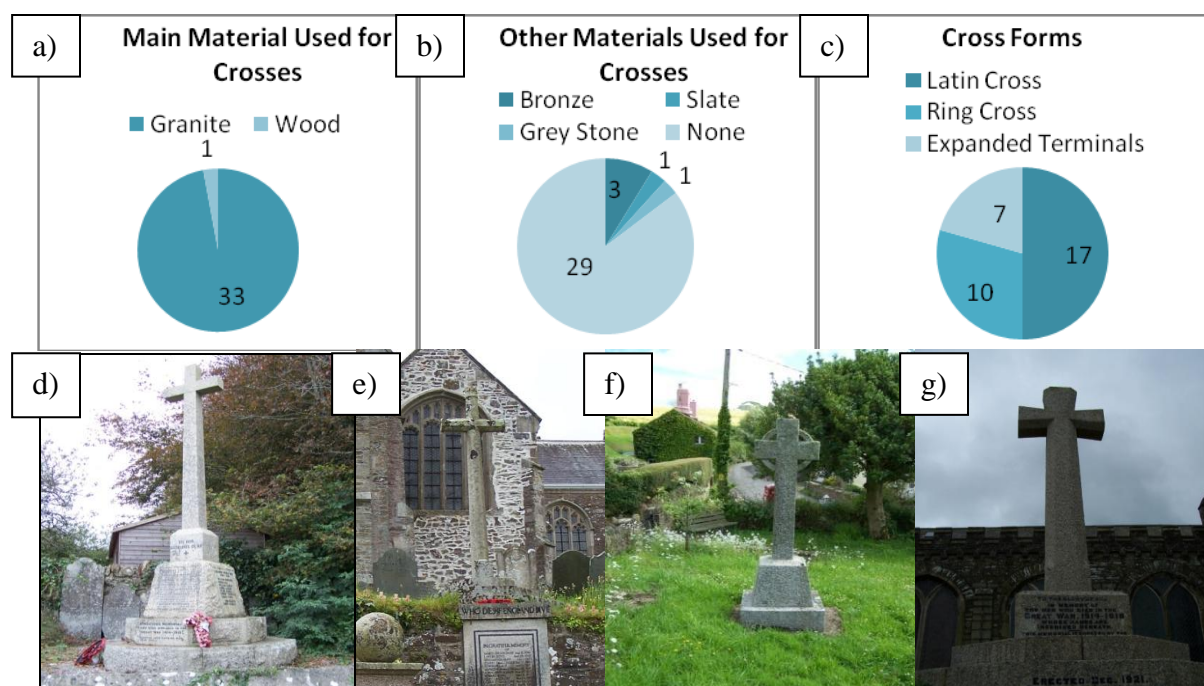


*Figures 5.34 – Almost all of the examples of memorial crosses in the region are constructed from granite (a) and only a few examples use other materials in their makeup (b). The memorial crosses of the South Hams can be divided into three main cross types (c), the Latin cross, such as at Kingston (d) and Holbeton (e), the Ring cross, as found at Sherford (f), and crosses with expanded terminals such as this example from Ugborough (g) (Photos: Author).*

These cross forms are as much connected with the *ancient* as they are with Christian ideals, often imitating medieval forms or locations. The relationships with ancient or older crosses is not always however an explicit relationship (Fig. 5.35a). Although ten examples of war memorial crosses are located near or in a close spatial relationship with an earlier cross. On top of these few close spatial relationships a further four memorials (namely Ashprington, Berry Pomeroy, Dartmouth Castle and Stoke Fleming) reuse parts of an ancient cross. Many of the other (twenty) crosses are based upon earlier cross types encountered in the region. In fact half of the remaining memorials have bases with chamfered corners, a design element common amongst medieval

crosses (see Fig. 5.35b). More notable than these stylistic choices of imitation, are the two war memorial crosses which are direct copies of ancient monuments from elsewhere in Britain. For example, the Thurlestone War Memorials design (see Fig. 5.36) had been chosen in 1919 by the vicar (Reverend F.E. Coope) to copy the form he believed the South Zeal village cross (45 miles away on Dartmoor) to have originally taken (Coope 1920: 47). The Malborough Memorial cross is also similarly based on an ancient form, but one from much further afield, namely the *Wallace Cross* from Aberdeen, with the replication even extending to the use of Aberdeen Granite for the memorial (The Kingsbridge Gazette 1920b).
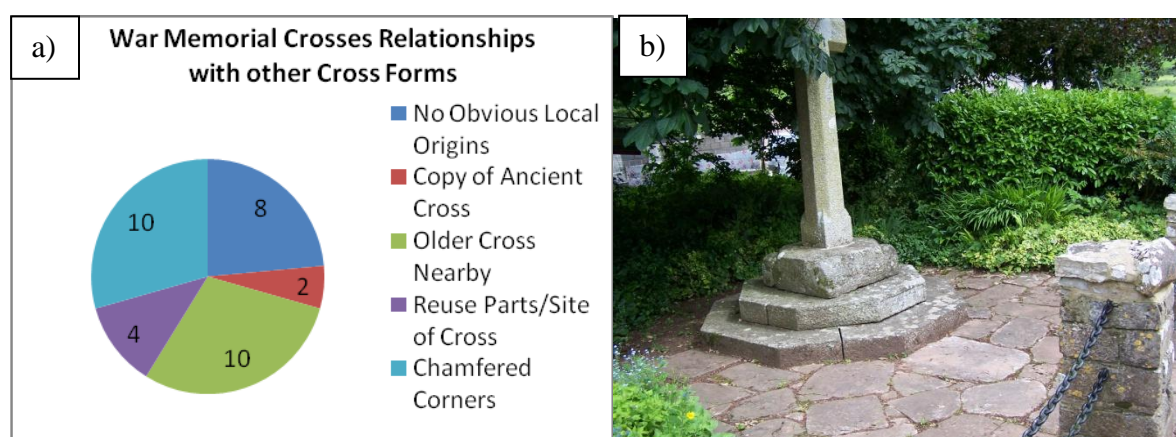


*Figure 5.35 – The relationships between war memorials and earlier crosses in the South Hams (a) and the Berry Pomeroy war memorial cross which reuses a medieval cross base, which has chamfered corners (b) (Photo: Author).*

*Figure 5.36 – The Thurlestone War Memorial Cross (a) is a copy of the South Zeal Village Cross (b), whilst also being located in close relationship with a restored (1911) wayside cross placed at the edge of the churchyard only 25 meters away from the war memorial (Photos: Author).*

The timeless, yet Christian nature of these crosses can be seen to have accounted for their widespread adoption in the South Hams. They were not however the only public external memorial forms utilised in the South Hams. Most notably eight other large external stone memorials exist and can be viewed as having been erected as parallel choices in form to memorial crosses. These are again dominated by the use of granite, with only the Kingsbridge War Memorial Statue constructed from any other material, namely, white Italian Marble (see Fig. 5.23f). The majority of these other external forms seem to have at least been partially chosen as a deliberate avoidance of the use of a memorial cross, often because it had been used nearby as a war memorial. For example, the Slapton Sands Evacuation Memorial, which was erected in 1945 by the US Army and Navy to commemorate the evacuation of the surrounding area for D-Day training exercises (Fig. 5.37a). This memorial takes the form of a cenotaph and its form is therefore perhaps typical of American monumental architecture in being a large upright memorial of light coloured stone. It may have also however been influenced by the presence of memorial crosses to the First World War in five of the six parishes which it was erected to commemorate, while no memorial obelisks or cenotaphs existed nearby. A similar situation is also plausible for the Noss Mayo War Memorial Pillar, which was erected after the adjacent parish (Newton Ferrers) had erected a war memorial cross in Holy Cross churchyard (only a mile away by road). This may partially account for the use of a broken pillar as a war memorial in St.

Peter's churchyard, although the choice of a deliberately aged form may have also reflected the relative newness of the church (built in the 1880s). The form therefore embodies a further concern (or need) for the parish to legitimise the historic roots of its community through the opportunity afforded by the commemoration of the First World War (Fig. 5.37b).
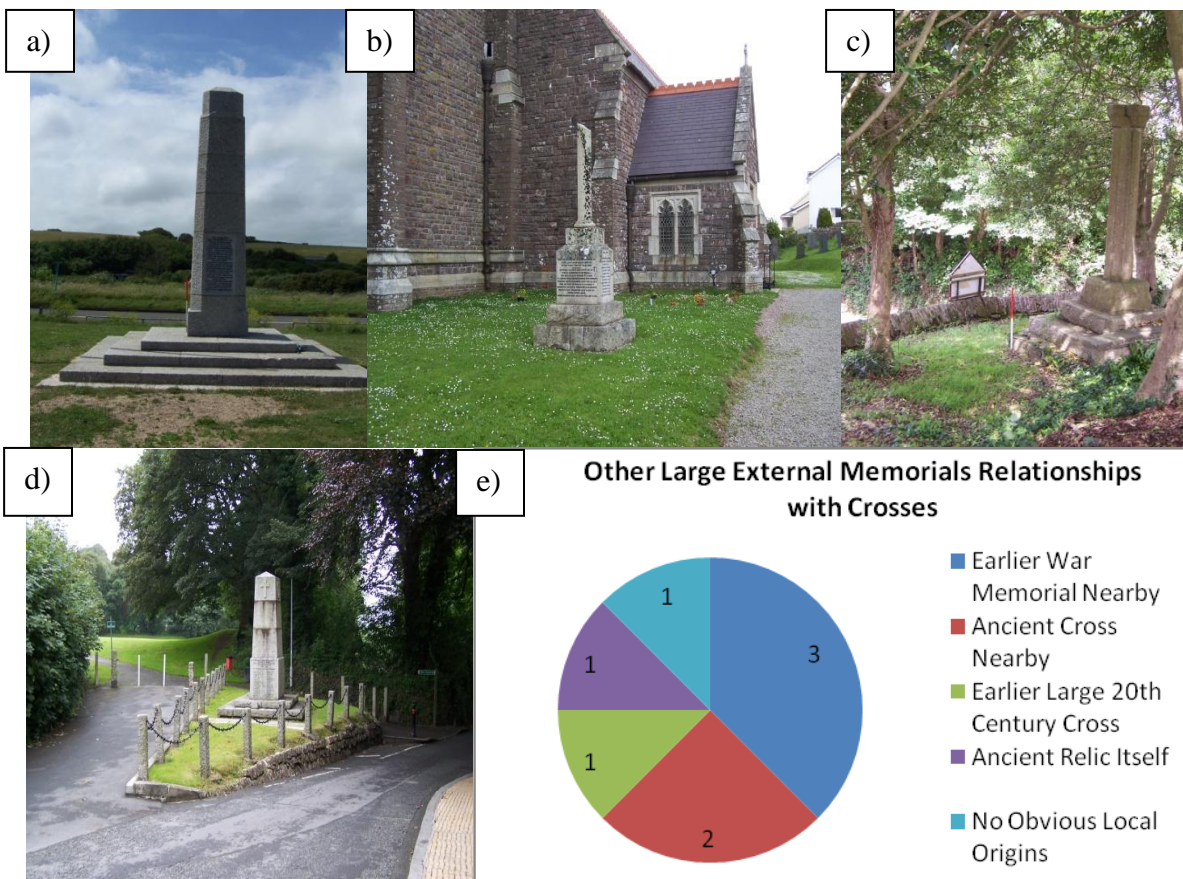


*Figure 5.37 – The obelisks and pillars of the South Hams include the Slapton Sands evacuation memorial (a), the Noss Mayo war memorial (b), the Dodbrooke war memorial reused an ancient pillar (c), and the Plympton St Maurice cenotaph at Plympton Castle (d). It appears that in the majority of instances the choice of these forms was at least partially a reaction to the existence of earlier crosses nearby (e) (Photos: Author).*

The other large stone memorials in the South Hams therefore emphasis that a complicated situation exists in archaeologically interpreting public war memorial forms in the South Hams. This is because although some communities deliberately avoided the use of memorial crosses, especially if complete or restored examples existed within a parish's boundaries. Others places, most noticeably Thurlestone (see Fig. 5.36), and Kingston (Fig. 5.34d) still opted for crosses,

even when they were in close physical association or timing. The choices of form may though be partially indicative of the diminished control which the Church of England had within parishes which chose non-cross forms, a direct influence perhaps of non-conformist churches or organised veteran groups within these communities. A slightly clearer pattern exists in East Devon as four of the five parishes which contained restored (or copies of) ancient crosses in their churchyards (or nearby) opted for other commemorative forms, though none opted for other external forms. Typically if a complete example of a large memorial cross already existed within a parish or town, it was usually avoided as the form for a public war memorial. This is especially witnessed in instances when a war memorial cross already existed nearby (hence no post-1945 war memorial crosses found in either study area). In instances when only part of an ancient cross survived, this would typically be restored, or at least influence, the parish war memorial's design, as occurred at Ermington (Figs. 5.48f-g).

Other external memorial types make up only minor proportions in comparison (see Fig. 5.22b), yet are no less significant where selected. These other external types are typically smaller memorials which are more commonly found in internal locations. Most prolifically these take the forms of tablets and plaques (with a single board and one framed memorial). The majority of these smaller external forms commemorate the Second World War (Fig. 5.38b), and almost all (barring two) have been erected since 1995. The two exceptions are tablets which both commemorate the Second World War and have been erected near or on churchyard boundaries, at Cornworthy (Fig. 5.38c) and Galmpton (Fig. 5.55b). These two examples are exception as they can be viewed to have been erected externally as a reaction to the lack of an external First World War memorial in either parish. These examples therefore evidence that the existing internal locations chosen for First World War memorials, were no longer deemed appropriate for the remembrance of the Second World War. This is supported by their locations being archetypal of First World War external memorial forms, with the Cornworthy tablet at a road junction facing down the hill into the main population centre of the parish, and the Galmpton tablet on the Churchyard boundary, raised above the main road through the village.

There are also several instances in the South Hams of the commemorative naming of roads (e.g. Fig. 5.3a), public houses (Fig. 5.20d), awards, and buildings (Fig. 5.38e). This study has not

deliberately sought to investigate these commemorative names, yet six recorded instances of this were recorded for the South Hams. This is likely however to under represent the total number of examples, as it is clear that the use of conflict casualties' names, battles, or ships frequently occur. For example the Tilly Institute and Tilly Cottage in Noss Mayo are named in commemoration of Lieutenant Colonel Charles Wynn Tilly, who was killed in action in 1918. He had previously worked for the Membland Estate until its sale in 1915, when his family had moved from the area (Leonard-Williams 2005). The name is therefore not native to the region yet is now tied with the village institute and an eighteenth century cottage. It is also worth noting that the process of commemorative naming also extended to personal names, with families reusing the forenames of family members who had been killed during conflicts for subsequent generations (see Fig. 6.4a).
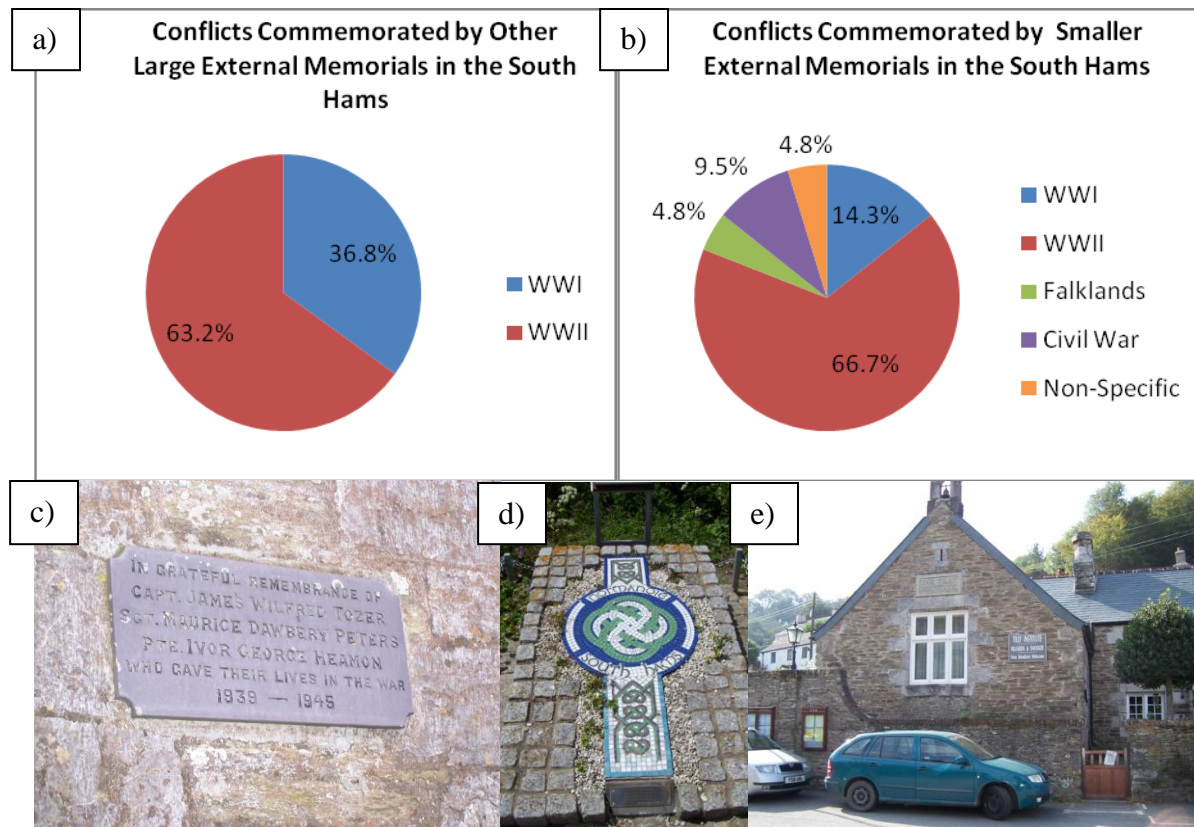


*Figure 5.38 – The conflicts which are commemorated by the large external memorials are dominated by the Second World War (a), as are those commemorated on the smaller external memorials (b). These include the Second World War memorial tablet at Cornworthy (c), and the Torcross Evacuation mosaic (d). Commemorative names also occur in the region such as the Tilly Institute and Tilly Cottage (behind the tree) in Noss Mayo (e) (Photos: Author).*

There are also a few examples of relics from conflicts having been retained as part of the commemorative practices of the South Hams. By the term *relic* I refer to either weapons or conflict related structures which have been reused for commemorative purposes. In the South Hams these include the sea-mine found on the front at Dartmouth (Fig. 5.23j), and more prominently the tank at Torcross (Fig. 5.56). However, in the immediate aftermath of the First World War, and to a lesser extent the South African War, objects, especially weapons played a much more prominent role in the public remembrance of conflict. These weapons were often placed in association with public spaces such as parks, and inside schools or halls. The majority had been removed or lost by the time of the Second World War, with the few remaining instances usually scrapped during the conflict (for example, The Totnes Times 1920c; Corke 2005; John Pitt *pers comm.*).

The use of relics took a very different form after the Second World War, with the battle scarred landscape of much of the region acting, usually unintentionally, as a poignant reminder of the conflict. This was particularly evidenced by destroyed and damaged buildings such as St. Michael and All Angel's Church, Stokenham (Fig. 5.39a) and St. Andrew's Church, Aveton Gifford (Fig. 5.39b) and particularly within the evacuated region (Fig. 39c). These post-1945 commemorative processes did not include the retention of weapons, but since the 1980s recovered military artefacts, especially those retrieved from the sea have become utilise again as suitable commemorative forms. Their reinvention as an appropriate form of commemoration, most notably the Sherman Tank at Torcross, owes much to their perceived *ancient* are therefore safe status, much like the canons of the region (Fig. 5.56). These objects have become safe through their age, ware, and also their lack of direct connection with causing deaths, i.e. the mines never detonated, while the tank never made it too shore, and nobody died in its sinking (Hoyt 1988).
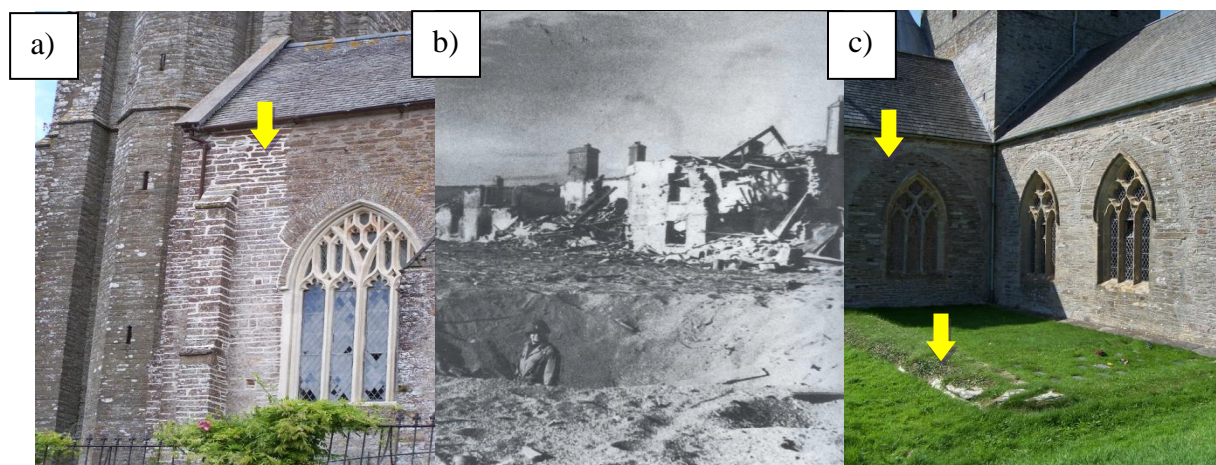
*Figure 5.39 – Repairs were required to the south side of St. Michael and All Angels' Church, Stokenham (a) (Photo: Author), after the D-Day training exercises had caused substantial shell damage (b), this provided numerous unintentional reminders of the conflict (From Small 1989: Fig. 6). Other parishes in the South Hams suffered aerial bombardment as evidenced by the remains of the South Aisle at St. Andrew's, Aveton Gifford (c) (Photos: Author).*

### 5.2.4 Decoration

The decorative motifs used on the memorials of the South Hams exhibit a huge range of forms and combinations. The most common two motifs however are regimental badges (including anchors), and crosses. Their dominance is partly because these two motifs are frequently used together on CWGC headstones, with only three of the 172 CWGC examples in the South Hams including a regimental badge and no cross (Fig. 5.40a). These two emblems also however dominate the decoration on internal memorials (Fig. 5.40b). The use of these two symbols embodies the main themes which run throughout the other decorative elements. Namely the majority of decorative symbols emphasise the sacred/religious (e.g. Christian iconography) and the militarian (e.g. knights, soldiers, medals, and weapons). These themes also overlap in often emphasising *victory* in both a military capacity, and of the war dead over death. Therefore symbols such as laurel wreaths (e.g. Fig. 5.40h) and the crown of life (e.g. Fig. 5.40d) are suggestive of not only victory in the conflicts, but also that the self-sacrifice of these individuals had led to a triumph over death, as they would forever be honoured and remembered by their families and communities.
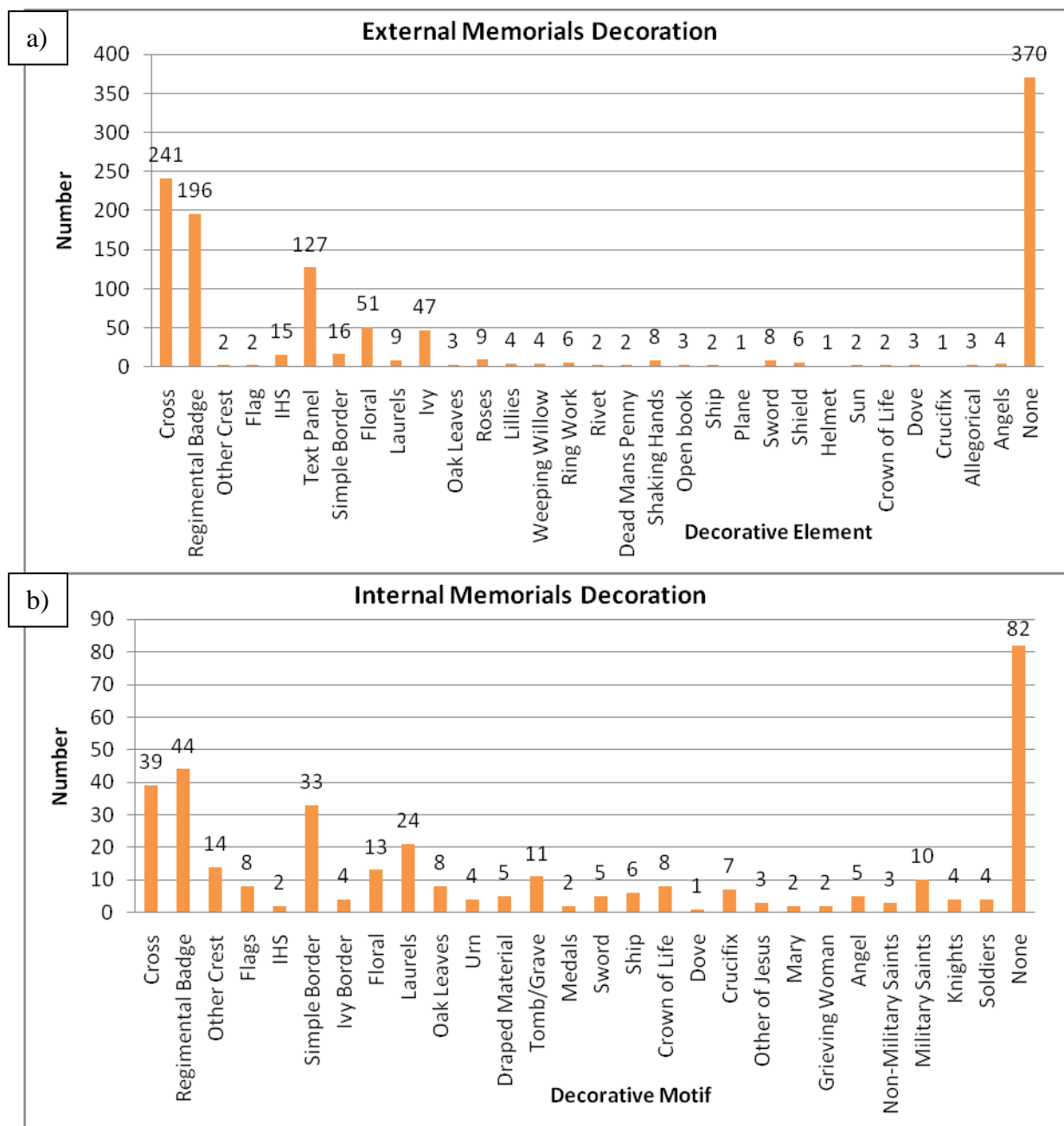
*Figure 5.40 – The breakdown between the decorative motifs appearing on the external (a) and internal (b) war memorials of the South Hams.*
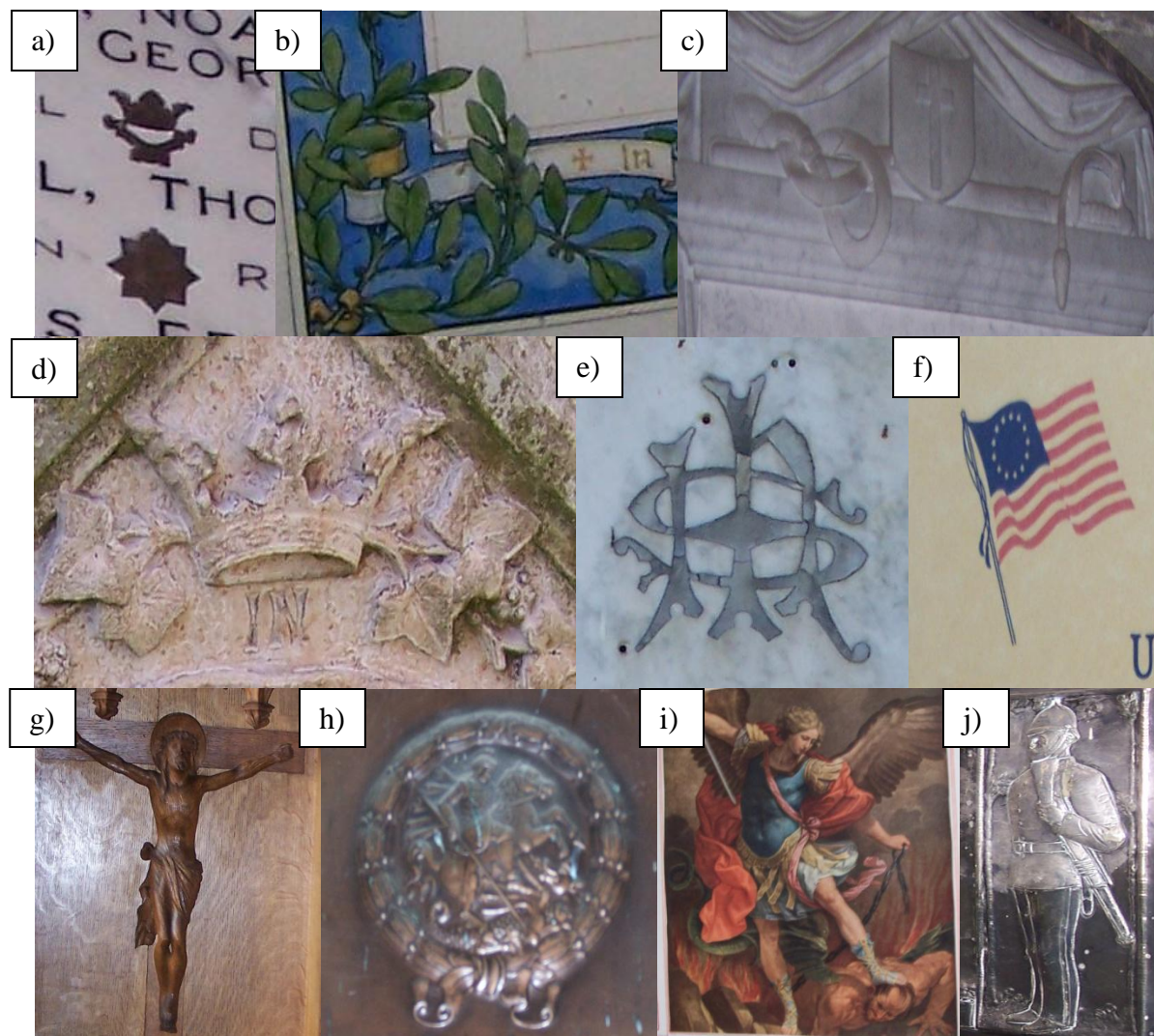
*Figure 5.41 – Examples of some of the main decorative motifs found on the war memorials of the South Hams. Regimental badges such as upon the Harberton war memorial tablet (a), laurels as on the Dean Prior Roll of Honour frame (b); sword, cross and draped material on top of a box tomb shaped tablet used for Dittisham's First World War memorial (c), a crown of life and Ivy on the Auger family headstone (circa 1928), South Milton (d), IHS from W.H. Rundle's (circa 1918) headstone, Galmpton (e), and a flag from the Stokenham evacuation memorial frame (f). The Figurative forms are dominated by Crucifixes, as on the Kingswear war memorial board (g), and the warrior saints particularly St George, here surrounded by a laurel wreath on Dartington's First World War memorial plaque (h) and St. Michael, here depicted on the Ringmore's Roll of Honour frame (i). Contemporary servicemen in contrast are rare such as the Lieutenant Hare Plaque, Diptford (j) (Photos: Author).*

A noble Christian identity is therefore emphasised upon the majority of war memorials, and usually in direct association with a military identity. The identification of the twentieth century war dead as idealised Christian soldiers, particularly on the official (CWGC) memorials, and public First World War memorials (see Fig. 5.41a-c), can be seen to have simplified these complex individuals into the most basic of definitions. Being represented solely as Christian soldiers rather than fathers, sons, daughters, blacksmiths, footballers, etc. (see also Tarlow 1999a: 157). The complex characteristics of individuals' identities became subsumed within a wider narrative of righteous, noble, Christian military sacrifice. Private memorials, at least in terms of their inscriptions (see Chapter 5.5.1) were more likely to extend beyond this simplification, yet the decorative elements of these media remained similar (e.g. Fig. 5.41d-e). The commemoration of the Second World War saw these processes diminish, with decoration beyond text panels or frames rarely used (e.g. Fig. 5.42b). This simplification to focusing solely upon names, rather than military identities, can partially be accounted for by the deaths of civilians during the conflict. It was a manifestation also that the war dead of the Second World War had become almost entirely commemorated as citizens, rather than the soldier-citizens of the First World War (see also Chapter 5.5.1).
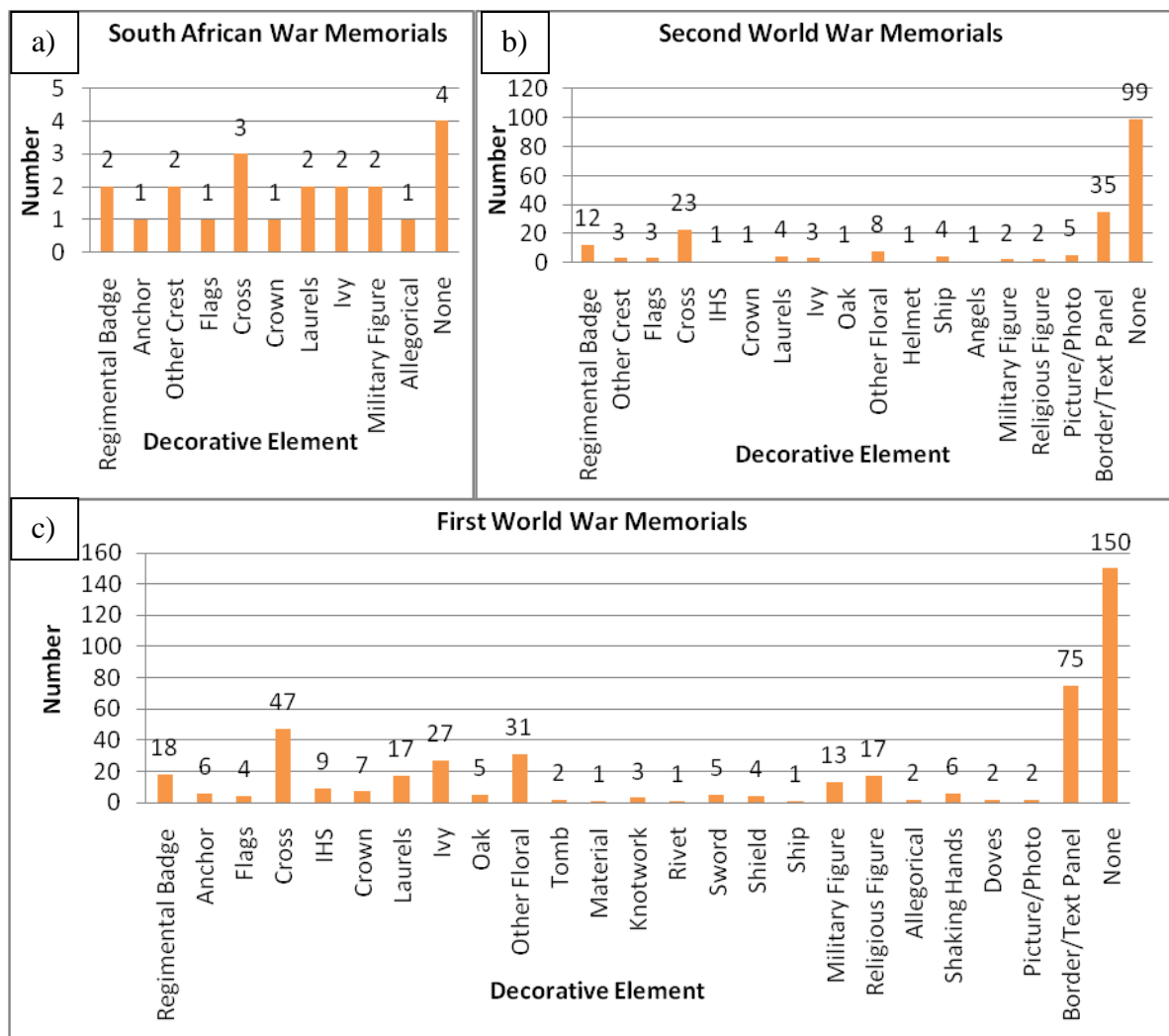
*Figure 5.42 – The decorative motifs used on all the South African War (a), Second World War (b) and First World War memorials (c), except for headstones.*

Specific symbols of death and grief are limited amongst twentieth century war memorials, despite being prolific amongst earlier memorial tablets (e.g. Fig. 5.42a). These motifs were dwindling in use by the turn of the twentieth century, yet still occur on some of the South African and First World War Memorials. For example, the First World War memorial tablet for Wembury (Fig. 5.43c) and two First World War tablets at Dittisham (Fig. 5.43d) are shaped as box tombs (Fig. 5.43). A form typically associated with early nineteenth century war memorials (seven of the twelve examples date to the first half of the nineteenth century. A similar pattern of use of this decorative form appears in East Devon, with eight of the eleven examples dating to the nineteenth century and with two public First World War examples at Clyst Hydon (Fig. 6.15d) and All Saints (Fig. 6.48b). It is noteworthy that in Dittisham and Wembury (and All

Saints in East Devon) that the public memorials erected for the Second World War seemed to have been deliberately distanced in location or style from these earlier forms. Therefore despite taking the form of tablets, located inside the same churches, the tablets took much less elaborate forms. They were also not placed in a close spatial relationship with these First World War tablets. However, the physical positioning of separate war memorials for the Second World War in these two parishes can be partially explained by the erection/refurbishment of the church bells, which resulted in the tablets being placed adjacent to the church towers.
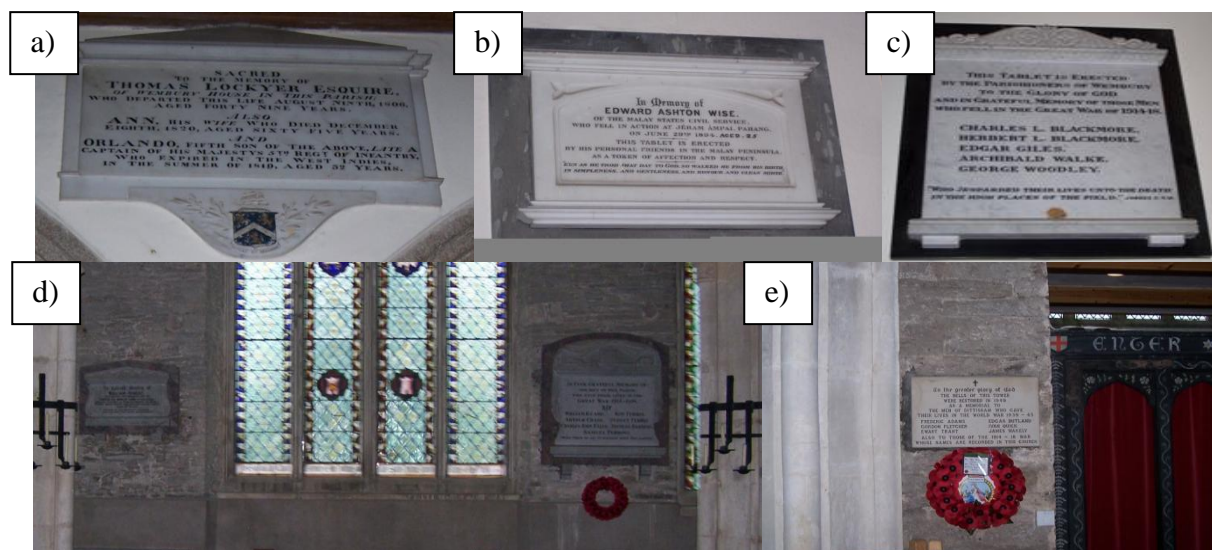


*Figure 5.43 – Box tomb shaped tablets mostly date to the first half of the nineteenth century, such as the Lockyer Family tablet (circa 1820) at St. Werburgh's, Wembury (a). Their use for the later 19th century examples, such as E.A. Wise's tablet in St. Michael and All Angels' Church, Loddiswell (b) are typically in imitation of earlier family memorials. The First World War memorial tablets at Wembury (c), two examples from St. George's Church, Dittisham (d) are the only later examples, but these were not imitated or used for the commemoration of the Second World War, with separate (simpler) tablets and utilitarian projects chosen in both parishes, as at Dittisham (e) (Photos: Author).*

These tomb shaped forms and decorations are not the only form which explicitly materialises death and grief (as well as remembrance). It is also seen in use of lilies, which appear on four headstones in the South Hams dated circa 1891, 1915, 1916 and 1919 (e.g. Fig. 5.44a). A pattern repeated in East Devon where the two examples occur on headstones dating to 1917, which both had First World War headstone additions. Weeping willows in the South Hams are likewise

largely restricted to headstone additions made to nineteenth century headstones for casualties of the First World War, (the five examples date to 1868, 1873, 1895, 1915 and 1919). In East Devon no examples of this decorative form on war memorials was identified, and this can perhaps be used to suggest the slightly greater downplay of death and grief in the decorative forms of East Devon's war memorials as a whole. For example, draped material occurs on five memorials in the South Hams compared with two examples in East Devon, although this difference could simply reflect the lower number of memorials recorded for the East Devon study area.

A further slight difference which occurs is the use of grieving or mourning women upon war memorials with three examples from the South Hams and two in East Devon (Fig. 6.38). Grief is therefore represented as gender specific activity prior to the twentieth century with women acting as symbols of mourning and remembrance, although grieving servicemen dominate the grieving figures of the twentieth century memorials. The use of grieving female figures is typically restricted to eighteenth century war memorials in both study areas (for example, Fig. 5.44b), with the exceptions of the First World War allegorical at Kingsbridge (Fig. 5.23f) and upon the memorial triptych in Noss Mayo (Fig. 5.44c). The use of this decoration upon the Noss Mayo memorial can in part be seen to further the concern of the parish and especially church in legitimising its historic origins, having only been built in the 1870s (see also Fig. 5.37b).



*Figure 5.44 – The Willcocks' family headstone (1919) from St. Mary and All Saints' Churchyard, Plymstock includes lilies, daffodils and roses in the decorative panel (a). Mourning women appear on the Captain Pownoll Memorial tablet (1780) in St. David's Church, Ashprington (b), and the First World War memorial triptych (circa 1918) in St. Peter's Church, Noss Mayo (c) (Photos: Author).*

The use of figurative decoration enjoyed its final flourish in the commemoration of the First World War (e.g. Fig. 5.41g-j). In fact the majority of the recorded figures are upon First World War memorials, with an almost complete dearth of new examples erected after the Second World War in the South Hams (Fig. 5.43b). The sole exceptions of their use both being memorial windows, at Yealmpton, to Lieutenant de Cready (Fig. 5.19c), and the 2004 window to Second World War veteran Ken Slocombe, at Hooe (Fig. 5.19b). The same pattern also occurs in East Devon where the four Second World War memorials which include figures all take the form of memorial windows depicting saints (e.g. Fig. 6.19c). The Slocombe window is further atypical, in depicting contemporary (1940s) servicemen in action, as only three other war memorials illustrate servicemen, and none of these were in active poses.  Mourning soldiers are depicted on two South African War memorials at Totnes (Fig. 5.6a) and Diptford (Fig. 5.41j); while a single dying soldier is depicted at West Alvington (Fig. 5.14d). This latter example unusually for the war memorials of the region not only explicitly depicts death, but also directly links the deaths of servicemen with the sacrifice of Christ by having a crucifix also included in the image.

The crucifix decorative form only occurs in eight instances, yet is most prevalent on public memorials, with seven of the eight examples being on memorials to wider groups (Fig. 5.41g). The crucifix is more symbolic of sacrifice than the cross, which can be seen to be more representative of the resurrection (as well as symbolising the division between the catholic and protestant churches). The role of the Catholic Church upon war memorials is not clear in the South Hams, with no catholic memorials encountered. It does however have some pertinence in East Devon where the First World War memorial at St. Mary's Catholic Church in Axminster takes the form of a wooden crucifix (Fig. 6.34f). It has been emphasised elsewhere (e.g. Saunders 2003; MacLeod 2002) that the crucifix was an important commemorative symbol, particularly to servicemen, and that the sacrifice of Christ was seen as a parallel to that of soldiers (ibid: 9). It only however appears to have been a secondary concern in the commemoration of conflicts in the South Hams though. This may have partially been because the crucifix more explicitly referenced death and was therefore generally avoided in the region (Fig. 5.45a). This limited use also occurs in East Devon, which has five memorials (all public) which include crucifixes (Fig. 6.38).
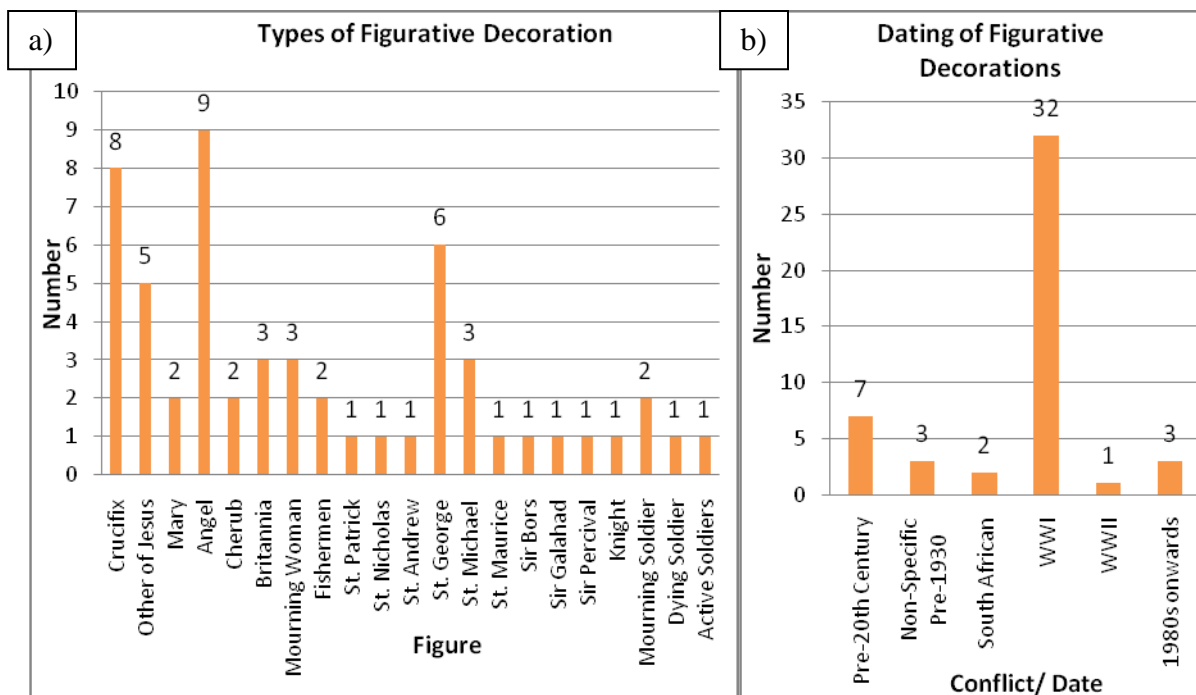
*Figure 5.45 – The types of figurative images used on the war memorials of the South Hams (a) and the dating or conflict which these memorials commemorated (b).*

Although contemporary servicemen are rarely depicted upon the war memorials of the region, knights are much more frequently encountered. Fourteen medieval dressed Christian soldiers and saints are depicted on war memorials in the South Hams, the majority of which appear on stained glass windows (e.g. Fig. 5.50a). However five other memorials include depictions of these medieval figures (e.g. Fig. 5.41h and Fig. 5.41i). The depictions of knights such as Sir Galahad, Sir Bors, Sir Percival, and other anonymous knights enabled war memorials to emphasise militaristic character, as well as the nobler chivalric qualities of the war dead, rather than the brutal realities of twentieth century wars. Knights were also depicted on three memorials in East Devon, although in the South Hams there are also four depictions of Roman centurions (see Fig. 6.42a). These Roman figures are all found in association with images of Jesus, and can therefore be interpreted as only a minor part of the majority of these examples, with the exception of the Broadclyst First World War memorial tablet and window, which includes a centurion both on the tablet and in the window (Figs. 6.41a-b). The use of centurions in East Devon also evokes the known Romano-British past of the region, with the Fosse Way running through the region, known forts and various Roman finds. A cultural and physically visible past in the early

twentieth century when these memorials were erected, but which was largely absent from the South Hams study area (e.g. Pearce 1981: 163).

Warrior saints are the most prolifically encountered *soldiers* in the South Hams, especially the patron saints of chivalry, St. Michael and St. George (Fig. 5.42a). Similar proportions of these two saints also occur in East Devon, with half the number of St. Michael's (three) to St. George's (six). The higher use of St. George in both areas can be argued to partially be a result of him not only personifying saintly chivalry and virtue (as St. Michael also did), but also of an English identity. This national emphasis is not prolific amongst other decorative forms, with flags and images of Britannia relatively rare amongst memorials. The majority of uses of flags appear on framed memorials and especially rolls of honour (six of the examples). There use on external memorials in contrast is restricted to a single example in the South Hams (Fig. 5.47e). A greater diversity in the types of memorials flags appear upon was recorded in East Devon, yet the numbers of memorials are still low with only six examples, only one of which was a framed memorial (see Fig. 6.43a). This use of nationalistic images on war memorials appears therefore to have been restricted to a few instances, and several of these are typically utilised to identify foreign troops, rather than a British identity (e.g. Fig. 5.42f).

The more prolific depiction of ancient soldiers and warrior saints than contemporary servicemen can be seen as part of a widespread emphasis upon chivalric individuals and times. A theme which is reflected by the weapons which are depicted upon the war memorials of the region, with swords, helmets and shields portrayed rather than guns or bayonets (e.g. Fig. 5.40). The exception is the occasional depiction of boats (e.g. Fig. 5.46a) and planes (e.g. Fig. 5.46b) which appear on eight memorials, four of which have been erected since 1990. This suggests that there is perhaps a new romanticism to these simpler machines and weapons, just as with the more archaic canon found in many communities. Planes (especially Spitfires) and boats have also become such iconic machines to British and coastal identities (see Connelly 2004: 292). The use of swords is largely restricted to the commemoration of military veterans (e.g. Fig. 5.46c) and to four public First World War memorials (e.g. Figs. 5.41c; 5.47c). It also notably occurs on the Second World War burial of John Mitchelmore in All Saint's Churchyard, Thurlestone which includes no mention of his death being as a result of warfare in the inscription, and the swords of

sacrifice on each side pillar act as the only reference to his death being on active service (Fig. 5.46d).

Shields are an equally prevalent decorative form of historic weaponry, appearing on six memorials. They are however also frequently used as the shape of memorial tablets of pre-twentieth century memorials. This use continues into the twentieth century with seven headstone additions being placed upon shield shaped tablets laid at the feet of older family headstones (e.g. Fig. 5.46e). All of these occur within the vicinity of Kingsbridge, with three examples at Stokenham suggesting that they are probably the work of Rhymes masons at Chillington. The form was not unique to the South Hams however, and a single shield shaped headstone additions (the Edwards family headstone in St. Michael's Churchyard, Honiton) was recorded in East Devon (Figs. 6.53h-i).
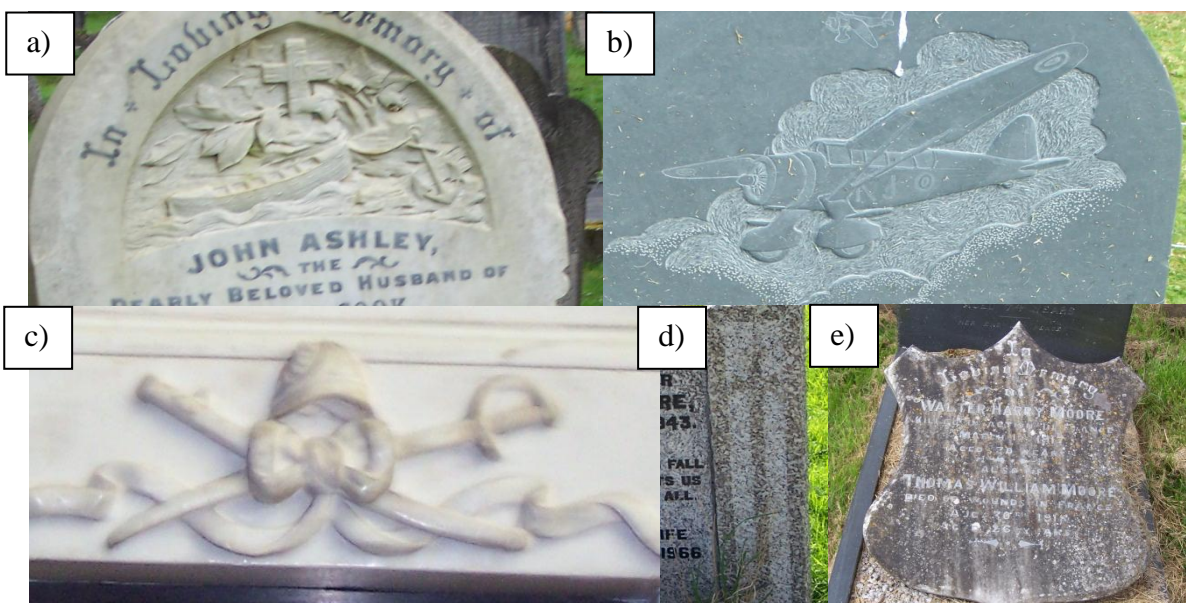


*Figure 5.46 – The depiction of modern weapons in the South Hams is limited to boats, as on the Cook family headstone (1916) in Salcombe Cemetery (a), and occasionally in recent years to Spitfires at on C.M. Stewart's (1990) headstone at Malborough (b). Typically the sword and shields are more frequently depicted as on Lieutenant G.M. Rowe (1879) tablet, Ugborough (c), J.E. Mitchelmore's (1943) headstone, Thurlestone (d), and the shield shaped tablet addition to the Moore family headstone, Stokenham (e)(Photos: Author).*

The decorative symbols chosen for non-headstone external memorials are dominated by text panels, frames or borders (Figs. 5.47a-b; Figs. 6.44a-b). The dominance of these simple decorative elements emphasises that the majority of the external stone forms were rough hewn (e.g. Fig. 5.47e). The majority of external war memorial in the South Hams therefore have either no decoration or simple text panels (82.4% of crosses and 66% of other external forms). A similar pattern is evident in East Devon with 68% of other external forms having no decoration or only text panels (Fig. 6.44b). However, there are a slightly higher proportion of decorative elements encountered on the memorial crosses of East Devon with 66.7% having only text panels or no decoration (Fig. 6.44a), although this can be accounted for simply by the higher use of ring work decoration and rivets in the region. The relative lack or simple nature of the decoration upon these external memorials emphasises that it is a form, inscription, and location of these war memorials which predominantly articulate their meanings and significance to the viewer and community.

There are a few exceptions which largely appear to have been used to further emphasise the antique, the Christian and the Military. For example, two of the First World War memorial crosses, from Totnes, and Malborough (Fig. 5.47c) have decorative swords. It is perhaps no coincidence that these are two of the few war memorials in the region which have direct stylistic influences from outside Devon, with the Malborough memorial cross imitating the *Wallace Cross.* The Totnes memorial in contrast is directly influenced by more recent form, in the CWGC commemorative styles, and takes the form of the *Cross of Sacrifice.* The *Cross of Sacrifice* also directly influenced the only sword used (at Colyton) upon a memorial cross in East Devon (Fig. 6.56d). The use of a crusaders sword upon the CWGC *Cross of Sacrifice* had been a design element to ensure the memorial was associated by the viewer with the war dead, as the cross on its own (or for that matter the crucifix) had predominantly religious associations, and the inclusion of a sword created some distance from these associations (see Quinlan 2005: 103). The use of the sword stressed their role in commemorating conflict, which was perhaps necessary on examples that were placed in wider communal cemeteries and included no inscription explaining their meanings, yet not in the three instances of its use in the study areas.

The militarian was also emphasised by regimental badges and crests which appear on six external memorials in the South Hams (and five in East Devon), although most of these are to veteran groups such as the Royal British Legion war memorial gates (Figs. 5.47d; 5.23h). The external memorials which include badges and crests were almost exclusively however erected to commemorate these groups rather than conflicts or the war dead. A more unusual militarian decorative example is the American style soldier's helmet on the U.S. forces memorial Ivybridge (Fig. 5.47e). External memorials (except burial monuments) although occasionally including religious decorative elements such as crosses or angels (see Figs. 5.47a-b; 6.44a-b), are predominantly undecorated or include reference to their militarian nature. The lack of symbolic decoration upon the majority of external public war memorials which were erected in the immediate aftermath of the First World War suggests that these memorials meanings was already clear to the community and wider public in these largely rural areas which had few existing large external memorials.
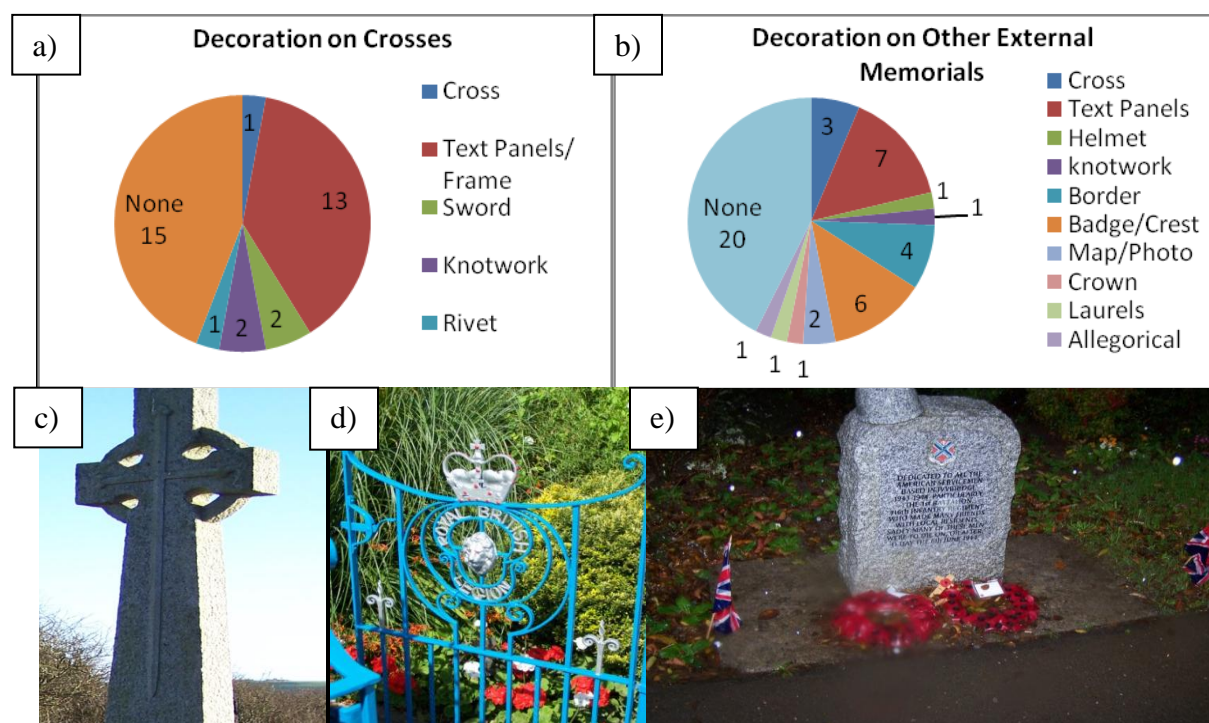


*Figure 5.47 – The decorative motifs on war memorial crosses (a) and other external memorials (b) in the South Hams. These motifs include swords, as on the Malborough War Memorial Cross (c), regimental badges, as on the entrance to the war memorial cross at Dartmouth (d), and a*

*single example of a helmet on the US servicemen's memorial from Ivybridge (e) (Photos: Author).*

Celtic knotwork also appears on two of the external memorial crosses of the region in the adjacent parishes of Chivelstone (Fig. 5.48a) and East Portlemouth (Fig. 5.48b). Ring crosses were also however opted for by the majority of parishes on the Kingsbridge estuary with First World War examples also recorded for Salcombe (Fig. 5.48d), Malborough (Fig. 5.47c), South Milton (Fig. 5.48c), and Sherford (Fig. 5.34e). This concentration of ring crosses accounts for most of the examples (60%) from the region, and probably reflects the work of the same mason (F. Cole of Salcombe). The only other parish on the estuary which opted for an external First World War memorial (except for the more complicated town of Kingsbridge) is South Pool (Fig. 5.48e). However, even in this instance the memorial cross is of a very similar size (i.e. 2.3m high) and style (i.e. trapezoidal base) to the ring crosses found at Sherford, Chivelstone, and East Portlemouth.

Celtic knotwork decoration also appears on four headstones in the South Hams (two of which date to the First World War), and more unusually the Evacuation Mosaic at Torcross (Fig. 5.38d). The mosaic was constructed as a replica of the portion of the International Garden in Caen, Normandy which commemorates the Second World War evacuation of the region, and was designed by the South Hams District Council. It is perhaps surprising that a Celtic design would be chosen by the South Hams council, given their relatively low occurrence within the region's landscape, especially from with the evacuated region, where the sole ring cross is the Sherford war memorial and does not have knotwork ornamentation (Fig. 5.34e). Knotwork and ring crosses are also frequently associated with rivets in the centre of the crosshead, and sometimes further rivets on the shaft and arms. Two instances of memorial crosses (e.g. Fig. 6.44c) and a single headstone were recorded in East Devon with several rivets on the cross head. In contrast in the South Hams only central rivets were utilised, which were utilised upon two headstones and the Ermington war memorial cross (Fig. 5.48f). The Ermington War Memorial cross is therefore unique amongst the war memorial crosses of the South Hams and its design may have been partially influenced by the ancient cross head located in the parish church (Fig. 5.48g).
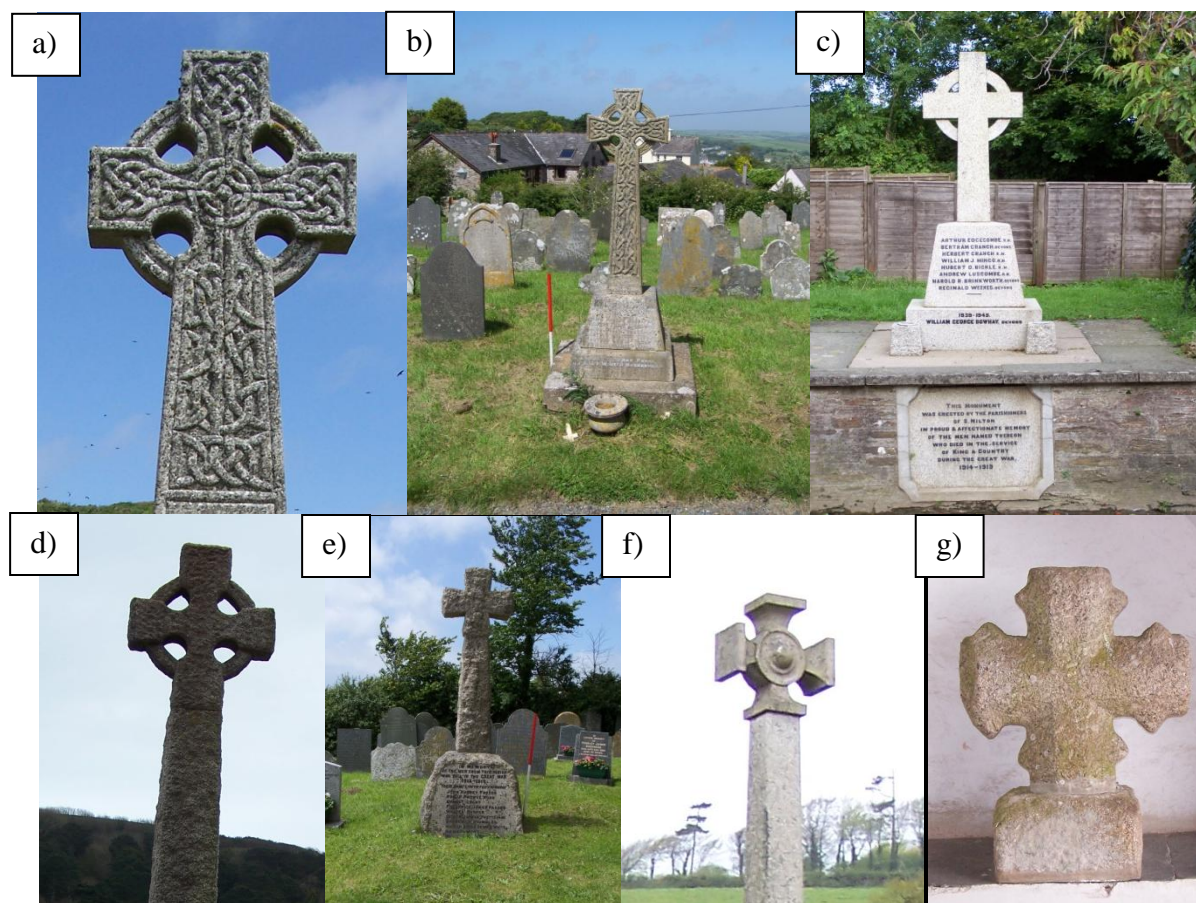
*Figure 5.48 – The use of Celtic knotwork decoration is always connected with Celtic ring crosses, as at Chivelstone (a) and East Portlemouth (b), although not all examples of ring crosses include this elaborate decoration, as at South Milton (c) and Salcombe (d). The South Pool (e) and Ermington war memorial crosses (f), are clearly influenced by these ring cross forms. The Ermington example may also derive some influence from a crosshead located in the parish church (g) (Photos: Author).*

The decorative elements which appear on the internal war memorials of the South Hams emphasise similar patterns, as despite not being composed of rough hewn forms they are still dominated by borders or frames (Fig. 5.49). It is notable that the range of decorative forms used upon the memorial boards (Fig. 5.49b) and frames (Fig. 5.49a) of the region are slightly more limited than those used for plaques (Fig. 5.49d) and tablets (Fig. 5.49c). This is likely to be partially a result of these forms being restricted to twentieth century war memorials (Figs. 5.13d; 5.14b). It also emphasises that boards and frames were typically less carefully formulated, than was to be employed for the slightly later and more enduring commemorative forms such as

plaques and tablets. It can also be seen to evidence that along with memorial crosses and other large external memorials that these forms attempted to portray simplified images of military sacrifice by the local community, for the local community. Tablets and plaques in contrast are dominated by private memorials and were therefore more likely to employ a variety of decorative symbols which embodied the commemorated veterans and casualties to their families.
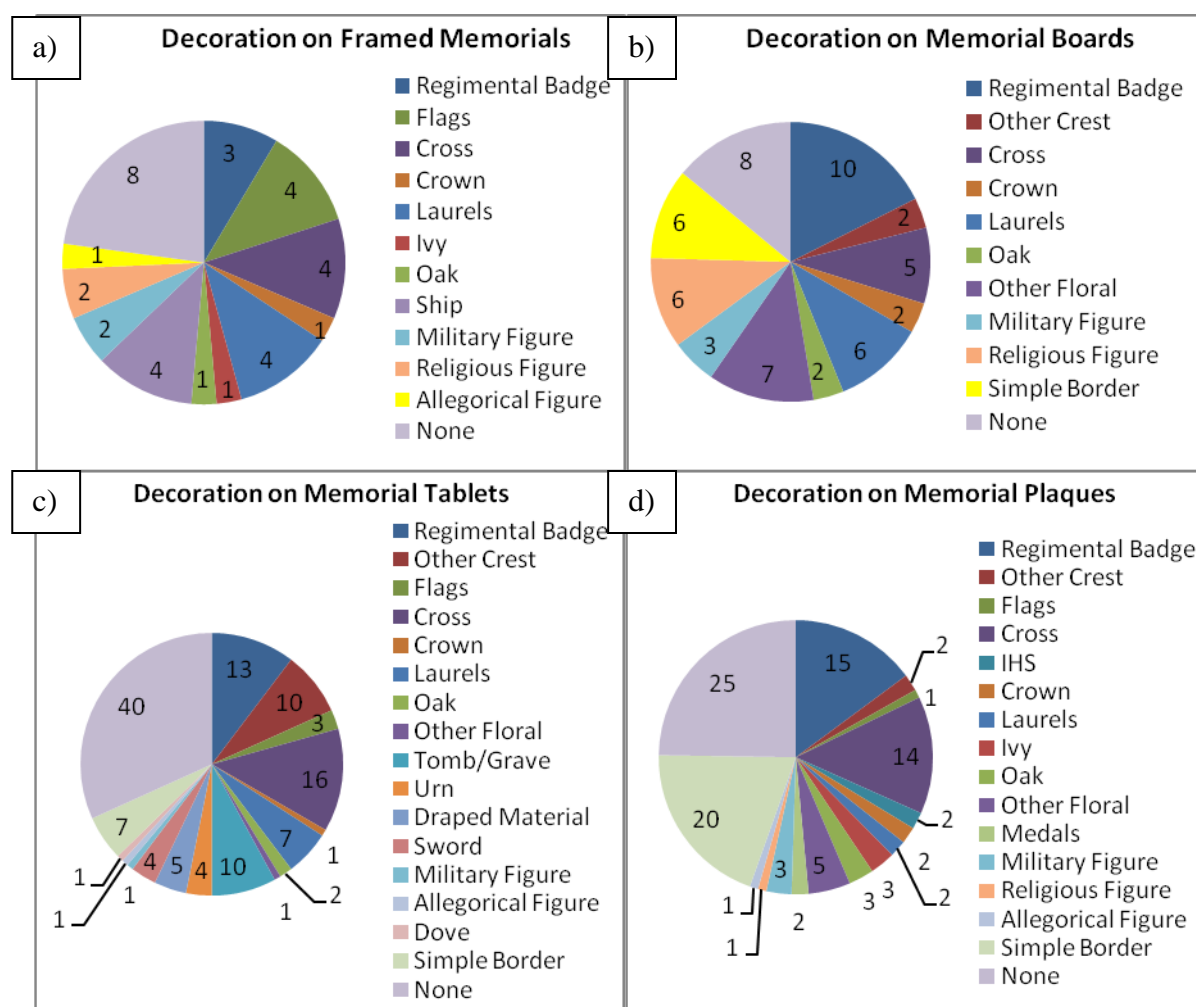


*Figure 5.49 – The breakdown in the decorative motifs used on framed memorials (a), boards (b), tablets (c), and plaques (d).*

Memorial windows are in contrast with all other memorial types dominated by figurative decoration, with a particualr emphasis upon the military in these forms if the depiction of military saints, regimental badges, laurels, and weapons are considered (Fig. 5.50a). These are not the only utilitarian memorials which have symbolic decorative forms, although the majority do not include any symoblic representations (Fig. 5.50b). Wooden fixtures and fittings in

particualr often had decorations, although these often contained little symbolic meaning and were more aesthetically driven. For example, the reredos to Captain Peek in St. Michael and All Saints' Church, Loddiswell contains gold painted floral borders dividing green and red panels (Fig. 5.50c). This decoration may not have contained any deep symbolic meaning, yet the choice of red and green could have perhaps make reference to his death having happened in Ireland. Several utiliarian memorials decorations went beyond purely aesthetical choices. For example a small memorial table in St. George's Church, Modbury includes a laurel wreath (Fig. 5.50d). Yet it is the First World War memorial lectern in Modbury which includes the most complex decorative mix amongst utilitarian memorials, by not only having complex carved floral borders, a cross on the front, sword and crest on the east side; but also a further cross, crown of life and laurel wreath on the west side (Fig. 5.50e).
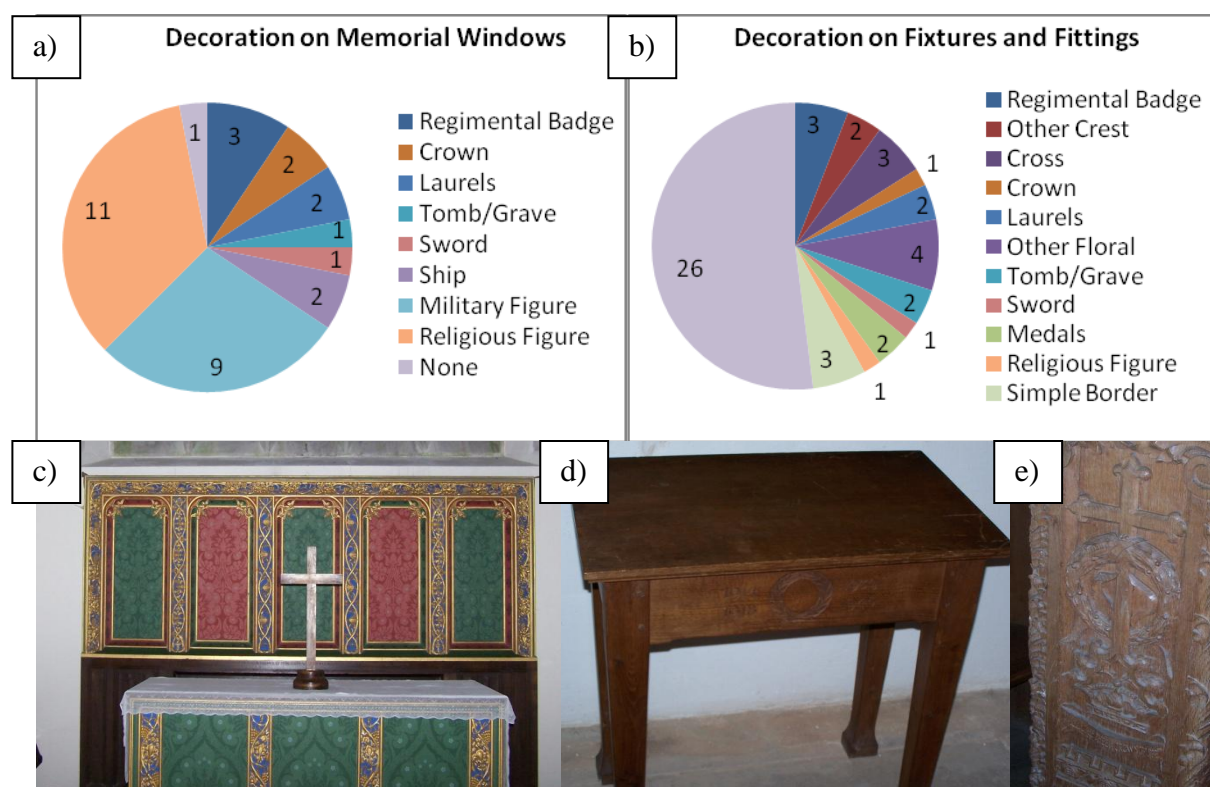


*Figure 5.50 – The decorative motifs which appear on the memorial windows (a), and upon fixtures and fittings (b) of the South Hams. Decorated fabric and fittings include the Captain Peek reredros at Loddiswell (c), the Modbury memorial table (d), and the memorial reader also from Modbury (e) (Photos: Author).*

## 5.3 Landscape

The distribution of the war memorials in the South Hams reveals that 74.1% of memorials are externally located, 25% internally placed, while the remaining (0.9%) are comprised of buildings or externally located tower clocks with internal tablets which therefore fall into both categories (Fig. 5.51a). The distribution is repeated in East Devon, although given the lower number of recorded burial monuments it is perhaps not surprising that the percentage of internal memorials (33.1%) is higher than in the South Hams. The bias which is created by headstones and headstone additions is further evidenced if public memorials are treated in isolation (Fig. 5.51b).

The majority of public memorials were internally positioned, both in the South Hams (62.1%) and in East Devon (66.4%). This is also borne out in the broad categorisation of the locations of war memorials in the South Hams, which demonstrates the dominance of the churchyard/cemetery as the location for formal conflict commemoration (Fig. 5.51c). However, when the public commemoration is again examined separately a clearer pattern emerges (Fig. 5.51d), with the church dominating with 56.6% (146 memorials) of the total, and only 39 churchyard memorials being publically funded. The numbers of public memorials in East Devon in these two location are very similar, with 133 memorials (61.9%) located inside churches and 36 (16.7%) in churchyards. Equally revealing is that no private memorials occur at road junctions in either study region (all six in the South Hams and fourteen in East Devon were public memorials) or on the main road (with all eighteen in the South Hams and Six from East Devon classified in this study as public). These highly visible secular locations were therefore solely the domain of public or council funded schemes. The reasons behind the choice of a secular or religious setting will be discussed in depth later (Chapter 7.3). However, there are several general patterns which emerge beyond the simple limits of this division between the church and the secular, which has often been the limit of other studies (e.g. O'Kelly 2008; Grieves 2000).
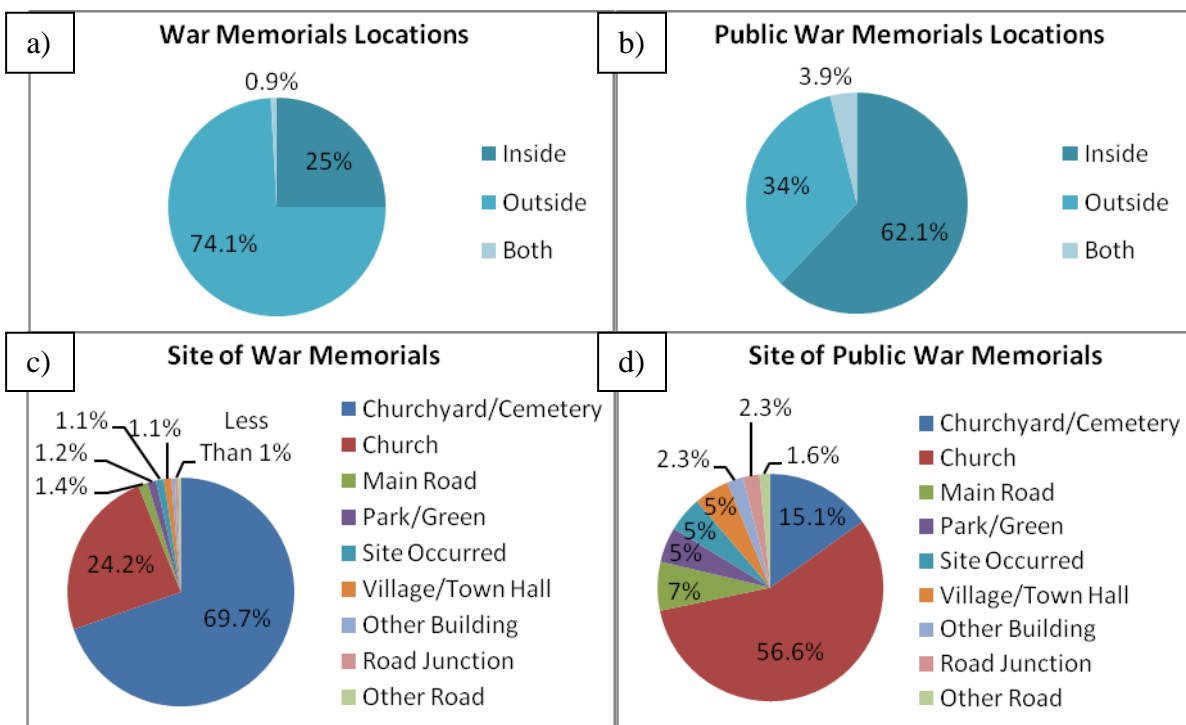
*Figure 5.51 – The broad location of war memorials in the South Hams (a) and of the public memorials (b). The breakdown in the types of sites used in these location categories (c), although a clearer pattern is apparent if public war memorials are looked at separately (d).*

The most evident of patterns in war memorial locations (beyond the religious versus secular) is the link between war memorials and entrances. The close relationship with entrances (10.3% of all war memorials), is evidenced by memorials not only being frequently located opposite entrances in churches and churchyards, but also secular locations such as on major road junctions. This close spatial association is particularly prominent amongst public memorials (Fig. 5.52a), while private memorials are more frequently established within existing familial commemorative spaces or within contemporary burial areas (Fig. 5.52b).

The positioning adjacent to, or opposite entrances can be seen to be explicitly connected with directions of movement within these spaces, thereby ensuring these memorials high visibility and interaction to the community and visitors. On many occasions it was not possible to erect the memorial directly opposite an entrance due to a pre-existing memorial, or because of the positioning of windows and this often led to memorials being placed in the closest available location to directly opposite the entrance (e.g. Fig. 5.52c) or adjacent to the entrance. The First

World War memorial board in St. Thomas of Canterbury's Church, Kingswear (Fig. 5.52d) most clearly emphasises how important this location was in the placement of war memorials as the window opposite the entrance was shortened to allow for the war memorial board to be placed directly opposite the entrance to the church (Stevens 2008). This is an example of the extreme measures which were sometimes used in the positioning of war memorials, and warns, as to the number of other memorials which are likely to have been moved in churches as part of a public war memorials establishment.
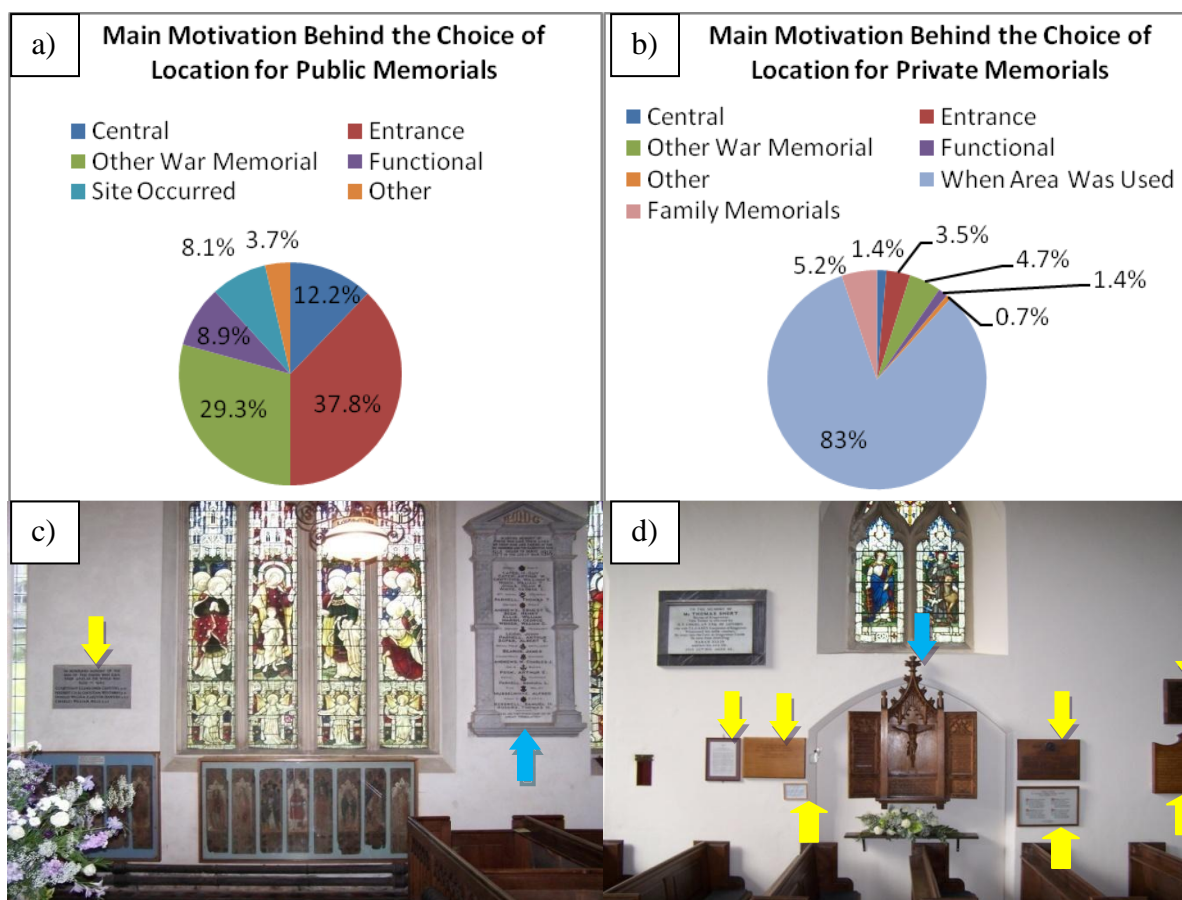


*Figure 5.52 – The main motivations behind the positioning of public memorials (a) and private memorials (b) in the South Hams. The Harberton war memorial tablets (c) exhibits the typical placing of war memorials inside churches, in that as the widow is directly opposite the entrance the war memorials were placed as close to opposite as possible and within their own defined spaces (a pillar each). This position opposite the entrance is also seen with the First World War memorial board in St. Thomas of Canterbury's Church, Kingswear (d). The blue arrows indicate*

*the First World War memorials in the two churches, while the yellow arrows indicate later war memorials which have been placed in close association (Photos: Author).*

The close connection with entrances also extends to the use of the porches or lobbies of buildings, as occurs at the parish churches of Halwell (Fig. 5.53b) Aveton Gifford (Fig. 5.15e), Bigbury (Fig. 5.15d), and Littlehempston (Fig. 4.3), and also the Strete Village Hall (Fig. 5.53a). All of the memorials which are found in entranceway locations were rolls of honour, and the same occurs in East Devon with all three examples of the use of this location being First World War roll of honour memorials. The affiliation between rolls of honour and entrances extends to almost all of the examples in the South Hams, with only seven examples (18%) recorded in other locations. Three of these seven examples seem likely to have been moved from their original locations to secondary and slightly obscured locations within the church (e.g. Fig. 5.53c). The clearest example of this is at Newton Ferrers, where the Second World War roll of honour is presently located in the north transept, as are two frames containing a list of the parish's previous ministers and a list of churchwardens (Fig. 5.53d). Rolls of ministers are also typically located in close relationship to entranceways, and are therefore frequently encountered in close spatial relation to war memorials (3% of public memorials). In this instance however they provide supporting evidence for the author in hypothesising that the roll of honour had been moved to this location, possibly due to the installation of shelving opposite the entrance. Three further exceptions to this close relationship between rolls of honour and entrances are because the memorials had been positioned as part of the dedication of war memorial chapels (at Modbury, Plymstock and Rattery). While the final exception is the Second World War roll of honour frame at Noss Mayo which was placed in a position adjacent to the First World War memorial rather than by the entrance.

*Figure 5.53 – The First and Second World War roll of honour boards in the lobby of Strete Village Hall (a), and Halwell's First World War roll of honour board in St. Leonard's Church porch (b). A few rolls of honour are not located in such prominent locations (blue arrows), and have seemingly been moved, as appears to have been the case with the obscured frame in St. James' Church, Ugborough (c), and the frame at Holy Cross Church, Newton Ferrers (d) (Photos: Author).*

The connection between public war memorials and entrances, can also be seen to physically materialise the difficult position which the war dead occupied in social groups' memories. Locations by entrances can be seen as liminal places which therefore embody the liminal position of these conflicts, and especially of those listed. The liminality is not only in terms of the war dead (usually) not being buried within the parish and therefore being physically absent, but also in relation to which institutions and individuals controlled their memory and remembrance. The church, as the traditional centre of commemoration perhaps formed an inevitable focus prior to the twentieth century. It has been argued however that the First World War caused the termination of the Church of England's controlling and paternalistic influence over communities (e.g. Grieves 2001).

The choice to position war memorials near to churchyard boundaries or the entrance to the church can therefore be seen as one aspect of war memorials (particularly public examples) materialising the growing secularisation of remembrance and diminishing control of the church.

It is clear however that it was not only the First World War dead which represented a complicated commemorative process, as all six of the public South African War memorials in the region (see Fig. 5.6) survive in positions near or opposite the entrances to the churches in which they were located. It is clear therefore that these monuments and memories of the community of war dead, first and foremost belonged to the social group which erected these memorials. Therefore although religious/sacred locations were the dominant choice for the establishment of public war memorials these were typically within the most publically visible and accessible spaces within the buildings and churchyards.

The close relationship which the war memorials of the South Hams have with entrances, directions of movement, and their placement in central yet liminal locations can all be viewed as largely motivated by the increased visibility and prominence gained by opting for these locations. For example, the memorial cross at Kingston (Fig. 5.54a) is located at the highest point in the churchyard, although this can perhaps be viewed as a secondary choice as the war memorial could not be positioned in association with the main entrance to the churchyard as a restored (1902) ancient cross was already positioned there (Fig. 5.54b). Therefore despite the Kingston war memorial cross being located on a high point, being a large monument, and having an enormous surrounding space defined by a low wall, the location did not afford the memorial with the intended visibility to the community (Fig. 5.54a). This is because by being towards the far end of the churchyard resulted in the memorial not being encountered and seen by the same levels of people seeing and visiting memorials positioned by the main entrance to a church of churchyard elsewhere. The memorial cross at Kingston can therefore be viewed as being atypical in the sense that the choice of form and location resulted in the memorial being largely obscured from the homes, roads and everyday routes of the parish. The form and location also materialise the complete control of the church in the remembrance of conflict within this parish.
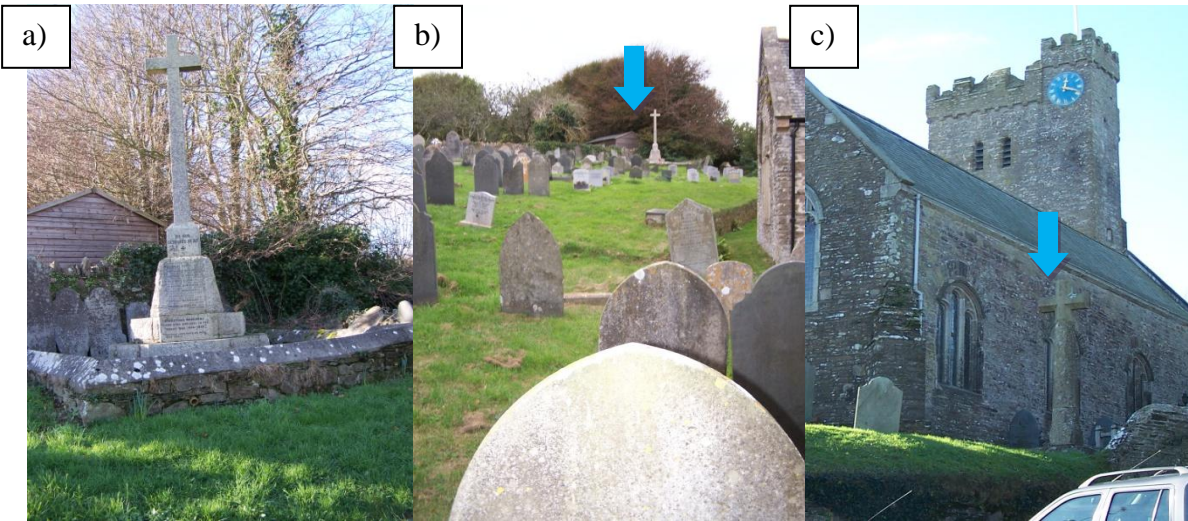
*Figure 5.54 – The Kingston war memorial cross (a) is located at the back of the churchyard (b) while a restored medieval cross (c) is found by the churchyard entrance (Photos: Author).*

The low wall which defines the Kingston war memorial cross (Fig. 5.54a) is typical of many public war memorials, in that they are often set within, or by their construction, established, a defined *sacred space* (Mosse 1990: 100). The use of the term *sacred space* refers not to a completely blank or dead space, but that the structures and planting around the memorials do not impinge upon the war memorials symbolic messages or visual dominance. The sacred space around war memorials therefore aided the creation of a protected aurora for the memorials, emphasising the value which communities placed upon these memorials meanings, forms, and the names listed upon them. The *sacred space* has therefore become completely associated with the memorial and its meanings, and is entwined with the successes and failures of these sites as locations of remembrance and expressions of identity. The defined spaces around war memorials do not always take the obvious forms of physical enclosure by a wall, fence, paving, or planting, but are often emphasised by the safe distancing of other memorials from these remembrance sites (e.g. Figs. 5.52c-d).

The bulk of the public war memorials in the South Hams have clearly defined spaces around them which are larger than those surrounding other memorial types (Fig. 5.55a). The defined sacred space afforded both physical and symbolic protection to these memorials (Tarlow 1997: 113), as well as enabling for floral tributes to be laid and other remembrance activities (e.g. Fig.

5.55b). The Torcross tank memorial acts as ideal an illustrative example of all of the different processes and methods which define these spaces as symbolic and sacred. The memorial tank's space is defined not only by bollards, flagpoles, boulders and paths, but also by the subsequent memorials which were added after its erection in 1984. Each individual memorial addition in this example is itself defined by planting, with wreaths and flowerpots adjacent to the majority of the memorials, thereby aiding in the definition of the sacred spaces around each (See Fig. 5.56). The majority of public memorials in the region (57.7%) have an area of defined space associated with them, defined either by their isolation from other memorials and structures, or by having their space characterized by the addition (or presence) of further war memorials. A similar pattern occurs in East Devon with a slightly higher 63.7% of public memorials having larger defined spaces which are associated with conflict remembrance (see Fig. 6.50a).

Private memorials rarely have large defined spaces surrounding them (only 12.4%), and a significant proportion of those which do take the form of large burial plots (36.2% of examples). The proportion of private memorials in East Devon with larger defined spaces is slightly higher (16.5%), and can be interpreted as a result of the slightly higher proportion of internal memorials, which usually have a larger amount of space than burials are afforded. It is also apparent that few private memorials were erected within areas of other war memorials for either the South Hams (1.2%) or East Devon (1.6%). This is contrast to public memorials where the major motivation behind the positioning of a significant proportion (29.3%) of the South Hams examples can be seen as a consequence of being located in close relationship with an existing war memorial(s). Second World War memorials in particular can be seen to typify this close spatial arrangement with existing First World War memorials, often being placed next to, opposite or in parallel locations to pre-existing First World War memorials (e.g. Fig. 5.52).
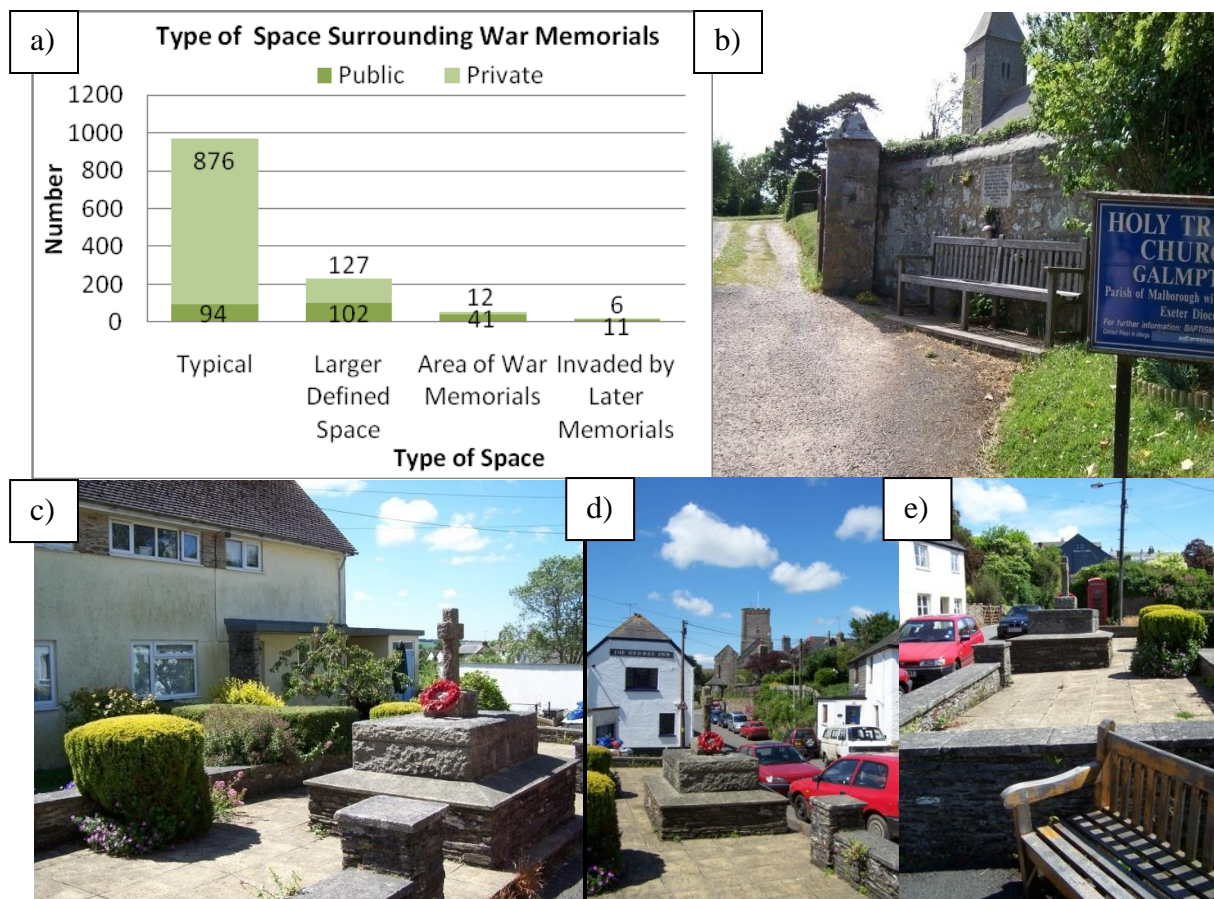
*Figure 5.55 – The amount of space around the war memorials in the South Hams emphasises that public memorials are typically set in larger spaces (a), as is seen for the Second World War memorial tablet at Galmpton (b). This example is centrally set on the outside of the churchyard boundary wall, and as such the whole wall acts as a defined commemorative space, which is further sanctified by the planting and (1990s) bench below. The Blackawton war memorial cross (c) is also clearly defined by a large raised paved area with boundary wall (d), while other commemorative elements are kept at a 'safe distance', such as the bench to the Queen's Golden Jubilee which was placed outside of the boundary wall rather than inside, despite plenty of available space (e) (Photos: Author).*

The lower percentage of private memorials which have large defined spaces suggests that the narratives and memories which were presented by these memorials, although tied in with the narratives of the wider community's sacrifices during conflict(s), were largely kept at a distance from other war memorials. The typical safe distancing of private memorials from public examples can be seen to articulate both the denial of allowing these individual narratives to

impinge upon the communal remembrance and meanings of public monuments by the authorities, as well as representing desires of the families to create their own sacred spaces or arrangement within existing familial commemorative spaces (e.g. in the Wise family chapel in St. Michael and All Angels' Church, Loddiswell). The much tighter restrictions upon the positioning of private memorials are particularly evident amongst burial monuments and headstone additions, which are typically positioned solely in relation to contemporary burial patterns within the churchyards and cemeteries (i.e. the time when the area was in use). There are

a few exceptions, most notably with CWGC war graves, often being grouped together, as occurs at Bigbury (see Fig. 5.27d). These groupings occur especially amongst Second World War memorials which are occasionally placed in close relation to First World War memorials (see also Fig. 5.8d).
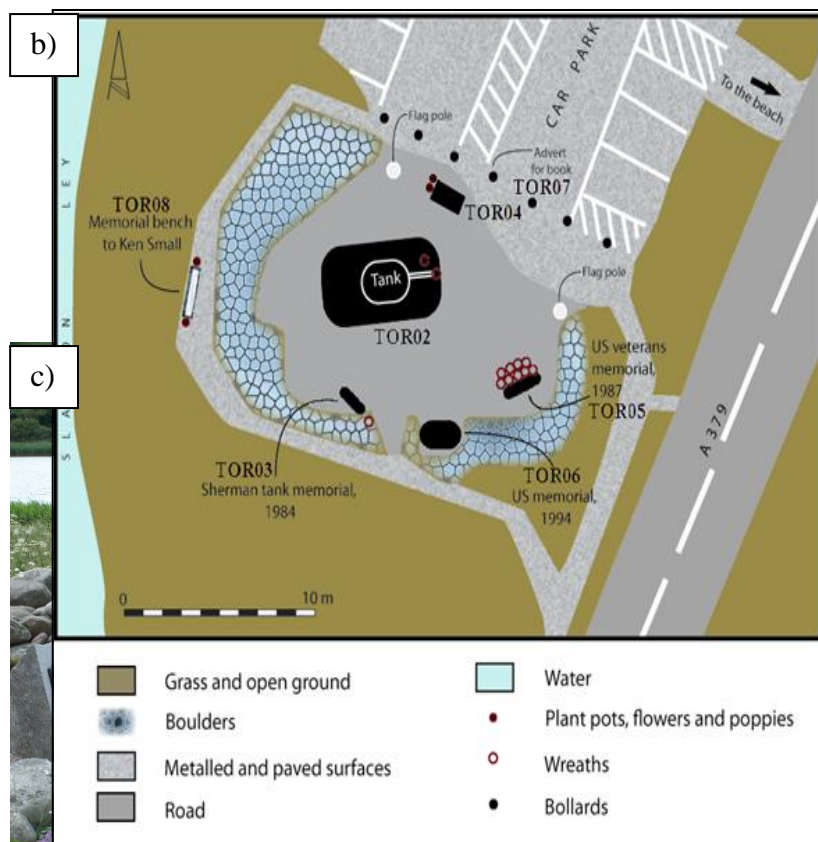




*Figure 5.56 – A plan of the war memorials at Torcross (a) (From: Walls and Williams 2010), each memorial has their own separate space (b-c). They do however function as a group in materialising the meaning of Exercise Tiger, Ken Small and D-Day, in local identities and conflict remembrance (Photo: Author).*

The 94 public memorials which have been classified as *typical*, have the same amount of space around them as other memorials nearby, and therefore still have a defined space, just nothing

beyond that which would be expected (and was observed) for any private memorial in the same parish (e.g. Fig. 5.57a). The categorisation of *typical* was particularly prolific amongst utilitarian memorials, which further emphasises that it was the functional uses of these fixtures, fitting and buildings which were (or at least become) their primary worth. There are relatively few memorials in the region (only seventeen) which are obscured by later memorials or structures, and many of these are obscured by relatively temporary constructions, vegetation growth, or items which are movable. This is best exemplified by the Ugborough roll of honour frame which when recorded in May 2008 was obscured by a movable notice board (see Fig. 5.53c). However, by October 2009 (when the church was revisited) the notice board had been moved and the baptismal font relocated to a position in front of the memorial. In the majority of instances of obscured memorials the names and dates on the memorial are still visible, and they are also typically only one of several memorials to the conflict. This is exemplified by the Second World War roll of honour at Malborough, which has the names still visible, despite being partially covered by a bookcase (Fig. 5.57b). The meaning of the Malborough roll of honour frame is also not impinged as within its immediate vicinity there are five further war memorials which commemorate conflicts.

A limited number of examples are however much more permanently invaded (although rarely obscured), as occurs at Dean Prior (Fig. 5.57c). The memorial cross at Dean Prior is one of the few public war memorials in the South Hams, which has had its space drastically impinged upon by later memorials, with the memorial cross becoming surrounded by headstones during the late 1920s and early 1930s. Notably however all of these headstone types are of low styles which do not restrict the visual dominance of the war memorial, and two of the headstones are actually to veterans of the First World War. The later headstones, with the combined effect of the busy dual carriageway in front of the churchyard at Dean Prior have led to the partial forgetting of this war memorial. For example, it is one of the few (twelve) external public war memorials in the South Hams currently not listed on UKNIWM database, despite the nearby roll of honour being included in their lists (UKNIWM Number 45982). The cross in contrast to the roll of honour also never (to the author's knowledge) has any floral tributes placed in association in recent years, which further emphasises the forgetting of this external memorial.

Another example of later headstones being added in close vicinity to a public war memorial is seen with the Aveton Gifford War Memorial Cross (Fig. 5.57d). This memorial has its own triangular green in the churchyard, which was *invaded* by the 1931 burial of 82 year old Thomas Henry Davey. The deliberate physical association which was created by this placement reflected the establishment of a charity in Davey's will, which gave monies to blind or crippled persons born or living in the parish. At the time of his death the majority of these recipients were veterans of the First World War (Shaw 1966: 85). Also as part of his will, he requested that on the anniversary of his burial the recipients (who were well enough) should travel to the church and sing a hymn around his grave, thus perhaps requiring a more public location and larger surrounding space, hence its location and association with the parish war memorial.



*Figure 5.57 – The Staverton First World War memorial plaque (blue arrow) has a 'typical' amount of space around it, due to being adjacent to a 1662 plaque (a). The Second World War roll of honour frame Malborough is partly obscured by a bookcase (b), while the Dean Prior war memorial cross has several 1920s headstones positioned behind the memorial (c) and the*

*Aveton Gifford war memorial cross (blue arrow) has a single headstone added within its defined plot (d) (Photos: Author).*

## 5.4 Biography

The changing spatial arrangements around war memorials as evidenced at Dean Prior and Aveton Gifford leads conveniently into the next theme of discussion, memorial biographies. The most common spatial changes (apart from the addition of other war memorials), are the addition of headstones, cremation tablets, and benches (Fig. 5.58). Each of these three types of addition can be seen to follow certain patterns and suggest very specific meanings.

In all six examples of later headstones, these occur in close relationship with First World War memorials, and they all date from between the mid-1920s and late 1930s. In most of the incidents those buried near to war memorials had close experience of the First World War, often being veterans such as Stoker G.H. Martin's (1924) headstone at Stoke Fleming (Fig. 5.59a). In contrast two of the six examples of benches which were placed immediately next to or below war memorials do not commemorate any individuals or groups (e.g. Fig. 5.59b). However, those benches which were erected in commemoration are either to those who died young (e.g. Fig. 5.59c), veteran organisations/conflicts (e.g. Figs. 5.59d; 6.22c), or people directly connected with the memorial (e.g. Fig. 5.23g). This is exemplified at Loddiswell, where a bench commemorating Captain Sir William Peek's long stewardship of the parish council was positioned across the road from the parish's war memorial obelisk (fig. 5.59e). The position is a reflection not only of his long service to the council, but also of his active service in the Second World War. Further to these connections Captain Peek's brother had been killed during the Second World War and is commemorated upon the memorial, while his father had been killed on active service in 1921 (see Fig. 5.50c). Cremation tablets also occur in association with six public war memorials, although in several of these examples, the relationships seems to have been of secondary importance to these locations being by directions of movement and highly visible (e.g. Fig. 5.59f)

The four main categories of later additions (namely other war memorials, headstones, benches, and cremations) can all be seen to be connected with three of the main symbolic themes which the memorials themselves embody. First and foremost is the connection with the remembrance of

military identities and service, be this in the burial of veterans, or the addition of further war memorials nearby (Fig. 5.58). The second theme is that the memorial additions are frequently to young and tragic deaths, and therefore commemorate atypical and tragic deaths in the same way as the adjacent war memorials. The third theme, especially In the case of benches and cremation tablets, is that these memorials usually function as cenotaphs. In that they embody permanent physical locations at which to mourn, but are not connected with where their remains were deposited. The main types of addition which are encountered can therefore all be seen to symbolically replicate the function of war memorials. It is evident therefore that none of the memorials or fittings which were added to the surrounding vicinities of public war memorials in the South Hams questioned the narratives or symbolic roles which these monuments presented. This is further clarified by almost all of the later additions to war memorial sites not physically impinging upon the visual dominance of the war memorials. In most instances these later additions still left a corona of space around the war memorials, which they were rarely placed within (e.g. Fig. 5.59).
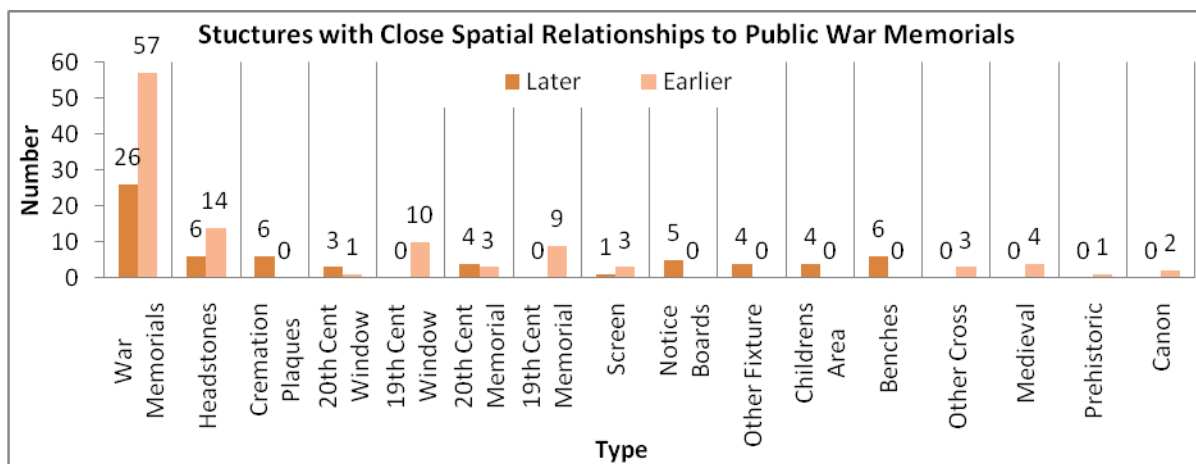


*Figure 5.58 – The relationships between public war memorials and other later and earlier commemorative and utilitarian constructions.*
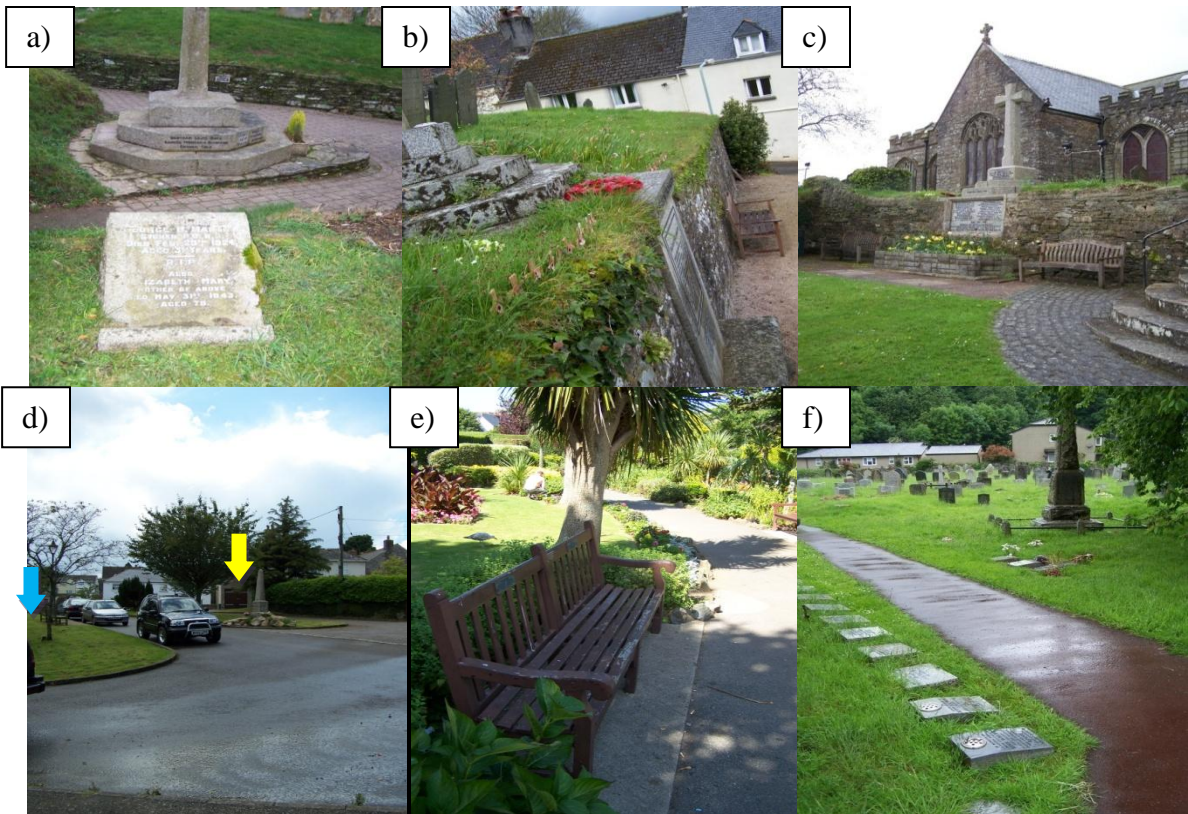
*Figure 5.59 – Stoker G.H. Martin's headstone with First World War memorial cross behind at Stoke Fleming (a). The Holbeton war memorial has a bench located immediately below, which includes no dedication (b), while the two benches below the Ugborough War Memorial Cross commemorate Mark Essery, who died aged 34 in 2001 (c). Captain W. Peek's bench (blue arrow) is opposite the Loddiswell war memorial obelisk (yellow arrow) (d). The Dartmouth Branch of the Royal British Legion's Golden Jubilee bench in Royal Avenue gardens (e) has the Dartmouth war memorial cross located fifteen meters behind. The cremations at Harbertonford (f) focus primarily upon the path; although the war memorial obelisk acts as a secondary focus (Photos: Author).*

In considering the biographical relationships between war memorials and their surrounding, the study also analysed the existing structures, memorials, and building which were extant prior to a memorial's establishment (Fig. 5.58). This highlighted the common association which occasionally exists with ancient, typically medieval, remains. This not only includes memorial crosses which include elements of ancient examples (see Fig. 5.35b), but also extends to placement adjacent to medieval rood screens. More unusually the war memorial cross at Plymstock was placed upon an extant prehistoric barrow (Fig. 5.60), thereby idealising the war

dead and past culture(s). More explicitly ancient remains are occasionally placed in association with public war memorials, such as at Harberton where parts of the fifteenth century screen were placed below the war memorial tablets (Fig. 5.52c). The movement of older remains to a position in association with war memorials is most commonly encountered with the movement of eighteenth and nineteenth century headstones to near the memorial, as seen at Kingston (Fig. 5.34d). The movement of older remains, or the positioning of war memorials adjacent to ancient relics, was an attempt by communities to emphasise the connection between the historic past and the war dead. The relationships with ancient remains can therefore be seen as clear attempts to sanctify the meanings and significance of these war memorials by creating historic links to the places and people in which they were located.
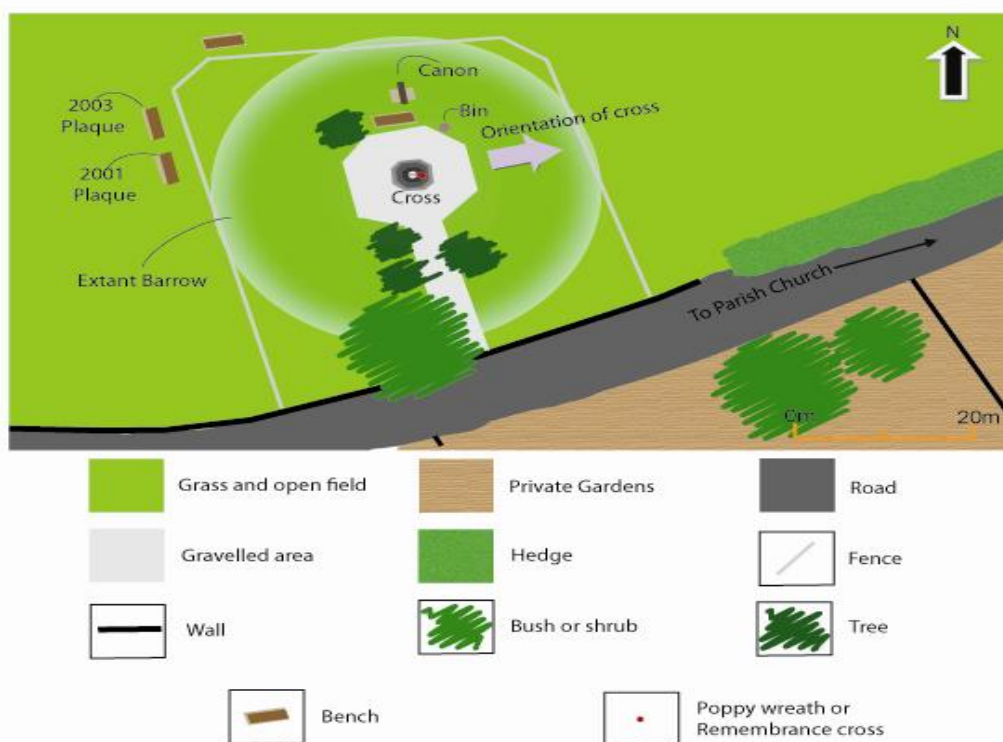


*Figure 5.60 – The Plymstock War Memorial Cross is unique in the South Hams study area in being placed upon extant prehistoric remains, and in close association with a canon. Several later benches have been added outside of the defined sacred space of the memorial, which coincides with the extant remains of the barrow (By Author).*

It is not only the surroundings of war memorials which materialise the biographical changes of these monuments, but the memorials themselves frequently embody changes in their meanings, associations and histories. The most evident and broad biographical shift encountered in a

significant proportion of twentieth century memorials, is that subsequent conflicts or corrections are frequently appended upon existing memorials (e.g. Figs. 5.62a-b; 5.62e). In the South Hams 4.5% of war memorials were reused, the majority of which were public First World War memorials (e.g. Fig. 5.61a). It is clear that despite the six private memorials and ten internal public examples commemorating more than one twentieth century conflict, that it is public external memorials which are the most commonly appended forms in the South Hams. In total 33 external memorials are appended (Fig. 5.61b), a figure repeated for East Devon (Fig. 6.16b). Despite the prolific numbers of existing public memorials which had later conflicts appended, the majority of memorials which commemorate the Second World War (60.2%) were erected as separate forms. In contrast, in East Devon just under half of the Second World War memorials were afforded separate forms (49.6% of Second World War memorials), which indicates a much higher level of reuse of public First World War memorials (46.8%) in this region (see also Fig. 6.16a).
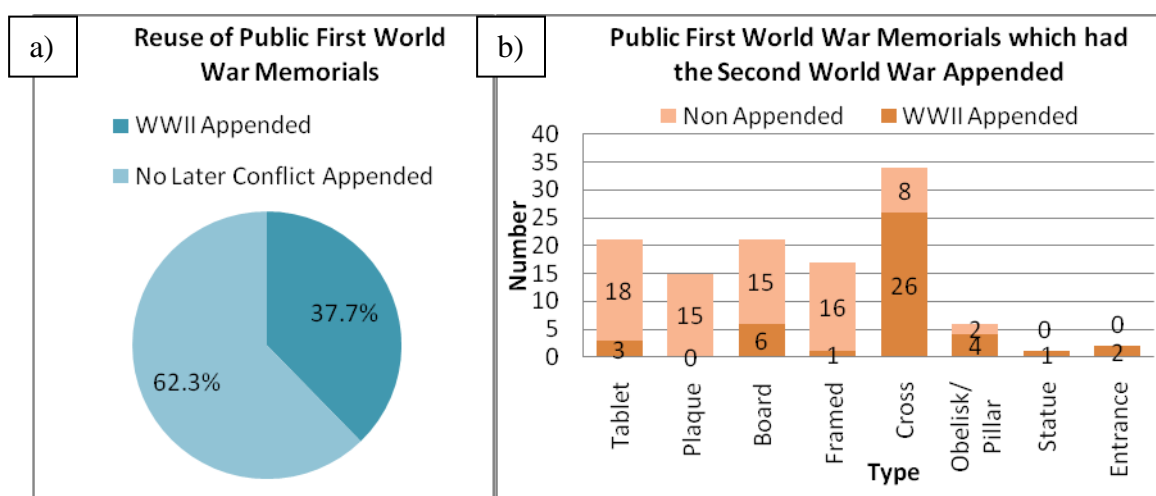


*Figure 5.61 – The percentage of First World War memorials of the South Hams which have had the Second World War added onto their inscriptions (a), external memorials types dominate with 36.1% of public external memorials commemorating more than one conflict (b).*

The choice to erect a separate war memorial after the Second World War can be seen as a manifestation of communities viewing the conflicts and its casualties as dying for very different reasons or causes than during the First World War. This is perhaps most typically seen in those instances where civilians were killed. For example, in the parish of Stokenham the

commemoration of the First World War centred on the village and parish church at Stokenham, with the small hamlet of Beesands war dead also listed upon these parish memorials. However, during the Second World War the hamlet was hit by a German Bomb in an air-raid, killing seven residents. These deaths were commemorated in the small church of St. Andrew's in Beesands through the provision of a font (Fig. 5.62a), while the service personnel casualties from the war were still commemorated upon the parish war memorial cross at Stokenham rather than the hamlet (Fig. 5.62b). The seven civilian deaths were not however included upon this parish memorial, despite several of them being buried in the adjacent churchyard. It is also noteworthy that the use of a font is unusual for war memorials in Devon, with the font at Beesands the sole example from either study area. The use of a font at Beesands can perhaps deemed by the community an appropriate form to commemorate civilian deaths, especially as three of those killed were young children. However, in the majority of parishes from both study areas civilian casualties were typically treated similarly to the military ones, although they were usually placed upon a different side or below the service personnel (e.g. Fig. 5.62c).



*Figure 5.62 – The First World War memorial board at Kingswear (a) includes corrections, while that at Berry Pomeroy (b) includes corrections and Second World War casualties. The bombing*

*of Beesands was commemorated by a font and tablet in St. Andrew's Church in the hamlet (c), while the members of the community who had died on active service were commemorated on the parish war memorial cross in Stokenham village (d). The Aveton Gifford War Memorial Cross includes two Second World War civilians, which were differentiated by leaving a slight gap. A further serviceman (John W.H. Martin) was subsequently appended below these (e) (Photos: Author).*

The other effect which the Second World War had upon First World War memorials is that they occasionally resulted in the movement of these memorials to new locations. For example the First World War memorial tablet at South Brent (Fig. 5.63a) was moved to a position parallel to the Second World War memorial for the parish (Fig. 5.63c). The tablet had originally been positioned opposite the entrance to the church (Fig. 5.63b; The Totnes Times 1920d) and was moved as part of the rededication of a chapel in the church as the *War Memorial Chapel*. However, only a very low proportion of the public war memorials of the South Hams have been definitely moved (Fig. 5.63d), and the majority seem to have had other stimuli than later conflict commemoration.

Only eight memorials from the South Hams have had their locations altered at least once, whilst the East Devon study region has a slightly higher twelve memorials which were undeniably relocated. The motivations for the movement of the memorials in both regions can be broken into four categories. The majority of public memorial movements seem to be the result of closures of churches, businesses or schools with two examples in the South Hams and three in East Devon. A second reason is due to a change from private ownership to a public location, which accounts for two examples in each region. The deterioration of the condition of memorials due to weathering (and age) accounts for the movement of two examples in the South Hams, and for a single memorial in East Devon. The final reason behind the relocation of memorials is at least partially due to utilitarian concerns, such as headstones having been moved (one example from region) to the edges of churchyards for ease of mowing (e.g. Fig. 6.54e).

*Figure 5.63 – The number of war memorials which have been moved in the South Hams is only negligible (a). This includes the South Brent First World War Memorial Tablet (b) which was moved from a location opposite the entrance to the church (c) into the newly dedicated war memorial chapel opposite the Second World War memorial tablet (d) (Photo: Author).*

Despite the existence of clear patterns having occurred amongst the memorials which were moved within both study areas, the motivations behind the movement of some examples are not so apparent. For example the Willand war memorial obelisk in East Devon has been moved twice during its history (Fig. 6.54d). The memorial had originally been located by the gates to St. Mary's Churchyard, but was moved (circa 1957) to outside the village hall to a safe distance from the road and a more secular location. However the limited visibility of the memorial after this move, partly because of its orientation resulted in one side no longer being visible (Japes 1969: 33), but also because it was now away from the centre of the village. This resulted in the memorial being moved to its current position in St. Mary's Churchyard. This unusual example serves as a warning, as there is rarely any physical (or written) evidence of the movement of

memorials, with the only evidence based upon local knowledge, memorial inscriptions or written records.

It is therefore plausible that the actual number of war memorials which have been moved in both regions is much higher, and there are several memorials which given their relationships and locations appear to have been moved (e.g. Fig. 5.53d). However, this is not always a straight-forward process of identification, with examples such as the war memorial sculpture in Kingsbridge acting as a forewarning as to not leaping to conclusions about memorial movement based solely upon physical evidence such as the current location of a memorial. In this instance the towns war memorial statue was not constructed directly opposite the war memorial park's entrance (which given the patterns seen elsewhere in this study would be the expected location), but set slightly to one side (Fig. 5.64) giving the appearance that it has been moved (perhaps from inside the park), when it reality it has remained in position. The position can however be seen to reflect that the war memorial statue was erected as a separate commemorative scheme to the war memorial park, as else the spatial relationship would have been more explicitly emphasised, with the statue placed either in the park or by the entrance.



*Figure 5.64 – The Kingsbridge war memorial statue (1925), with the earlier (1920) war memorial park located across the main road behind (the entrance to the park is highlighted by the yellow arrow). Note also the defined sacred space around the memorial, which is further emphasised by other commemorative forms including benches being restricted to a 'safe' distance from the memorial. For example, the two benches seen in this photograph do not include memorial inscriptions, just warnings about not feeding the seagulls (Photo: Author).*

## 5.5 Inscriptions

The majority of the war memorials in the South Hams have lettering of some kind included upon them (only fifteen examples in the South Hams, and Eleven in East Devon have no text). Inscribed lettering (Fig. 5.66a) is the most prolific type used in the South Hams (with 594 examples), although lead lettering (Fig. 5.66c) is slightly more prolific amongst the private memorials of the region. The dominance of lead lettering amongst private memorials is again the result of the high number of burials and headstone additions. In addition to the use of lead lettering, many memorials have other lettering types which were in relief (e.g. Fig. 5.66d). The use of relief lettering is typically associated with memorial boards (28.3% of its use) and plaques (39.1% of its use) in the South Hams. A similar pattern occurs in East Devon with plaques (51.4%) and boards (16.2%) dominating. The domination of printed and hand-written lettering appearing on public memorials in the South Hams reflects their use for Rolls of Honour, with many of the examples printed with the names and details added by hand (e.g. Fig. 5.12d). Painted lettering is used to refer to those memorials which are solely painted upon a memorial, and not to other coloured lettering types. These are also occasionally associated with roll of honour boards (three examples), or to memorial boards in parishes which also contained rolls of honour (e.g. Bigbury, Halwell and Modbury). The majority of instances of painted lettering (51.9%) were however upon memorial windows.

The lettering types are found in a number of colours (Fig. 5.65b), but are dominated by black lettering, especially as the majority of the grey examples are faded lead lettering, which was usually black when erected. The other colours which appear are only used in a limited number of examples, and in the majority of instances they were used alongside black, or each other. White lettering seems to have functioned as the only frequently employed alternative to black lettering in the region, although it is much more frequently employed from the 1980s onwards. Gold/yellow and red are the next most numerous as they are more frequently chosen to be used in the opening wording of inscriptions, especially upon rolls of honour, which tend to show a greater variety of colour choice (e.g. Fig. 5.66a).
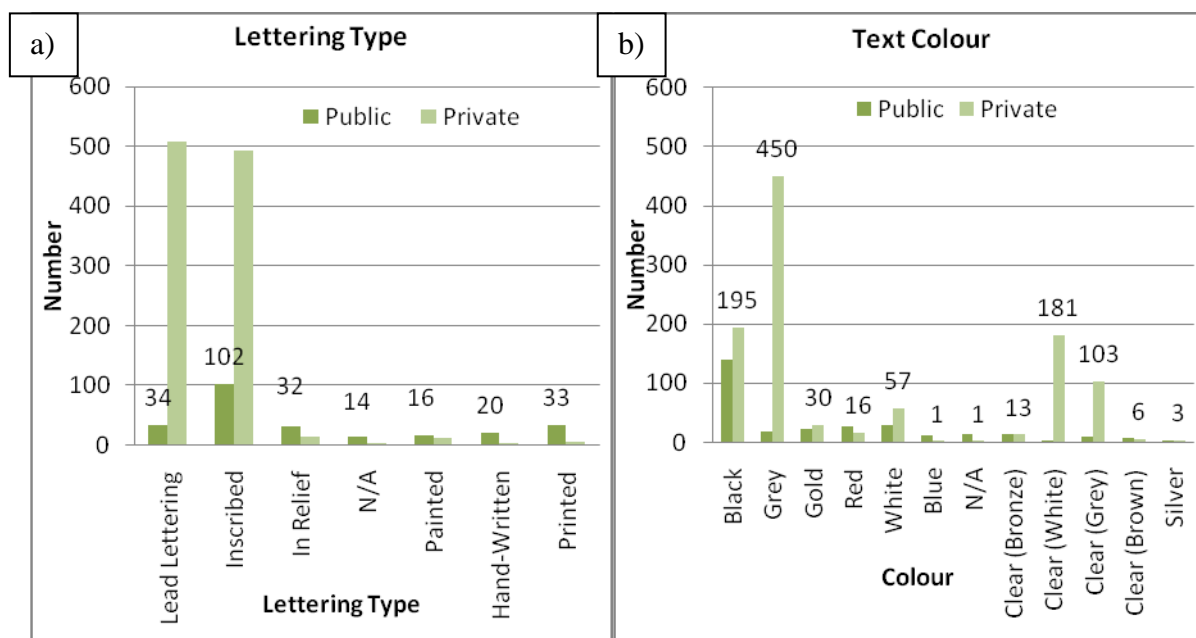
*Figure 5.65 – The types of lettering which appear on the  war memorials of the South Hams (left), and the colours used in this lettering (right). Those labelled clear are generally wooden boards or bronze plaques; however several of the memorials not made from these materials (at least two) which have no text colour may have once had painted lettering which has faded.*
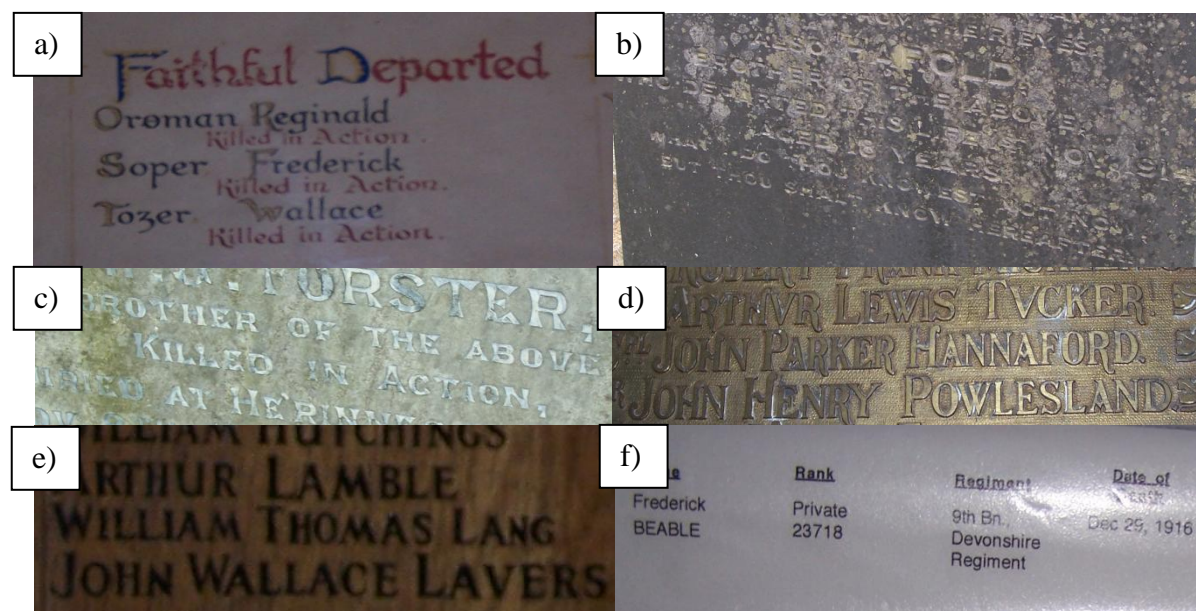


*Figure 5.66 – The lettering types include hand-written examples, as on the Rattery roll of honour (1919) frame (a). Inscribed lettering as on H. Percy's (1934) headstone addition, Yealmpton (b). Lead lettering on the W.J. Forster (1918) headstone addition, Littlehempston (c), although other*

*relief lettering types occur, as seen here on East Portlemouth's (1919) war memorial plaque (d).A few examples of painted lettering as on the Halwell roll of honour (1919) board (e), and printed lettering as on the Ugborough roll of honour folder (f) are also encountered (Photos: Author).*

The text of the war memorials in both regions tends to be printed (Fig. 5.67b), with very few inscriptions being of gothic lettering (Fig. 5.67a). There are also a number of memorials which use lettering styles which are slightly elaborated, but are not fully gothic (e.g. Fig. 5.67c) and many of the hand-written lettering styles fall within this category. In both study regions printed lettering by far dominates the total (see Figs. 5.67d-e; 6.58c-d), although there are slight contrasts in the extent which the other lettering types were utilised. Most notably is the much higher number of public memorials in East Devon which utilised slightly elaborated lettering (24 examples compared to seventeen in the South Hams). The reason behind the higher proportion of slightly elaborated lettering styles may simply reflect the different styles of workmanship by local masons, with the number of tablets which have slightly elaborate lettering (six in East Devon and two in the South Hams) and the use of slightly elaborate lettering on two war memorial crosses in East Devon accounting for the difference between the regions.
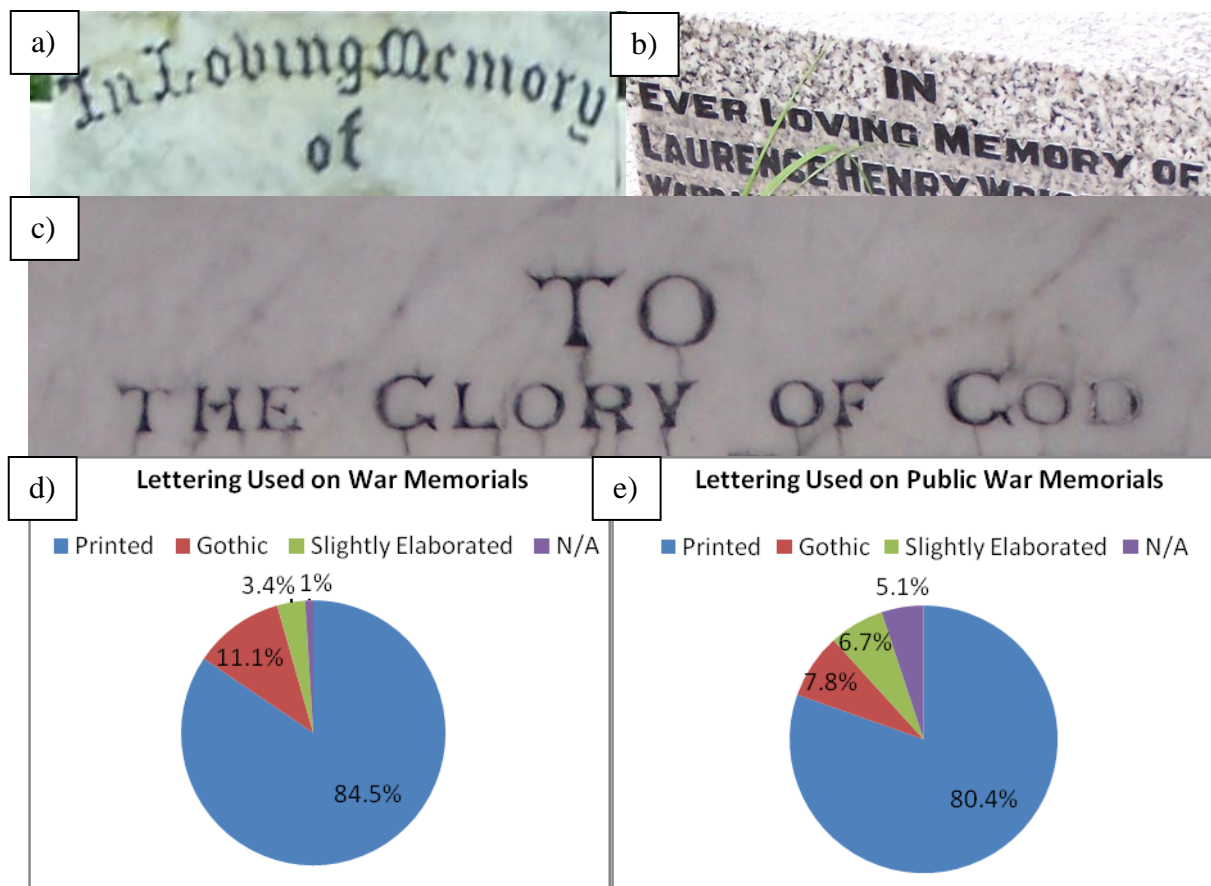
*Figure 5.67 – The lettering types can be divided between gothic lettering such as on the Fleet family headstone (1912) in St. Saviours Churchyard, Dartmouth (a). Printed lettering as on L.H. Wright's (1942) headstone in St. Mary's Churchyard, Plympton (b), and slightly elaborated lettering as seen on the North Huish First World War memorial tablet (c).The divisions between the lettering types used in the South Hams for all war memorials (d), and for public examples only (e) (Photos: Author).*

### 5.5.1 Names

The majority of the war memorials in the South Hams commemorate named individuals (up to 383 names), and 63% of the public memorials in the region commemorating named individuals (Fig. 5.68a). The ways in which the names are ordered on the memorials can be very revealing as to the motivations of the groups or individuals which erected them. Most notably the majority of memorials (35%) have the names listed alphabetically by surname, and even those which do not use this as the first means of organisation frequently use it as a secondary level of arranging the names (e.g. Fig. 6.59d). In East Devon the ordering of names by alphabetical means is even more dominant with 56.9% of memorials which list more than one name adopting this approach of

organisation (see Fig. 6.59b). The higher degree of dominance of alphabetical listings in East Devon is however largely a reflection of the lower number of private memorials in the region which listed more than one military casualty (38 compared to 99 examples in the South Hams). It also highlights the lower number of public memorials in East Devon which are organised by the order of enlistment, regiment, gender, or unknown means.

The next most common method used to organise the names in both study areas is by the date of death (31.3% in the South Hams and 23.2% in East Devon). Organisation of names by this means often hints at the forms having evolved out of existing rolls of honour, e.g. Aveton Gifford (Figs. 5.15e; 5.57d) in the South Hams, or Buckerell in East Devon (Figs. 6.16d-e). It is also noteworthy that a large number of the region's war memorials see different choices made in the ordering of names between conflicts (Fig. 5.68c), and that many have additional names appended onto the memorials at later dates, usually of those who had died from the effects of the conflict or had been missed off the list initially. By adding names onto memorials the original ordering of the names is often confused and it is therefore an easily recognisable change to the inscriptions. Only one memorial orders the dead differently to those who served, although others frequently include more information about those who died than for those who served.
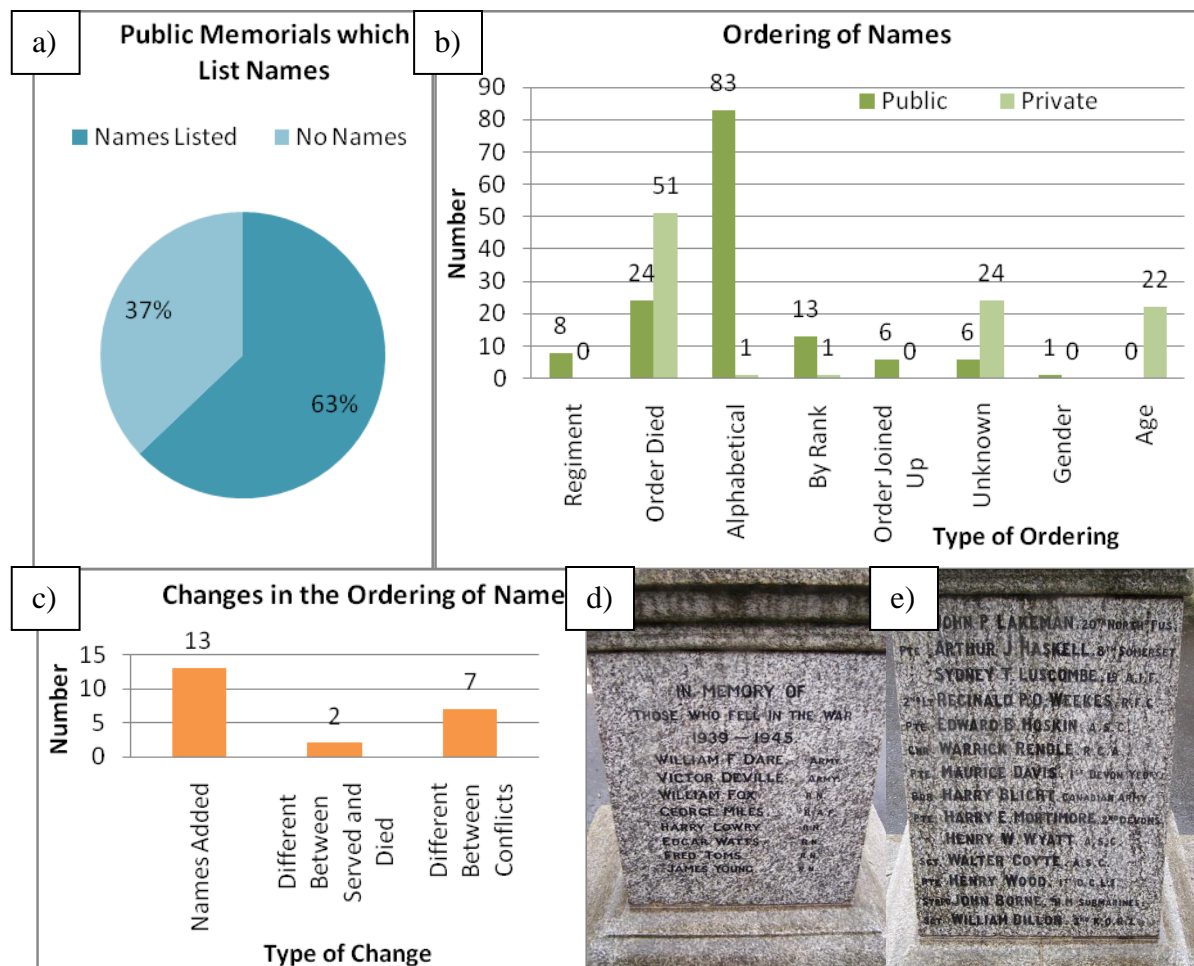
*Figure 5.68 – The percentage of public war memorials in the South Hams which list names (a), and how names are ordered upon memorials (b). Only a limited number of examples exhibit changes in the ordering of the names upon memorials (c). For example the Modbury war memorial obelisk has the Second World War casualties alphabetically listed (d), while the First World War casualties were inscribed in the order of death (e) (Photos: Author).*

The number of names which were to be inscribed upon a war memorial is also likely to have had some bearing upon the choice of form, alongside a range of other practical considerations, and the cultural and stylistic conventions of the time in which they were erected. However, it is clear that correlations exist amongst the choices made for a public memorial and the number of individuals which these memorials commemorated (Fig. 5.69a). The correlations are not solely a representation of the physical constraints of these forms, but also as the higher casualty figures are inevitably closely connected to larger population sizes (see Fig. 5.69b), and the financial affordability of different memorial types. Given the size of the samples for some of these

memorial types, several of the results are slightly skewed. For examples the number of people commemorated by buildings is considerably lowered by the Tilley Institute in Noss Mayo, which commemorates only one person (Lieutenant Colonel Charles Tilley). If the Tilley Institute was discounted the average would rise to 31, a figure more in parallel with memorial screens and the numbers recorded for these utilitarian forms in East Devon (Fig. 6.10b). The other notable distortion occurs in the average population figures for memorial windows (Fig. 5.69b). In this instance the memorial window at St. Petrox in Dartmouth (Fig. 5.19e) greatly enhances the average population figure, having only been one element in the commemorative scheme of the parish. If this example was removed, the adjusted figure would stand at 501 and therefore be the lowest average.
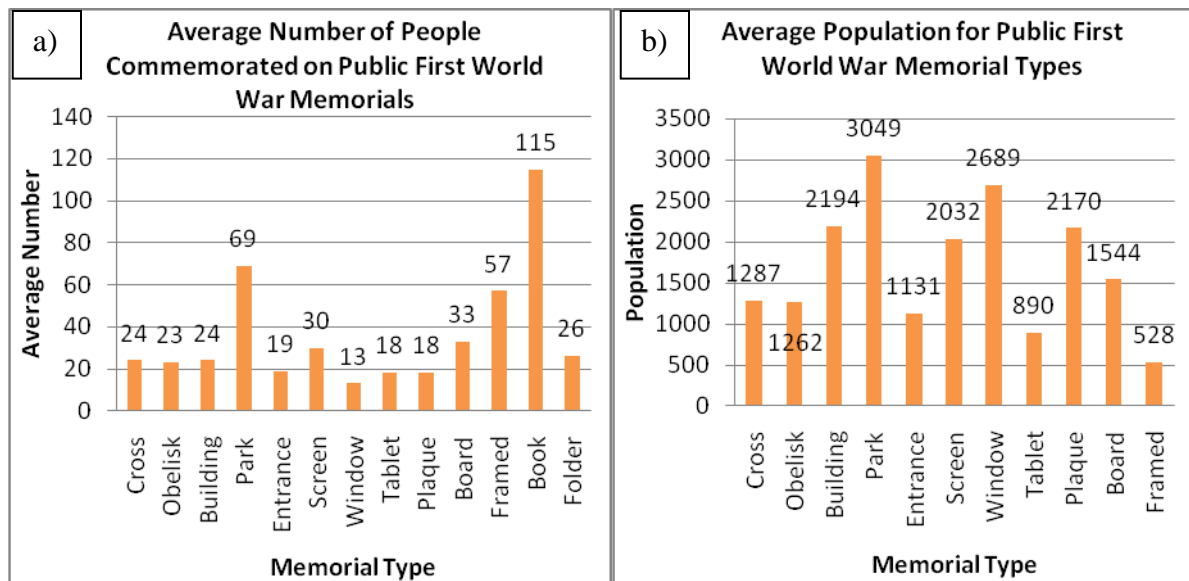


*Figure 5.69 – The average number of people commemorated upon the main public memorial types from the First World War found in the South Hams (a). These are also inevitably tied in with the populations of the communities which erected these monuments (b).The population figures are taken from the 1911 census results (*Great Britain Historical GIS Project 2009; Hoskins 1964; Devon Library and Information Services 2005*), therefore books and folder were not included as these represent more recent forms, and therefore noticeably different populations.*

It is not however only names which were included upon public memorials, with further information such as rank, regiment, age, etc. frequently listed (Fig. 5.70a). The majority of these

elements of further information focus upon the military identities of these individuals, with the inclusion of rank and regiment the most common elements (other than names) upon public war memorials. For example military awards are highlighted for casualties on fifteen of the public memorials in the South Hams (e.g. Figs. 5.70b-c), and 21 in East Devon. The relatively low numbers is partly because the inclusion of awards upon inscriptions is dependent upon the individuals who are listed having been awarded these medals. The inclusion of medals not only however emphasises a military identity, but can also be viewed as being indicative of local pride, which was used to highlight an even higher level of worthiness of the community, and the war dead which belonged to that community. The other mentality which is explicitly referenced alongside the militarian is the fact that these memorials are not only to wars, but that they are to the dead, with the date of death (33 memorials) much more frequently included than age (seven memorials), date of birth (four memorials), or familial relationships (seven memorials). The exceptions to this purely militarian and bereaved focus amongst the public memorials are the recent (since the 1990s) roll of honour folders and books which have supplemented the commemorative narratives in many of the regions parishes, and provide much more personal levels of detail about the names listed upon a nearby memorial, such as their ages, schooling, familial relationships, and former homes.
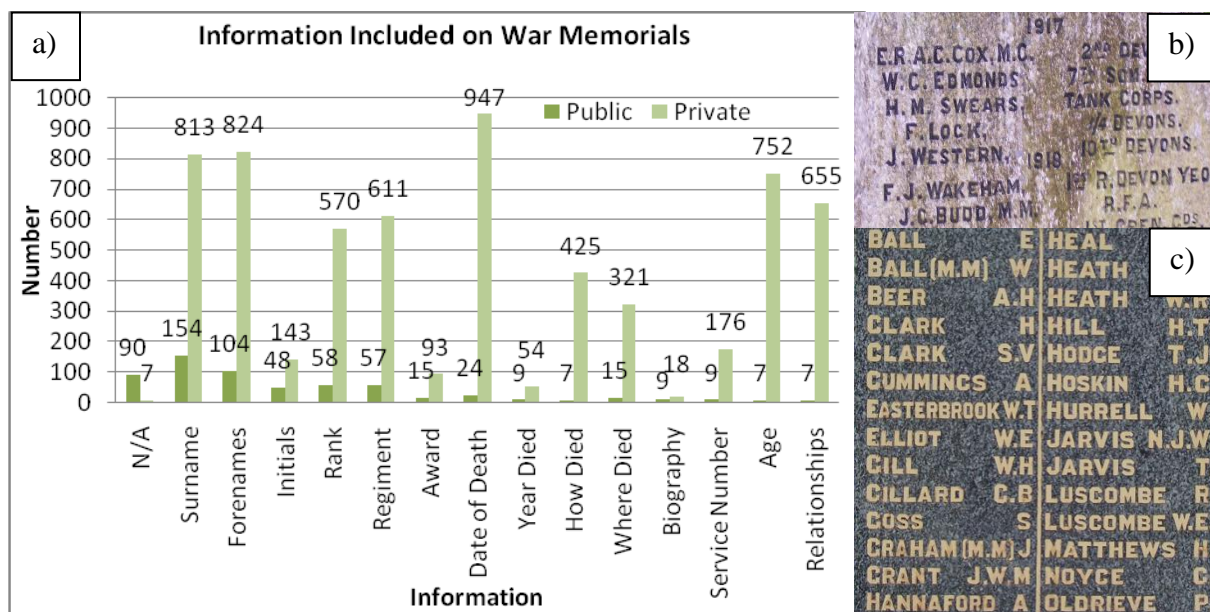


*Figure 5.70 – The different types of information which appear on the war memorials of the South Hams (a). The memorial cross in St. Barnabas' Church, Dartington (b) includes E.R.A.C Cox*

*who was awarded the Military Cross (M.C.) and J.C. Budd who won the Military Medal (M.M),*
*while the Kingsbridge war memorial statue includes three individuals who were awarded the*
*M.M., two of the names (W. Ball and J. Graham) appear on this photograph (c) (Photos:*
*Author).*

### 5.5.2 Wording

Inscriptions upon war memorials also include a variety of lengths of inscriptions alongside the names and biographical details of casualties. For example the dates of a conflict and its name are amongst the most prolific encountered elements included on the public war memorials of the region. The dates of the First World War for instance appear on 82.4% of the public memorials commemorating this conflict (Fig. 5.71a). These dates generally take the forms of the years only, although months are also included on four memorials in the region (e.g. Fig. 5.71c). The majority of First World War examples simply used the dates 1914–18 (50.4%), although a sizable proportion (32%) have 1914–19. The use of 1919 can be seen as being motivated by when the Peace Treaty at Versailles was signed (June 29th 1919), and by the fact that many service personnel were not decommissioned until this year, with many regiments including parts of the Devonshire Regiment still on active service in Mesopotamia, Russia, Flanders, and elsewhere. Another determining factor for the use of these dates may have been if any of the people listed on the memorials had died in that year from the effects of their active service (see Fig. 7.32). It is much less common for the dates of the Second World War to vary, although the Stoke Gabriel war memorial cross and Noss Mayo roll of honour board both use 1946 instead of 1945 as the end of the conflict, presumably as many on active service did not return home until this date. In the East Devon in contrast there is no variation in the dates which are included upon the Second World War memorials of the region, with all examples which include dates having 1939-1945 inscribed.

Dates are typically found in association with the name of the conflict (see Fig. 5.71b), although 43% of Second World War memorials only include the dates of the conflict, especially in

instances where First World War memorials have the Second World War appended (48.9% of examples). One of the other revealing terms used upon public war memorials in the South Hams to name conflicts is *World War* which occurs on six First World War memorials. It would appear that for four of these examples (namely the Plymstock Roll of Honour, Stoke Gabriel memorial tablet, the Bigbury memorial board, and the Dittisham memorial bells tablet) the use reflects the post-1945 date of these memorials. The Dean Prior memorial cross in contrast dates to shortly after the First World War, and the use of *World War* can be seen to suggest that the inscription upon the memorial may have been added after 1945. The final example is slightly different in that the term *Great World War* is used on the First World War memorial tablet at West Alvington (Fig. 5.71c). This example is unique, but provides warning that some of the uses of the term *World War* may date to the immediate aftermath of the conflict rather than after the Second World War. In East Devon, World War is only used for two First World War memorials, the 1992 Sidbury roll of honour replacement (Fig. 6.13d) and more notably the Plymtree First World War tablet. The use of *World War* upon this memorial suggests that the tablet was probably erected after 1945. An aspect which is further supported by the identical form, material and inscription (i.e. *In grateful remembrance of..... who made the supreme sacrifice, in the world war...*) to the Second World War memorial tablet which is located immediately below (Fig. 6.39b).
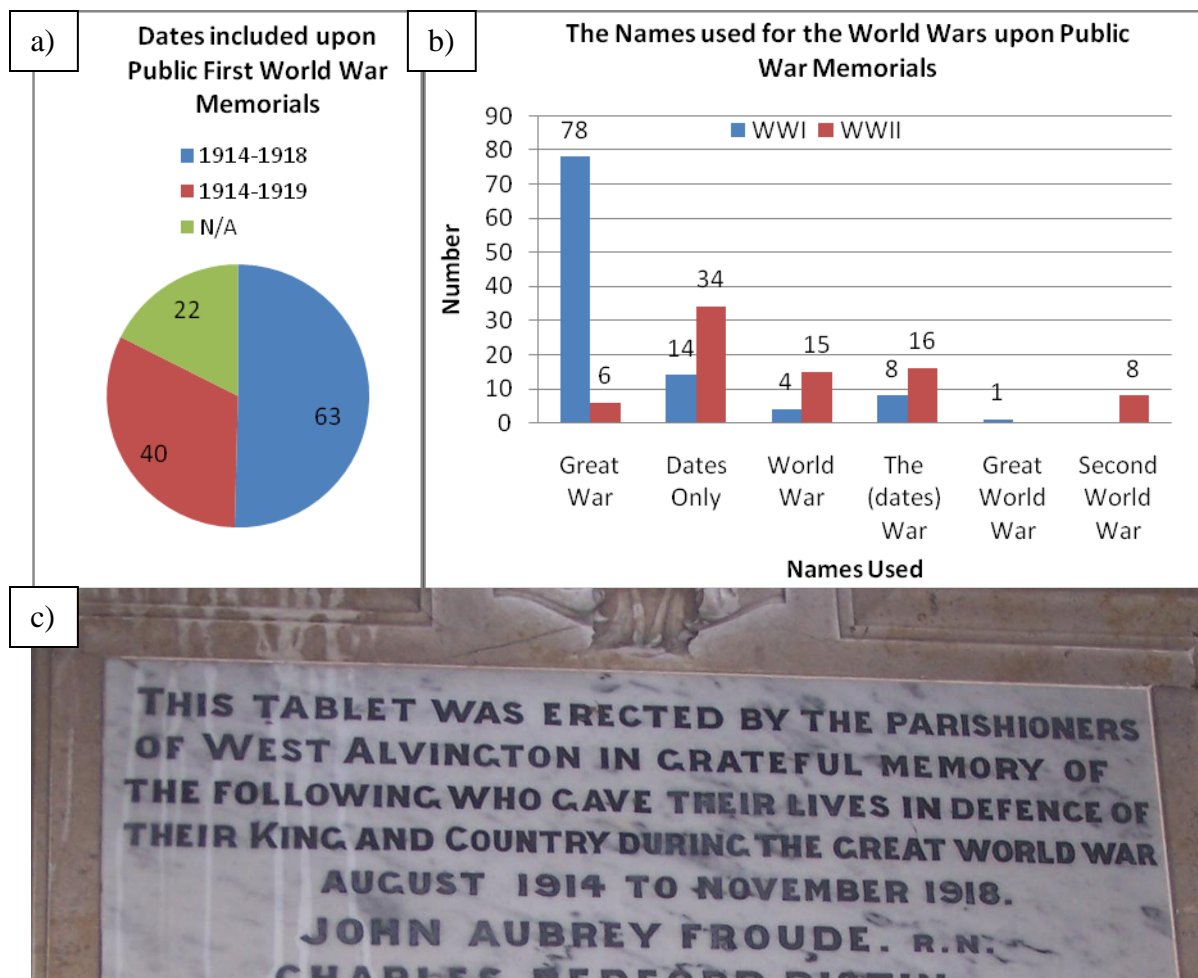
*Figure 5.71 – The dates which appear on public First World War memorials in the South Hams (a), and the names which the two world wars are identified by (b). Only a handful of First World War memorials such as the memorial tablet in All Saint's Church, West Alvington (c) use the term 'World War' or include the months of the conflict (Photo: Author).*

The inscriptions are also used to make explicit the meaning and function of the memorial, instructing the viewer how to remember those individuals listed. For example, the majority of public memorials in both regions explicitly make reference to memory, remembrance, or anti-forgetting, with 60.7% of examples in the South Hams and 61.2% in East Devon. A large proportion of the uses of terms connected with memory simply utilise *In Memory/Remembrance* (44.2% in the South Hams and 42.9% in East Devon), however there also a variety of emotional evocations which make the type of remembracne more explicit. The majority of more explicit terms can be seen to fall into four main categories, expressions of gratitude (thankful, grateful,

etc.); love (affectionate, loving, etc.); honour (honoured, proud, etc.) and permanence (undying, perpetual, etc.). These terms clearly act alongside the materiality and positioning of memorials in the landscape to embody the main functions and roles these memorials were deemed to have by the communities in which they were established.

Phrases of remembrance are typically followed by words used to express the community of the dead which the memorials had been erected to commemorate. The most common phrasing of death found on these public war memorials in the South Hams is *who gave their lives,* which is appears on 58 memorials (Fig. 5.41d), although the use of *who fell* and *who died* are also both prolific (35 and 29 occurrences respectively). These three phases also dominate amongst the public memorial inscriptions of East Devon, with 55, 26 and 18 examples respectively (Fig. 6.63b). The majority of words used to express death in both regions are non-specific, as the memorials often commemorate individuals who had died from a variety of means, be it from being killed in action, missing in action, dying of wounds or disease, or being accidently killed. As such terms such as *who were killed* are relatively rare (two examples in the South Hams and Nine in East Devon), and were very rarely used for public war memorials of the First World War in particular. The slightly higher use of the term *killed* in East Devon can largely be accounted for by the higher number of public Second World War memorials in that region which only commemorate single individuals. Another phrase which is largely restricted to the Second World War is *who lost their lives*, which is frequently found in association with memorials to civilians or other groups who had been killed by *enemy action*.
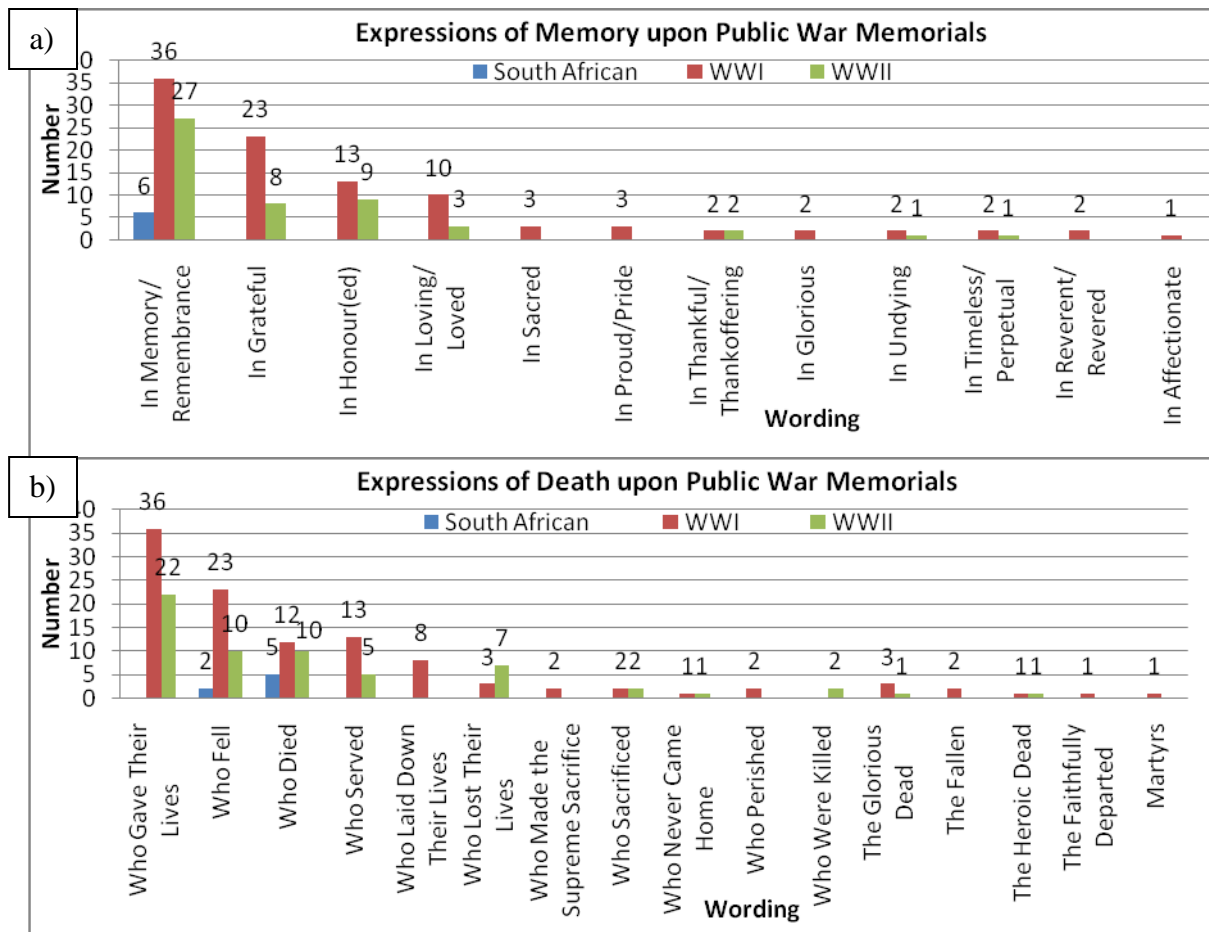
*Figure 5.72 – The wording which is used on the public war memorials of the South Hams to express the type of memory which the memorials were designed to symbolize (a), and the words used to describe how those listed had died (b).*

After the wordings upon memorials identifying how those listed died, a minority (23.1%) also describe the cause which had been fought for. The majority of examples mention *King*, *Country* or *Empire* (Fig. 5.73a), although more local evocations *For You* and *For Us* were recorded for three First World War memorial crosses at Plymstock, Stoke Fleming, and Thurlestone (Fig. 5.73b). Memorial inscriptions rarely however emphasised the greater causes of *liberation* or *freedom*, with the majority of examples in both study areas commemorating the Second World War. The most unusual evocation made upon any of the public memorials in the region is upon the Noss Mayo memorial pillar, which cites the parish's residents having gone to war *to defend Belgium, our Empire and the World*, as well as also being the only memorial to directly reference Germany staring the war in the whole of Devon. God is rarely cited as a reason for going to war

(except on the Plymstock war memorial cross), but twentieth century war memorials often reference (17.9% of public examples) their erection as being to the Glory of God (e.g. Fig. 5.73c). The evocations of God are almost exclusively found upon those war memorials located in churches or churchyards, with only the memorial statue at Kingsbridge acting as an exception in the South Hams.
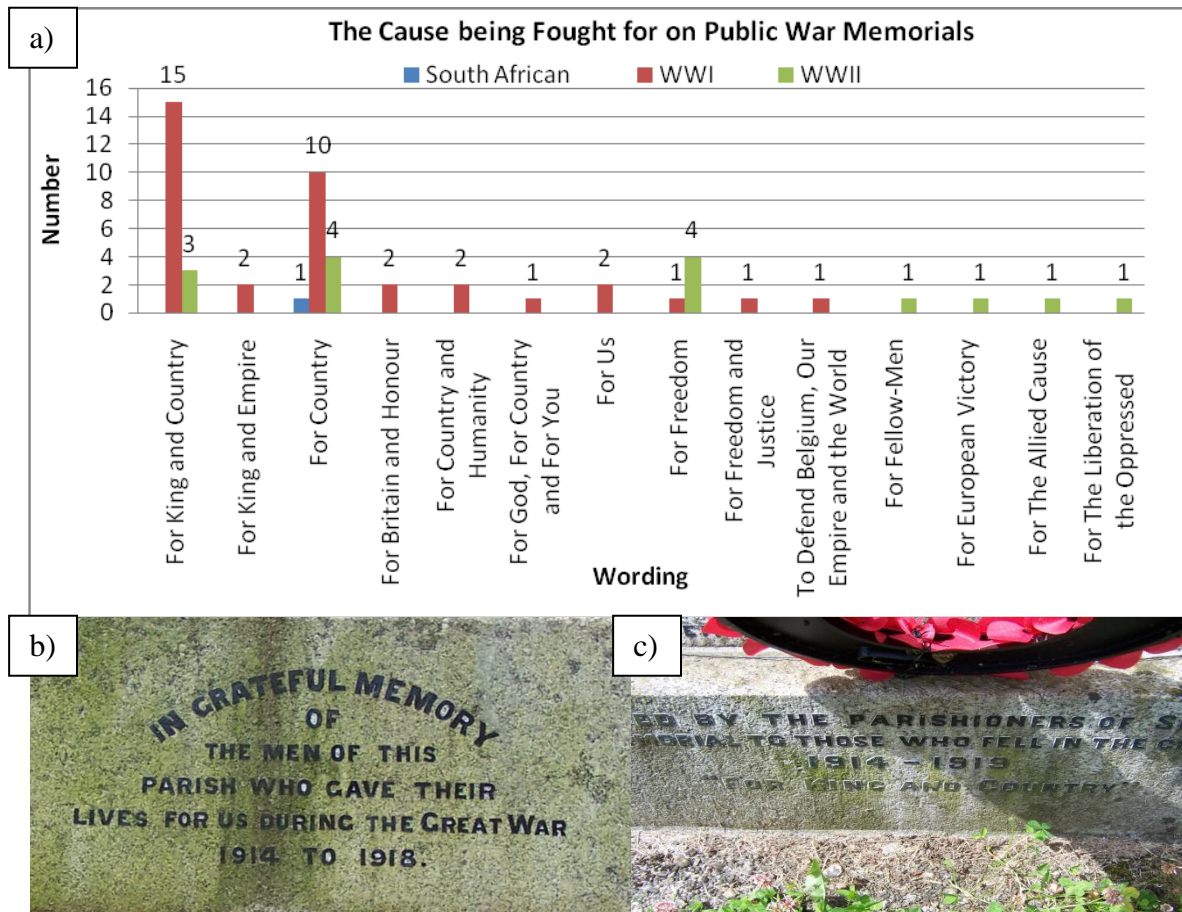


*Figure 5.73 – A graph displaying the terms used in the inscriptions of the public war memorials in the South Hams to explain what communities had fought for during twentieth century conflicts (a). For example the Thurlestone war memorial cross used 'For us' (b) and the Sherford war memorial cross 'For King and Country' (c) (Photos: Author).*

The basic elements which are included on the public war memorials inscriptions (discussed above) are often further supplemented by additional quotes taken from the bible and occasionally poets or authors. The most frequently used is *Their names liveth for evermore*, which is used on fifteen First World War memorials (e.g. Fig. 5.73c) and for a single Second World War

inscription which was appended onto the back of First World War memorial cross at Chivelstone. The popularity of these words is also witnessed in East Devon, where fifteen First World War and three Second World War memorials include these words. *Their names liveth for evermore* comes from **Ecclesiastes 44** and had been selected by Rudyard Kipling for the CWGC commemorative enterprises, being found on the remembrance stones of the larger CWGC cemeteries (Fuchs 2004). The official use of the phrase to commemorate groups of casualties of the First World War made this one of the easiest and least controversial choices of epitaph.

Another Kipling influence which occurs in the South Hams but not in East Devon is the use of *Who dies if England lives* on two memorials in the parish of Holbeton, and was also written by Kipling, appearing in 1914s *For All We Have and Are*. Kipling's influence is also obvious in the two South Hams memorials (the Ashprington Roll of Honour and the D-Day landings memorial at Torcross) and six memorials in East Devon which include the epitaph *lest we forget*. The phrase comes from Kipling's 1897 *Requiem* poem, written for Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee, with the phrase becoming popular as a warning against pride and arrogance in the later twentieth century. It became a phrase sometimes used in the aftermath of World War One, as a plea not to forget the past sacrifices of their communities and country (e.g. Jarman 2001: 180). However, in the South Hams and to some extent in East Devon it is typically associated with newer (post-1990) memorials, an aspect also seen for example in the erection of the external memorial at Ludlow in the late 1990s (see Marshall 2004: 45). The use of the *lest we forget* primarily for later twentieth century memorials, which had been erected in commemoration of earlier conflicts reflects a concern for the survival of remembrance, and particularly the work of veteran organisations.

The next most prolific phrase (on seven public memorials in the South Hams) comes from the poem *For the Fallen* by Laurence Binyon; *They shall not grow old.... At the going down of the sun and in the morning we will remember them.* Normally this phrase is shortened on memorial inscription to only include the ending (*we will remember them*). The whole stanza (known as the *Ode of Remembrance*) is occasionally used in both study areas as a supplementary commemorative form which has been placed in close spatial association with existing internal church memorials, as seen at Dartmouth in the South Hams (Fig. 5.74a), and Sidbury in East

Devon. The phrase is also used for five private memorials in the South Hams, all of which date to after 1940, and were erected in commemoration of Second World War casualties or veterans (e.g. Fig. 5.74b). The sole private example in the East Devon region, Corporal Bristow's (1972) CWGC headstone in St. Michael's Churchyard (Fig. 6.8b) also reflects the post-1945 use of the phrase. The predominantly late application of the *Ode of Remembrance* reflects the adaption of commemorative styles developed during the First World War for the remembrance of all conflicts after the Second World War.



*Figure 5.74 – The war memorial board at St. Petrox, Dartmouth has part of Binyon's Poem 'For the fallen' added below alongside a remembrance cross (a), the Stanleick family headstone in St. George's Churchyard, Modbury (b) includes a more typical use of the poem with only the phrase 'we will remember' utilised. R.F. Michelmore's First World War memorial plaque in St. Winwalloe's Church, East Portlemouth (c) includes the quote 'Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends' (Photos: Author).*

The use of the quotation *greater love hath no man than this, than a man lay down his life for his friends* from *John 15* occurs upon eight public memorials and sixteen private memorials in the

South Hams (e.g. Fig. 5.74c). The phrase emphasises the noble and redemptive nature of the sacrifices that those named (also of the sacrifices the communities/families which erected the memorials) had made, and that these had been made for the greater good (see MacLeod 2002). Almost exclusively the phrase is however restricted to First World War memorials, with only Private N.W. tucker's CWGC headstone in St. Thomas of Beckett's Churchyard, Dodbrooke and the Plympton St. Maurice memorial obelisk commemorating the Second World War. In fact the use of biblical quotes generally is much more prolific upon First World War memorials, although in general the sentiments expressed, and in fact many of the quotes are also used on First World War memorials. The sole exception which occurs upon a Second World War memorial in the region but not on any First World War memorials in the region is *all honour to their names*, which appears on the American D-Day landings memorial at Torcross (Fig. 5.75). The choice of mentioning names within the opening of the memorial's inscription is however, almost an irony, given that the names are not inscribed upon the memorial or upon any monument at Torcross, and the names are therefore largely unknown and impossible to honour through this memorial or commemorative space.
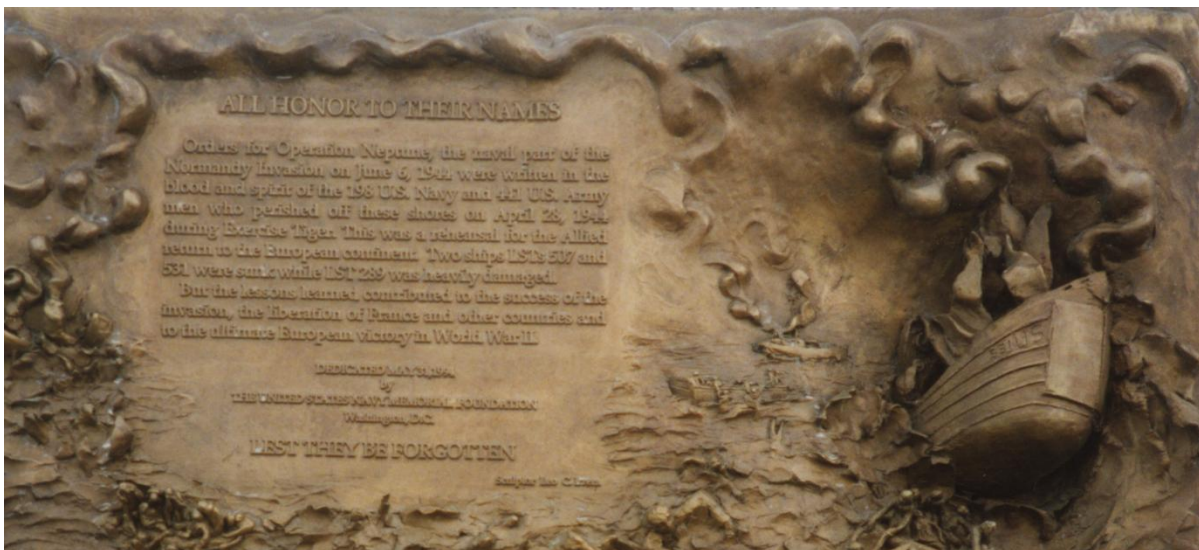


*Figure 5.75 – The American D-Day memorial at Torcross, prior to the installation of bullet-proof glass which partially obscures the elaborate form (Photo: D. Small).*

**5.6 Summary**

The results from the South Hams study area emphasise the range of memorials and structures which have been constructed to commemorate conflicts throughout the twentieth century, and that there is a specific character to the region's war memorials. The war memorials of the South Hams do not however present contradictory narratives to the wider regional or national memories and identities which are presented by other contemporary war memorials. The recorded results from the region demonstrate that specific types of form, location, biography, and inscription dominate. The dataset also however emphasises the importance of considering the materiality of each memorial individually, but that these need to be considered in relation to the other commemorative actions which occurred in the immediate parish, nearby places and nationally. Each war memorial has a unique history behind the choices which were made in deciding upon a form, in its subsequent material alterations, and in the changes which have occurred in their meanings. The biographies are often most evident in the public memorials of the study areas, which have much more frequently continued to act as foci of individual and communal grief, memories and identities. Private memorials should however always be included in any future studies into the nature of conflict commemoration in Britain.

# 6.0 CASE STUDY TWO: EAST DEVON

This chapter continues the analysis from the previous chapter, but by focusing on discussions of the results from the East Devon study area rather than the South Hams. The East Devon results are examined under the same categories of materiality, location, biography and inscription as their South Hams counterparts (Chapter 5). The results are also contrasted with those from the South Hams in order to appreciate the commemorative patterns of the region, and to identify the distinctive character of the communities which established these forms. The contrasts and discussions outlined in this chapter will draw upon themes and issues which were not debated for the South Hams, just as the previous chapter outlined issues not described in detail here.

## 6.1 Introduction

The East Devon study area has a total of 890 war memorials which have been visited, recorded and added to the database (see Appendix 6). The figure is significantly lower than the 1334 recorded for the South Hams. However this is partly the result of the slightly lower population of the region throughout the majority of the twentieth century (Appendix 1). It is not though suggestive of any difference in the standards of recording, as although memorials were inevitably missed from both regions, the totals can be viewed as being representative of the contrasts and patterns which exist within, and between, the two areas. The lower total therefore hints at differences existing in the nature of twentieth century commemoration in East Devon, a fact supported by the broad statistics for the region. For example, a higher proportion of the recorded memorials in East Devon are categorised as public memorials than occurs in the South Hams (24% compared to 19.2%). This is because the total number of public memorials for East Devon compares favourably to that recorded in the South Hams (214 and 256 respectively), with the slight difference accountable for by the lower population. Therefore similar processes of public commemorative actions seem to have occurred for both study regions, with each parish having on average between three or four public war memorials.

It is therefore the private memorials of East Devon which account for the dramatically lower total. A contrast which is especially evident amongst the burial grounds of the region (see Fig. 6.1b and Fig. 5.1b), and most explicitly by the lower percentage of headstone additions (13.7% compared to 22.9% in the South Hams). This could be the result of several processes, yet as the

majority of headstone additions are to those who had been missed or not included upon public memorial schemes nearby (see also Chapter 5.2.3), it may indicate a more exhaustive (and perhaps slightly later) public commemorative processes occurring in East Devon after the World Wars. The author would also argue that the less prolific use of headstone additions may be a reflection of the existence of more stable communities in East Devon, with less dramatic population shifts. This is hypothesised because many of the examples of headstone additions are upon burial monuments to families who had moved to the region later in life, and are therefore not commemorated upon the parish war memorials, as they were included upon memorials elsewhere in Britain (e.g. Fig. 5.32b).
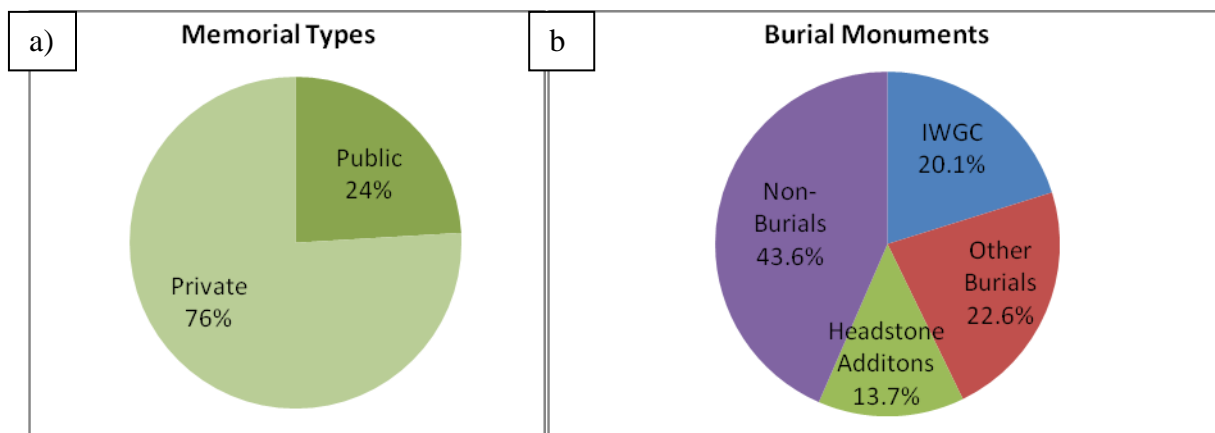


*Figure 6.1 –Just under one-fifth of the war memorials recorded in East Devon are categorised as public memorials (a), while 380 of the private memorials were burial memorials, and a further 122 examples, headstone additions (b).*

The total number of war memorials in East Devon includes 63 (7.1%) which were erected before the twentieth century (Fig. 6.2a). These memorials embody similar commemorative patterns to those witnessed in the South Hams, with the majority of memorials representing ranked military veterans of non-specific conflicts (Fig. 6.2b). However, the notable difference in East Devon compared to the South Hams is the much more prolific commemoration of the Napoleonic Wars and veterans which occurs (ten memorials compared to two in the South Hams). The contrast can be partly accounted for by the widespread use of the East Devon region as a holiday destination during the Napoleonic era, with its mild climate and the lack of foreign travel possibilities with war in Europe attracting many visitors. The early 19th century use of East Devon led to growth of many of the towns and villages at this time, most notably Sidmouth (Holmes 1987). The growth

was partially stimulated by many former army officers building homes, or convalescing from their wounds near the south coast of East Devon in the early nineteenth century. The importance of the south coast of the region at this time is reflected in the distribution of the Napoleonic war memorials, with all of the examples occurring in parishes between Honiton and the coast. For example, a memorial tablet in Salcombe Regis commemorates Colonel Grey, who was wounded at Waterloo and died in Sidmouth in 1842 (Fig. 6.2d).
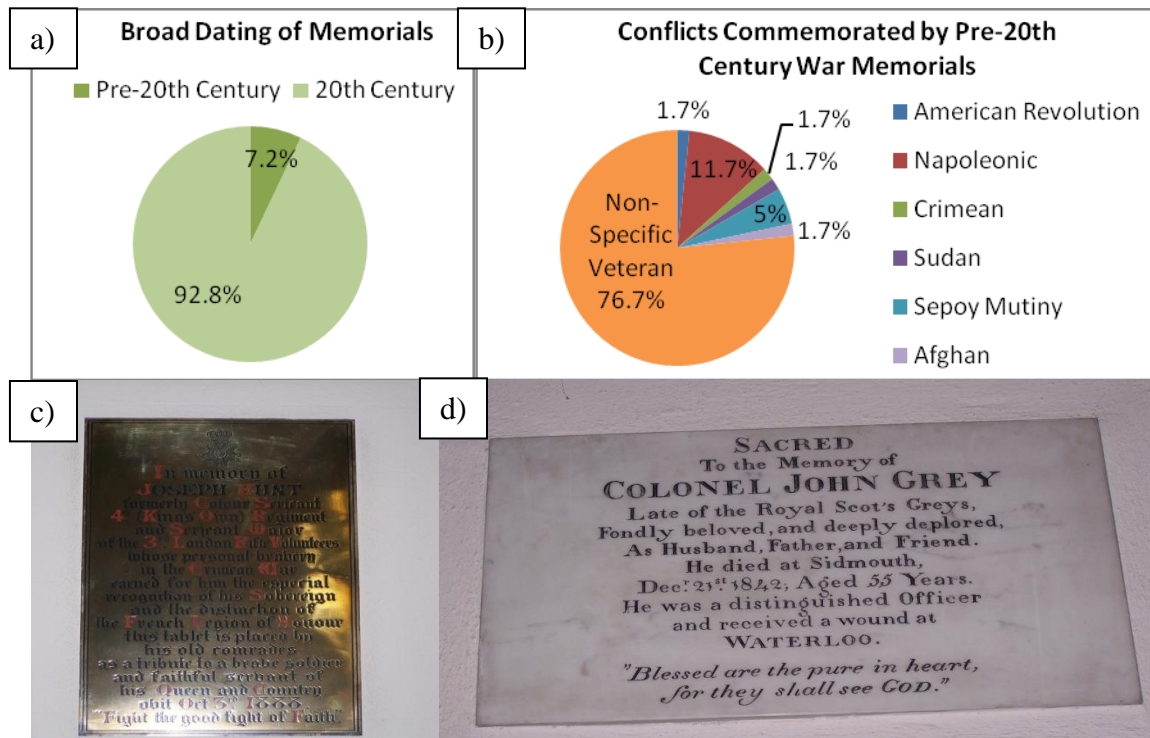


*Figure 6.2 – The broad dating of the war memorials in East Devon (a) and the breakdown between the conflicts commemorated by these earlier memorials (b). The memorial plaque to Colour Sergeant J. Hunt (a Crimean Veteran) in St. John the Baptist's Church, Broadclyst is amongst the few non-commissioned officers commemorated prior to the twentieth century (c). The memorial to Colonel J. Grey in St. Peter and St. Mary's Church, Salcombe Regis, is in contrast much more typical of the earlier memorials of the region in commemorating a higher ranking officer (d) (Photos: Author).*

A further nine twentieth century memorials also commemorate named earlier conflicts (Fig. 6.5a). These are largely limited to the commemoration of veterans of the Crimean War, Sepoy

Mutiny, and other late-nineteenth century wars who had died in the early twentieth century (for example, Figs. 6.5b-c). The most notable exceptions in East Devon are the commemoration of the Battle of Trafalgar through the re-naming of a main road (A35) which runs across through the region 'The Trafalgar Way' (Fig. 6.5d). The only other exception of the commemoration of earlier conflicts during the twentieth century is the memorial stone to the Prayer Book Rebellion battle (in 1549) at Fenny Bridges, Feniton (Fig. 6.5e). Both of these examples can be interpreted as reflective of the need (or desire) to remember previously physically absent events, actions, or individuals, which had occurred locally but were in danger of being ignored, or worse forgotten. This process can therefore be seen in parallel with the commemoration of earlier conflicts VC winners in the memorialisation processes which occurred in the South Hams from the late twentieth century (see Fig. 5.4).
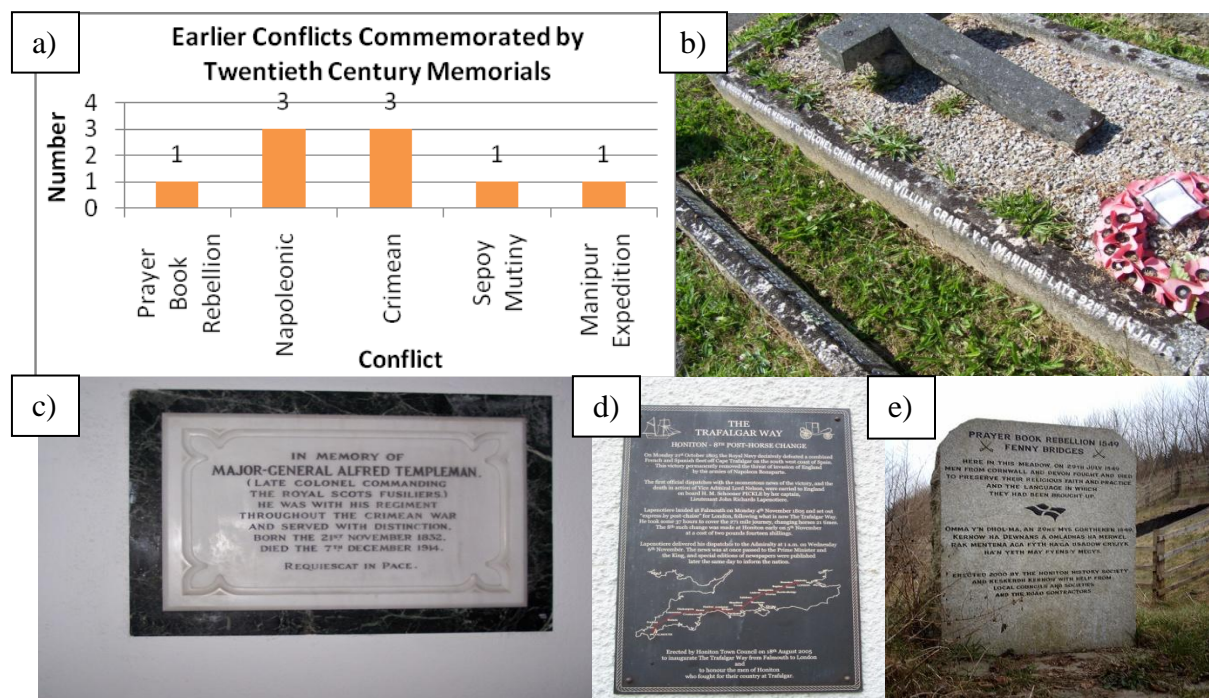


*Figure 6.3 – The earlier conflicts which have been commemorated in the twentieth century (a). These typically take the form of veteran burials, such as of Colonel C.J.W. Grant who had won a VC in the Manipur Expedition in 1891 and was buried in Sidmouth Cemetery in 1932 (b). Veterans are also occasionally commemorated by internal church memorials such as this tablet to Major-General A. Templeman (c), a Crimean veteran, located in St. John the Baptist's Church, Hawkchurch. A few memorials do not however commemorate veterans, such as the*

*Trafalgar Way plaque in Honiton (d), and the Fenny Bridges memorial at Feniton (e) (Photos: Author).*

Only one memorial in East Devon, namely the Graves family tablet in Combe Raleigh, stands out as atypical from these twentieth century commemorative forms to earlier conflicts (Fig. 6.2e). The Graves memorial was not erected in commemoration of a pre-twentieth century conflict veteran, or to a local conflict event. The tablet commemorates both a First World War casualty (Thomas Molyneux Graves) and his uncle (whom he had presumably been named after) who had been killed at the Siege of Sevastopol during the Crimean War, over sixty years before the memorial was erected, and thirty-five years before his nephew had even been born. The commemoration of a pre-twentieth century conflict alongside a twentieth century one is otherwise completely absent from the remembrance landscape of the region. This does not however mean that no relationships exist between the commemoration of earlier conflicts and those to twentieth century wars. For example, close spatial relationships are often identifiable, particularly between late 20$^{th}$ century memorials to earlier conflicts, and public First World War memorials. For example, the Trafalgar way plaque (Fig. 6.3d) faces Honiton's war memorial cross. The close spatial relationship was also noticed in the South Hams (e.g. Fig. 5.3c), but again in this region no pre-twentieth century wars were commemorated on the same memorial as a twentieth century war, which further highlights the uniqueness of the Graves memorial.

It is not only pre-twentieth century conflicts which are rarely commemorated alongside twentieth century wars in East Devon. It is also apparent that until the commemoration of the Second World War different wars were rarely inscribed upon the same memorial, especially amongst public memorials. In fact the sole example of this occurring in either of the study areas is the Broadhembury war memorial cross in East Devon (Fig. 6.4b). The First World War memorial cross at Broadhembury is exceptional in having a South African War casualty (Private E. Perry) included upon the memorial. The enclosure of this name can perhaps be accounted for by the lack of any existing memorials to the South African War, or to Private Perry having existed at this time in the Parish. However, the lack of commemoration of Private A.T. Phillips, who had also been born in the parish and had died on active service in the South African War (although of fever and not in action unlike Private Perry) (Brine 2008), suggests that the inclusion of the

conflict and the single name was more complicated than this. Its inclusion is perhaps therefore reflective of the wishes of Private Perry's family, who may have donated money with the proviso that their son's name be included upon the memorial. The practice of giving money to ensure that a loved one was commemorated upon the parish war memorial was common after the First World War (e.g. Williams and Evans 1997: 13; Mettler and Woodcock 2003), and this example may represent a further example of this process.
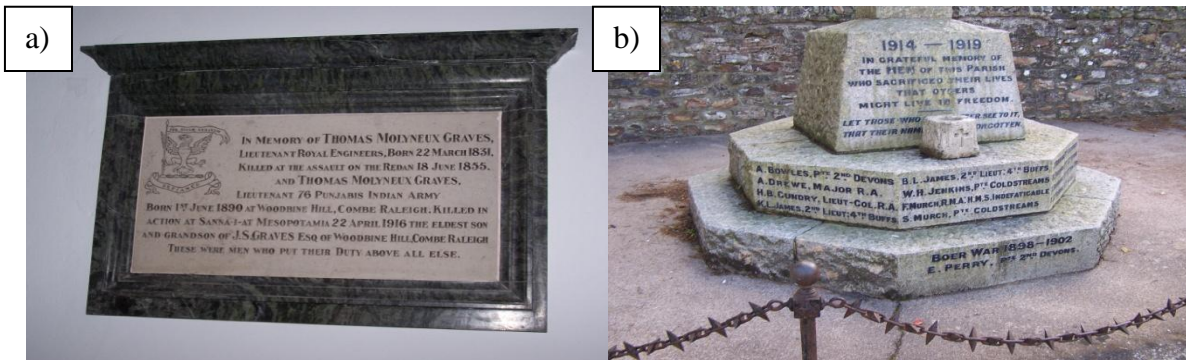


*Figure 6.4 – The Graves Family tablet in St. Nicholas' Church, Combe Raleigh (a) and the war memorial cross, The Square, Broadhembury (b) (Photos: Author).*

The Broadhembury memorial cross is unusual amongst South African War memorials, as the processes of commemorating this conflict had largely ended prior to the First World War. Indeed the South African War was rarely commemorated after 1905, with only one other casualty in East Devon commemorated after this date (the Barttelott family plaque in Sidmouth). The only exceptions to this rule being, that occasionally, veterans of the South African War were commemorated (three in East Devon, and one in the South Hams), yet even in these instances each was slightly atypical. Namely two of these veterans had died prior to the First World War of the effects from their active service in South Africa (see Fig. 6.5a and Fig. 5.41j). The other two examples (both in East Devon) commemorated veterans who had gone on to serve in the First World War and both conflicts are therefore remembered on their memorials (Fig. 6.5b-c). The *closure* in the commemoration of the South African War had therefore principally occurred prior to the First World War, although the First World War probably acted as a final *full-stop* to the conflicts commemoration (Rowlands 2001: 131).

*Figure 6.5 – The later (post-1905) South African War memorials in East Devon includes a plaque to Captain E.R. King in St. Andrews Church, Chardstock (a). He had died in South Africa in 1906 after continuing to work in the country having served throughout the South African War. Captain B.H. Besly in contrast was killed in action in 1914 in the First World War but his memorial plaque in St. Michael and All Angel's Church, Awliscombe, also commemorates his South African War service (b). A.F. Long was a veteran of the South African and First World Wars, both of which are listed on his headstone (circa 1933) in St. John the Baptist's Churchyard, Broadclyst (c) (Photos: Author).*

The South African War had seen a sudden explosion in commemorative forms towards the end of the conflict (between 1901 and 1905), with fourteen memorials erected at this time in East Devon (e.g. Fig. 6.6). This compares to only eleven having been erected in the South Hams in these first few years of the twentieth century (Fig. 5.6). The slightly more extensive commemoration of the South African War in East Devon is partly accounted for by the two memorials connected to the remembrance of the nine former pupils of Allhallows School in Honiton who had lost their lives in the conflict (Fig. 6.6g). It could however be suggested that the different scales of commemoration also reflect contrasts in the numbers of inhabitants from the two regions who had enlisted, or at least in their casualty rates. However, this does not seem to be the case, with only fourteen individuals commemorated on the South African War memorials of East Devon (if the Allhallows School's Memorials are discounted). In comparison nineteen casualties are listed on the South Hams memorials, and many of these appear on more than one memorial (e.g. Figs. 5.6e and 5.6f).

*Figure 6.6 – The range of South African war memorials in East Devon includes, memorial plaques as at St. Gregory's Church, Seaton (a), Lt. Edmonds memorial window at St. Lawrence's Church, Southleigh (b), the Kilmington Memorial Board at St. Giles Church (c),and Hemyock's memorial pump (d). The Sidford memorial altar rail (and plaque) in St. Peter's Church (e), headstone additions, such as of C. Causley in St. Michael's Churchyard, Gittisham (f), and the Allhallows School Memorial Chapel, Honiton (g) (Photos: Author).*

The South African War memorials in East Devon therefore form a higher proportion of the twentieth century memorials (Fig. 6.7a) than in the South Hams (Fig. 5.9a). Yet it is still the World Wars which dominate the commemorative landscape with 70.6% of the conflicts which are commemorated upon twentieth century memorials in East Devon representing these two wars (Fig. 6.7a). Despite these conflicts being the most prolifically commemorated in East Devon the percentage is noticeably lower than the 79.2% recorded for the South Hams. The marked difference can be accounted for by the higher number of memorials erected to non-specific conflicts or military identities in East Devon (26.3% compared to the 18.2% in the South Hams). The majority of these non-specific memorials take the form of burials of military veterans (see Fig. 6.1b), yet they also include 48 memorials inside churches (e.g. Fig. 6.7b). This higher percentage of twentieth century military veterans actually reflects a similar number of examples

(233) to that encountered in the South Hams (237 examples). Therefore the breakdown between specific conflicts actually reveals that it is the lower numbers of memorials to the World Wars rather than higher numbers to non-specific conflict veterans which differentiates East Devon from the South Hams (around 200 memorials less for each World War). There are also a slightly lower number of memorials to post-1945 conflicts in East Devon, with six examples (Fig. 6.8), compared to eleven in the South Hams.
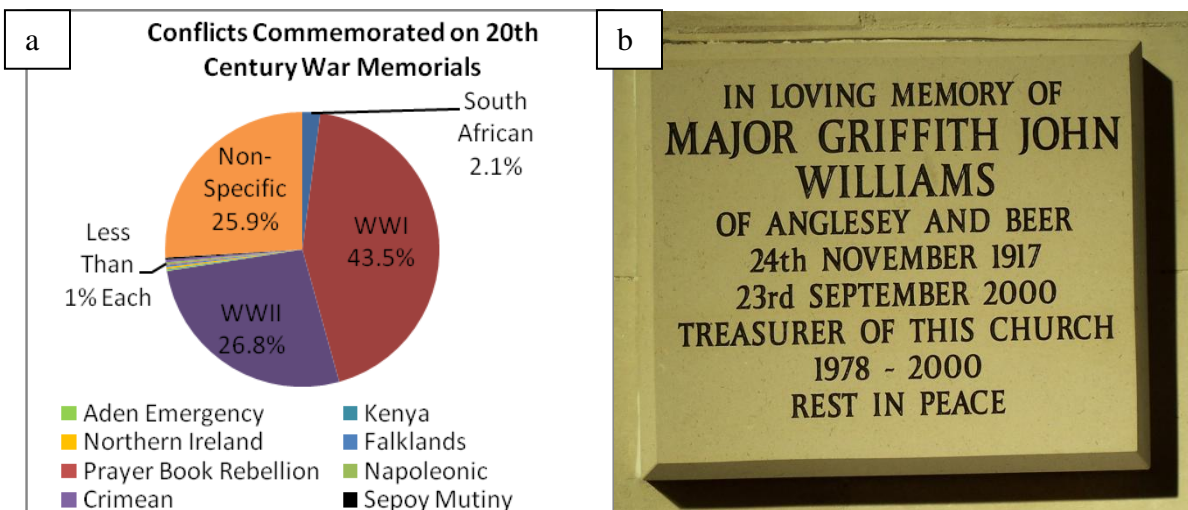


*Figure 6.7 – The conflicts which are commemorated on the twentieth century war memorials of the region (a), over a quarter of these are to military veterans of non-specified conflicts, such as this tablet to Major G.J. Williams in St. Michael's Church, Beer (b) (Photo: Author).*

*Figure 6.8 – There were only six recorded war memorials to post-1945 conflicts in East Devon. These were the Honiton War Memorial Cross (a), which has the addition of Corporal G.C. Birstow (blue arrow) who was killed in Northern Ireland in 1972 and is also buried in the town at St. Michael's churchyard (b). Also inside St. Michael's Church, Honiton is a plaque to Falklands War casualty Lieutenant Commander Banfield (c), a conflict which is also commemorated at St. Mary's Church, Clyst St Mary (d). The Sidbury Later Conflicts Memorial Frame at St. Peter and St. Giles Church commemorates a casualty killed in Kenya (e), and in Ottery St. Mary's Cemetery a headstone addition commemorates R.G. Webber, who was killed in the Aden Emergency (f) (Photos: Author).*

## 6.2 Materiality

The war memorials of East Devon can be broken down into 23 main types (Fig. 6.9). Three of these however only occur in single instances, namely the pump, wreath, and road marker. Headstones dominate the total (as in the South Hams) with over 41.4% of the total proportion of those recorded being burial monuments, and a further 14.3% representing headstone additions (Fig. 6.9a). Tablets, plaques, frames, and boards, are the next most numerous memorials, making up slightly less than 28.3% of the total (Fig. 6.9a). The other forms of memorial in East Devon represent the remaining 16%, yet the only types which arise in more than ten instances are the same forms (i.e. crosses, buildings, windows, and fabric and fittings) as arose in the South Hams (see Fig. 5.10). Only seven forms were used in pre-twentieth century examples (Fig. 6.9b), and a much more diverse range of forms were therefore utilised during the twentieth century. Headstones, tablets, plaques and windows were however the most prolifically used forms for pre-twentieth century memorials in East Devon, and similar divisions were also encountered in the South Hams (see Fig. 5.16b).
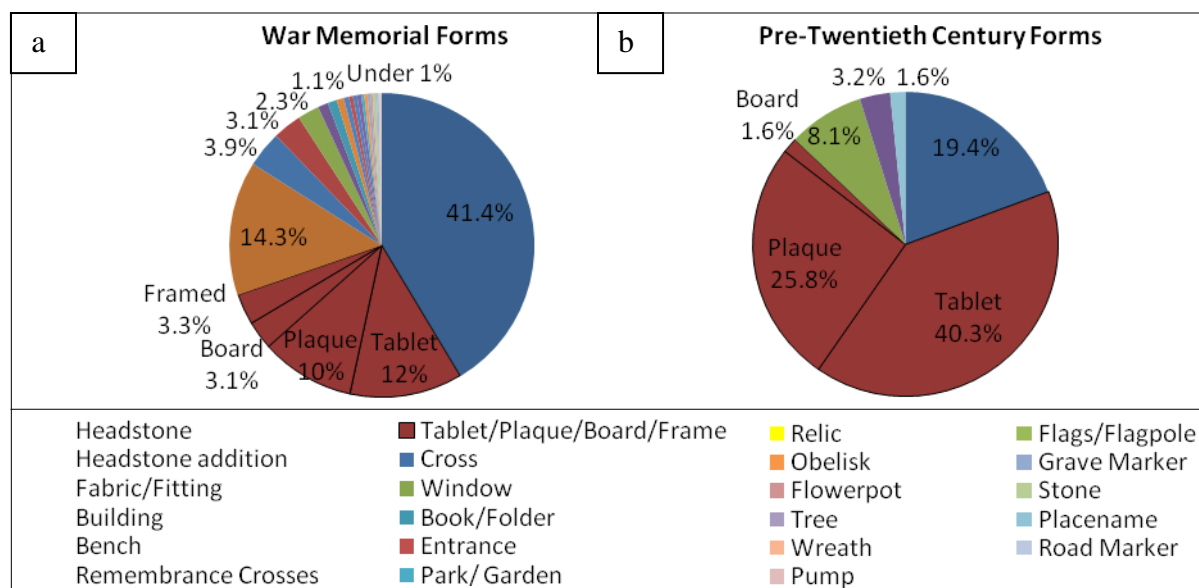
*Figure 6.9 – The divisions between the various forms used for war memorial in East Devon (a). Only a limited range of these forms were used for the pre-twentieth century memorials of the region (b).*

The forms opted for as public war memorials in East Devon can be seen to have borne some direct relation to the number of casualties commemorated, and to the population of the area at the time of the memorials erection (see Fig. 6.10). For example, clear patterns are identifiable if the First World War memorial forms and populations for East Devon are compared to those recorded for the South Hams region (see Fig. 5.69). The most obvious similarities which exist between the two study areas are the comparable number of casualties (17-18 on average) which are listed upon tablets, boards, and plaques in both areas (Fig. 6.10b). The exception to this pattern are the First World War memorial boards of the South Hams which list 33 casualties on average, although this can be accounted for by the slightly higher number of large parishes, such as Modbury (a population of 1209 in 1911), which had erected roll of honour boards (Fig. 5.15b). The middling range of the average 1911 populations for these three memorial types' (tablets, boards and plaques) can be accounted for by their widespread use by communities of all sizes in the commemoration of the First World War. The slightly lower population totals for internal forms compared to external memorials, and more notably utilitarian constructions, can be seen to reflect their affordability to smaller communities in both study areas. Buildings, screens and parks were in contrast almost entirely constructed by larger communities, and in memory of greater numbers of casualties in both regions. Entrances (and to a lesser extent windows) stand

out as the only types of utilitarian memorial in both study regions which were utilised by smaller communities, and in commemoration of fewer casualties.
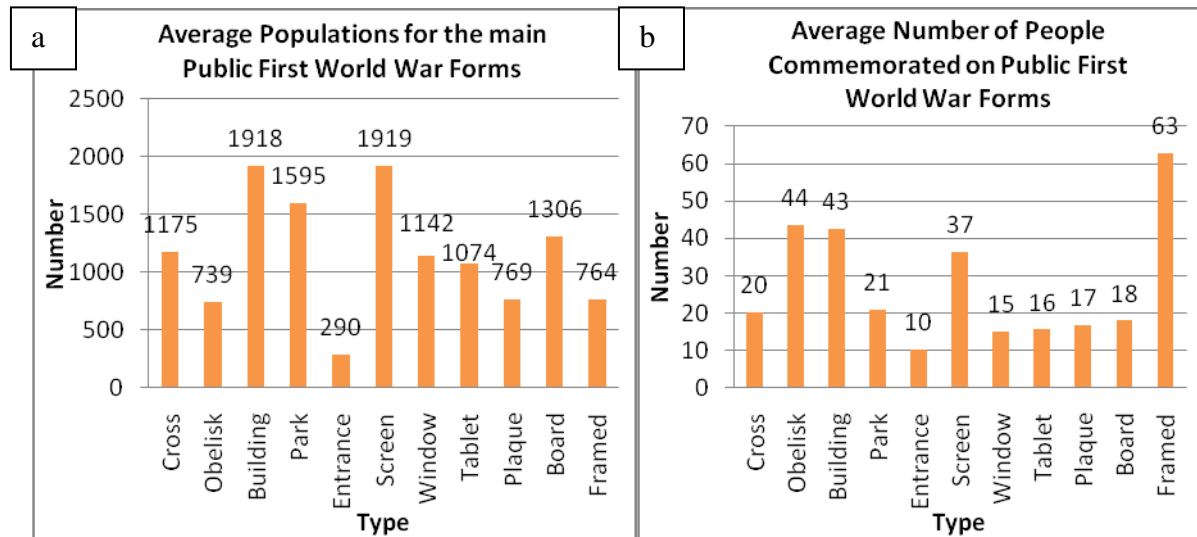


*Figure 6.10 – The relationship between the 1911 census populations and the forms taken by First World War memorials erected between 1914 and 1939 in East Devon (a). These same First World War memorial forms are also contrasted to the average number of casualties (b) which were commemorated upon each type when they were first erected (i.e. not including later conflicts casualties, or any amendments which were subsequently made).*

### 6.2.1 Internal memorials

The internal memorials of East Devon are divided between the same nine main types (Fig. 6.11a) as were found in the South Hams (see Fig. 5.11b). The breakdown between these internal memorials and those from the South Hams is not therefore remarkably different. The most notable contrast is the higher proportions of tablets and plaques in East Devon (60% compared to 52%). This coincides with slightly diminished proportions of boards and frames (18.4% in East Devon compared to 24.7% in the South Hams). The slight contrasts in the extent of use of these forms may reflect the existence of differences in the nature of conflict commemoration between the two regions in the twentieth century. However, these contrasts are seemingly only minimal, with very similar proportions of the other forms occurring, and also a similar range of locations in which they had been erected in both East Devon (see Fig. 6.11) and in the South Hams (see Fig. 5.11).
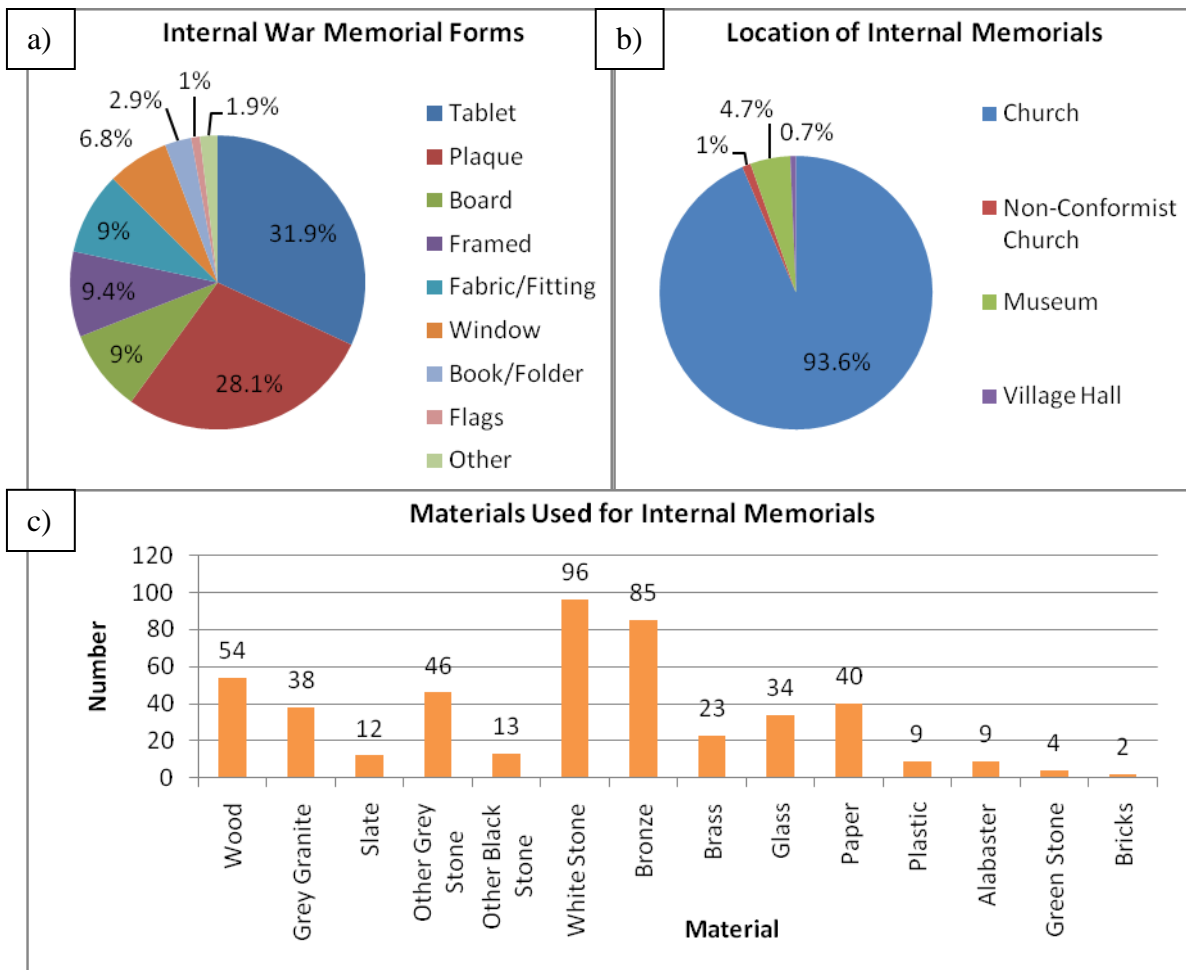
*Figure 6.11 – The range of internal war memorial types in East Devon (a) and their locations (b). The materials used for these internal memorials (discounting utilitarian memorials) emphasises the prevalence of white stone amongst these internal forms (c).*

It is notable that despite the higher occurrence of internal memorials in East Devon that wood is used in a much lower proportion (6.4%) of the region's war memorials (Fig. 6.11c) than in the South Hams (10.6%). This is a reflection of the less prolific use of frames (30 examples compared to 45 in the South Hams) and especially boards (28 examples compared to 42 in the South Hams). Despite this difference in the extent which these two forms are used, they still exhibit a very similar pattern of use, becoming slightly more prolific in the commemoration of the Second World War (Figs. 6.12a-d; 5.13c; 5.14b), and being largely used for public memorials (Figs. 6.12b-c; 5.13b; 5.14a). It is particularly important to note the lack of memorial frames for the commemoration of the South African War in either study region, or from Devon more widely (Appendix 7; UKNIWM 2009). There is also only a single war memorial board (at

Kilmington in East Devon) erected in commemoration of the South African War (Fig. 6.6c). This more *temporary* form stands out as an atypical in the remembrance of this conflict within the study regions (Figs. 6.12a; 5.13c) and from Devon more widely (there is only one further recorded example of a board at All Saints' Church, Kenton). The South African memorial board from Kilmington was constructed from a yew tree reputed to be over 1000 years old and located in the churchyard (until the 1930s). The tree was said to have been planted to mark the burial spot of the dead from a battle between King Athelstan and Danish raiders in AD 937, with the parish church and village subsequently growing around this historic location (Elliott 1981). Therefore the Kilmington South African War memorial can be seen to have been unusual in being constructed from a less durable material than other (non-utilitarian) memorials. The tree's historic links with the community, and to an ancient battle and its remembrance, can be seen to have embodied attempts to create further symbolic significance for the memorial's meaning and to ensure the permanence of its form and meaning.
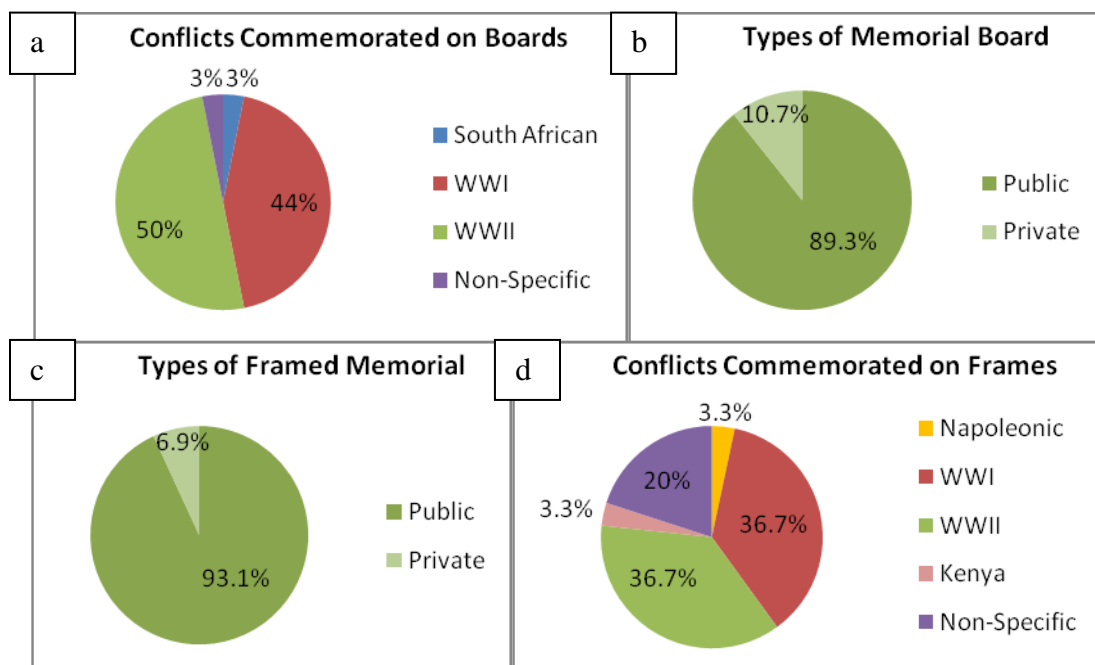


*Figure 6.12 – The conflicts commemorated by memorial boards in East Devon, largely remember the World Wars (a) and can be categorised as public memorials (b). A similar pattern arises with plaques, with public memorials (c) that were erected in commemoration of the World Wars dominating (d).*

The lesser use of boards and frames in East Devon appears to be a contradiction to the general pattern that frames, and to a lesser extent boards, are usually found in association with smaller parishes (see Figs. 6.10a; 5.69b). Especially given that 40 parishes in East Devon had populations of 600 or less in 1911 compared to 34 parishes in the South Hams (see Appendix 1). It is however apparent that the motivations behind erecting and subsequently retaining roll of honours, went beyond simply being a reflection of mostly small and close-knit communities (see Fig. 6.10). For example larger parishes did sometimes erect roll of honour frames or boards in East Devon, with both All Saints (a 1911 population of 1033) and Sidbury (a 1911 population of 1374) having erected First World War rolls (Figs. 6.13c-d). In both of these instances it can be argued that the *desire/need* to create rolls of honour was partly because of recent, or threatened, boundary changes. The parish of All Saints had only been transferred to Devon from Dorset in 1896, and the creation of a complete list of all who served during the First World War was one way for the community to accentuate its difference, and separateness, from other neighbouring communities. This process was perhaps even more evident for Sidbury (Fig. 6.13e), which was *under threat* of absorption by the urban expansions of Sidmouth in the early-twentieth century (e.g. DRO R7/7/C158). The threats or changes to communities, and the need to define who belonged and did not belong, is also evidenced by the few examples of rolls of honour from large parishes in the South Hams. For example, Ugborough, Malborough, and Modbury had all dramatically reduced in population size and regional influence from their nineteenth century peeks by the time of the First World War (see Appendix 1) and used First World War commemoration as one method to redefine their communal boundaries and belonging (e.g. Jennings 1998; Tarlow 1999a: 163).
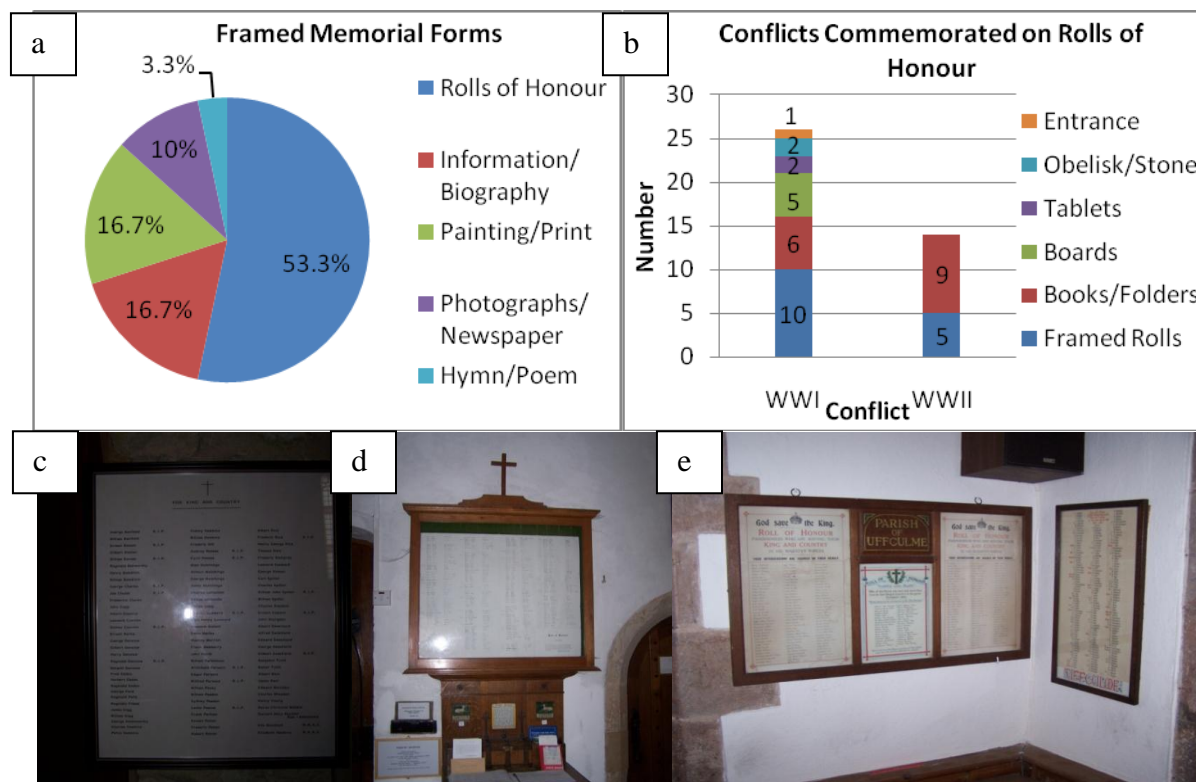
*Figure 6.13 – The breakdown of the framed memorial types in East Devon (a), and the conflicts which are commemorated upon rolls of honour (b). The First World War roll of honour frame in All Saints Church, All Saints (c), the First World War roll at St. Peter and St. Giles Church, Sidbury (d), and the two roll of honour frames at St. Mary's Church, Uffculme (e) (Photos: Author).*

Despite the lower number of memorial boards and frames in East Devon, the total numbers of rolls of honour are almost equivalent to those recorded in the South Hams (Figs. 6.13b; 5.15b). The similarity extends not only to those rolls which were compiled during and immediately after the World Wars, but also in terms of the numbers of recent rolls which have been added to re-remember these individuals and conflicts (seven in the South Hams and nine in East Devon have been erected since 1990). It is also apparent that rolls of honour were as influential upon the forms, locations, and inscriptions of other memorial types in East Devon, as they were in the South Hams. For example there are five parishes (All Saints, Combe Raleigh, Dunkeswell, Sowton, and Willand) which have internal memorial tablets/plaques which list the casualties in order of death and have extant rolls of honour (e.g. Figs. 5.14a-b). In contrast to the South Hams therefore it is internal memorials which almost exclusively had the names inscribed in the order of death in East Devon (fourteen of the fifteen examples), while in the South Hams this ordering

frequently appears upon external memorials (nine of the 24 examples). This can perhaps be seen to reflect the higher preference towards internal forms in East Devon, although it is also suggestive of the greater influence which rolls of honour had upon subsequent strategies of commemoration of the First World War in many communities in East Devon.

The extent of influence which existing rolls of honour had is most clearly evidenced at Sidmouth where the parish's First World War memorial tablet not only lists the casualties in the order of death, but was also positioned in the entranceway to the parish church, characteristics typical of roll of honour memorials (Fig. 6.14c). The memorial is also the only complete list of casualties in the town, with many of the other churches in the town choosing to erect memorials to the conflict which did not include the names of any of the dead, such as the memorial chair chosen for the small Church of England church at Woolbrook (Fig. 6.22a) and the altar and plaque in the Catholic Church (Fig. 6.14f). The inclusion of names upon this internal memorial therefore negated the desire amongst the memorial committees' (and possibly the wider public) to include the names upon any external memorials or smaller public memorials. For example the war memorial cross in the parish churchyard also includes no names, and simply an inscription, which included no reference to the location of the names of those individuals commemorated by the memorial (Fig. 6.14d).

The lack of names upon external symbolic war memorials is also repeated in several other instances in East Devon, most notably at Ottery St Mary, Buckerell, Sidbury, Membury, and at Hawkchurch (until 2004). The non-inclusion of names is also however frequently recorded for utilitarian memorials, such as the Broad Clyst Victory Hall (Fig. 6.24e), or upon restored ancient crosses, as at Clyst Hydon (Fig. 6.34d), in both study areas. There is however only a single recorded example (found at Down Thomas, Wembury) of the non-inclusion of names upon other external forms in the South Hams. The more prolific absence of names from external forms in East Devon further evidences the greater importance of internal forms in East Devon, as well as hinting at the existence of higher levels of Church of England benefaction and control. Chardstock in East Devon does however reverses this trend by being the only parish in either study area in which the community chose to include the names upon an external war memorial to

the detriment of an internal Church of England memorial (Figs. 6.14g-h). The unique example of Chardstock can perhaps be seen as a reaction to the neighbouring communities of Membury and Hawkchurch, whom had both erected external memorials after the First World War, but had included the names of the dead upon internally located church memorials.



*Figure 6.14 – The Combe Raleigh (a) and Willand (b) First World War memorial plaques (located in St. Nicholas' Church and St. Mary's Church respectively) list the casualties in the order of death, reflecting the existence of (surviving) rolls of honour in these communities. The names upon the Sidmouth First World War memorial tablet in the entranceway to St. Giles and St. Nicholas' Church (c) can be used to account for the lack of the use of names upon other memorials in the town, such as on the cross in St. Giles and St. Nicholas' Churchyard (d), or the memorial altar (e) and plaque (f) in the Church of the Most Precious Blood. In contrast at*

*Chardstock the war memorial cross (g) lists the casualties, while the tablet inside St. Andrew's Church does not include names (h) (Photos: Author).*

The dominant internal memorials for both study regions were tablets (Figs. 6.11a; 5.11b), and these were typically comprised of white stone (Figs. 6.11c; 5.13a). Tablets do occur in a slightly higher proportion of memorials in East Devon than in the South Hams (1.2% higher), which is largely the result of the significantly higher use of tablets in the commemoration of the Second World War in East Devon (23.1% of tablets) compared to their use (15.3% of tablets) in the South Hams (see Fig. 5.17c). The drastically higher proportion can perhaps be accounted for by the more extensive reuse of memorial tablets in East Devon, with nine reused examples (e.g. Figs. 6.15c and 6.15d) compared to only two in the South Hams (at East Allington and Stoke Gabriel). Tablets are ideally suited for adding additional commemoration information to as they are easily inscribed upon, a process which is also seen with war memorial boards (see Fig. 6.16b).
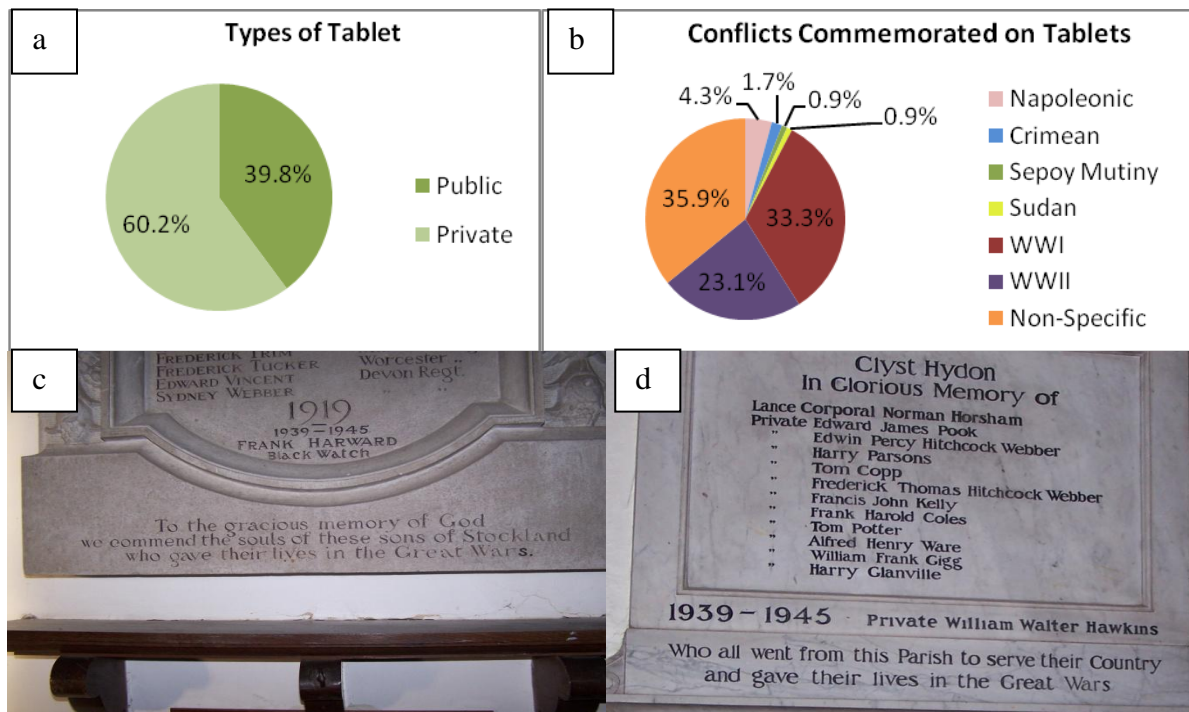


*Figure 6.15 – The tablets of the East Devon study area were mostly privately erected (a) and are dominated by the commemoration of non-specific veterans (b). The First World War memorial tablets at St. Michael's Church, Stockland (c) and St. Andrew's Church, Clyst Hydon (d) are*

*examples of the reuse of First World War tablets for the commemoration of later conflicts*
*(Photos: Author).*

The process of adding the names of Second World War casualties onto existing internal memorials is much more frequently encountered in East Devon (18 examples) than in the South Hams (ten examples). In fact only four parish war memorials to the Second World War in East Devon (at Buckerell, Culmstock, Feniton and Seaton) can be seen to have been deliberately distanced in terms of their forms and locations from the pre-existing First World War memorials in these communities. Even in these few examples it is only the Second World War memorial board and bell at Buckerell which truly distanced the commemoration of the Second World War within the same space from the same community's First World War memorials (Figs. 6.16c-f). The other three parishes (Culmstock, Feniton and Seaton) did not in contrast have any internally located Church of England war memorials to imitate the form or location of. The choice of erecting internal church memorials in Culmstock, Feniton and Seaton does however emphasise the dominating role which the Church of England can still be interpreted as having in these communities. For example the erection of the Second World War memorials inside St. Gregory's Church, Seaton was perhaps inevitability given that the vicar (Revd Harry Cooke) and his wife had both actively served in the First World War, and had largely led the town during the war years (Gosling 2005: 73).
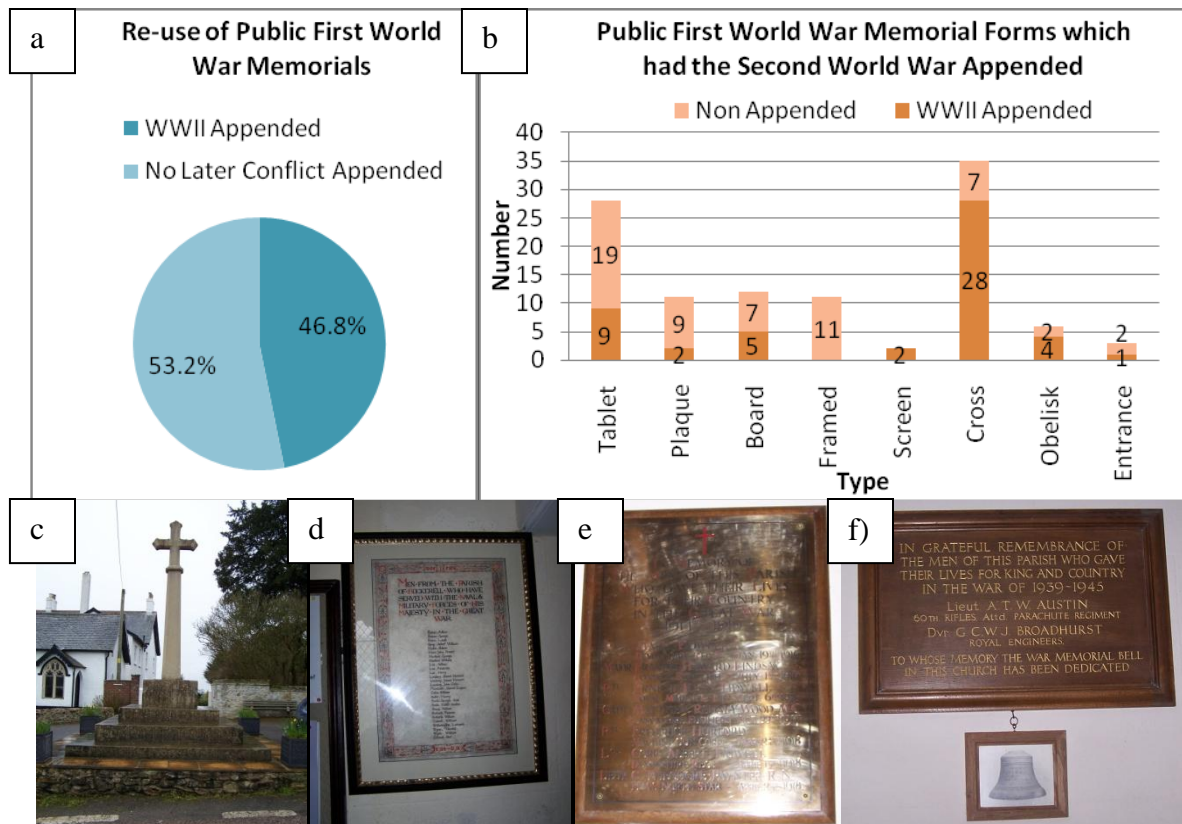
*Figure 6.16 – The percentage of public First World War memorials in East Devon which had the Second World War appended (a) are mostly external types (b). The Buckerell war memorial cross (c), roll of honour frame (d), and memorial plaque (e), were all erected after the First World War, and although the dates of the Second World War were added onto the memorial cross the parish's main commemorative project after this conflict was a memorial bell and board in St. Mary and St. Giles' Church (f) (Photos: Author).*

The breakdown of internal memorials over time in East Devon (Fig. 6.17a) supports the suggestion of close similarities in the commemorative forms chosen after the Second World War to the existing First World War memorials in the area. The most notable contrast both in terms of the total numbers of recorded memorials, but also in terms of percentage, are the use of memorial plaques. Plaques had formed 31% of internal First World War memorials (e.g. Figs 6.18c; 6.18e), but only comprised 12.1% of Second World War forms in East Devon (e.g. Fig. 6.18d). This pattern is also seen in the South Hams where memorial plaques diminish in use to 6.9% of internal Second World War memorials, from 27.1% of First World War examples. The diminishing popularity of plaques for Second World War memorials is however reversed in the commemoration of post-1945 conflicts in both regions. However, given the limited sample sizes

for these later conflicts this trend is less definitive than the decline identified for the Second World War memorials. The diminishing use of plaques (and tablets) for the commemoration of the Second World War is most evident in the forms, chosen for private memorials, although it does also occur in a lesser scale amongst the public memorials of the region (Fig. 6.17b).
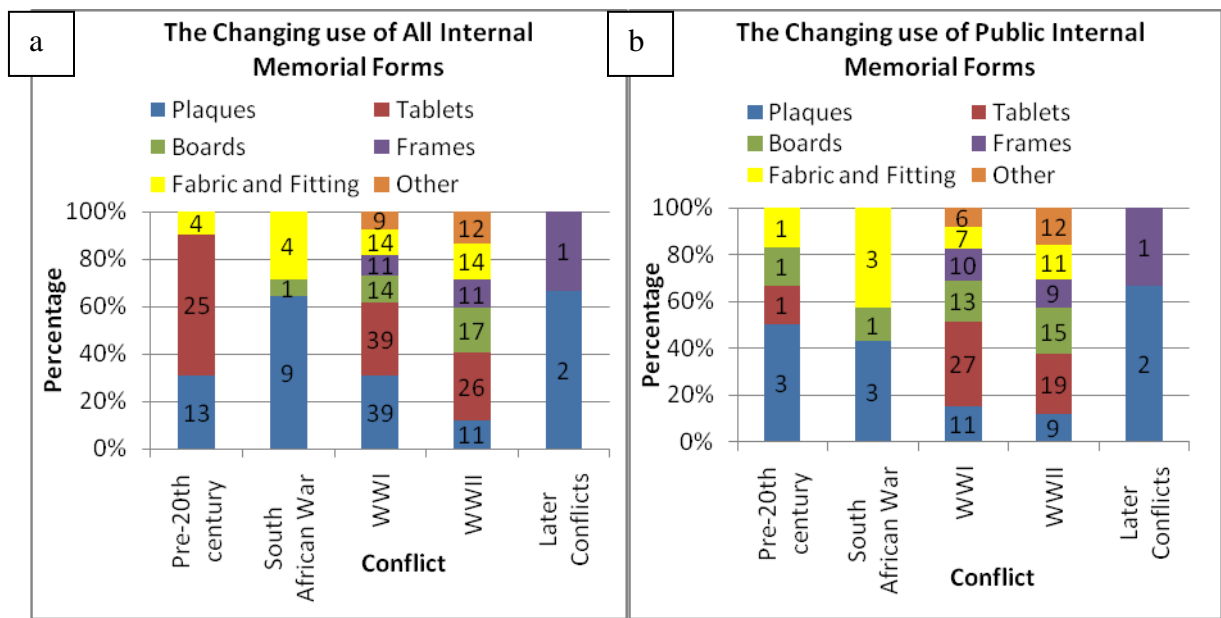


*Figure 6.17 – The changing use over time of the six main internal war memorial types in East Devon (a), and in their use for public memorials in the region (b).*
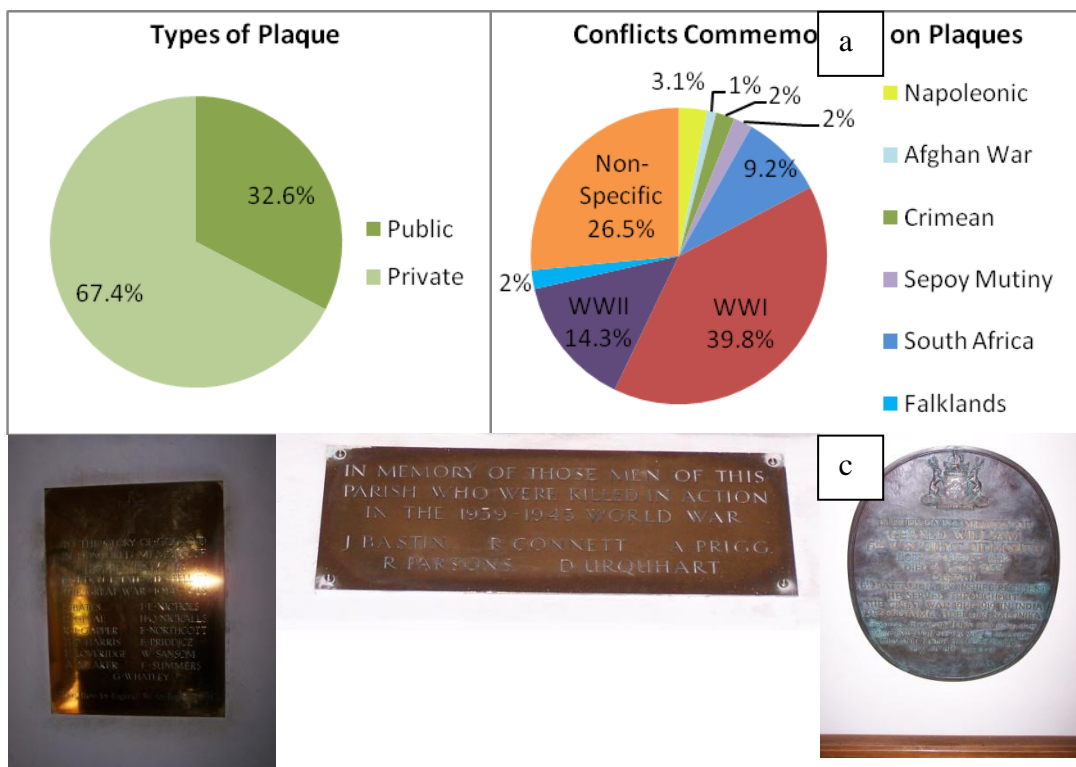


*Figure 6.18 – The plaques' of East Devon re mostly*

*private memorials (a), and were erected to commemorate the First World War (b). Examples include the First World War memorial plaque in St. Mary's Church, Combpyne (c), the Second World War plaque at St. James the Less' Church, Escot (d), and Viscount Sidmouth's (First World War veteran) memorial plaque in St. Mary the Virgin's Church, Upottery (e)(Photos: Author).*

Other symbolic internal commemorative forms were only found in a small minority of churches in both regions, with flags and grave markers the most prolific of these other internal forms (see Figs. 5.11b; 6.11a). The number of flags recorded in the study could have potentially been considerably higher, as almost every Church of England Church in the two study areas has at least one Royal British Legion (RBL hereafter) standard. These were not however treated as a separate commemorative form in most instances as their construction and storage in churches was not typically connected with commemoration of conflict or veterans. There was however a limited number of exceptions in which the RBL standards had been supplemented by further memorials, most commonly plaques or frames, which explained their histories and gave them commemorative functions (e.g. Figs. 6.19a-b). The majority of the flags recorded in both study areas are however directly associated through their biographies with the commemoration of specific regiments, or events. These flags commemorative value is therefore in them acting as surviving symbols of battles, individuals, or events. The very real material and biographical links to conflict(s) and casualties which flags therefore embodied can be seen to have been utilised in many communities such as Feniton in East Devon (Fig. 6.19c) and Plymstock in the South Hams (Fig. 5.12f) to supplement other war memorials. They are therefore typically used to provide a further element of legitimisation for the forms and meanings of these parish war memorials.
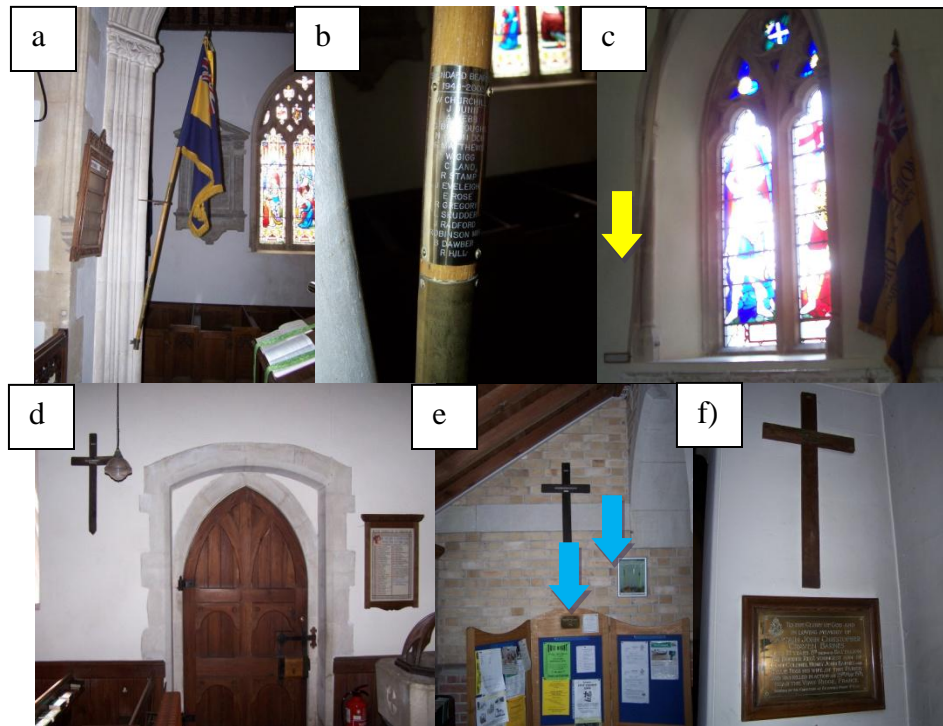
*Figure 6.19 – The Broadhembury RBL Branch standard in St. Andrew's Church (a) has four commemorative plaques attached which commemorate the history of the branch and a selective biography of the flag (b). The Second World War memorial window at St. Andrew's Church, Feniton (c) is flanked by the flag of the local RBL Branch, and a thin pennant originally flown from H.M.S. Exeter (yellow arrow). The temporary grave markers in East Devon are to Lieutenant R.F. Miller's, at the entrance to St. Gregory's Church, Harpford (d). Lieutenant R. Pearce-Brown's grave marker in St. Michael's Church, Colyford (e) has been supplemented (in 2004) by biographical information and a framed photograph (blue arrows). Captain J.C.C. Barnes grave marker and plaque in St. Andrew's Church, Colyton (f) (Photos: Author).*

The importance of the close biographical and material link with conflict(s) and the war dead can also be seen to be materialised in the retention of three temporary grave markers in East Devon (Figs. 6.19d-f), and a further two examples at West Alvington in the South Hams (Figs. 5.12g; 5.21c). These temporary grave markers were all returned from the Western Front after the First World War, typically at the request and financial outlay of the bereaved family (hence the three examples in East Devon are all to officers). The two examples from West Alvington (both memorials are to Privates) may however have been returned through the community acting together in paying for the return of grave markers, a process seen in several communities

elsewhere in Britain, such as at Deddington in Oxfordshire (see Forsyth and Allbrook 2009). The preservation and placement of these temporary markers inside various churches can be seen to clearly articulate death having occurred during the First World War, as well as perhaps acting as an indirect expression of the desire amongst many bereaved families for the return of their loved ones bodies. The former closeness of these memorials to the sites of burial ensured that the memorials had an elevated symbolic value, although in many instances they were typically supplemented by further commemorative forms. For example the memorial plaque placed below Captain Barnes grave marker at Colyton (Fig. 6.19f), and the recent addition of a biography and photograph of the CWGC headstone of Lieutenant Pearce-Brown at Colyford (Fig. 6.19e).

### 6.2.2 Utilitarian memorials

The range of fabrics and fittings which were utilised in East Devon is similar to that recorded in the South Hams, with the most notable absences being the lack of altars, fonts, floors, and altar crosses (Figs. 5.18a; 6.20a). East Devon does however have commemorative hymn boards, staves, a flagpole, a notice board, and a door knocker (Fig. 6.20a). Fabric and fittings make up a lower proportion of the internal memorials in East Devon than in the South Hams (9% compared to 12.8%), although there is a higher proportion of windows, with 6.8% compared to 4.5% in the South Hams (see Figs. 6.11a; 5.11b). In total however there are a slightly higher proportion of utilitarian memorials in East Devon, 9% (Fig. 6.20b), than in the South Hams which has a slightly lower 7.5% of memorials of the utilitarian variety (Fig. 5.18c). The actual numbers of utilitarian memorials in the study regions however (102 in the South Hams and 80 in East Devon) emphasises that this slight difference in percentage can be primarily accounted for by the lower numbers of headstone additions in East Devon (see Figs. 6.1b; 5.1b). In total there were 25 First World War utilitarian memorials and twenty Second World War examples in East Devon (Fig. 6.20c), which compares with 31 First World War and 32 Second World War examples in the South Hams (Fig. 5.20a-b).

Utilitarian war memorials to specific twentieth century conflicts were largely constructed as public commemorative projects in both the South Hams (Figs. 5.18b; 5.20a), and in East Devon (Fig. 6.20d). They had however increasingly been utilised as private memorials over this time in the South Hams, with a marked growth in the private commemoration of the Second World War

through utilitarian forms evident (Fig. 5.20a). The significantly lower proportion of private utilitarian memorials to the Second World War in East Devon in contrast to the South Hams (or for that matter to the First World War memorials of East Devon) could be used to evidence contrasting commemorative patterns in this conflict between the two regions. To some extent this does appear to be true, although, this does not present the complete picture as utilitarian memorials still make up one third of the recorded private Second World War memorials in East Devon (when burial monuments are discounted). The proportion of Second World War private utilitarian forms in East Devon is still however lower than the South Hams which represent 55% of private Second World War memorials.

Another notable contrast between the two regions is that a quarter of the South African War Memorials in East Devon are utilitarian (Fig. 6.20c), while there are no recorded examples of this in the South Hams. The presence of these utilitarian South African War memorials in East Devon emphasises that utilitarian commemorative forms maintained a much greater stability throughout the twentieth century in terms of the percentage of the total number of memorials erected (see Fig. 6.20c) than is typically presented in other studies (e.g. Furlong *et al* 2002). However, this is not to suggest that utilitarian forms did not increase numerically but that they had been a viable option, which had been utilised throughout the twentieth century. Utilitarian forms were not therefore a phenomenon unique to the Second World War, despite their portrayal in much of the literature (e.g. Webster 2008) as having been much more widely utilised in the commemoration of this conflict than for the First World War. The majority of communities as well as the nation more widely simply appended the casualties of the Second World War, and with them the memories of the conflict to the First World War (see also Robbins 1996). The commemorative rhetoric and styles seen for the South African and First World Wars therefore shaped much of the subsequent remembrance patterns and language. The absence of dramatic commemorative change after the Second World War is given substantial support by the relative dearth of utilitarian forms to post-1945 conflicts in the two study areas (see Fig. 5.20c for exception). Instead symbolic memorials dominate the commemoration of post-1945 conflicts, with the majority of the few casualties either appended onto existing forms (e.g. Fig. 5.9d), or commemorated upon forms which imitate existing commemorative styles nearby (e.g. Fig. 6.8d).
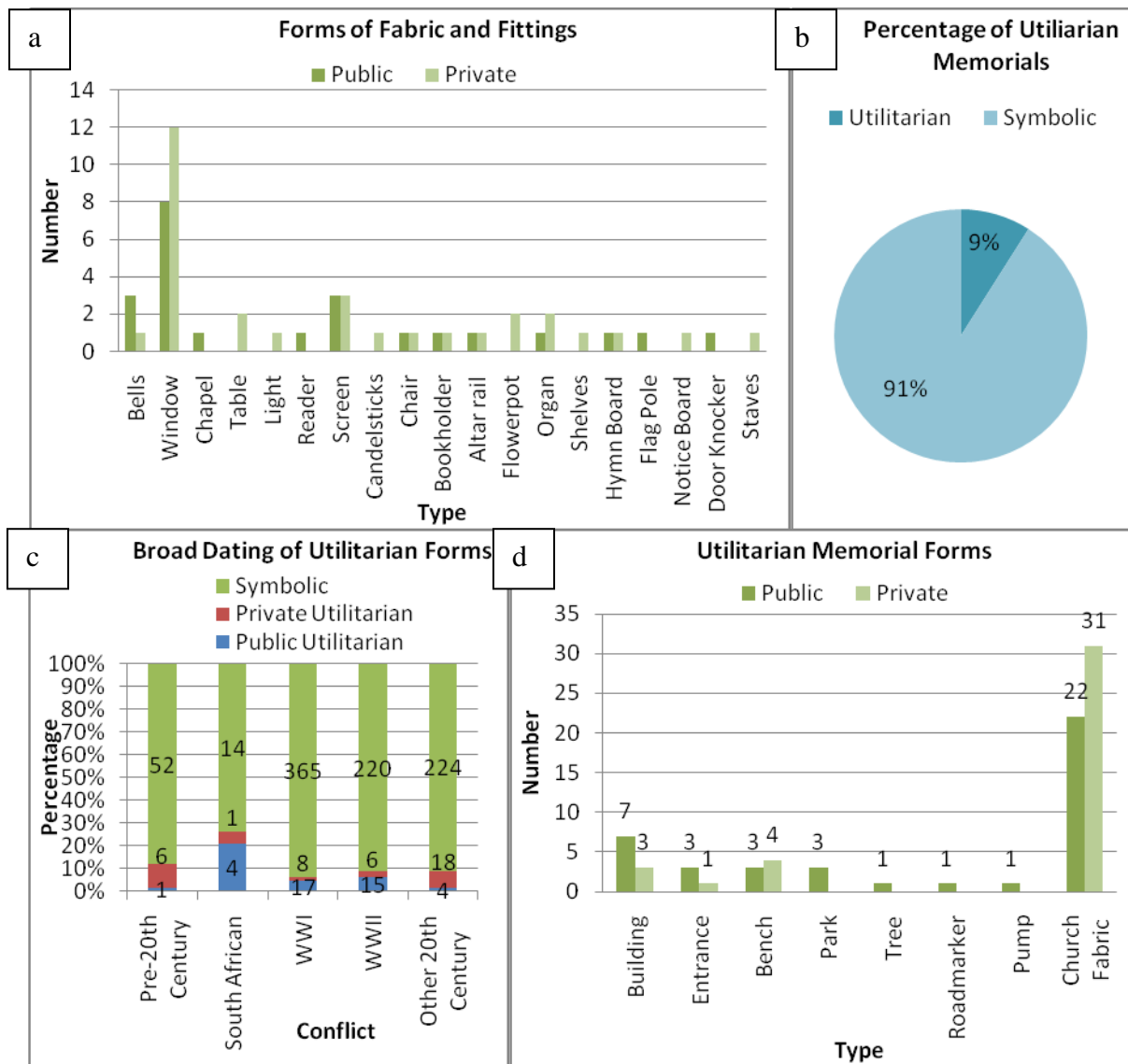
*Figure 6.20 – The forms of fabric and fitting war memorials in the East Devon study area (a). The majority of war memorials in the region are however solely symbolic (b), although there are slight fluctuations in the extent to which they were utilised over time (c). The majority of the utilitarian memorials in East Devon take the form of church fabric and fittings (d).*

The use of two memorial hymn boards in East Devon (Figs. 6.21a-c) represent relatively unusual choices of commemorative form, with only 26 examples recorded in Britain by the UKNIWM (UKNIWM accessed online 8/11/2009). Further to this national dearth of war memorial hymn boards, no other examples were recorded in this research elsewhere in Devon. The Second World War memorial hymn board at Offwell was placed, despite its utilitarian function, in close spatial relationship to the two existing First World War memorials in the church (Fig. 6.21a). The

location is therefore in a slightly impractical position to fulfil its functional purpose for the congregation, but it affords the memorial a large sacred space and a high visibility from the entrance to the church. The Purkess siblings' memorial hymn board at Culmstock was in contrast placed in a more traditional location for hymn boards, and it is the memorial's commemorative role which is slightly obscured, because the plaques at the base of the board are partially concealed by the lectern (Fig. 6.21b). The Purkess' hymn board is unique within the region in its inclusion of the *dead man's penny* in a publically located memorial, although these *pennies* were utilised in three headstone additions in the South Hams. The *Dead men's penny's* is a commemorative plaque that was issued by the British government to the families of all of the British Dead of the First World War. The official nature of the plaque was then frequently adapted or rejected by the families of the bereaved to fit within public or private expressions of remembering loved ones, their deaths being as a result of warfare, and to articulate grief and pride. Large numbers of these private commemorative forms were retained within private spaces and combined with other materials in commemorative forms such as Captain Preedy's memorial board, which includes both his medals and a dead man's penny, and is now located in Allhallows Museum, Honiton.

Another element of church fabric and fittings which is more prolifically encountered is the use of memorial screens and panelling, with six examples recorded for East Devon (Fig. 6.20a) and four in the South Hams (Fig. 5.18a). Memorial screens largely fall into two main types, tower screens (e.g. Fig. 5.21f) and rood screens (e.g. Fig. 5.21e) and were erected to commemorate a range of conflicts and veterans. Commemorative panelling which constitutes two of the memorials in East Devon (and is absent from the South Hams), can be seen to have represented a similar choice of memorial. However both examples date to after the Second World War (1951 and 1967), and it is their utilitarian and decorative roles which are most prominent elements of these memorials, with the commemorative inscriptions only constituting a small, and at Newton Poppleford an obscured, part. In the majority of instances the inscription of the names and details is upon the screen or panelling itself (e.g. Fig. 6.21d-f), although two of the examples in the South Hams have separate memorial plaques which include the inscription (e.g. Fig. 5.5c). Commemorative screens in particular can in part be seen to represent a slightly ironic memorial, i.e. the construction of a war memorial can be seen as an attempt to unite communities, yet they

were also been used to spatially divide and obscure, thereby emphasising the hierarchy of the community, and the churches dominance in these communities. Screens (and memorial chapels also) can also be seen to differentiate the remembrance of conflicts and the war dead, from the rest of the community, and they are therefore amongst the most blatant of memorial forms in evidencing the deliberate creation of a separate sacred space for conflict remembrance.



*Figure 6.21 –The memorial hymn boards of East Devon are at St. Mary's Church, Offwell (a) and in All Saint's Church, Culmstock (b-c). Memorial panelling to M. Clarke was recorded in St. Michael's Church, Musbury (d). Memorial screens either take the form of rood screen divisions, as with All Hallows School's First World War memorial in St. Michael's Church, Honiton (e), or of tower screens, such as the Second World War example from St. John the Baptist's Church, Membury (f) (Photos: Author).*

War memorial chairs are another type of fitting which was equally prolific in both study regions, with two examples from each area. These chairs were largely in commemoration of a single individual or family (e.g. Fig. 6.22b), with the exception of the memorial chair at Woolbrook, Sidmouth (Fig. 6.22a) was erected in commemoration of the four members from that community who died in the First World War. All four of the chairs commemorated different conflicts, and none are currently listed upon the UKNIWM's database, although 31 chairs are listed nationally (UKNIWM accessed online 8/11/2009). A similar pattern was recorded for memorial tables with two examples recorded for East Devon (Figs. 6.22d-e) and three examples in the South Hams

(Fig. 5.18a). None of these (nor any other memorial tables from Devon) appear however on the UKNIWM's database, despite 90 examples being listed from elsewhere across Britain (UKNIWM accessed online 8/11/2009). One of the examples from the South Hams, namely M.R.M. Love's memorial table (circa 1957) at Holy Cross Church, Newton Ferrers also doubles up as a bookcase. There is therefore a single bookcase in both study areas, with Lieutenant Colonel Orange-Bromhead's bookcase (circa 1961) from Kilmington the sole example from East Devon (Fig. 6.22f). Bookcases are again an element of church fabric and fittings seemingly neglected by the UKNIWM, which does not have a separate categorisation for them, and only has ten recorded examples, none of which are in Devon (UKNIWM accessed online 8/11/2009).
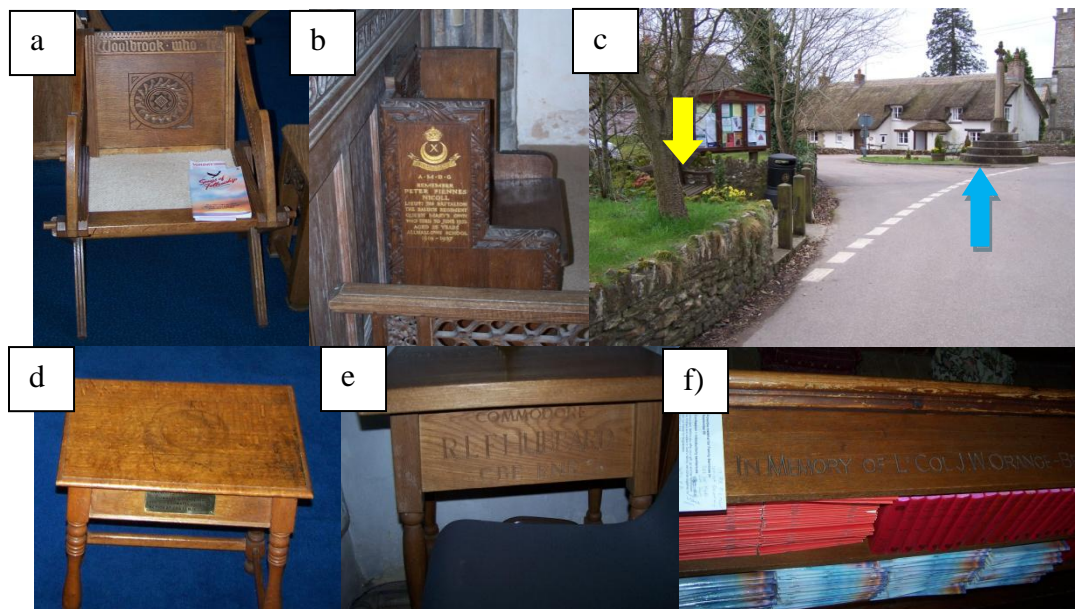


*Figure 6.22 – The First World War memorial chair at St. Francis of Assisi's Church, Woolbrook (a), and Lieutenant P.F. Nicoll's chair in St. Michael's Church, Honiton (b). The 50th anniversary of VE Day and VJ Day bench (c) at Upottery (yellow arrow) was placed close to the parish's war memorial cross (blue arrow). The D. Channing memorial table at All Saints Church, Sidmouth (d), Commodore R.L.F. Hubbard table (e), and Lieutenant-Colonel J.W. Orange-Bromehead's memorial bookshelf (f) are both from St. Giles' Church, Kilmington (Photos: Author).*

A further aspect of the fabric and fittings of churches which was encountered to a similar extent within both study regions (two examples in the South hams and four in East Devon) were tower

bells. All five public examples were erected in commemoration of the Second World War, which perhaps indicates similar patterns having occurred in the restoration or addition of church bells in the late nineteenth century (e.g. Wilson-Brown 2007; Chapman 2002: 28; Anon 2006) and the lack of need (generally) to add or restore bells in the immediate aftermath of the First World War. For example, at Sidbury one bell was recast in 1884, with the same bell and two others recast in 1925 after the commemoration of the First World War had already been completed in the parish. The limited use of bells may also reflect the perceived inappropriateness of these completely hidden memorials (Vance 1997: 206), and perhaps also of an inappropriateness of noisy memorials more generally within the two study regions and Devon more generally with only two First World War memorial bells encountered in Devon (at St. Mary's Church, Aylesbeare and St. Petrox' Church, Exeter). The Second World War dominance of memorial bells is not however repeated across Britain with over 120 examples of memorial bells used to commemorate the First World War, and 90 used in the commemoration of the Second World War (UKNIWM accessed online 8/11/2009). In Devon the use of bells as a commemorative form predominantly for the Second World War, can perhaps be interpreted as a result of the added symbolic significance bells had after the Second World War, having often been silenced for the majority of the conflict, with the understanding that they would only be rung to signal invasion (Mackay 2002: 95). It is perhaps therefore not surprising that three of the four examples in the study areas are in parishes near the coast (i.e. Dittisham, Wembury, and Sidbury), which had been amongst those places at highest risk of invasion, and to whom the sound or lack of sound of the church bells had become so symbolic of the conflict.

The external utilitarian forms in East Devon on first appearances seem to follow a similar range of forms (and number of examples of each form) as were recorded for the South Hams (Figs. 5.18b; 6.20c). However, this oversimplifies the commemorative patterns which exist in the regions, as the dating and locations of these memorials emphasise a greater degree of difference between the regions. For examples four war memorial entrances were recorded in East Devon (two of which were erected to the First World War, and two after the Second World War), while six were recorded in the South Hams. All but two of the gates from the South Hams (at Buckland-tout-Saints and Salcombe) were erected since 1990 by veterans or veteran groups. The type of entrances are therefore drastically different with three examples from East Devon taking

the form of traditional lych gates associated with churches (Figs. 6.23a-c), while five of the six gates from the South Hams take the form of wrought iron gates (Figs. 5.23h; 7.17a), and only three of the six are associated with churches.

The restriction of the construction of war memorial lych gates to the East Devon study area can be seen to have been a result of the direct influences South African War memorial lych gates at Woodbury and Washfield had upon the regions subsequent commemorative processes. This is in part supported by the fact that Woodbury Salterton constructed a First World War memorial lych gate in imitation of the adjacent parish of Woodbury's South African War memorial gate. It is however surprising that the use of lych gates in East Devon was restricted to small parishes with populations in 1911 of 374, 348, and 148 respectively. Given the size and expense of lych gates, it would perhaps be more typical for these commemorative forms to be associated with larger parishes (such as Woodbury), especially because of the relatively low number of casualties each of these parishes suffered (four or five each). The pattern of lych gate construction by small communities is however repeated across all of examples of memorial lych gates or churchyard entrances in Devon, for example at North Bovey, and Brampford Speke (Fig. 4.4). The North Bovey example was largely funded by (Lord Hambleden) a single landowner (Simkins and Simkins 1991: 182), a process which may have been replicated in the East Devon examples. However, the North Bovey war memorial entrance is only to those killed in the First World War, while the examples in East Devon are to the conflict more generally and therefore the whole community (Figs. 6.23a-c), which suggests that this was probably not the case. It was essential to appeal to the public as widely as possible for the three small East Devon communities to erect such ambitious memorials, which therefore meant that the (few) casualties were typically not the focus of remembrance in these forms with the (many) whole community commemorated instead.

*Figure 6.23 – The war memorial lych gates in the East Devon study area are found at Gittisham (a), Feniton (b), and Widworthy (c) (Photos: Author).*

The five memorial halls recorded for East Devon (Broadclyst, Broadhembury, Colyford, Stockland, and Whimple) and two memorial clubs (at Sidmouth and Colyton) is an almost identical total to that of the South Hams (six halls and one club). The notable difference however is the higher number of Second World War halls in the South Hams (three examples) compared to only the Colyford Memorial Hall, in East Devon. However, there are a relatively low number of halls constructed specifically as war memorials in the aftermath of World War One, it can be seen that the few which were constructed stimulated the construction of further halls in neighbouring communities. Many of these projects seem to have been strongly influenced by the returned service personnel with halls at Stoke Fleming (1922) in the South Hams, Aylesbeare (1923), and Feniton (1923), in East Devon all directly influenced by their lack of provision in the war memorial schemes of these places (e.g. DRO1090A/P186). The construction of memorial clubs in the 1920s in Colyton and Sidmouth in East Devon (and at Dartmouth in the South Hams) can in particular be seen to have been directly the result of the larger, organised and vocal veteran groups (e.g. The Express and Echo 1919e), in the main urban centres of the two study areas (discussions also occurred in Axminster, Totnes and probably in many of the other larger towns).
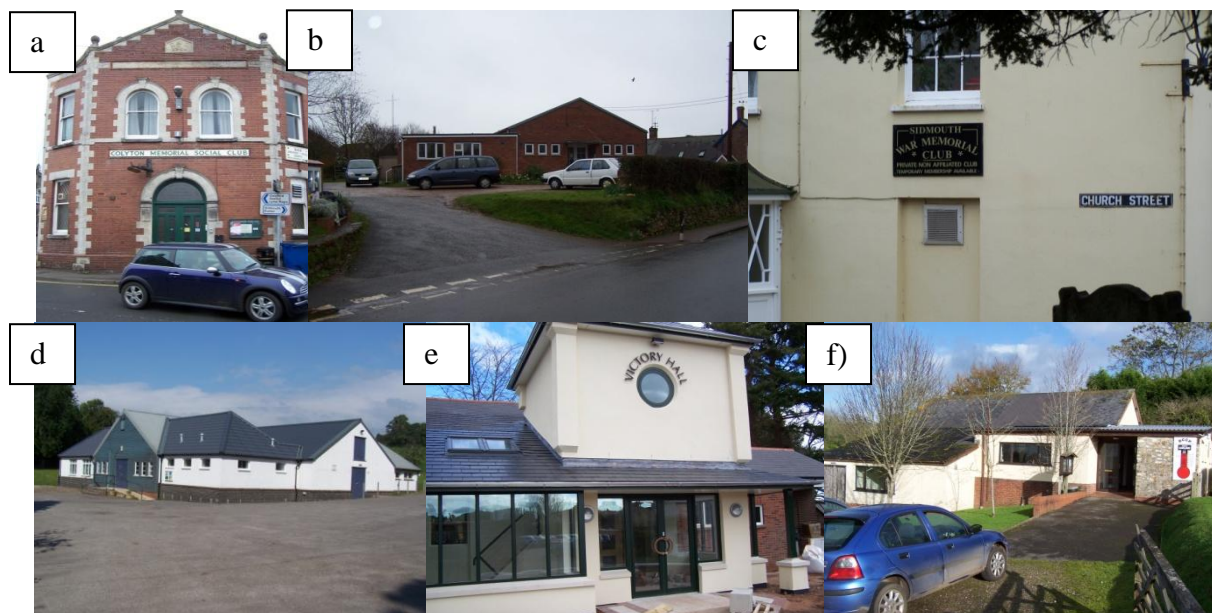
*Figure 6.24 – The war memorial halls found in East Devon include the Colyton Memorial Social*

*Club (a), Whimple Victory Hall (b), Sidmouth War Memorial Club (c), Stockland Victory Hall*

*(d), Broadclyst Victory Hall (e), and the Broadhembury Memorial Hall (f) (Photos: Author).*


### 6.2.3 External memorials

In broad terms the range of external memorials forms in East Devon is slightly more limited (seventeen) than in the South Hams (21 forms). It is however clear that the main categories of external memorial which dominate in the South Hams, namely headstones, headstone additions, crosses, plaques, tablets, and other large stone memorials (see Figs. 5.22a-b), are also the most prevalent in East Devon (Fig. 6.25a-b). The most notable contrast between the two study regions is the superior dominance of the memorial cross amongst the non-headstone forms in East Devon (59.3% of these forms) to the South Hams (42%). However, the actual number of memorial crosses in East Devon (36 examples) is almost identical to that in the South Hams (34 examples), which emphasises that the difference between the regions is actually a representation of the lower numbers of the other memorial types. The only exception to the slightly lower number of each memorial type in East Devon is remembrance crosses, which were used as separate memorials in four instances compared to a single example (in St. John's Churchyard, Hooe) in the South Hams.

The locations used for the positioning of war memorials in East Devon are divisible by the same main eight types (see Figs. 6.22c-d). The locations are again dominated by the Church and Churchyard, as in the South Hams (Fig. 5.22c-d), although there are slight differences in the distribution of memorials. For example, amongst the public war memorials of East Devon the churchyard (51.4%) is more dominant than in the South Hams (43.2%). The other types of location are therefore less frequently used, with the notable exception of road junctions. Just over 18% (13 examples) of the public war memorials in East Devon are positioned on major road junctions, while in the South Hams this location is only utilised for 5.1% (six examples) of memorials.

The higher use of road junctions in East Devon may simply be a reflection of differences in the layout of settlements in the East Devon region, with a higher number of parish churches set away

from the centre of the main population centres, or at least having churchyards which were full, or set below the main road (and therefore with lower visibility (e.g. Culmstock). There is however more to the higher preference towards road junctions than being simply a reflection of the location of Church of England churches in relation to the main roads and settlements. For example, several of the memorials in East Devon were placed at road junctions, despite the churchyard being a viable location (i.e. high visibility and not full). The most blatant example of this is found at Upottery, where the parish's First World War memorial was placed in the middle of the major road junction in the village by the memorial committee. This was despite being adjacent to the churchyard (see Fig. 6.22c), which at the time had no burials near the boundary, and could have easily been utilised for the memorial.
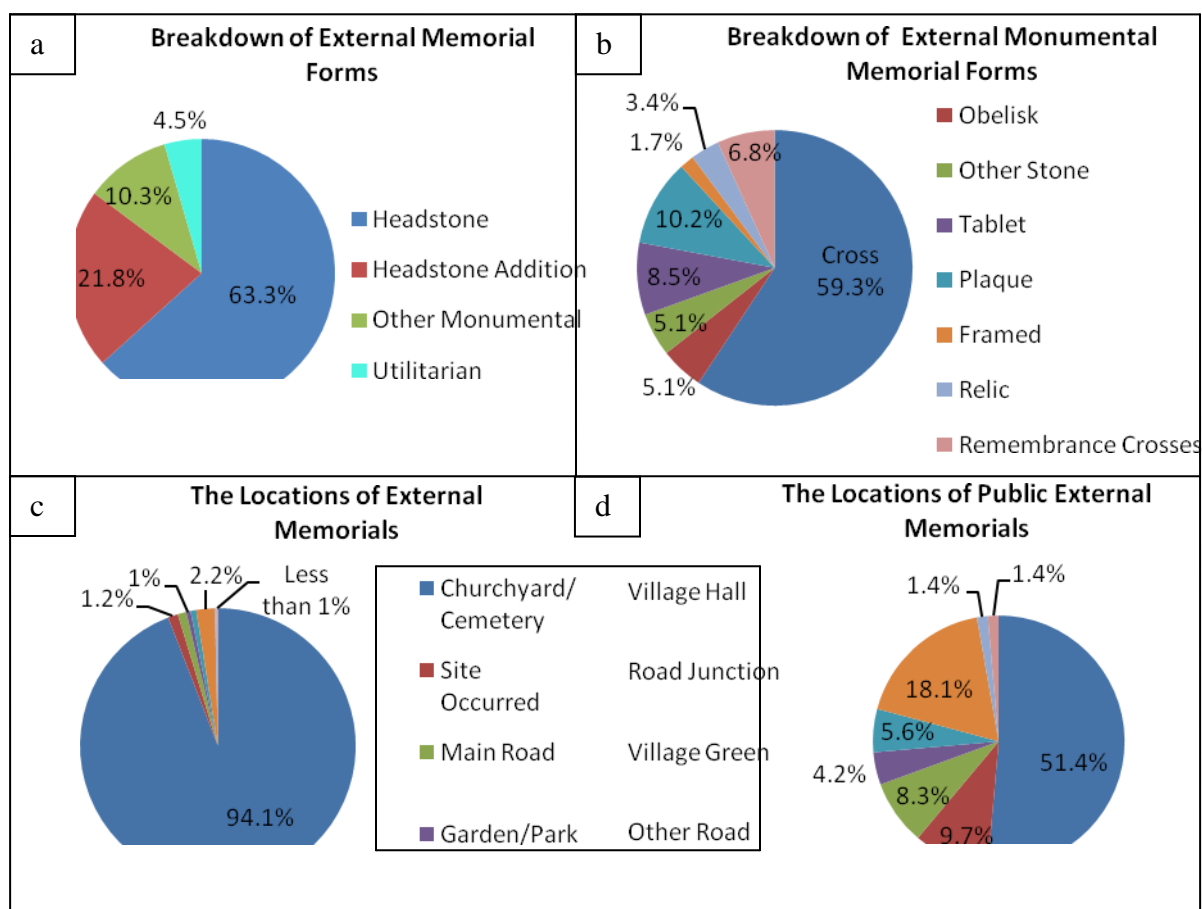


*Figure 6.25 – The external memorials of East Devon (a), and the breakdown between the various forms which comprise the 10.3% of external memorials which take 'other monumental' forms (b). The broad location types for external memorial forms (c), however a much greater distinction occurs if the public memorials are analysed separately (d).*

Granite, other grey stones, and white stone dominate the materials used for the external war memorials of East Devon (Fig. 6.26), just as in the South Hams (Fig. 5.24). It is clear that slate is significantly less prolifically used in East Devon than the South Hams, although four of the CWGC headstones in Sidmouth Cemetery are from slate (Fig. 6.26b), despite the choice of material for these headstones generally being of white stone or materials which reflect the nearby landscape. It is also noticeable that alongside this less prolific use of slate in East Devon, that white stone is used in a higher number of public memorials for the region (nine examples) compared to the South Hams which only had a single example of its use in a composite memorial (Fig. 5.23f). This can perhaps be identified as a reflection of the dominance of the local availability of white and red stone types which are more identifiable with the region than the slate and granite are for the South Hams region. It is also apparent that the majority of communities which chose non-granite forms for their external memorials in East Devon are found in the extreme East of the county, and were perhaps influenced by the commemorative patterns of Dorset e.g. Chardstock, Axminster, Hawkchurch, Uplyme and Upottery.
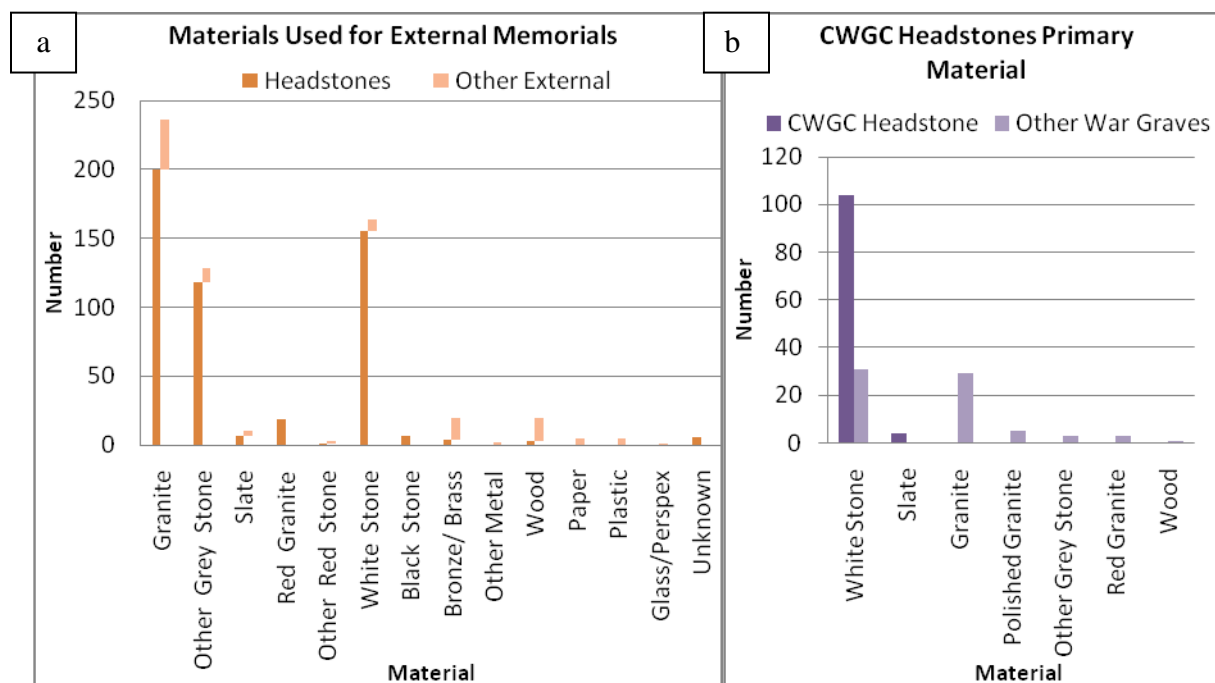


*Figure 6.26 – The variety of materials utilised for the external war memorials of East Devon (a) and for the CWGC headstones of the region (b).*

The use of red granite for external memorials is slightly more prolific (3.2% of memorials) in East Devon than in the South Hams (3.0% of memorials). However, this slight difference largely results from the slightly higher percentage of post-1945 headstones which were recorded in East Devon. The use of red granite in both regions exhibits a very similar pattern of use, with only a limited number of large memorials utilising the material prior to the First World War (e.g. Fig. 6.27a), but with it becoming more widely adopted from the 1930s until the 1950s (e.g. Figs. 6.27b-c). Despite the similarity in the dating of these memorials in the two study regions there is a notable contrast in the conflicts which are commemorated by these memorials, with the majority in East Devon (nine of the sixteen) remembering non-specified military veterans, while the Second World War dominates the memorials in the South Hams with thirteen of the 30 examples (and ten to non-specific conflicts).



*Figure 6.27 – The use of red granite in external memorials of East Devon is restricted to headstones and headstone additions, such as the Warry family headstone (1887) in St. Nicholas' Churchyard, Combe Raleigh (a). The majority of memorials which use red granite date from between 1930 and 1950 as with the L.F. Loveridge headstone Addition on his parents (1958) headstone in Colyton Cemetery (b), and F. Shaddick's headstone addition on his brothers (1931) headstone in All Saint's Churchyard, Culmstock (c) (Photos: Author).*

The majority of CWGC burials in East Devon date to the First World War (58.1%), and the proportion of Second World War CWGC graves in the region (35.5%) are noticeably lower than in the South Hams (45.6%). The lower quantity of Second World War burials in East Devon is partially a reflection of the lower numbers of non-resident servicemen killed in the region while on active service or dying while resident in the military hospitals of East Devon. Given this difference between the two study regions in the extent of experiencing death at first-hand, it is

perhaps surprising that the commemorative actions and patterns of the two regions did not vary more dramatically, except amongst the number of burial memorials. The two notable commemorative patterns which do perhaps evidence the different conflict experience(s) are the higher number of reused internal memorials in East Devon, and the complete absence of civilian names from the public war memorials of the region, despite many parishes (although less than in the South Hams) having civilian residents who had died as a result of *enemy action*.
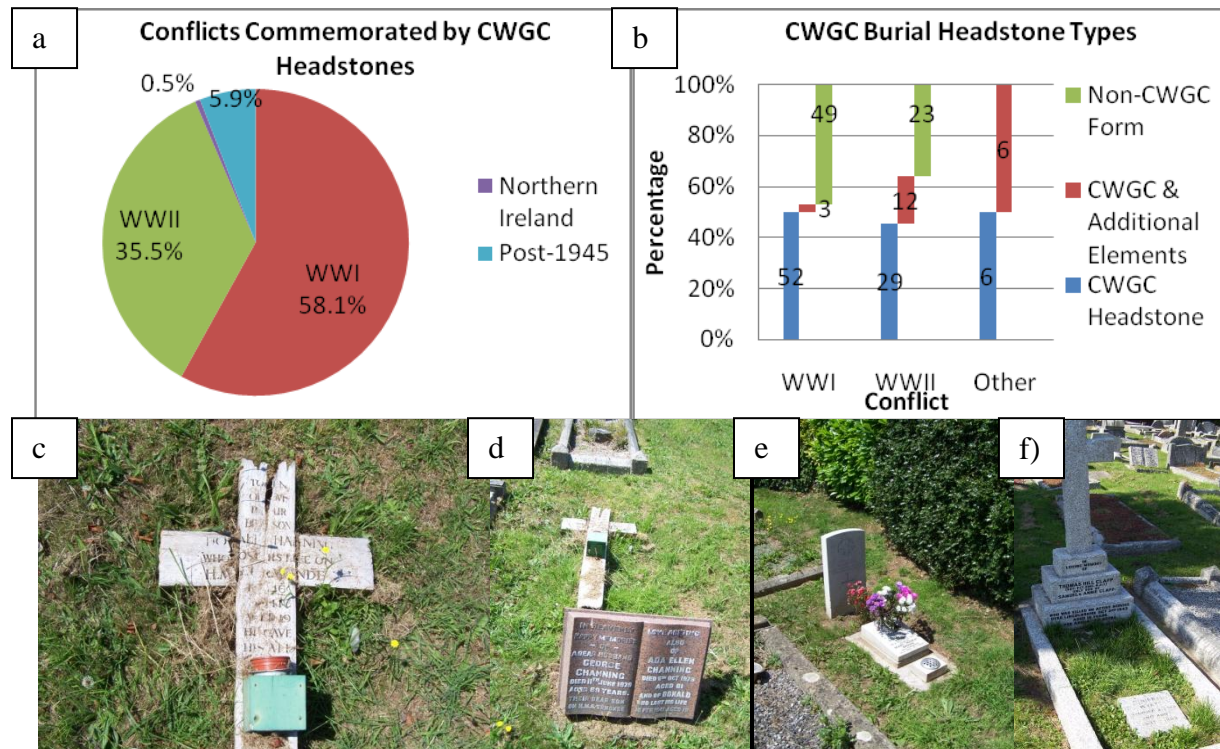
*Figure 6.28 – The conflicts which are commemorated by CWGC war graves in East Devon (a), and the types of forms which these war graves take (b). D. Channing's war grave (1941) in Sidmouth Cemetery is unique within either study area in having a surviving wooden form (c), although he has subsequently been commemorated upon his parents' memorial stone (1979) also (d). Private W.J. Brown's (1941) headstone also in Sidmouth Cemetery has been supplemented by a (1997) family memorial (e), while Sergeant T.H. Clapp's (1943) war grave in St. Gregory's Churchyard, Seaton (f) has been supplemented by a memorial tablet to his sister (1989) (Photos: Author).*

Headstone additions in East Devon primarily commemorate First World War casualties (68.9%), as they do in the South Hams (66.2%). The range of conflicts which are commemorated by

headstone additions (Fig. 6.29a) is however slightly more limited (five conflict types) than for the South Hams (seven conflicts), although this is perhaps not surprising given their lesser use more generally (see Figs. 5.1b and 6.1b). In contrast non-war grave headstones in East Devon emphasise a greater contrast to the South Hams study region, with non-specific military veterans' headstones completely dominant (79.5%), while their supremacy in the South Hams much more restricted (52.5%). The contrast is largely a reflection of lower numbers of First and Second World War veterans who were commemorated in East Devon.

The materials used for headstone additions (Fig. 6.29c) and non-war grave headstones (Fig. 6.29d) in East Devon, exhibit similar patterns as encountered for the South Hams (Figs. 5.30a-b). The most notable contrast is created by the very limited use of slate in East Devon, with a higher use of granite and other grey stone types. The materials used for both categories of memorial in East Devon exhibit a greater degree of difference between them than was recorded in the South Hams (Figs. 5.30a-b). The differences can however be largely accounted for by the dating of these memorials, with the much higher use of grey stone (41.5%) and lower use of granite (43.7%) for headstone additions than amongst non-war grave headstones (with 29.7% and 51.5% respectively) a reflection of the higher numbers of headstone additions dating to pre-1930 (58%). In contrast only 36.6% of non-war grave headstones date to pre-1930, and a much higher proportion (23.2%) date to the late twentieth century (post-1970) than for headstone additions (1.6%). The South Hams exhibits similar dating patterns with pre-1930 non-war grave headstones comprising 30.2%, while post-1970 examples make up 10.5% of examples. In comparison headstone additions in the South Hams are dominated by pre-1930 examples (53.3%), while post-1970 examples form only 3.7% of this category of memorial.
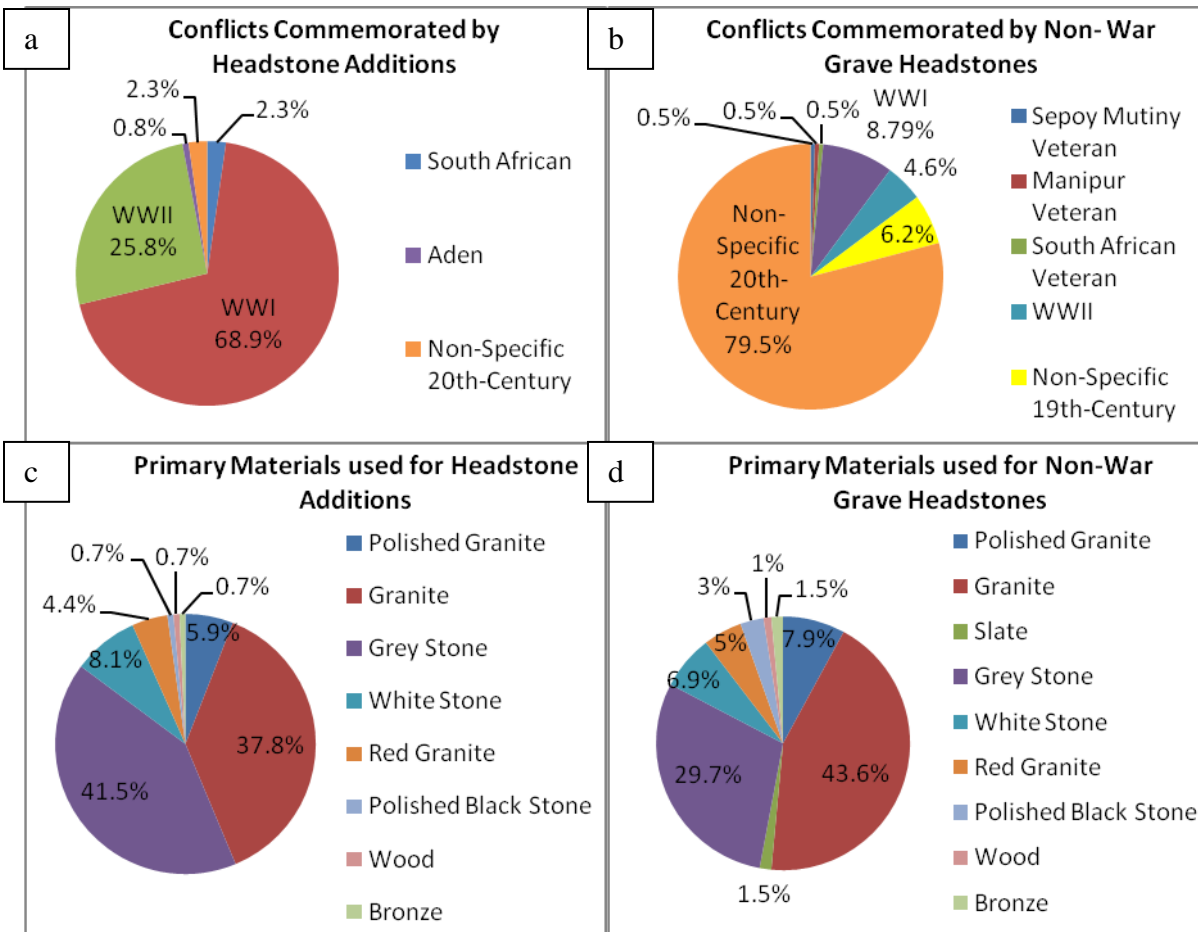
*Figure 6.29 – The conflicts which are commemorated on the headstone additions (a) and non-war grave burial headstones of East Devon (b). The primary materials utilised for both headstone additions (c) and non-war grave headstones (d) are dominated by granite and other grey stones.*

The commemoration of military veterans in East Devon is particularly prevalent amongst the burial memorials of the region, although the majority of these veteran burials do not commemorate specific conflicts (Fig. 6.29b). Several veterans particularly of the First and Second World Wars do however have this aspect of their life histories commemorated upon their burial memorials (Fig. 5.30). Many of the veterans, who were commemorated in this way, were involved in veteran organisations, most notably the Old Contemptibles Society (Figs. 6.30a-c). In fact it is *Old Contemptible* veterans which comprise the only two examples of veterans' memorials which occur in East Devon between 1940 and 1980 which commemorate the First World War, despite the hundreds of other First World veterans buried between these dates in East Devon. The majority of post-1921 burials which commemorate the First World War in East

Devon (seven) date between 1922 and 1926, and can be seen to remember these individuals'
deaths being a direct result of their service.

A further two veterans were commemorated in the 1930s, but neither of whom died as a result of
their service (e.g. Fig. 6. 5c). There are also a further three headstones that commemorate First
World War veterans (e.g. Figs. 6.30-d) who died since the late 1980s. In the South Hams in
contrast only seven headstones commemorate First World War veterans, five of which date
between 1922 and 1926, although a single 1940s burial commemorates death being as a result of
First World War wounds (Fig. 7.32b). The sole other later commemorated First World War
veteran (Group Captain H. St. C. Smallwood) in the South Hams was commemorated upon a
1968 memorial in Bigbury. Captain Smallwood was however an exceptional individual having
served in the South African, First, and Second World Wars, he was also presumably not a
resident of Bigbury until later life as he was not commemorated upon the parish roll of honour
board, perhaps increasing the *need* to remember his active service.



*Figure 6.30 – J. Salter's (1945) headstone in St. Mary's Churchyard, Clyst St. Mary (a) includes*
*a commemorative plaque (b) erected by the Old Contemptibles, thereby commemorates his First*

*World War service. E.M. Buller's (1989) headstone at Newton Poppleford's Cemetery (c) and W.J. Chard's (1987) headstone in St. Michael's Churchyard, Honiton (d) commemorate their First World War service. W.J.A. Lane's (2003) headstone also in St. Michael's Churchyard, Honiton (e) and E.H. Brunet's (1993) headstone in Sidmouth Cemetery (f) both commemorate Second World War service, as a Lancaster Pilot and United States sailor respectively (Photos: Author).*

The dating patterns for the commemoration of veterans upon headstones is also repeated amongst the internal memorials of East Devon, with only a single post-1920s example (dating to 1953) commemorating an identified veteran of the First World War (Fig. 6.18e). The dating of veterans' memorials to either immediately after a war or after considerable time also provides further evidence of when it was deemed appropriate for the erection of war memorials to occur in the twentieth century. This is most clearly materialised by the dating of the headstone additions of both study areas. The majority of these commemorative additions in East Devon were added onto family memorials which were erected prior to, during, or in the immediate aftermath of the conflict commemorated (Fig. 6.31). The dating of the majority of headstone additions to during, or in the immediate aftermath of the conflicts in which they were killed is perhaps not surprising given that these additions were typical included upon immediate family members, and especially parents, burial memorials (Fig. 6.32a). The headstone additions to other conflicts although only occurring in a few instances also follow similar patterns, with all examples of the South African War additions in both study regions occurring prior to 1903.
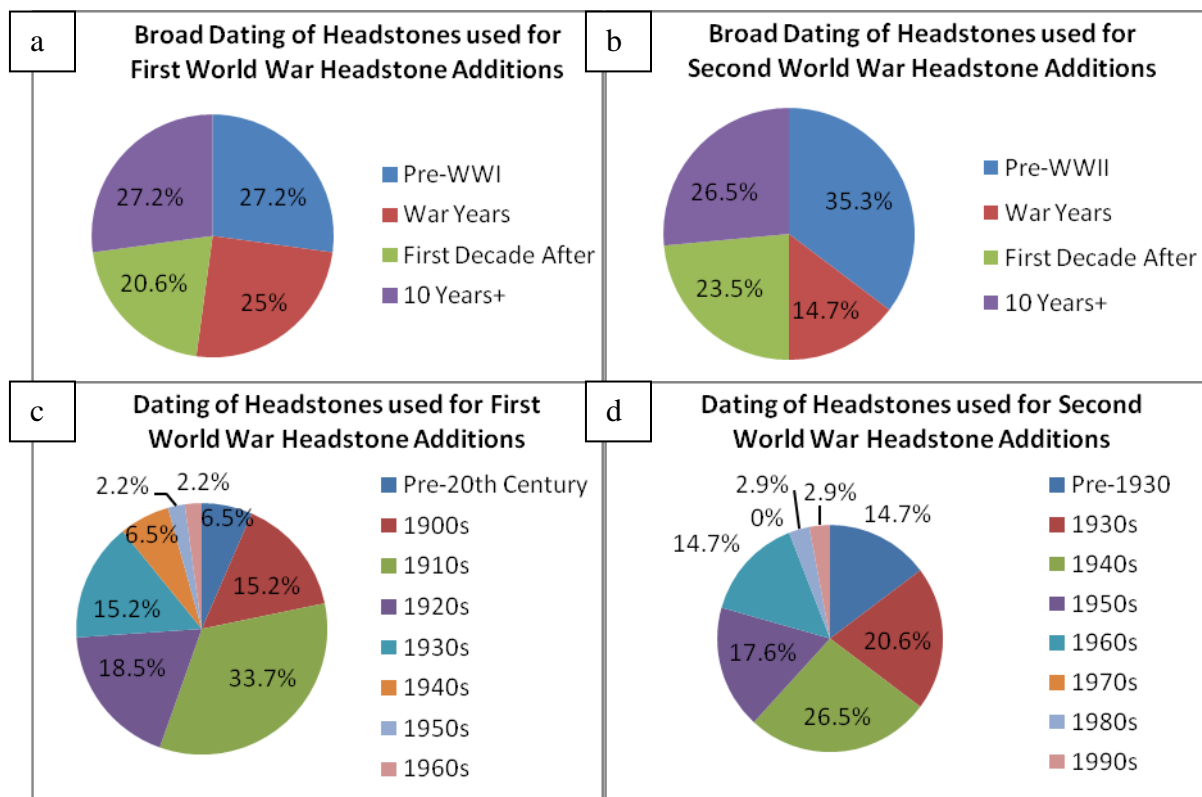
*Figure 6.31 – The dating of the memorials headstone additions are appended onto for the First World War (a and c), and the Second World War (b and d).*
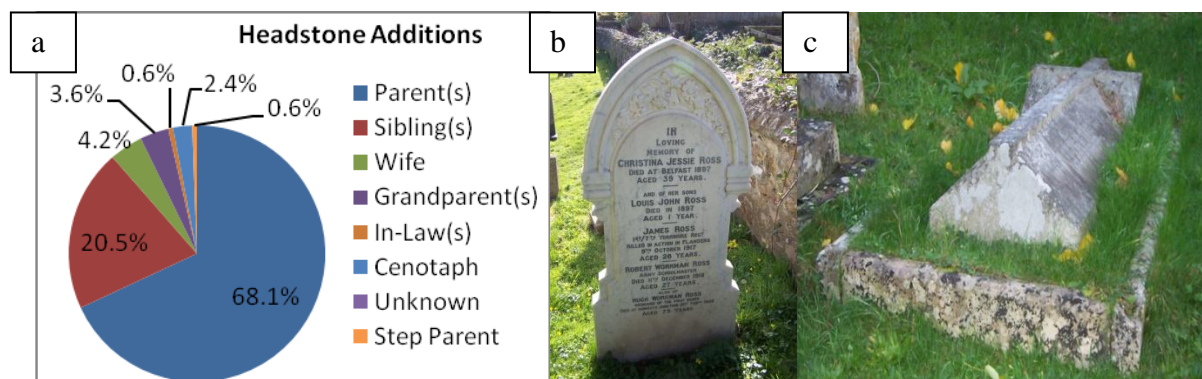


*Figure 6.32 – The familial relationships between the names appended as headstone additions and those listed upon the memorial prior to their addition (a). For example in St. Andrews' Churchyard, Feniton, J. Ross was added to his brother's (1918) headstone (b) having died in 1916 in France. G.B. Northcote, also in St. Andrews' Churchyard was included upon his father's (1915) headstone (c), having been killed only two months after his death (Photos: Author).*

Amongst the examples of headstone additions in East Devon there is a clear bias (21.3% of examples) towards those individuals who were not listed upon the local public war memorial(s),

either due to the family moving to the area at a later date, or because the casualty had been missed from the public commemorative forms, or listed upon an adjacent parish's war memorial(s). For example, at Tipton St. John the parish war memorial tablet lists six First World War casualty names, one of whom (T. Pratt) is buried in the churchyard. Two of the other names listed upon the public memorial in the church (W.A. James and C.W. Pottinger) are also commemorated by headstone additions upon family burial memorials in the churchyard (e.g. Fig. 6.33a). However there are a further two First World War casualties who were included upon family headstones at Tipton St. John but do not appear upon the war memorial tablet. The first example is in memory of R.C. Tokely, who is listed upon his parents' 1946 headstone, which suggests that perhaps they (and he) were not residents of the parish at the time when he served and died. The other example, J.E. Salter appears on his father's 1902 headstone, he had served with the Canadian Infantry, which suggests that he was probably no longer a resident of the parish, and he may also have had no family members resident in the parish in 1918 to put his name forward for inclusion when discussions began concerning the erection of a war memorial (Fig. 6.33b).

*Figure 6.33 – Two of the headstone additions from St. John's Churchyard, Tipton St. John. Private C.W. Pottinger (a) is not only commemorated upon his sister's (1906) headstone, but*

*also upon the village's public war memorial. Lance Corporal J.E. Salter (b) is in contrast only commemorated upon his father's (1902) headstone (Photos: Author).*

Feniton (Figs. 6.32b-c) typifies the results seen in the East Devon study area in that the majority of the more rural parish churchyards only have two or three headstone additions and occasionally a further private memorial to a war casualty located inside the church. In fact if the five largest parishes of the East Devon study area are removed (those over a population of 1900 in the 1911 census for First World War memorials and 2900 in the 1951 census for Second World War memorials) there is on average only 1.7 First World War headstone additions and 0.4 Second World War additions. This compares to 2.5 First World War headstone additions and 1.0 Second World War additions occurring in the South Hams study region. The low number of additions reflects not only the relatively low figures of casualties suffered in these largely rural parishes, but also the extensive population shifts which occurred in the countryside after the First World War, with many having to move to find work and some of the younger generation disillusioned with rural life after their war experiences (Mansfield 1995).

Amongst the public external forms there is on average a single example in each parish, although the five largest parishes have on average three external public memorials. The most prolific of these external public forms are, as in the South Hams, memorial crosses (Fig. 6.34). In total 36 crosses were recorded in the East Devon Study area, and of these the ring cross and Latin cross are equally dominant with thirteen examples each, while expanded terminal crosses are almost as prevalent, with ten examples (Fig. 6.35a). The ring cross can also be seen to have been less explicit in its religious connotations than the simpler Latin cross forms, materialising *Celtic* identity as much as Christian beliefs, and hence its prevalence in the Southwest more widely (Furlong *et al* 2002: 15).

The much higher use of ring crosses for public memorials in East Devon is also seen in the headstone forms of the two regions, with 26.3% of the headstones and headstone additions which take the form of a cross in East Devon being ring crosses, compared to 17% in the South Hams. It is also apparent however that the use of ring crosses for burial memorials in the South Hams had peaked by 1914, although continuing to be used during the First World War, and only three examples occurred after 1918 (except for a small revival in the later 1960s). In contrast in East

Devon the use of ring crosses for headstones peaked in the early 1920s and continued to be frequently used until the early 1930s. The use of ring crosses for public war memorials in East Devon therefore evidences their wider use at this time (between 1914 and 1924) as a suitable commemorative form, while in the South Hams the preference for this form had largely waned before the end of the First World War. The lower use of ring crosses in the South Hams may also however reflect the higher occurrence of surviving medieval crosses in the region, with around a third of the parishes (22) in the study area having the remains of ancient crosses in 1918 compared to only seven parishes in East Devon. None of these ancient remains take the form of ring crosses, and the only ring cross which is located in a parish which contains the remains of an ancient cross is at East Portlemouth (Fig. 5.48b). The more prolific presence of ancient and restored crosses in the South Hams can therefore be seen to have partially resulted in the lower use of ring crosses as imitations of these medieval forms of Latin crosses were more widely adopted (see Fig. 5.35a).
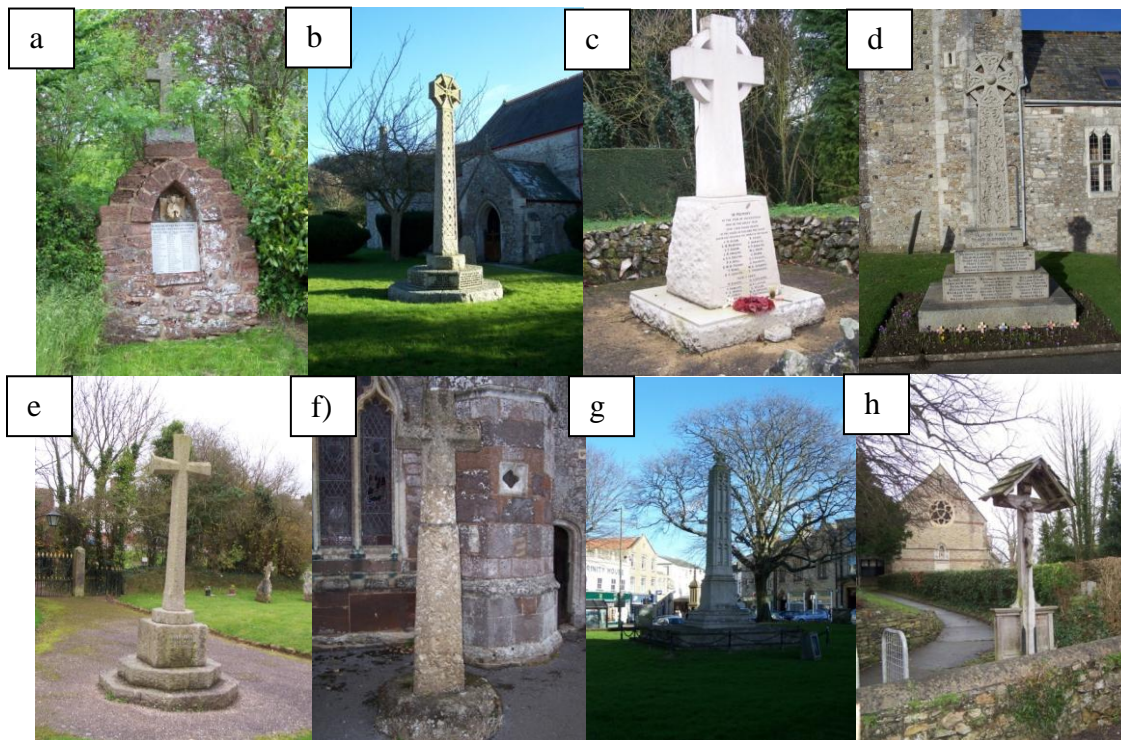


*Figure 6.34 – A few examples of the range of crosses used for war memorials in East Devon, from Sowton (a), Axmouth (b), Chardstock (c), Seaton (d), Talaton (e), Clyst Hydon (f), Axminster's town memorial (g) and the crucifix from outside St. Marys Catholic Church in Axminster (h) (Photos: Author).*

Given the lower number of ancient crosses in East Devon it is not surprising that the spatial relationship between war memorial crosses and these older crosses is not typically as explicit as in the South Hams (Fig. 6.35d). There is only one example from the study area which includes the reuse of part of a medieval cross, which occurs at Clyst Hydon (Fig. 6.34d), but its connection with remembrance of conflict was not explicitly made as the cross includes no inscription, and nor does the war memorial tablet in the church include a mention of the cross being restored as a war memorial. There are a further three war memorial crosses being located near or in a close relationship with an earlier cross, and two of these at Colyton and Sidford are ancient crosses which were discovered in the nearby churches during the 1930s, and were therefore unknown about when the war memorials crosses were established. This leaves the example at Harpford, where a cross established to commemorate a previous minister of the church in the 1760s includes a portion of a medieval cross shaft is located a short distance behind the village war memorial. The limited influence of medieval crosses in the East Devon study area is also hinted at by the limited use of chamfered corners (four examples) compared to the South Hams (on ten crosses).
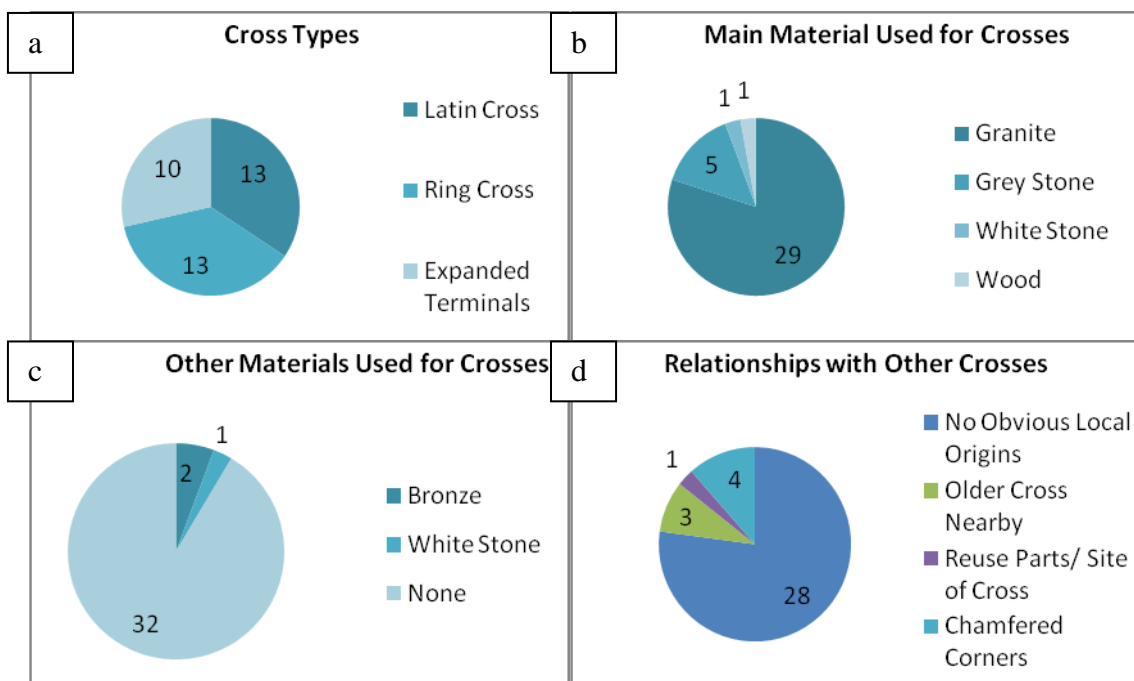
*Figure 6.35 – The cross types found in East Devon (a), the main materials used in their construction (b), the other materials utilised (c), and the relationships between war memorial crosses and older crosses (d).*

Obelisks and other large visually prominent (i.e. upright) stone memorials form the other main group of external public memorials (as they did for the South Hams). The use of these forms in East Devon however noticeably contrasts with that generally encountered for obelisks in the South Hams. Most prominently the obelisks (and pillars) in the South Hams were largely used by communities as an alternative form to using memorial crosses in communities which already had large memorial crosses (see Fig. 5.37e). The blatant use of obelisks as the main alternative to a memorial cross in the South Hams is further supported by the similar average figures for the number of individuals commemorated (24 and 22) upon these two memorial types, and also in terms of the average populations (1287 and 1262) of the places which erected memorial crosses or obelisks (Fig. 5.69). In contrast in East Devon obelisks were erected by, and to, larger groups than memorial crosses (Fig. 6.10). Also the need for the obelisk forms to act as direct alternatives to crosses for communities was negligible given the low number of extant crosses in the region. The general lack of existing crosses in East Devon arguably resulted in a lesser need for communities to choose non-cross forms (with the exception of the Higher Tale memorial), yet they were still used for a further four memorials in the region (Figs 6.36c-e).

A very different process can therefore be seen to have accounted for the use of non-cross external forms in the majority of instances in East Devon. The use of non-cross forms in East Devon most notably occurred in three adjacent parishes (Willand, Uffculme and Culmstock) on the northern fringe of the study area. The author would argue that the choice of erecting non-cross external forms (although not the only commemorative projects) in these three communities in commemoration of the First World War, can be seen to have been influenced by the nineteenth century Wellington Monument to the east of these communities (around five miles from the Culmstock war memorial and nine mile from Willand). This is particularly evident in the Culmstock war memorial's form which is very similar in style to the Wellington Monument, but the fact that Willand and Uffculme also have atypical non-cross forms clearly emphasises the influence the Monument had upon which forms were deemed appropriate by nearby

communities. This process can also be seen to have been evidenced amongst communities in Somerset which were close to the Wellington Monument. Most notable the town of Wellington erected a remembrance stone to the First World War (UKNIWM number 1398), and the adjacent parish of West Buckland a rough hewn obelisk (UKNIWM number 24831).

*Figure 6.36 – The Higher Tale Farm memorial obelisk, Payhembury (a) commemorates the Pratt brothers who were also listed upon the parish's war memorial cross in the village (b). The other examples of large stone war memorials in East Devon occur in three parishes adjacent to each other, at Willand (c), Culmstock (d), and Uffculme (e), and may have derived some influence from the nearby Wellington memorial (f) (Photos: Author).*

A further commemorative phenomenon which is evidenced amongst the other external memorials of East Devon is the commemoration of former military facilities. Two of the Second World War airfields in the region have had memorials which include relics connected to these sites and their uses (Figs. 6.37a-b). A further elaborate sculptural memorial is also planned to commemorate the Second World War role of Exeter airport (Cornforth 2010). The commemoration of the Second World War airfields is also seen in the South Hams, as at Mount Batten and Bolt Head. Commemoration of these airbases often has a dual focus with memorials located inside the nearby parish church (e.g. Fig. 5.57b) and a further memorial located at the site. Torcross in the South Hams can also be seen to present a similar commemorative process (Fig. 5.56), in that the military events (i.e. civilian evacuation and D-Day training) which occurred in the area have been commemorated by an external relic, and in the parish church at Stokenham. The use of relics seems a particularly important element of the commemoration of these military facilities and events, with the preservation and retention of these parts of the sites being used to materialise the need to preserve and remember these Second World War sites and events.
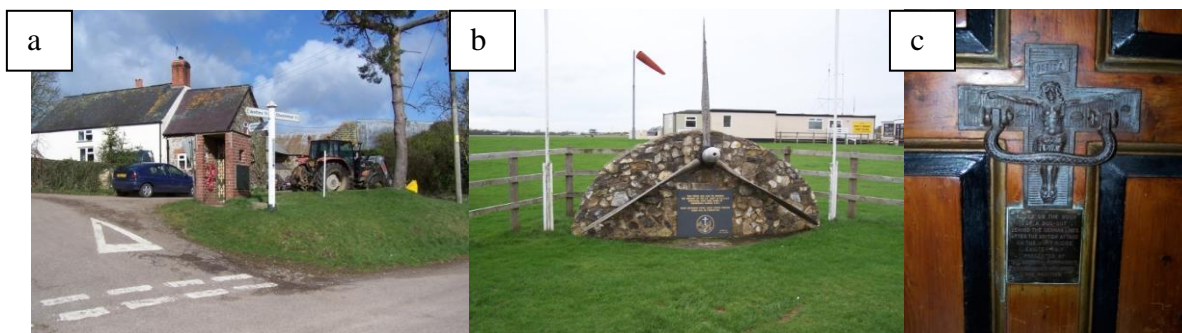


*Figure 6.37 – There are only two external instances of relics used as war memorials in East Devon, both of which are connected with Second World War airfields, with a memorial sentry box on the edge of Smeatharpe Airfield, Upottery (a) and the memorial propeller at Dunkeswell*

*Airfield (b). There is however also a number of internal relics, most notably the Vimy Ridge door knocker in the entrance to St. Peter and St. Paul's Church, Uplyme (c) (Photos: Author).*

### 6.2.4 Decoration

The decorative motifs used on the war memorials in East Devon exhibit a similar range of forms (41 types compared to 42 in the South Hams), and the majority of these are similar in abundance to those in the South Hams (Figs. 5.40; 6.38). The similarity in decoration also extends to the extent of decoration in the two regions, with 37.5% of external memorials in the South Hams having no decoration, and 37.7% of examples in East Devon. Amongst internal memorials decorative motifs are slightly more prolific in East Devon, with 19.6% of internal memorials having no decoration, compared to 24.5% of the South Hams internal memorials. The higher quantity of decoration amongst the internal memorials of East Devon is largely accounted for by the higher number of decorative borders, 32.4% of internal memorials had a border in East Devon and only 17.3% in the South Hams. The higher number of borders in East Devon can however simply be seen as a result of the higher proportion of memorial plaques in the region (28.1% of internal memorials, compared to 21.3% in the South Hams), especially as plaques are the most likely form (40% of examples) of memorial to have a border (Fig. 6.42).
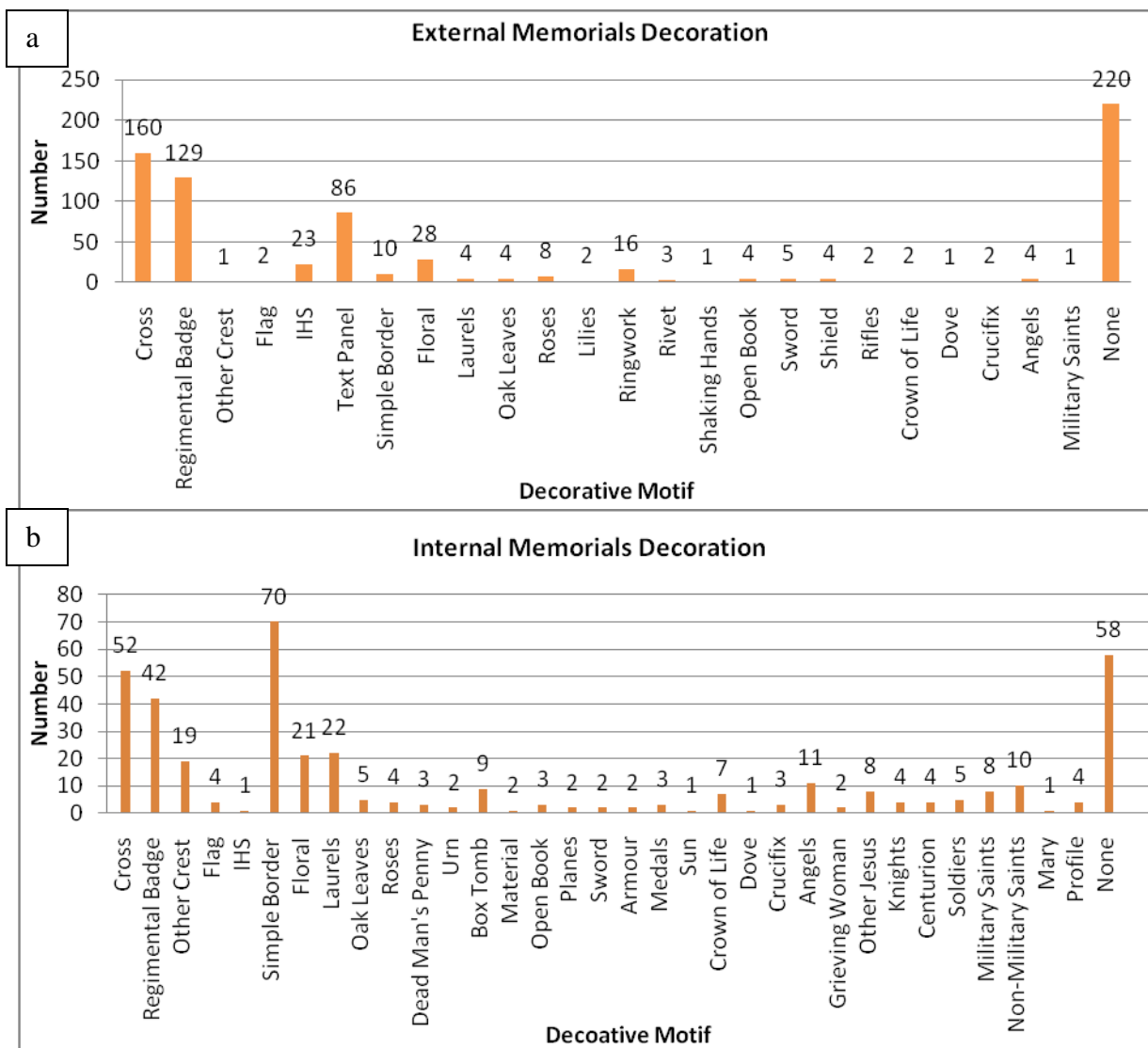
*Figure 6.38 – The decorative motifs on the external (a) and internal (b) war memorials of East Devon.*

It is the cross and regimental badge which again dominate the decorative forms of East Devon, as they did in the South Hams (Figs. 5.40; 6.38). The majority of the external examples of these two decorative elements (105 crosses and 108 regimental badges) are however CWGC burial memorials. Amongst the internal memorials of East Devon the use of regimental badges is largely restricted to private memorials which commemorate single individuals (83.3% of its use), although in contrast the cross is more predominantly encountered upon public memorials (67.3%). The lower use of the regimental badge amongst public memorials (eleven memorials), can be seen to evidence the less inclusive nature of these symbols, and the majority of examples

which occur on both public and private memorials actually commemorate veteran groups (e.g. Fig. 6.30b). The use of regimental badges on public memorials in East Devon is also largely restricted to those memorials erected to only a small number of casualties, such as at Membury and Plymtree (Fig. 6.39). Alternatively the inclusion of regimental badges upon public memorials occurs amongst those memorials which have been erected since the 1980s in commemoration of specific military facilities, and the close connections which the local communities had/have with the specific regiments that had been based there (e.g. Figs. 6.37a-b).



*Figure 6.39 – The Devonshire regiment's crest is one of the five hand-painted badges (for nine casualties) on the First World War memorial board at St. John the Baptist's Church, Membury (a). The two regimental badges (in the top corners) of the Second World War memorial tablet at St. John the Baptist's Church, Plymtree are for the two casualties from the parish, yet the First World War memorial tablet above which commemorates three individuals does not include these symbols (Photos: Author).*

Also occurring in relatively high numbers are floral images, with Ivy, oak leaves, vines (normally as decorative borders) and in more recent commemorative forms roses and poppies frequently used (Fig. 6.38). The most frequently occurring floral motif however is laurel leaves and wreaths (26 uses), a figure comparable to that encountered for the South Hams, which had 33 recorded examples (Fig. 5.40). The slight difference can be accounted for by the larger number of examples which occur upon private headstones in the South Hams (eight examples) compared to only a single example in East Devon. It is apparent however that laurel wreaths are most commonly associated with public war memorials to the First World War in both regions, while the majority of private memorials (just over a third of examples in both study regions) date to before the First World War. The use of laurels for Second World War memorials is restricted

to only a few public memorials in both areas (three in East Devon and Four in the South Hams). In East Devon (and the South Hams) these few Second World War memorials which include laurels can be seen to have been either strongly influenced by an existing First World War memorial, as at Sidford (Figs. 6.40a-b). Alternatively the memorial the laurel occurred upon was an atypical commemorative form, which therefore required further symbols to clarify its function, as with the Offwell hymn board (Fig. 6.21a) and the Ottery St. Mary memorial case (Fig. 6.40c).



*Figure 6.40 – The First World War roll of honour frame at St. Peter's Church, Sidford includes a crown of life, dove and laurels (a), laurels were also utilised upon the Second World War roll immediately below (b). The Second World War memorial case in St. Mary's Church, Ottery St. May includes a laurel wreath with two angels flanking (c) (Photos: Author).*

The laurel wreathes and borders which occur upon 7.9% of the public memorials in East Devon (and 8.6% in the South Hams) can be seen to embody Classical symbols of victory, which are used alongside other emblems of classical grief and architecture, to frame death in conflict as noble, and of future historical importance. The use of classical images in East Devon also extends to the use of Roman Centurions on four memorials (e.g. Figs. 6.41a; 6.41b), which do not appear upon memorials in the South Hams. Allegorical figures (namely Britannia, Victory, and Peace) occur upon a further four memorials in East Devon (e.g. Figs. 6.41a; 6.21c), and three memorials in the South Hams. The slightly higher use of Classical symbols in East Devon is largely to the detriment of medieval decorative elements, which are more prolifically encountered in the South Hams. However, the noble and chivalric nature of medieval knights, and in one instance peasants (Fig. 6.41d), are still frequently represented with the warrior saints, swords, armour and shields often depicted upon twentieth century war memorials.

*Figure 6.41 –The decoration which appears upon the internal memorials erected in commemoration of First World War casualties at St. John the Baptist's Church, Broadclyst. These include a diverse range, with St. George, Jesus, Roman centurions and allegories of Victory and Peace depicted on the parish's memorial window (a). The tablet immediately below the window which lists the names of the casualties also includes figurative decoration with a Roman centurion (b) and priest (c) carved onto the two ends of the tablet. Captain A.C. Whitaker's memorial window (d) depicts contemporary servicemen and medieval civilians*

*worshipping at the feet of Jesus. The private memorial plaques to the Hay Webb brothers (e) in contrast have only simple borders, while the tablet to Private R. Houghton below these includes a regimental badge as the only decorative emblem (Photos: Author).*
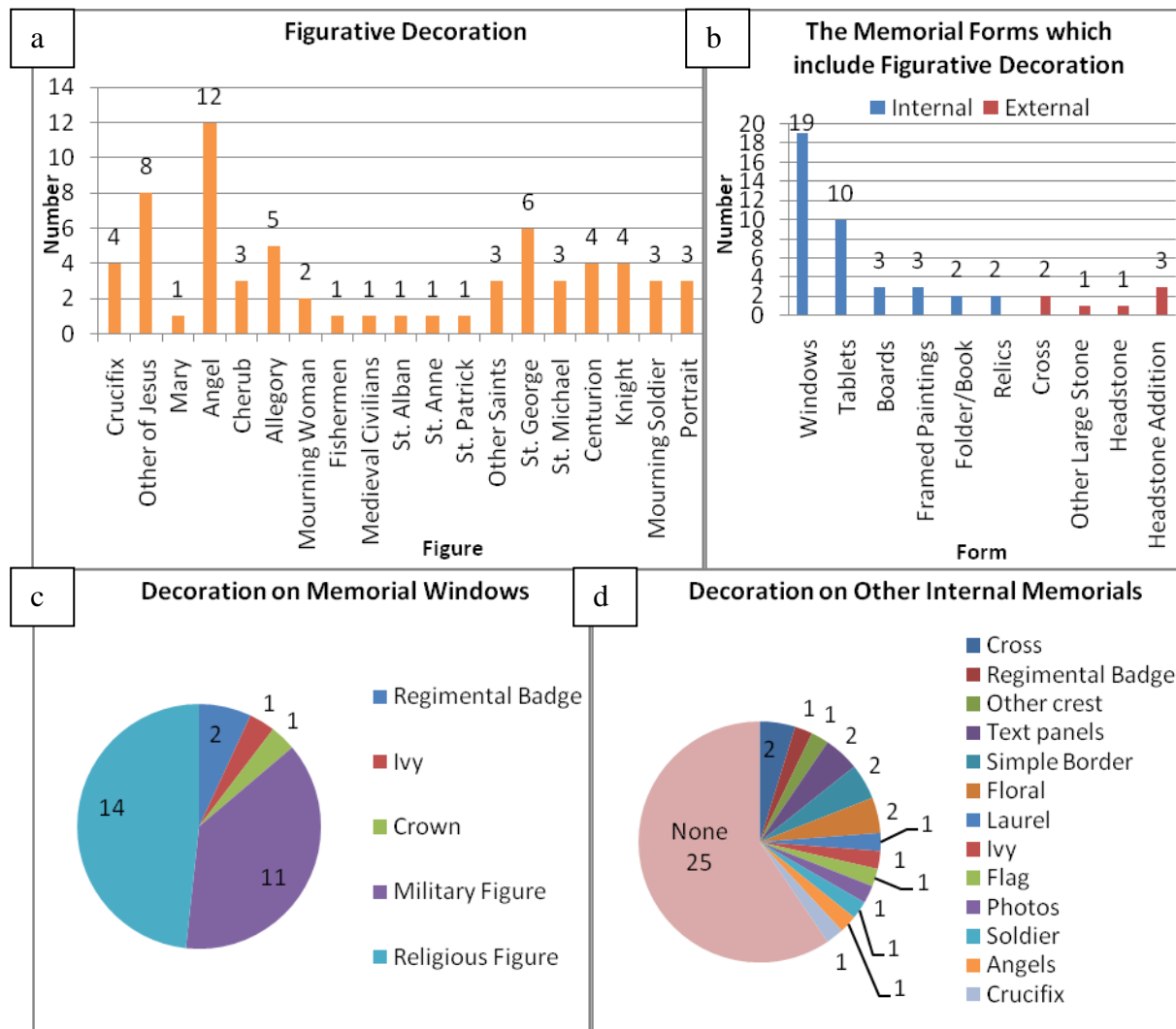


*Figure 6.42 – The figurative decoration which was recorded in East Devon (a) and the memorial forms which these appear upon (b). Figurative decoration is particularly dominant amongst memorial windows (c), although rarely appearing on those internal memorials which do not fall into the main categories of tablet, board, plaque, frame, or window (d).*

The decorative motifs which appear upon the internal memorials in East Devon further emphasise the similarities which exist between memorial boards and frames (Figs. 6.43a-b), with almost identical proportions and numbers of many motifs, most notably the number of memorials

which have no decoration (four of each). These patterns were also replicated in the South Hams with the numbers of memorials which included laurels, crosses, crowns, and no decoration almost identical between boards and frames, just as they were in East Devon. The most notable contrast which exists between boards and frames in both regions is the much higher numbers of regimental badges and other crests which occur on memorial boards (Figs. 6.43b; 5.49b) in comparison to frames (Figs. 6.43a; 5.49a). The higher proportion of regimental badges on boards can simply be accounted for by the higher number of private memorials which comprise memorial boards in both study areas (see Figs. 6.12b-c; 5.13b; 5.14a). The higher proportion of regimental badges on boards (21.4% of examples in East Devon) also bears a close resemblance to their more widespread use on memorial plaques (21.7% in East Devon) and tablets (17.3% in East Devon). It is however clear that in general the decoration on memorial frames and boards contrasts to that which was recorded for memorial plaques and tablets. There are much higher proportions of memorial plaques and tablets which have no decoration (19.6% and 24.5% in East Devon). Plaques and tablets also include a much greater range of decorative types (Figs. 6.43c-d; 5.49c-d), although this may partially reflect their higher use for war memorials in both regions.
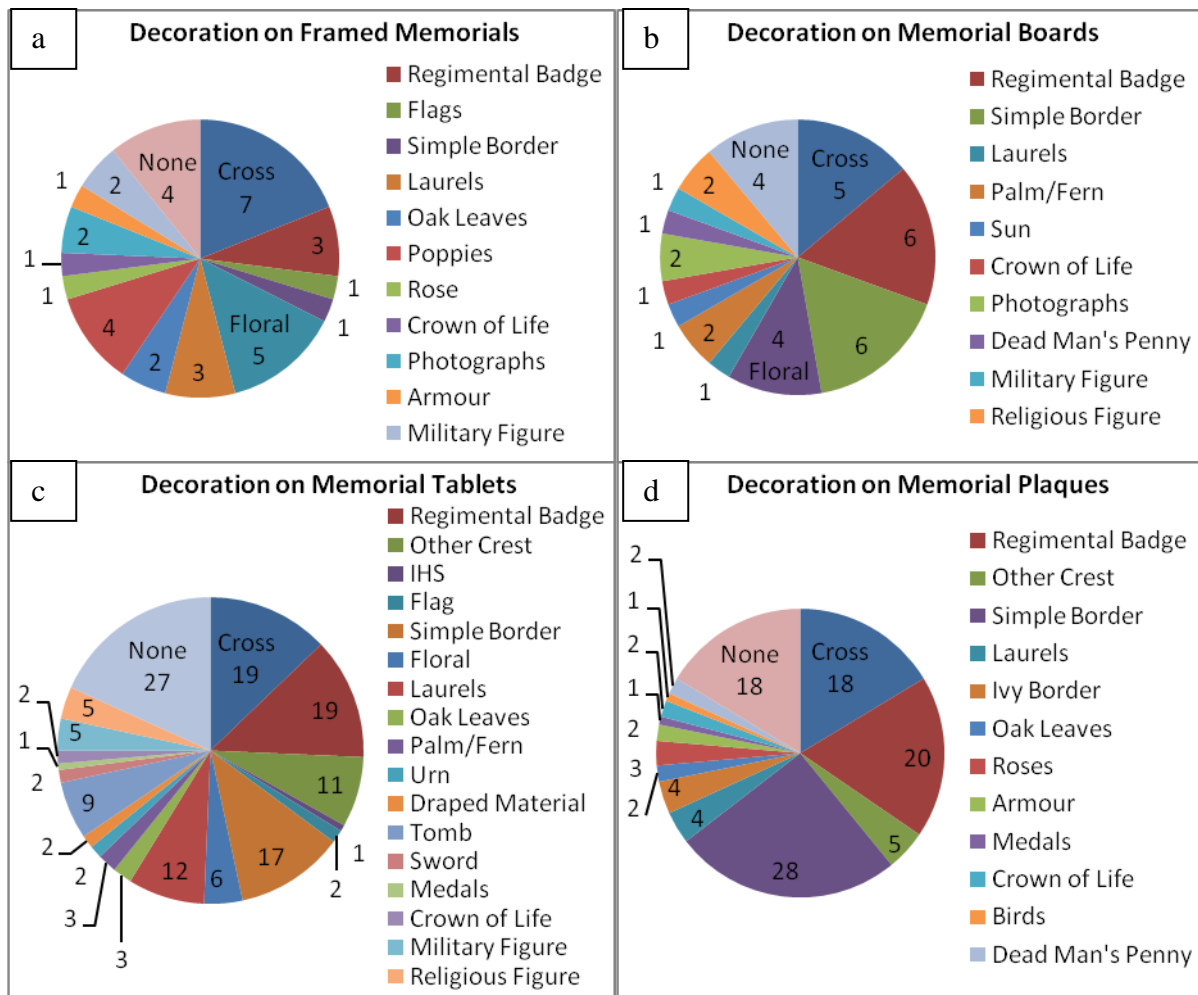
Figure 6.43 – *The breakdown in the decorative motifs used on framed memorials (a), boards (b), tablets (c), and plaques (d) in East Devon.*

The decorative symbols chosen for external memorials also contrast with these internal forms (Fig. 6.44a-b). For example there is a much more limited range of decorative forms on the external memorials than their internal counterparts in both study areas (see also Figs. 5.47a-b). The most notable contrast between the study areas are the higher number of memorials with knotwork and rivet decorations in East Devon. The higher use of these forms can however be seen as being simply a result of the higher numbers of ring crosses and crosses with expanded terminals in the East Devon region. The slightly higher use of figures and laurels upon the external memorials of East Devon, cannot however be placed simply down to being a result of the slightly contrasting choices in form. The higher use of these emblems (e.g. Figs. 6.44d-f) in

East Devon can therefore be seen to indicate a greater need to emphasise the function of these memorials as commemorating conflicts (e.g. the use of St. George, Crucifix, and laurels).
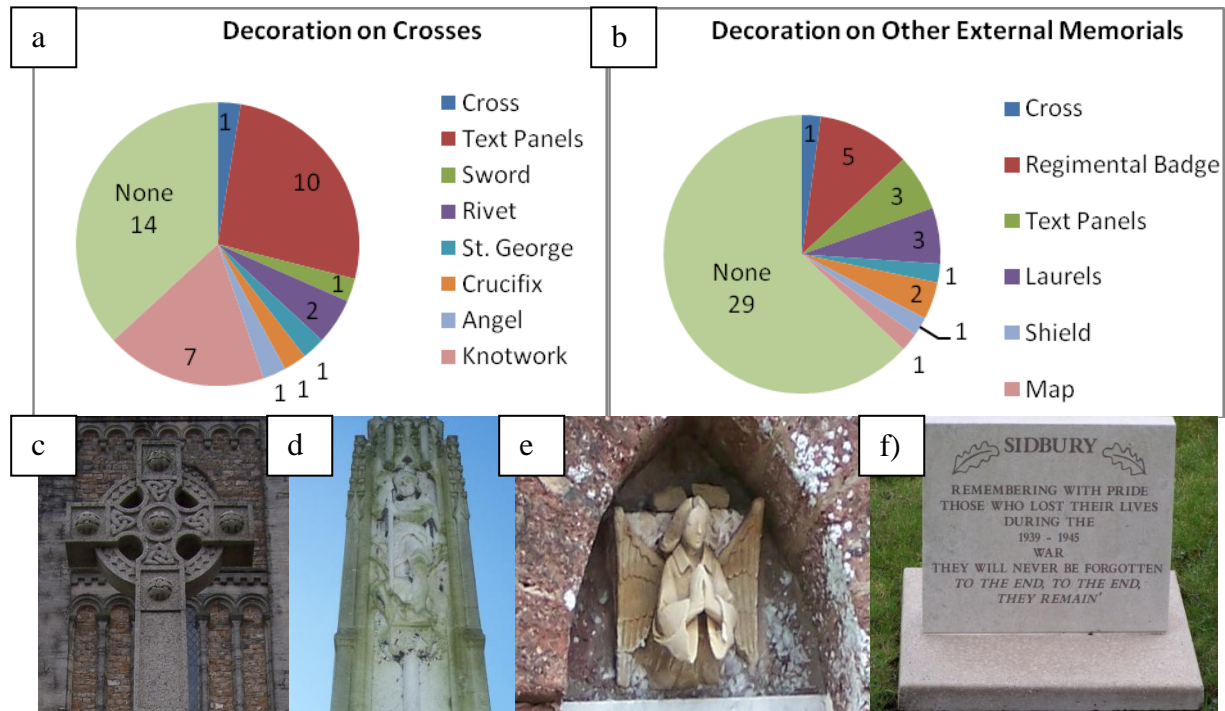


*Figure 6.44 – The decorative motifs used on memorial crosses (a) and for other external memorials (b) in East Devon. Ringwork and rivet decoration on the Honiton war memorial cross (c), St. George on the Axminster war memorial cross (d), the Angel attached to the Sowton war memorial cross (e), and oak leaves on the Second World War memorial stone at Sidbury (f) (Photos: Author).*

## 6.3 Landscape

The locations chosen for war memorials vary considerably, as do the motivations behind these choices. The distribution of the war memorials in East Devon reveals an unsurprising pattern (Fig. 6.44a-b), with 65.6% being externally located, 33.1% internal and the remaining 1.2% being comprised of buildings and therefore falling into both categories. The distribution of memorials largely reflects that encountered in the South Hams (Fig. 5.51), with the churchyard and church dominating. The most dramatic difference between the locations used for the public war memorials in the two study regions is the lower use of main road locations (2.8% compared

to 7%) and higher use of road junctions (5.6% compared to 2.3%) in East Devon. These two location types are not remarkably different in the sense that their use typically represents the most visible location on the major road of a village or town. The author would argue that road junctions seem to have been the preferential choice for communities (in most instances), with these locations often chosen despite available spaces which could have been used elsewhere along the main routes (e.g. Fig. 6.22c). The difference in the use of junctions between the two regions can therefore be seen to reflect pre-existing differences in the layout of the roads and fields of East Devon, with a higher number of small areas of waste ground surviving at road junctions in 1918 (e.g. Figs. 6.46a-b).
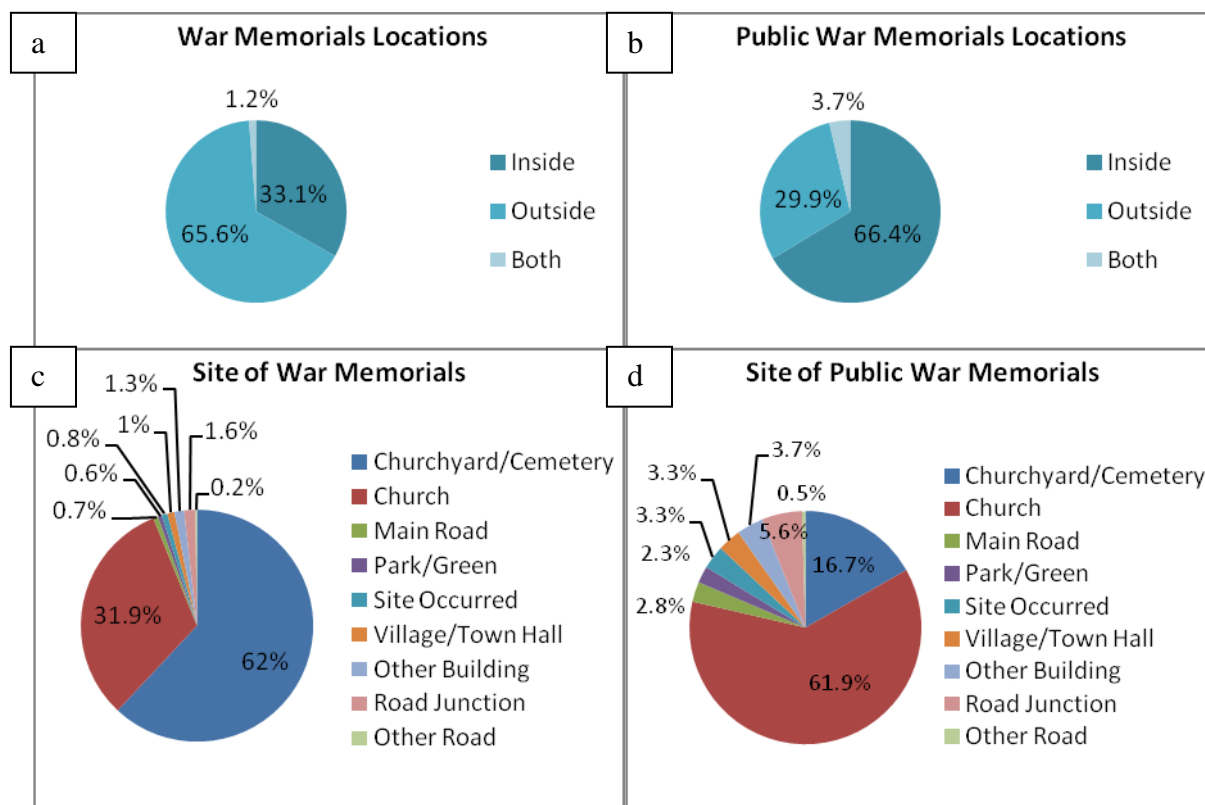


*Figure 6.45 –The locations of all war memorials in East Devon (a) and amongst public memorials only (b). The dominance of the church and churchyard in the location of these memorials (c) is much less dominant if public memorials are analysed on their own (d).*

The number of memorials which are located at crossroads or the roadside in both East Devon and the South Hams (2.2% and 2.5% respectively), is noticeably lower than the 5% recorded by the

UKNIWM (Furlong *et al* 2002: Table 1.2). The difference to these national figures can however be accounted for by the inclusion of burial memorials and a much higher number of headstone additions in this study. In fact if headstones and headstone additions were removed from the results of this study a more comparable 5.8% of memorials in East Devon, and 6.5% of memorials in the South Hams, would take roadside or crossroad locations. The national statistics suggest a growing preference towards roadside and crossroad locations over the course of the twentieth century (Furlong *et al* 2002: Table 1.2) a pattern not borne out in this study. For example, in East Devon 16.4% of First World War memorials (if headstones and headstone additions are removed) were placed by the road or at crossroads. In contrast only 11.9% of Second World War memorials are found in this location in East, and all but one example (0.7%) of these memorials are additions to existing First World War memorials. There are a slightly higher number of new Second World War memorials placed (eight) in these roadside locations in the South Hams. However, this is partially accountable for by the low proportion of First World War memorials in these locations with only 7.4% of First World War memorials placed at the roadside or road junction compared to 11.1% of Second World War examples (e.g. Figs. 5.55b; 5.38c).



*Figure 6.46 – The Salcombe Regis War Memorial Cross (a) is located on the main turnoff to the village and parish church, while the Rousdon war memorial (b) is located on the road junction to Combpyne, and opposite the entrance to the Rousdon estate (Photos: Author).*

It is important however to not only analyse the distribution of locations, but to attempt to identify the motivations behind the placement of memorials in certain locations (Figs. 6.47a-b). The major motivation behind the location of many (10.6% of the East Devon regions and 9.6% of the

South Hams) war memorials can be seen as simply down to being located in close relationship with existing war memorials. The relationships to pre-existing war memorials (i.e. placed next to, opposite, or in a parallel location) are particularly evident amongst the public memorials (Figs. 6.46a; 5.52a). The placement in close relationship to existing memorials is particularly evident also in the commemoration of Post-First World War conflicts. The majority of First World War memorials, especially public examples were in contrast deliberately distanced from any existing war memorials (or for that matter any other commemorative forms). For example, the close spatial relationships between First World War memorials and existing South African War memorials can be isolated to three examples, the Honiton war memorial cross (Fig. 6.47e), the Hemyock war memorial cross (Fig. 6.47d) and the Southleigh memorial tablet (Fig. 6.47c). In all of these examples however it seems that other spatial relationships largely determined the positioning of these memorials rather than the nearby existing South African War memorials. Namely positions in front of the parish churches at Honiton and Hemyock determined the locations of the First World War memorial crosses, while the Southleigh tablet although adjacent to the South African war memorial is also opposite the entrance to the church.
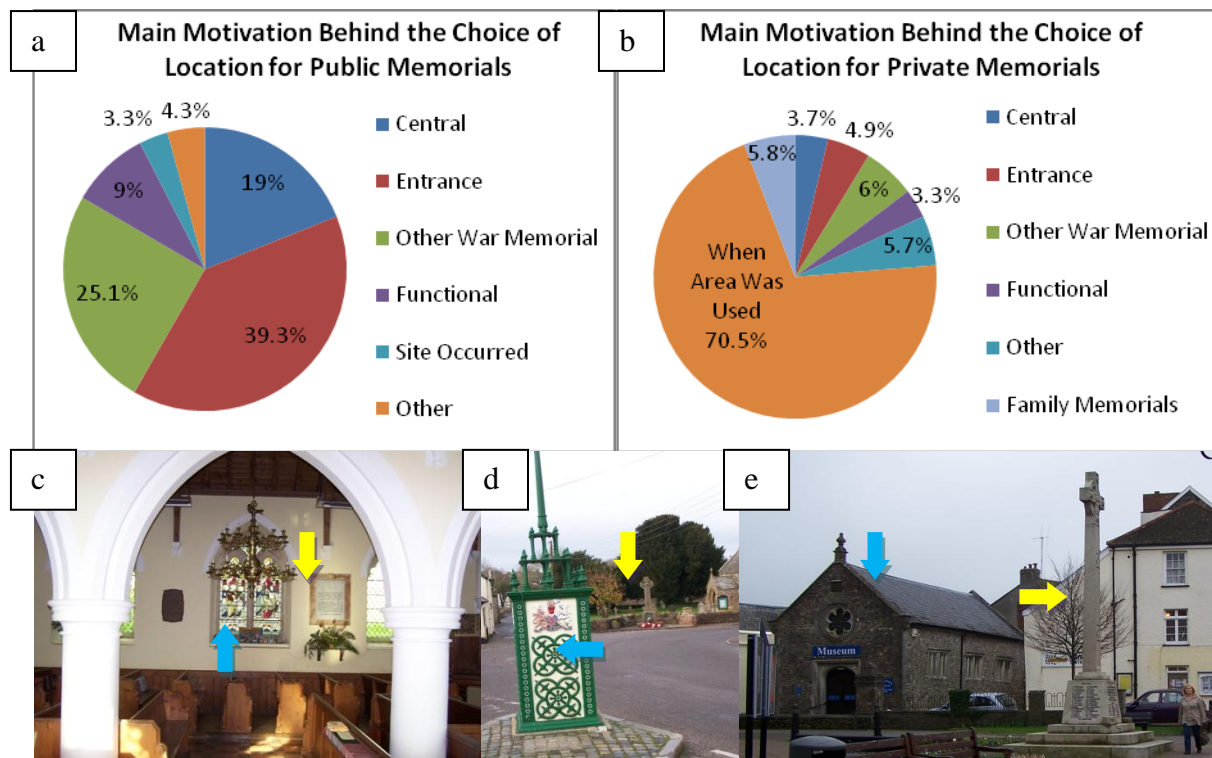
*Figure 6.47 – The suggested motivation for the location of public war memorials in East Devon (a) and of private memorials (b). The First World War memorial tablet was placed adjacent to Lieutenant N.G. Edmonds memorial window in St. Lawrence's Church, Southleigh (c). The First World War memorial cross at Hemyock is opposite the South African War memorial pump (d), while the war memorial cross at Honiton is near the Allhallows School South African Memorial Chapel (e). The First World War memorials are highlighted by yellow arrows, while the blue arrows indicate the South African War memorials (Photos: Author).*

One of the most prolific motivations in East Devon in the placement of war memorials is their close association with entrances, and directions of movement (Fig. 6.47a). Slightly less prolifically encountered, but evidencing similar motivations as the placement of memorials near entrances are those memorials which are centrally positioned within buildings or settlements (19% of public examples in East Devon). Centrally placed memorials (e.g. Figs. 6.48a; Fig. 6.49) can be seen to have been positioned in these locations due to a variety of motivations. For example, the Kilmington War memorial cross was placed at a junction into the village centre from the main road (A35), and its position in a neutral and secular location can arguably be viewed to evidence the prominence of the Baptist Church in the parish (Fig. 6.49). The central (and raised) location of the war memorial cross at Kilmington also afforded the memorial a higher degree of visibility than a position in the parish churchyard would have enabled. It is the creation of highly obvious memorials which can therefore be seen to have been the main motivation for the positioning of all memorials in close relationship with entrances, to directions of movement, to earlier war memorials, and in central locations. All of these spatial arrangements of memorials can be seen to have increased the prominence of the memorials and their meanings. The positions of war memorials, especially public examples (e.g. Fig. 6.48b), but also many private memorials (e.g. Fig. 6.48a), can therefore largely be seen to have been motivated by a desire of their organisers to ensure high visibility, and therefore permanence and significance for future generations.

*Figure 6.48 – The placement of memorials to the First World War in St. Andrew's Church, Colyton (a). The private memorials to the First World War were all erected in parallel locations on the tower arch at the entrance to the chancel, with a plaque and grave marker to Captain John C.C. Barnes (1); a plaque to Private John K.S. Zealley (2); and a plaque to Sergeant. George T. Anning (3). In All Saints Church, All Saints (b) the First World War memorial tablet (4) was erected opposite the entrance to the church, and at a 'safe' distance from a 1917 memorial tablet (5). It has also acted as a focal point for the subsequent war memorials of the parish (Photos: Author).*
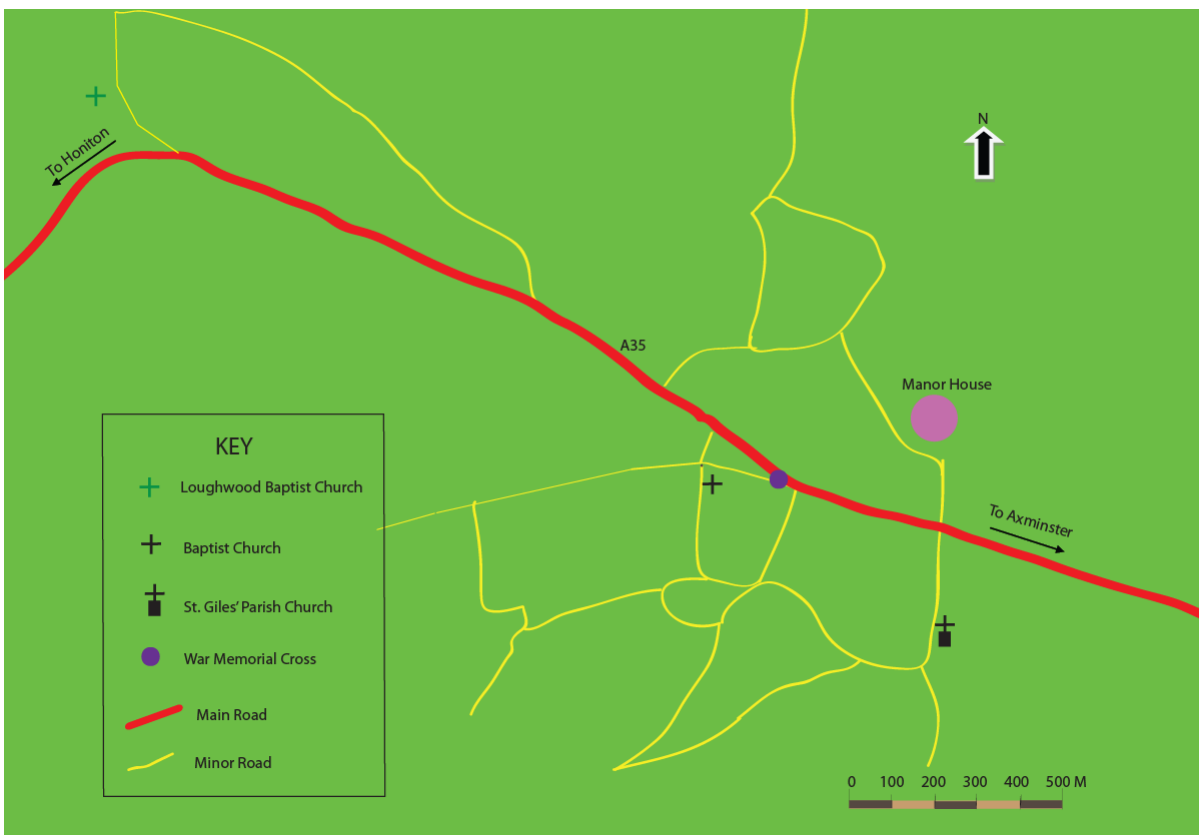
*Figure 6.49 – A plan of the parish of Kilmington showing the location of the village war memorial, Church of England Church and Baptist Church. The Baptist Church had a long history in the area, with the Loughwood Meeting House, located on the outskirts of the parish, in use from 1653, and the church in the village opening in 1833 (Plan: Author).*

Many of the war memorials in East Devon have defined sacred spaces surrounding them (Fig. 6.50), just as was noted for the South Hams region (Fig. 5.55a). In East Devon the majority of the public memorials (63.7%) have an area of defined space associated with them, defined either through their isolation from other memorials and structures (50%), or by having their space characterized by the addition (or presence) of other war memorials (13.7%). A further 31.6% of the public war memorials have been classified as 'typical', and as such have no greater spatial definition than would normally be expected for other commemorative types. The defined corona of space found around the majority of the regions memorials is one of the key aspects for their continuing significance to communities, and it is often those memorials which had and continue to have a normal amount of space around them which become obscured and forgotten (e.g. Fig. 6.51).

There are relatively few memorials (thirteen) which are obscured by later memorials or structures in East Devon, and many of these are obscured by relatively temporary constructions or items which are movable (Fig. 6.50c-d). The low number of obscured memorials was also seen in the South Hams (seventeen), and none of these examples were permanently obscured. In East Devon however there is one notable public memorial, found at Dunkeswell, which is more permanently obscured and neglected. The First World War Memorial Tablet at Dunkeswell is partially obscured by the church organ, which was installed (in 1946) to commemorate the American Air base which had been based on the fringe of the village between 1943 and 1945 (Fig. 6.50b). The reduced visibility of the memorial and its meanings is also not helped by the fact that the lettering is largely illegible, and it therefore stands out in St. Nicholas Church as being the sole memorial in a state of dilapidation and partial obscurity. The diminished importance which has evidently been placed upon the First World War memorial in Dunkeswell since the Second World War can be seen to have been a result of the much greater social impact which the latter conflict had upon the community.
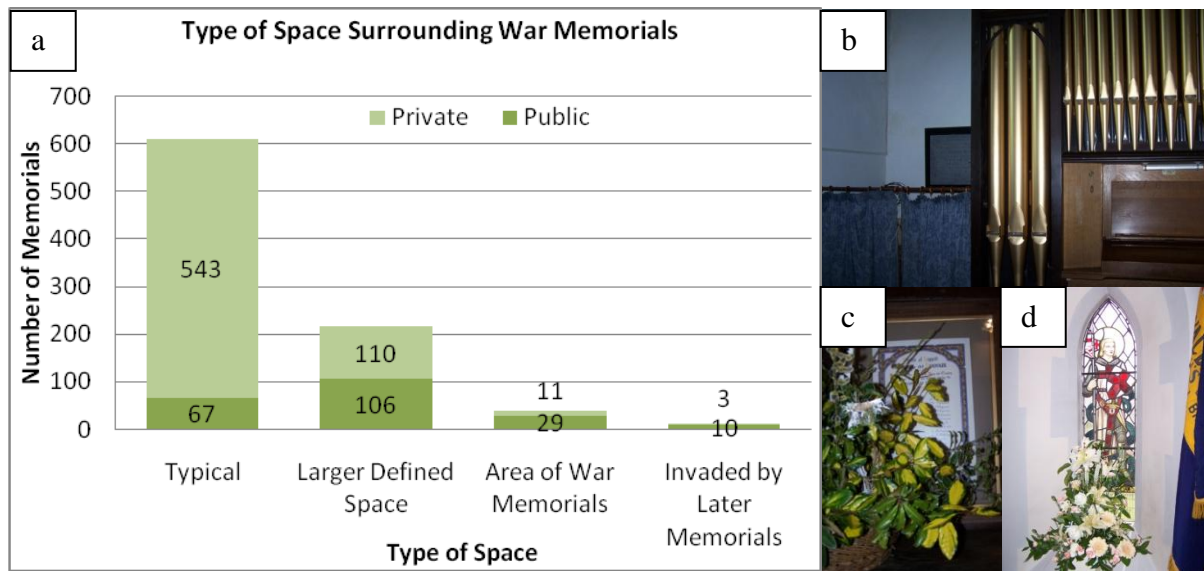
*Figure 6.50 – The type of spaces in which the public war memorials of East Devon are located (a). The First World War Memorial Tablet at St. Nicholas' Church, Dunkeswell (b), has been partially obscured by the organ installed as a war memorial to the American Second World War air base in the parish. The subsequent events of this conflict have had a much greater impact upon the parish, and have come to dominate the church, and in the war remembrance services of the parish. The First World War roll of honour in St. Mary's Church, Luppitt (c) and the Second World War memorial window in St. Michael's Church, West Hill (d) were both partly obscured by large baskets of foliage when recorded in March 2008. There are a number of other war memorials in both parishes and these seem to take precedence in the remembrance of conflict over these slightly obscured memorials (Photos: Author).*
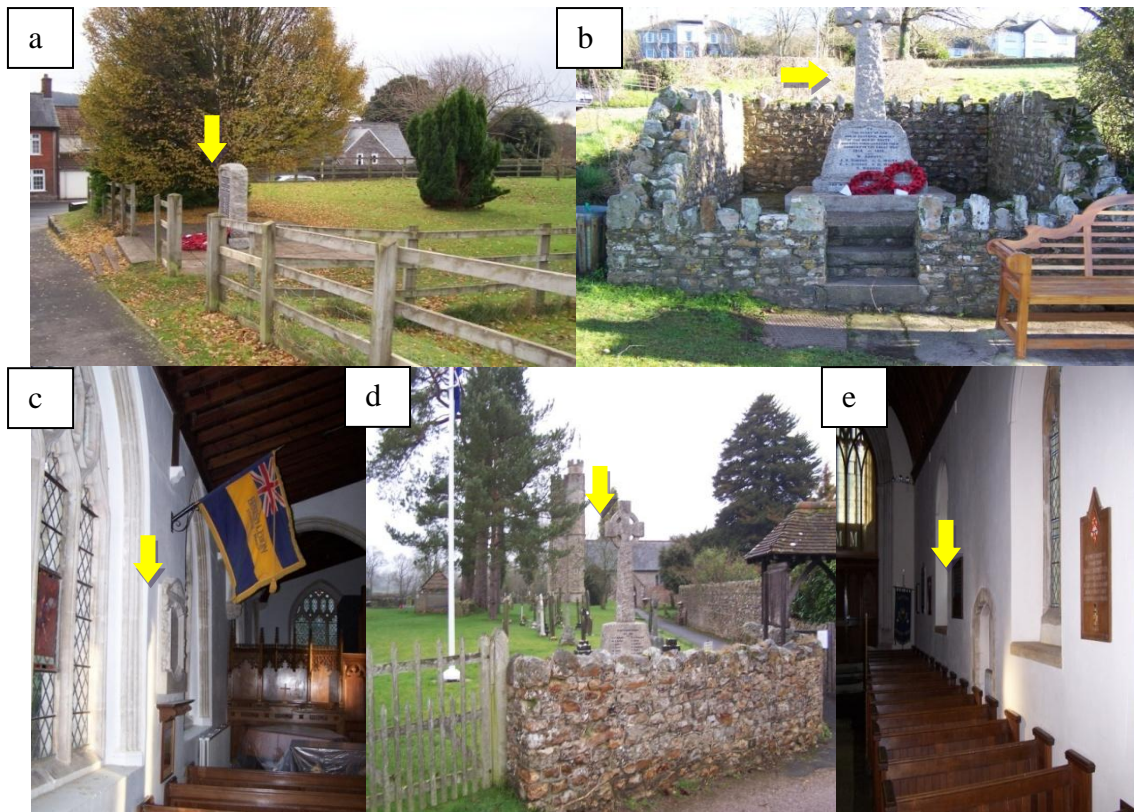
Figure 6.51 – The Uffculme War Memorial Stone which is set within a defined paved area, which is further emphasised by the placement of wreaths, and because the location is set within the war memorial park (a). The War Memorial Cross at Shute is set within a raised paved area with the boundary wall and planting further defining the space, the later bench to the right does not include a commemorative plaque, and therefore does not impinge upon the commemorative focus of the site (b). The Stockland War Memorial Tablet which was set on its own pillar near the entrance into the church, with its space further enhanced by the addition of a shelf and framed image of poppies below and the standard of the local branch of the RBL above (c). Dalwood War Memorial Cross has a flag pole to the left, headstones behind, lych gate to the right and boundary wall in front, creating a defined 'empty space' around the memorial (d). The Membury War Memorial Board (e) is placed opposite the entrance on its own wall, with the nearest memorials on either side being later war memorials (Photos: Author).

The choice of highly visible locations is a further element which can be seen to have enhanced the sacred space around war memorials, and also provide a more utilitarian reason why the space has tended to not be invaded by other commemorative forms or structures. The majority of public war memorials can be seen to have been placed in highly visible, yet liminal locations,

such as entrances (e.g. Fig. 6.51a), road junctions (e.g. Fig. 6.47d) and churchyard boundaries (e.g. Fig. 6.51d). These liminal locations had typically been unused, and relatively insignificant in remembrance activities or in daily life. Despite the more blatant use of liminal spaces for the establishment of public memorials (Fig. 6.47a), it clear in both study areas that private types such as headstones are also sometimes differentiated from other commemorative forms by their positioning in liminal spaces. In many instances the relationships between headstones and boundaries is coincidental, with the memorials being placed within areas being used for contemporary burials, or familial commemoration (e.g. Figs. 6.52b-c; 6.28e). However, particularly with war graves these relationships seem more than unintentional associations. In total of the CWGC burials in East Devon 50 (26.5%) are positioned in immediate relation with pathways (e.g. Fig. 6.52a), entrances, or boundaries (e.g. Fig. 6.52d). In the South Hams 96 (29.3%) CWGC headstones have liminal positions within churchyards or cemeteries.
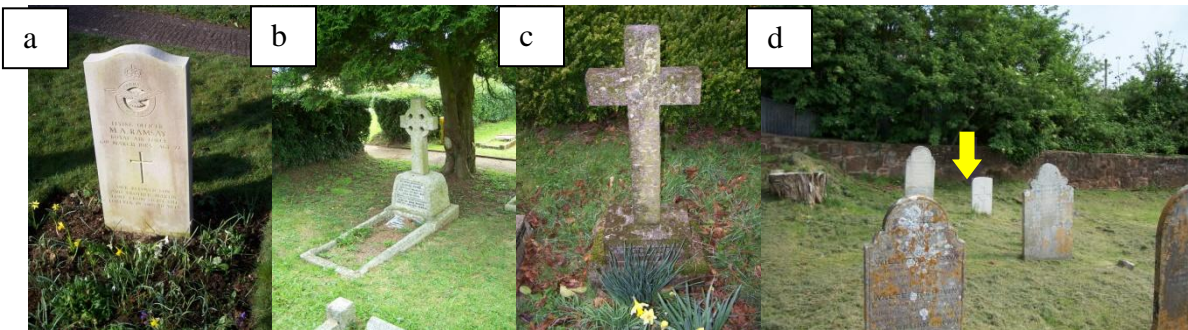


*Figure 6.52 – Flying Officer M.A. Ramsey's (1985) headstone in St. Michael's Churchyard, West Hill (a) is positioned at the edge of the churchyard with a path behind. The Pring Family (1934) headstone in Sidbury Cemetery (b) also has a path behind, and a boundary hedge to the left, while the Goodwin Family (1934) headstone in St. Mary's Churchyard, Rockbeare has the boundary hedge immediately behind. Private J.J. May's (1919) CWGC headstone at St. Michael and All Angels' Churchyard, Clyst Honiton is positioned amongst 1870s headstones at the edge of the Churchyard (Photos: Author).*

## 6.4 Biography

War memorials were typically constructed with the aim of being *timeless* messages of loss and pride (Rowlands 1993: 145), yet the timelessness and seemingly static forms of these structures

are an illusion. For instance amongst the public memorials of East Devon over a quarter (27.5%), had the dates of subsequent wars and casualties appended onto their form. In the South Hams this connection is less apparent with 19.9% of public memorials having subsequent conflicts appended onto them. There are also however less obvious biographical shifts which are evident in the forms of many war memorials in both regions. For example the war memorial cross at Hawkchurch (Figs. 6.53a-b) and the roll of honour frame at Axmouth (Figs. 6.53c-d), have both been supplemented in recent years by the addition of further memorials. These additional memorials have been erected to make explicit reference to the meanings of the war memorials, and they thereby act to revitalise conflict remembrance within these communities (see also Fig. 5.12e).

A further physical change which can occur to war memorials, and is not always easily identifiable is the replacement of a memorial with a new form. These forms may represent attempts to directly replicate the previous form of the memorial, as with the copy of the Sidbury Roll of Honour which was erected in 1992 so that the original could be conserved by the County Record Office (Fig. 6.53e). Other examples represent complete changes in a memorial's style or form, such as occurred to the First World War memorial plaque in Farway, which was replaced after the Second World War with a new plaque. Only a few (three) examples of public memorials have clearly been replaced within East Devon, although there are probably other examples which have not been identifiable in this study. Physical replacements for memorials are however much more evident amongst the private memorials, especially with burial monuments. For example the Pratt family headstone at Kentisbeare (Fig. 6.53g) marks a 1911 burial, but is a 1977 replacement headstone, which may indicate that the commemoration of the First World War casualty upon the memorial only occurred upon this replacement headstone and had not been appended onto the earlier form.

In several instances these headstone replacements are not always obvious, and in many instances the later commemorative additions only result in the addition of tablets (e.g. Figs. 6.28d-f). Other examples however evidence the replacement of some elements of the memorial and the retention of others. For example, the Edwards family headstone in Honiton was originally marked by a

headstone to George Henry Edwards who died in 1902, and after March 1918 (and prior to 1936) a shield shaped tablet was added to the plot in commemoration of his son (Private William Edwards) who had been killed in action in France. Subsequent to this addition George Henry's wife was buried at the site, and presumably commemorated upon the existing headstone to her husband. However in 1966 the headstone was replaced, to include the commemoration of their son-in-law, and a year later his wife (their daughter), these names were added to the kerb of the new memorial (Fig. 6.53h), in 1998 a subsequent memorial tablet was also added to the plot (Fig. 5.53g). Despite these physical and biographical changes which the memorial embodies the original shield shaped tablet placed in commemoration of Private Edwards remains as the only original element of the form. The retention and preservation of the tablet, indicates that the form was still seen as appropriate in the 1960s re-construction of the memorial, and in 1998 when the memorial was cleaned, although it may have been moved from below the headstone to the footstone at the time of this addition.
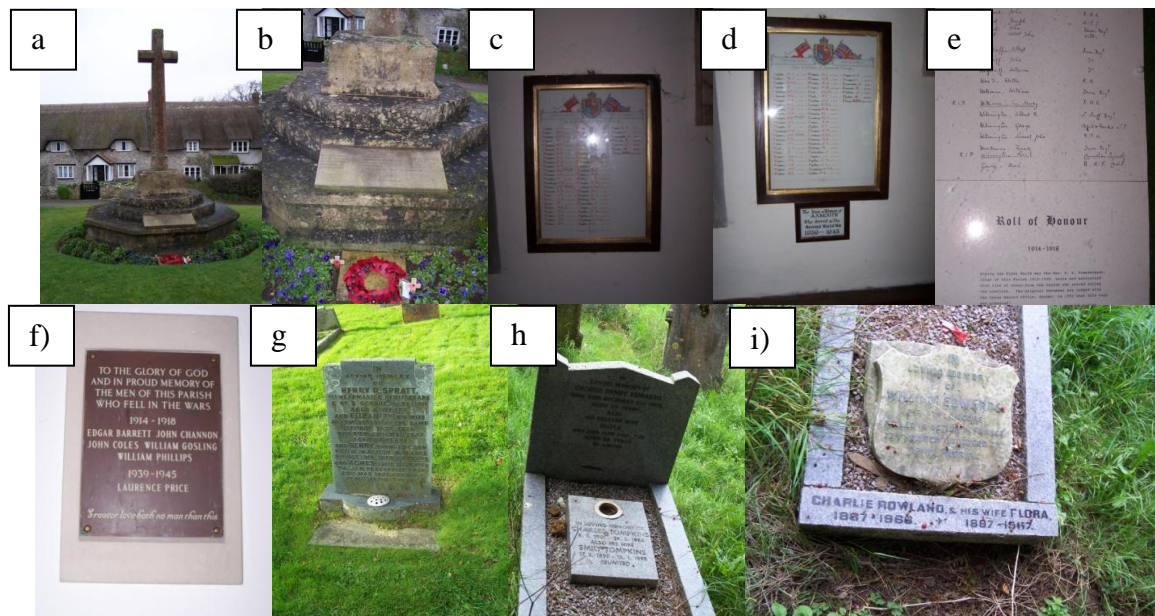


*Figure 6.53 –The Hawkchurch war memorial cross (a) had a tablet added (in 2004) with the names of the twentieth century war dead from the parish (b). The Second World War roll of honour in St. Michael's Church, Axmouth (c) was supplemented by a frame (between 19/03/2008 and 15/09/2009) to explain who is commemorated by the memorial (d). The First World War roll of honour frame at St. Peter and St. Giles' Church, Sidbury (e) is a copy of the original. The*

*Farway memorial plaque was erected after the Second World War, replacing the previous First World War form (f). The Spratt family headstone from St. Mary's Churchyard, Kentisbeare (g), and the Edwards family headstone from St. Michael's Churchyard, Honiton (h-i) are both replacement memorials (Photos: Author).*

Only a very low proportion of the public war memorials of East Devon have been moved (Fig. 6.28), with a total of seven memorials having their locations changed. The majority of these memorial movements tend to be due to closures of churches, businesses or schools, although there are only two examples of this within those sampled for this study. These include the Bradfield Roll of Honour Frame which was moved to the parish church at Uffculme when the chapel became non-denominational specific (Fig. 6.28), and the All Hallows School memorials, which were moved on at least two occasions and are now found in the All Hallows Museum, Honiton. The reasons for the movement of the other five memorials can be broken into three main categories: a change from private ownership to a public location (two of the five); movement due to desire to preserve (one of the five); and in one instance being moved at the time of adding a later war memorial. It is plausible that the actual number of public memorials which have been moved is much higher, and there are several memorials which given their relationships and locations appear to have been moved (e.g. Fig. 6.13e).

*Figure 6.54 – Only a low percentage of war memorials have been moved in East Devon (a). These include the Bradfield Roll of Honour (b) which was moved from the small chapel on the Bradfield estate to the parish church in Uffculme, and is located upon a medieval tomb in memory of some of the former owners of the estate. The First World War memorial board in St. Michael's Church has also been moved, as originally it was part of an altar at the front of the church and moved to a side aisle after the Second World War (c). The Willand War memorial obelisk was moved (for a second time) to its present position in St. Mary's Churchyard (circa 1957) (d). Sergeant Snook's headstone in St. John the Baptist's Church was moved as part of the reorganisation of the churchyard for ease of mowing (Photos: Author).*

The spatial relationships between war memorials and other structures and memorials can also be utilised to identity common patterns in the changing meanings which these memorials have embodied (Fig. 6.55). For example, five public memorials are closely related to medieval remains in East Devon. Two of these associations with *ancient* remains have become associated since the memorials were erected (Figs. 6.56a-b). These relationships with ancient remains can be seen as attempts to further sanctify the meanings and significance of these war memorials and create historic links to places and people they are located amongst.

It is also important to emphasise what types of later structures are added in close relationship with war memorials, as these can reveal the changing meanings of these memorials and the processes of war remembrance within these communities. The most common relationships (apart from other war memorials), is the addition of headstones, benches, and other types of twentieth century memorials. Each of these can be seen to follow certain patterns and suggest very specific meanings. The majority of later additions commemorate veterans or veteran groups in East Devon, although other public events such as coronations occur in a small number of instances. In the majority of instances the later additions to these sites do not impinge upon the visual dominance of the earlier war memorials, and in most cases still leave a corona of space around them, which they do not invade (see Fig. 6.35).
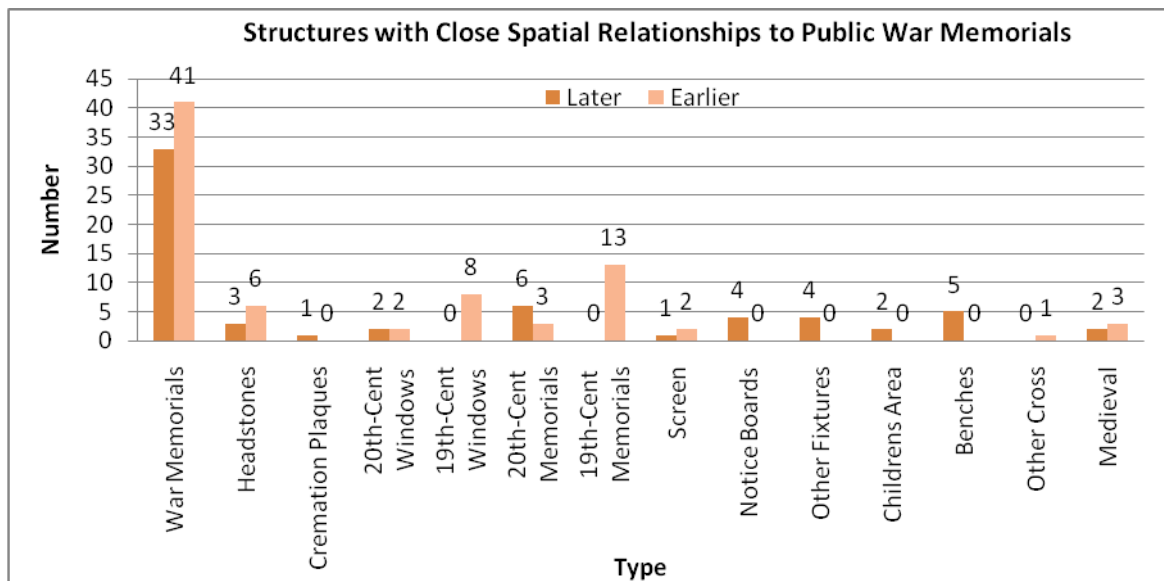


*Figure 6.55 – The different structures which are related to the public war memorials of East Devon.*

*Figure 6.56 – The Second World War memorial board in All Saint's Church, Culmstock (a) has the remains of medieval figures discovered in a demolished cottage from the parish placed below the memorial, which acts as a further space of conflict commemoration with remembrance crosses and poppies covering the remains. The roll of honour in St. Mary's Church, Luppitt (b) has a similar association with medieval stonework, which in this instance is placed in a display case directly below the frame. The Cotleigh war memorial tablet in St. Michael's Church is below an 1826 board which describes one of the parish charities (c). The Colyton War Memorial Cross (d), has two early nineteenth century headstones and a commemorative bench dating to 2003 nearby. The Farway roll of honour is placed near the parish war memorial plaque, but rather than being placed on the window ledge closest to the memorial, the folder is instead currently found by a 1628 tomb (e)(Photos: Author).*

Another commemorative form which can be analysed to understand the changing role and nature of remembrance in the twentieth and early twenty-first centuries are the ephemeral and temporary commemorative tributes and actions which occur at war memorial sties. Also these temporary conflict remembrance tributes were also recorded as occurring at sites not connected with conflict remembrance. Remembrance crosses in particular have become an increasingly

common element in the commemoration of conflict, as well as a growing element in the commemoration of other events and individuals. Typically these are placed next to existing war memorials (e.g. Fig. 6.56a), but in four instances in East Devon they form their own foci of commemoration. For example, at Kentisbeare (Fig. 6.57a), remembrance crosses have been placed (in the November of 2006, 2007, 2008, and 2009) in a cross pattern by the path leading to the parish church's entrance. The examples at Kentisbeare and Southleigh in East Devon and Hooe in the South Hams can perhaps all be explained by the lack of an external war memorial to act as a focus for commemorative acts and ceremonies. The examples at West Hill and Broadhembury present a different motivation with external war memorial crosses at nearby crossroads also having remembrance crosses placed next to it. The non-church controlled location of these two memorials may have had some bearing upon the decision to erect these temporary commemorative forms in the churchyards, but they are also indicative of the strong veteran presence in these two parishes (e.g. Figs. 6.19a-b).
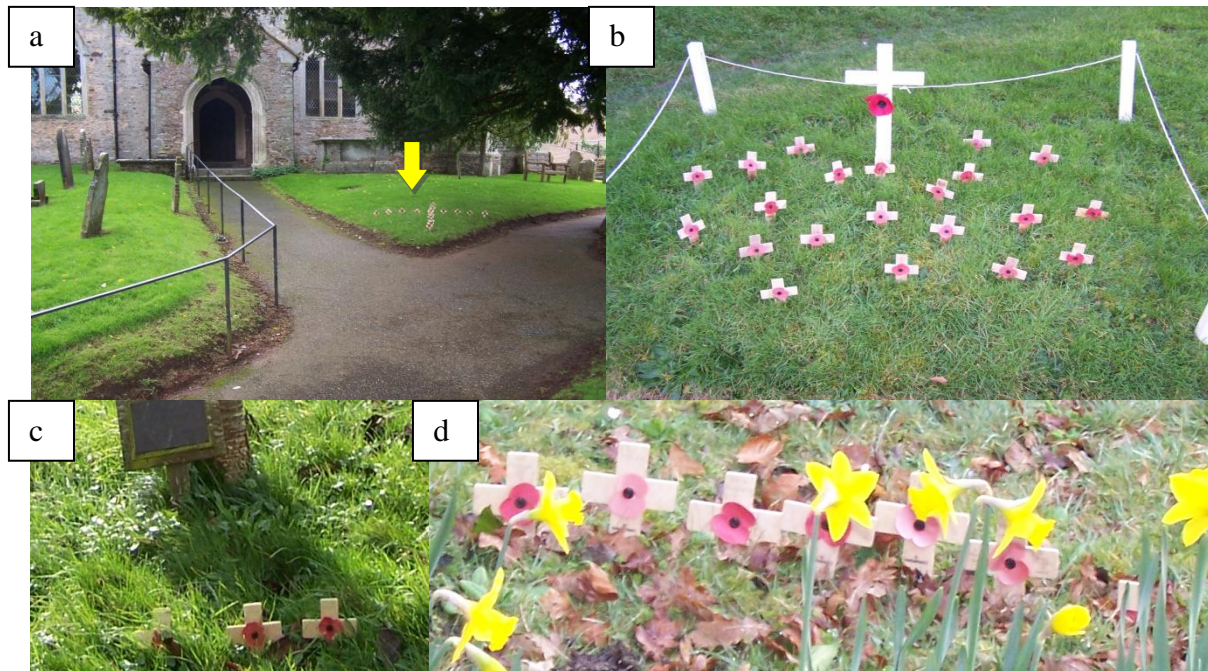


*Figure 6.57 – The cross formed from remembrance crosses in St. Mary's Churchyard, Kentisbeare in 2009 (a), and the group placed in St. Andrew's Churchyard, Broadhembury in the same year (b). The example in St. Lawrence's Churchyard, Southleigh (2008) focuses upon a*

*tree opposite the entrance to the church (c), while the November 2007 example by the entrance*

*to St. Michael's Church, West Hill (d) survived into the spring of 2008 (Photos: Author).*

### 6.5 Inscriptions

Inscribed lettering is the most prolific type used for public war memorials in East Devon (appearing on 50.7% of examples), although amongst private memorials lead lettering is almost as prolifically encountered as inscribed lettering (46.8% and 47% respectively). The use of these lettering styles can be seen to reflect the dominance of internal settings for the majority (68.9%) of public memorials, with lead lettering confined to external monuments only. There is however a slightly lower use of lead lettering in East Devon compared to the South Hams. For example amongst the memorial crosses of East Devon only 24 of the 36 examples have lead lettering, which compares to 28 of the 34 crosses in the South Hams region. The slightly lower use of lead lettering and therefore greater preference towards inscribed lettering in East Devon is the most discernible contrast in the inscription types which were recorded for the two study areas.
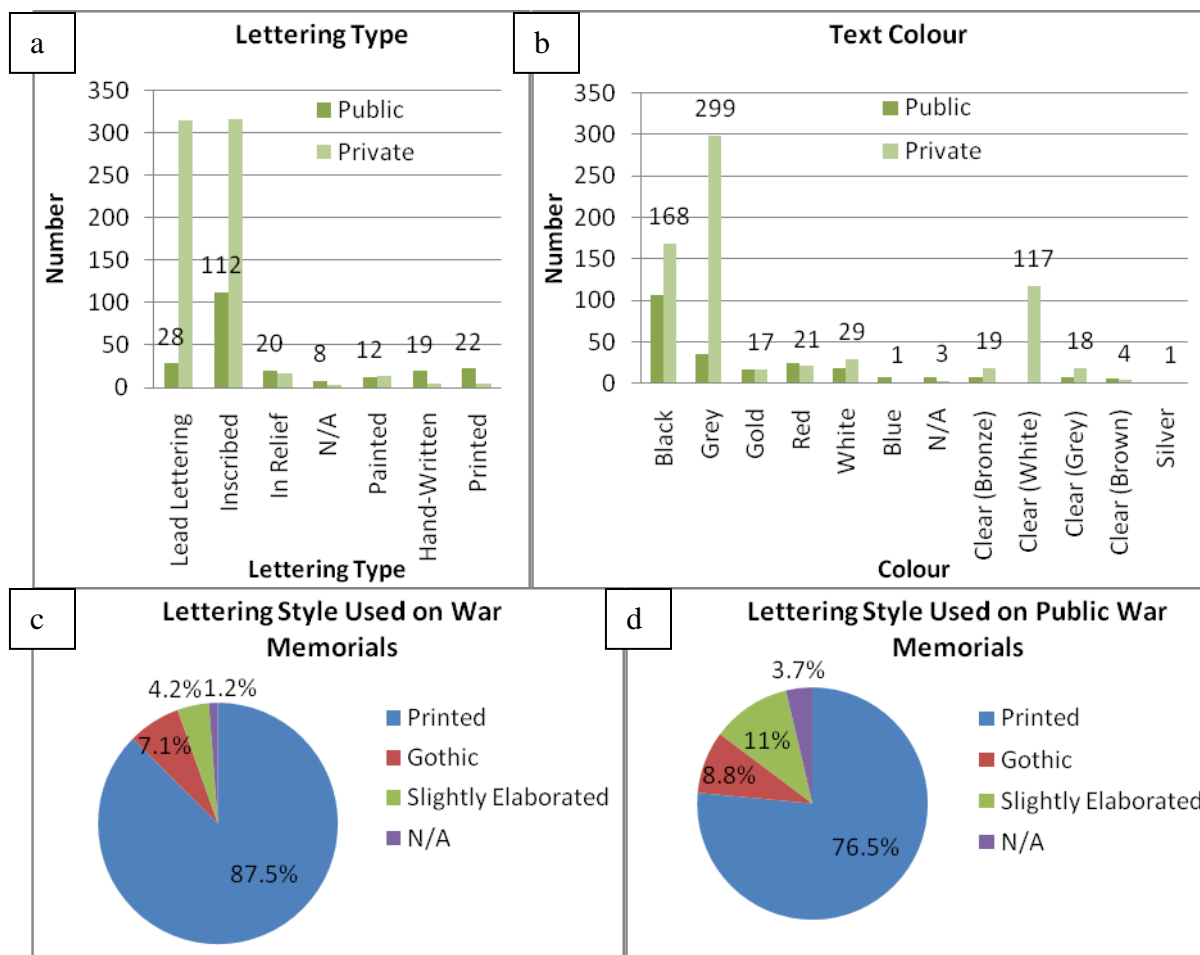
*Figure 6.58 – The percentage of public war memorial inscription types in East Devon (left), and the colour of the text appearing on these memorials (right). The type of texts used on the public war memorials in East Devon, a significant proportion of those which are slightly elaborated or gothic are those which are hand-written.*

Contrasts between the inscription styles of the two regions are also limited in terms of the use of text colours (Figs. 6.58b; 5.65b). For example, black and grey are still by far the most dominant colours utilised, although a slightly higher proportion of private memorials utilised black lettering in East Devon than in the South Hams (24.1% compared to 18.5%). The higher use of black lettering amongst the private memorials of East Devon is largely offset by the much lower proportion of stone memorials in the region which have no colour, and are therefore grey in colour (2.6% compared to 9.8% in the South Hams). The differences in use can largely be accounted for by the lower numbers of headstones recorded for East Devon, an aspect further supported by the higher occurrence of clear (bronze) memorials in East Devon which reflects the

larger number of private memorial plaques in East Devon (64 compared to 54 in the South Hams).

### 6.5.1 Names

The ordering of names upon the public war memorials of East Devon can be largely divided between three categories, alphabetical, the order of death, and rank. In particular the contrast between organising names by rank or by other means is particularly illustrative in highlighting a lack of equality in commemoration. The choice is often associated with the continuing dominance of the local elites (Bushaway 1992), and the relatively low numbers can perhaps be seen as reflective of their waning dominance in the region. Organising names by rank did not however deny the chance for the whole community to mourn, as all who deserved remembrance were also inscribed below the elite, it does however emphasise the continuing control and dominance of the local gentry. The ordering of names by rank upon nineteen memorials in East Devon, and upon fourteen examples in the South Hams forms a significant proportion of the public memorials. The diminishing influence of these elites is further supported by the majority of examples in both regions dating to the South African and First World Wars, rather than later conflicts. In fact all of the five examples in East Devon of a different order of names for the Second World War casualties to the existing First World War lists (Fig. 6.59c) are upon memorials which had listed the names by rank. In fact only two memorials, both of which are to United States servicemen at Upottery airfield (Fig. 6.37a) and in Dunkeswell Church (Fig. 6.59d), list casualties by rank.
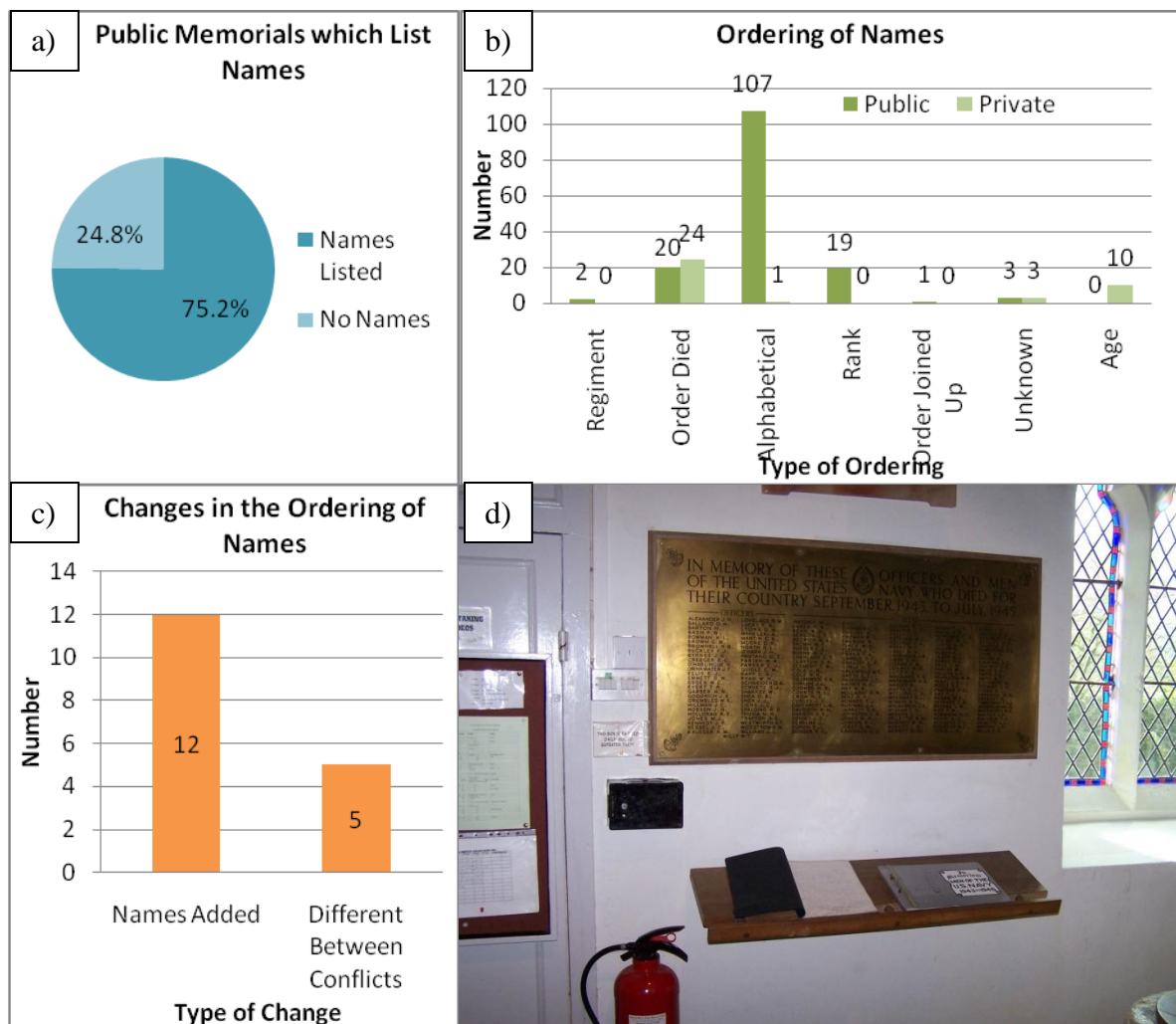
*Figure 6.59 – Graphs showing the extent which names are use upon the public memorials of East Devon listing (a) and how the names are ordered (b). Occasionally changes occur in the ordering of the names on these memorials when later additions or subsequent conflicts are included (c). The United States Navy memorial in St. Nicholas' Church, Dunkeswell divides the names into officers and men, but they are listed alphabetically under both sections (d) (Photo: Author).*

It is not only the names of the dead which are listed on the war memorials of East Devon (Figs. 6.60), although it is surnames, alongside forenames and initials which are the most prolifically encountered (Fig. 6.60a). Rank and regiment are also commonly used as further elements connected with these names upon a large number of the region's memorials (519 and 510 memorials respectively). Rank and regiment in both study regions are usually, although not

exclusively, found together upon the same memorials (e.g. Figs. 6.60b; 6.60d). In the South Hams rank and regiment occur on a much lower number of public war memorials (58 and 57) than in East Devon (76 and 71), and this reflects a general pattern of the public memorials in the South Hams typically having less information included in their inscriptions. Despite the general pattern of a higher amount of information being included upon the public war memorials of East Devon a higher number only use initials rather than forenames upon the inscriptions (e.g. Fig. 6.60c). The higher number of memorials which use initials instead of surnames in East Devon is also not solely a reflection of this aspect being simplified to enable for a higher number of examples to include further details such as rank or regiment. In total 34 public memorials in East Devon simply include the initials and surname of casualties (50.7% of examples), while in the South Hams 22 examples (45.8%) have this most basic level of inscription.
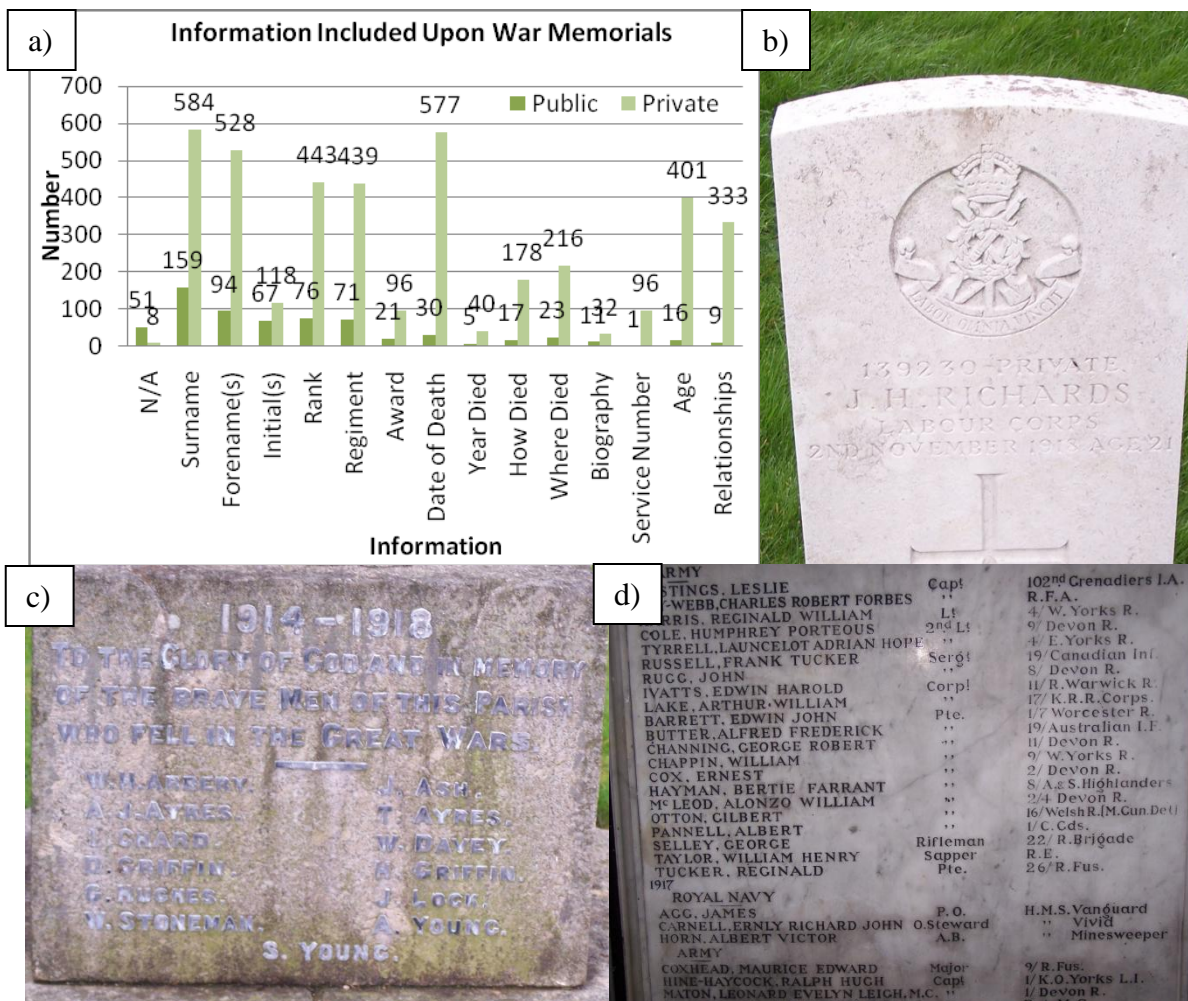
Figure 6.60 – The information which is included upon the war memorials of East Devon (a), amongst CWGC headstones, such as Private J.H. Richards from Axminster Cemetery (b), the information is typically limited to the service number, rank, initials, surname, regiment, date of death, and age. Public memorials exhibit a much greater variety of detail, as illustrated by the Talaton war memorial cross (c) and the First World War memorial tablet from St. Nicholas' Church, Sidmouth (d) (Photos: Author).

The number of public memorials which include the date or year of death (35 examples) is much higher than the number of memorials which are organised by this means (twenty), which suggests that it was seen as an important element of information in its own right. The date of death is also quite frequently found in association with information about how and/or where death occurred (seventeen and 23 memorials respectively). Many of the public war memorials which include the date of death, where died, or other biographical details such as the familial relationships, schooling, and homes of the dead are upon rolls of honour, and especially the recent folder additions (eight examples). However, more monumental forms also frequently include these details, such as is seen on the Kilmington war memorial cross (Fig. 6.61a) and Kentisbeare war memorial tablet (Fig. 6.61b). Monumental examples are also encountered in the South Hams study region, such as the Aveton Gifford roll of honour tablet (Fig. 5.15e), the East Allington memorial tablet, and the Bigbury war memorial cross. It would seem that all of the examples in both study areas which include this level of detail upon monumental memorials were derived from rolls of honour, many of which have subsequently been lost.
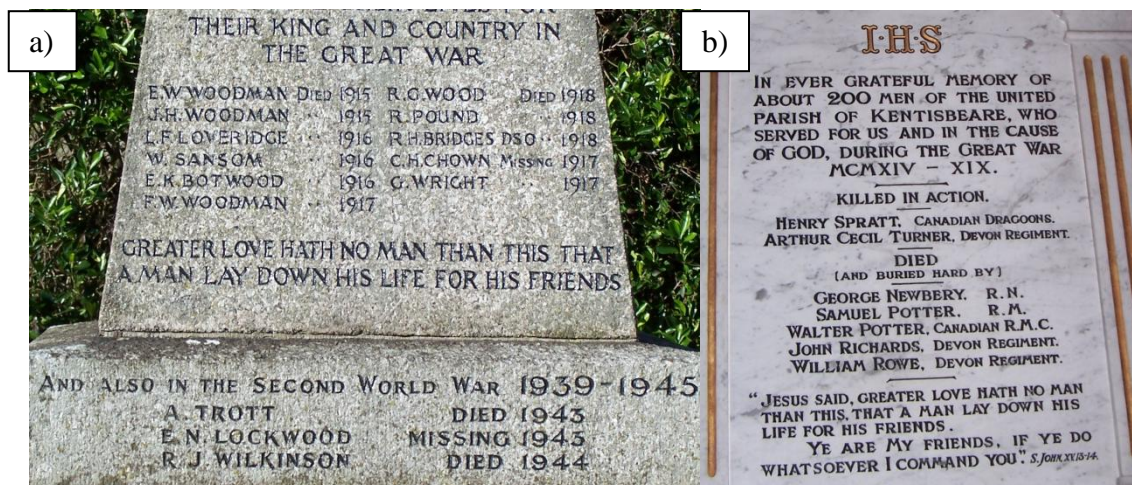
*Figure 6.61 – The Kilmington war memorial cross includes the initials, surnames, awards, how died and year of death (a), while the First World War memorial tablet in St. Mary's Church, Kentisbeare (b) includes the forenames, surname, regiment and how died/where buried (Photos: Author).*

### 6.5.2 Wording

The inclusion of the dates of conflicts upon the public memorials of East Devon is slightly more prolific than in the South Hams with 85.5% of examples including them. They are particularly prominent upon the First World War memorials of the region, with only ten public memorials (most of which are rolls of honour) not including the dates of the conflict (Fig. 6.62a). East Devon exhibits an almost identical proportion (around 50%) of First World War memorials which include the dates 1914-1918. There are also in East Devon some unusual memorial inscriptions which suggest that it was not a straight forward selection for communities to make. For example the Musbury war memorial stone, has the dates 1914-1919 included upon the memorials frame, but the central tablet had 1914-1918 inscribed (Fig. 6.62b). The different dates which appear upon the Musbury war memorial can be seen to reflect the replacement of the memorial tablet in order to append the Second World War casualties upon the same memorial. The change which is evidenced in the inscription of this single memorial therefore also acts as a warning as to the possible changes which may have occurred to the rest of the inscription on this and other war memorials after the Second World War. A slightly more atypical example of the confusing messages which war memorials conveyed is found at Southleigh (Fig. 6.62c). The Southleigh war memorial tablet includes the dates of the Great War 1914-1918, despite four of the six individuals having died after these dates (three in 1919 and one in 1920).

The confusion which is materialised by many of the First World War memorials in both study areas emphasises the local decision making processes behind their erection, and also of the relatively unplanned nature of many of the commemorative projects adopted during and after the conflict. The complicated and relatively raw nature of the commemorative processes adopted

after the First World War, were however largely absent after the Second World War as the memorials had much clearer precedents to follow. The existence of successful First World War memorials in the majority of communities after the Second World War meant that these could be easily appended or their spaces reused to commemorate this second major conflict. One of the clearest indications that the process of commemoration was a simple process after the Second World War, is that on the inscriptions of the majority of memorials simply only include the dates of the conflict (60% of examples in East Devon and 43% in the South Hams), or have *1939-1945 war* (16% in East Devon and 20.3% in the South Hams) as the description of the memorials meaning (see Figs. 6.62d; 5.71b). The higher lack of need to include more detail on the memorial inscriptions of East Devon than in the South Hams can be seen to reflect the higher levels of reuse of First World War memorials, and the higher number of Second World War which are placed spatially independent of existing memorials in the South Hams (e.g. Fig. 5.56a).
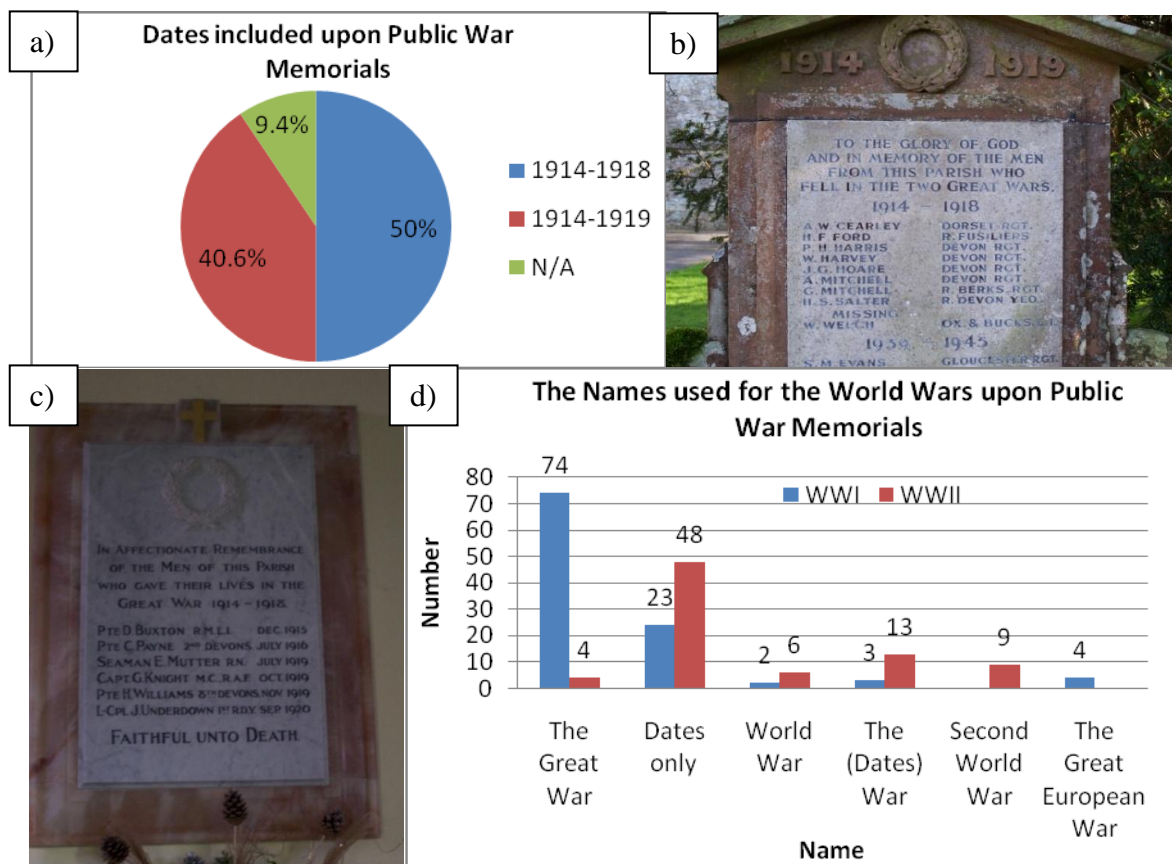


*Figure 6.62 – The dates which are included upon the public First World War memorials in East Devon, are dominated by those showing 1914-1918 (a). There are however some unusual anomalies such as the Musbury war memorial tablet (b), and the memorial tablet in St.*

*Lawrence's Church Southleigh (c).The World Wars are also identified by a variety of terms, with the Great War dominating First World War memorials, and the dates 1939-1945 most frequently identifying the Second World War (d) (Photos: Author).*

The terms used for public war memorial inscriptions to express how the viewer should remember the conflict and its casualties are dominated in East Devon (as they are in the South Hams) by in *honoured*, *grateful* or *loving* memory (Fig. 6.63a). The most notable contrast which are apparent in the terms used in the regions, are the more explicit phrases used for the South African War memorials. In East Devon the terms *pious*, *affectionate*, and *thank-offering* occur on four of the six public South African War memorial inscriptions which describe remembrance, while in the South Hams the inscriptions are much simpler being restricted to *n memory* in all six instances (Fig. 5.72a). The much simpler commemorative inscriptions used for South African War memorials in the South Hams can be seen to reflect the much less varied nature of the commemoration of the conflict in the area than that used in East Devon. The difference between the two study areas in the inscriptions for these memorials also extends to how death was expressed on these memorials, with those in East Devon being either much more explicit such as the word *killed* appearing on two examples, or wordy with *who gave their lives* and *laid down their lives* appearing on a further two memorials (Fig. 6.63b). In contrast in the South Hams the terms used for South African War memorials were either *who fell* or *who died* (Fig. 5.72b).

The other most notable contrast in the terms used to express memory between the two study areas, is the slightly higher use of in *proud memory* in East Devon, with five First World War examples and three Second World War memorials including *proud* in their inscriptions (Fig. 6.63a). The South Hams in contrast only has three First World War examples which include proud memory (Fig. 5.72a). The other choices made in how to express memory are relatively similar between the two regions, just as they are for the expressions of death (Figs. 5.72b; 6.63b). There are however more notable contrasts in the use of phrases in the inscriptions used to justify why the named casualties had died in East Devon than was recorded for the South Hams. For example, 68 memorials in East Devon use some form of justification (Fig. 6.63c) compared to 53 in the South Hams (Fig. 5.73a). The higher number of instances of justification which occur on the memorial inscriptions of East Devon is largely a result of their more widespread use for First

World War memorials (44.4% of examples) than in the South Hams (27.6%). The need to more frequently justify the First World War deaths in East Devon may reflect a higher level of disagreement on how to commemorate this conflict in the region than occurred in the South Hams.
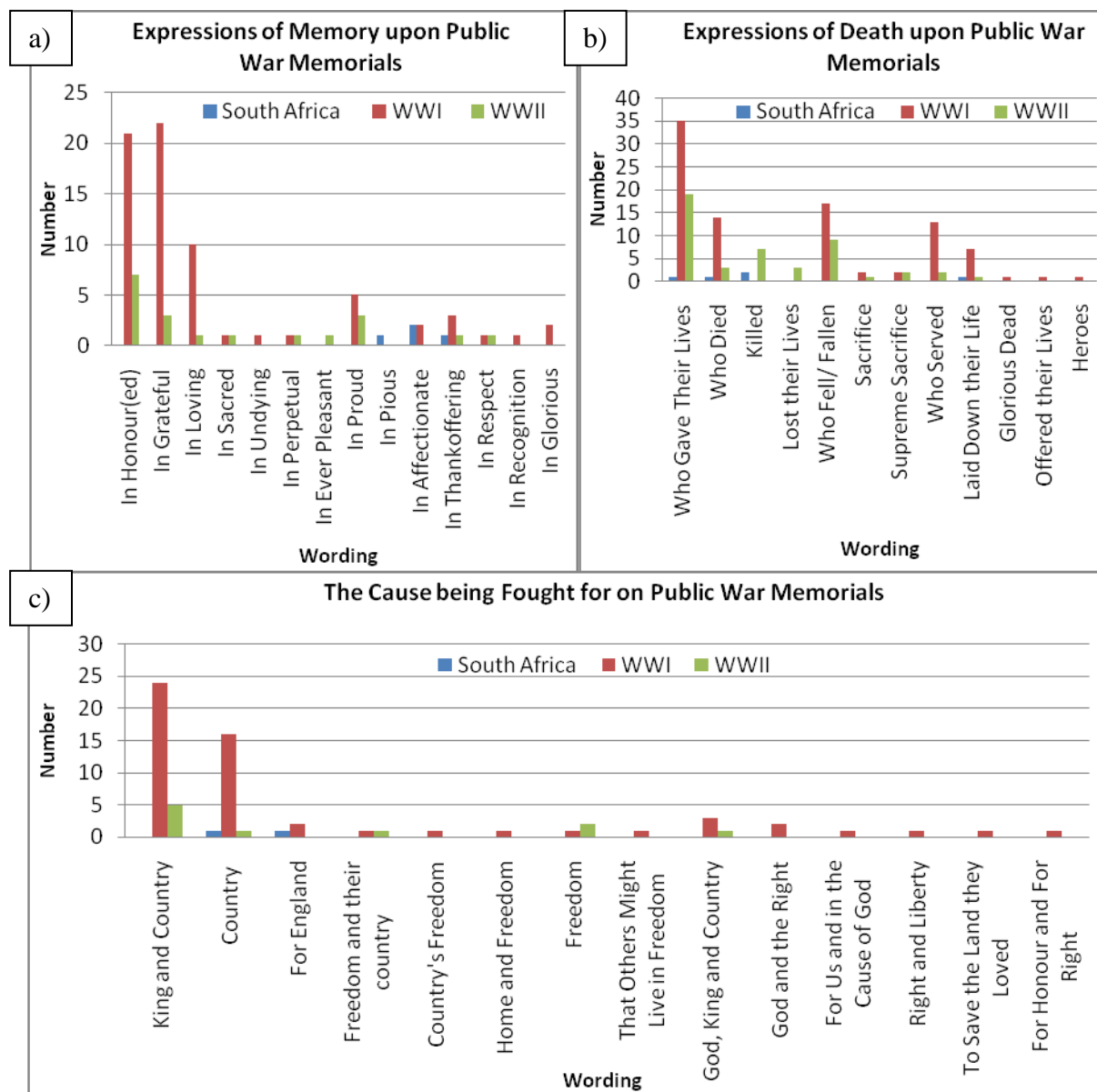


*Figure 6.63 – Graphs of the words used for the of public war memorial inscriptions of East Devon to express memory (a), death (b), and the cause fought for (c).*

The range of quotes and epitaphs which appear upon the public memorials of East Devon (42 different examples) is slightly more diverse than for the South Hams area (36 examples). The

majority of these are associated with First World War memorials and only occur in single instances, such as *Quit you like men, be strong* which appears of the Chardstock war memorial tablet. There is also two examples of epitaphs which occur upon more than a single war memorial in East Devon, but were not found in the South Hams study region. First, the phrase *Live thou for England, we for England died!* appears on three memorials in East Devon (the First World War memorials at Offwell, Combpyne, and Rousdon). The second quote which occurs in more than one instance in East Devon but not in the South Hams is found on two memorials in the neighbouring parishes of Branscombe and Beer; *Sons of this place, let this of you be said, that you who live were worthy of your dead; these gave their lives, that you who live may reap A richer harvest ere you fall asleep*. Both of these quotes were used for First World War memorials in other parts of Britain (e.g. North East War Memorials Project 2006) but are not prolific in their use.

**6.6 Summary**

The East Devon study region exhibits a similarly diverse range of war memorials and commemorative actions as the South Hams study area. The most notable contrasts which exist between the regions occur in the commemoration of the South African War, not only in terms of forms, locations and inscriptions, but also to some extent in their subsequent biographies and the higher level of influence which they seem to have exerted upon subsequent war memorials. The majority of the differences which are apparent amongst the commemorative strategies of the two study areas are however accountable by the lower population and number of casualties which occur in East Devon. Despite the similarities in the two regional patterns it is essential to recognise the unique range of factors which influenced and determined the commemorative strategies of each community and family. In East Devon some of the most important influences on the commemorative landscape which are archaeologically identifiable, include the Wellington memorial, the influence of Exeter, the continuing control of the Church of England, and the presence of several airfields during the Second World War.

# 7.0 DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

This section furthers the discussions upon the results of the previous two chapters (chapters 5 and 6). It does this by comparing their commemorative landscapes and forms against a wider regional pattern of war memorials which were recorded from across the rest of Devon during this study. The results and distributions which have emerged during this research are then discussed in relation to other war memorial studies from across Britain. In particular some of the key issues which these studies have identified are discussed. In particular the debates on the evolution of memorials over time, the role of the church, and the dichotomy between utilitarian and symbolic memorials are analysed in relation to the memorials recorded in this study.

## 7.1 Introduction

The first *modern* war memorials are seen as emerging after the Napoleonic Wars, normally in commemoration of the leaders (particularly Nelson and Wellington) and officers of these conflicts (Quinlan 2005; Corke 2005). As the nineteenth century progressed the commemoration of private soldiers grew, firstly in the form of regimental memorials which identified the men with their comrades, and then after the South African War with their county, town, or village (Inglis 1992: 587). The change in commemoration reflects the army reforms which occurred in the late nineteenth century, such as the reorganisation of the regiments creating much stronger bonds to specific communities and regions (Judd and Surridge 2003; Hewitt 2001). The changes which occur in commemoration at this time also reflects the growth of the territorial forces, with the South African War the first to deploy voluntary troops in active service, with an estimated 3500 British volunteers dying during the conflict (Judd and Surridge 2003; Quinlan 2005: 33).

The deaths of volunteers in the South African War are often cited as having led to the dramatic shift in the commemoration of conflict in Britain. It is argued that there was a greater desire to remember these *citizen soldiers* amongst their families and communities, and as a consequence

the remembrance of all soldiers who died on active service began to occur (for example, Gaffney 1998: 23). To some extent this is supported by the South African War memorials recorded in this study, which typically place strong emphasis upon the voluntary nature of their parishioners' war service (e.g. Fig. 7.1). The trend of emphasising the voluntary nature of war service was to be emphasised even more strongly in the commemoration of those who served in the First World War in Devon, although it became a less important theme in later war memorials. The growing importance of emphasising the *citizen* rather than the *soldier* is further emphasised in the commemorative forms through the decreasing importance of including rank and regiment on public war memorials in the region. For example, 100% of the recorded public South African memorials included rank and regiment, while only 29% of First World War memorials include both of these, and only 14% of Second World War memorials (the majority of which imitate an adjacent First World War example).
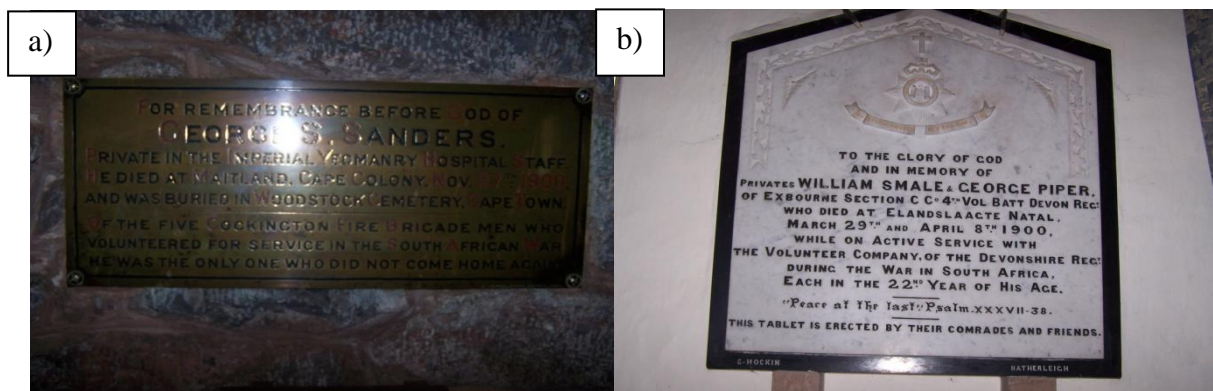


*Figure 7.1 – The Cockington South African War Memorial Plaque (a) commemorates the five volunteers from the parish who served, one of whom died, therefore emphasising their identities as citizen-soldiers. The Exbourne South African War Memorial Tablet (b) also includes full details of the military identity of the two casualties (i.e. rank and regiment), while emphasising their citizenship and the voluntary nature of their service (Photos: Author).*

Devon conforms to the *typical* pattern of evolution of the modern war memorial (e.g. Fig. 7.2) in Britain, with the earliest memorials tending to be memorials to officers of the Napoleonic Wars (nineteen memorials), or American Revolution (four memorials). The number of memorials for the Crimean War and Sepoy Mutiny emphasise a slight growth (fourteen and twelve respectively) with the first regimental memorials occurring at this time in Exeter Cathedral (Fig.

7.3). The growth of commemoration for the South African War is also evident, with conflict commemoration becoming much more widely spread at this time. South African War memorials appear in a significant proportion of parishes (19% in the two study areas), and in total 72 memorials were recorded in this study (1.5% of the total number of war memorials). The South African War (and to a lesser extent earlier conflicts) had provided some important precursors in the forms, locations and inscriptions for the huge number of war memorials which subsequently emerged in commemoration of the First World War. It was however to be these Great War memorials which have most strongly shaped the commemorative landscape of the 20th century across Britain (King 1998; Laqueur 1994; Heathorn 2005) and Devon (44% of the recorded war memorials in the region commemorate the First World War).
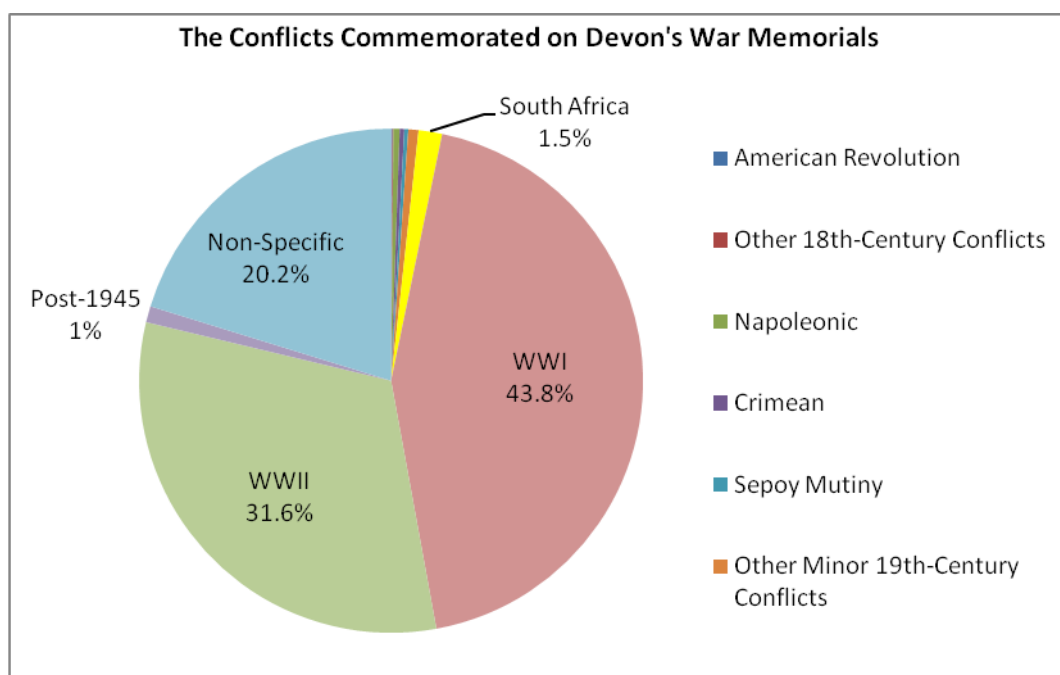


*Figure 7.2 – The percentages of the different wars commemorated on the war memorials recorded in this study. All of the conflicts prior to the twentieth century are commemorated on less 1% of memorials.*
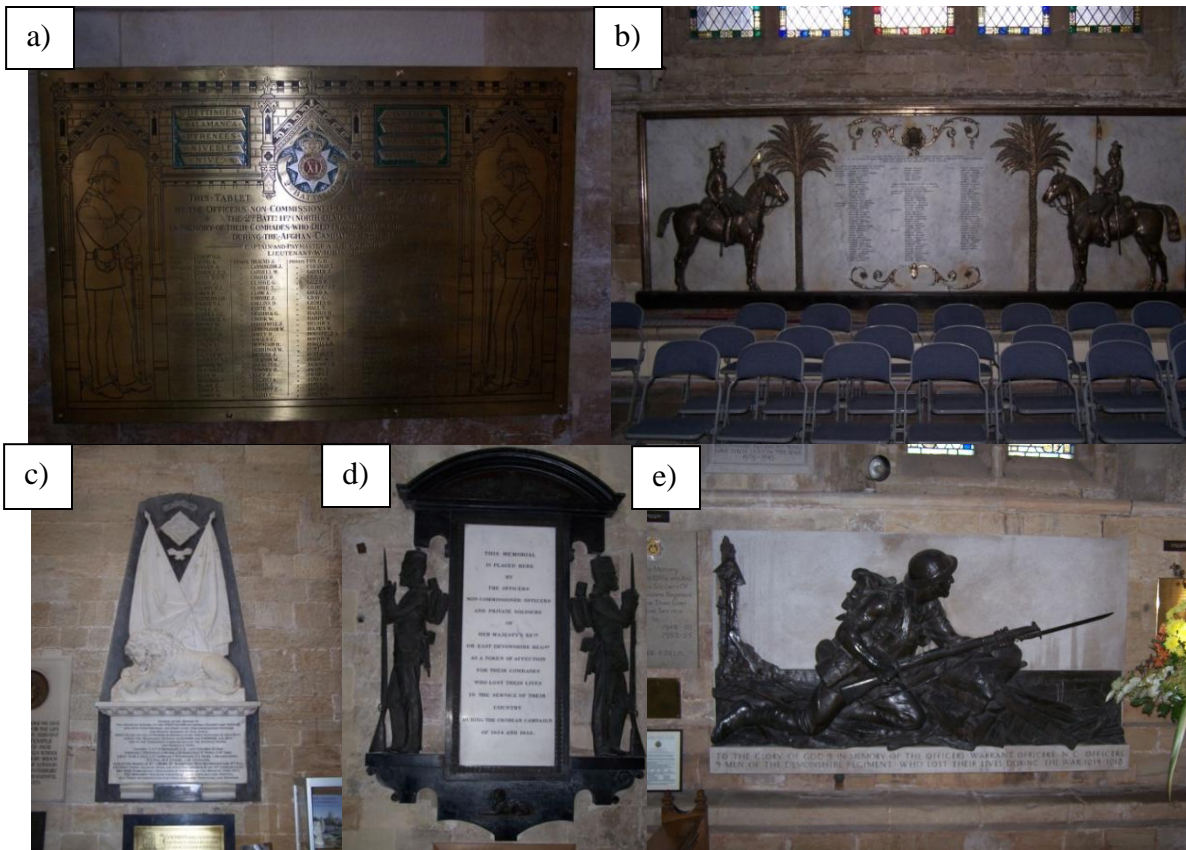
*Figure 7.3 – Regimental memorials, such as these ones at Exeter cathedral tended to emerge after the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the majority of which are associated with the Crimean War. The examples in Devon include the 2<sup>nd</sup> Battalion Devon Regiment's Afghan Campaign (1880-1881) memorial (a); and the 9<sup>th</sup> Queen's Royal Lancers Sepoy Mutiny (1857) memorial (b), the 32<sup>nd</sup> Regiment Sepoy Mutiny (1857) memorial (c), and the 20<sup>th</sup> Regiment's Crimean (1854-55) memorial (d). Subsequent regimental memorials such as the Devonshire Regiments First World War (1914-1918) memorial tablet (e) bear close resemblance to these earlier forms (Photos: Author).*

For commemoration to occur there must in Nora's words be *a will to remember* (1989: 19). For instance Moriarty (1997) describes the growth of commemoration in Britain during the First World War as having been strongly influenced by the War Offices decision in 1915 to ban the repatriation of the dead, a policy which was to be followed for the majority of subsequent conflicts. However, this lack of returning bodies was not unusual, it had certainly not been possible for the majority of earlier conflicts such as the South African Wars or the Crimean War. I would therefore argue that the *will to remember* and the erection of war memorials instead of

representing an *intrinsic need* of communities after the decision not to repatriate (Moriarty 1997: 126) were a result of the initial voluntary enlistment. The service personnel of the First World War were therefore largely viewed and identified as *citizens* and not as professional servicemen, even following the introduction of conscription (Knight and Hewitt 2001; Gaffney 1998).

The scale and duration of the First World War, with an estimated 722,785 to 772,000 British casualties from the 6,146,574 who served (Winter 1985) over the seven years commemorated by the IWGC (1914-21), also had a dramatic impact upon how the war was commemorated and remembered (Todman 2005; 45). In total Devon had lost around 11,501 men and women (around 1.64% of the county's 1911 population) in the First World War (The Express and Echo 1921), which when compared to the county's loss of around 400 (0.06% of the county's 1901 population) in the South African War (The Times June 1st 1903) provides a clear contrast of how dramatic a shift had occurred in the scale of losses.

The percentage of Devon's population killed in the First World War would appear however to have been much higher if solely based upon the number of individuals recorded on the public war memorials of the region, which include enough names for 2.89% of the county's 1911 population. The high figure can be accounted for by the number of non-resident individuals which were recorded on the regions war memorials due to familial connections, and also due to the repetition of names upon several neighbouring parishes' war memorials (e.g. J.E. Wotton was included on both the Totnes and Ashburton war memorials). It is clear that based upon a sample of twenty rolls of honour, that when the numbers listed upon them are compared to the same parishes 1911 populations that between 8.5% and 27% of their populations saw active service (an average of 15.24%). Again this is likely to be slightly higher figure than the reality, as most rolls of honour include people who only had tenuous links to the parish, not all of whom were resident in the parish when they enlisted (e.g. Fig. 7.4a), and given that around 13% of Britain's population saw active service in the First World War (Todman 2005; Winter 1985) it is unlikely that in a largely rural county (even given its naval traditions) that such a high percentage had served (for rural comparisons see also Grieves 2000; Tarlow 1999a: 153). The actual numbers who served can be further inferred by the total losses for the county (11,501), which if taken to be reflective of the national average of 13% of servicemen having died during the war,

would suggest that around 88,500 Devonians had served during the conflict (12.64% of the county's population).

The loss of family members, friends and neighbours therefore became an almost collective experience in the First World War. The large size of the community of the bereaved was unlike those from previous wars, when only a minority had served or died, and the majority of these had been career soldiers and sailors. Typically during the First World War there were a member or members from each parish keeping a close watch (and often contact) with those serving from their neighbourhood, sometimes maintaining, updating, and publically locating lists of serving members from the community (e.g. Bartlett and Ellis 1999: 241). For example, Dean Prior included a list of servicemen in the parish notes (DRO 6231A/PX1), while a list of serving men from the Kingsbridge Council School was included in the Parish Register for St. Edmunds (Brine 2009c). This enabled the whole community to share in the grief and mourning of each family within their parish, village or town (see also Fig. 7.4).

The process of communal mourning was reflected in the erection of war memorials, which were often designed and chosen in ways that enabled them to belong to the community in which they were located, and to become *collective symbols* which spoke of and for these communities (Winter 1995a: 348). The majority of public war memorials were paid for by public subscription and organised by a committee which was, nominally at least, representative (e.g. Bartlett and Ellis 1999; Grieves 2000). The local communal nature of the remembrance strategies is further evidenced in those communities where a public war memorial scheme was paid for solely through the generosity of one resident. The private funding and decision making behind a publically located war memorial could often act as a barrier to the scheme being seen as a communal expression. As a result additional publically funded and organised war memorials were often erected in addition to, or in competition with, these privately funded schemes. For example, at Salcombe a reading room was provided by Andrew McIlwraith, and was supplemented by a publically subscribed memorial cross placed opposite the entrance to the reading room (The Kingsbridge Gazette 1920d), and the erection of public memorial plaques in both the Methodist Church and the parish church of St. Edmund's. The dead of the First World War, more so than those of earlier conflicts were not allowed to *pass into the private world of*

*mourning* either at the local level through the erection of war memorials and other public commemorative schemes, or internationally by the CWGC's commemorative memorials and headstones near the battle sites of the war (Heffernan 1995; Gough and Morgan 2004).



*Figure 7.4 – The 'need' to commemorate led to the erection of relatively temporary commemorative forms during the war years, such as the Jacobstowe roll of honour (a) in St. James Church (a), which includes 33 names (in a parish of only 174 in 1911). The war memorial outside St. Olaves Church, Exeter (b) was originally set up in January 1917 as a wooden street shrine by the rector (Rev. E.C. Long) as a site for displaying a list of all those serving and dying from the parish and a shelf for placing flowers (The Express and Echo 1917) (Photos: Author).*

The communal ownership of the remembrance of the dead (or at least of their names) did not prevent them also being privately grieved and commemorated within families. This was particularly necessary because the processes of public commemoration in part disregarded the needs and feelings of individuals and families. Private grief was not completely ignored however, as public commemoration and memorials based their success upon using, influencing, and controlling individual grief to act as representatives of the wider community. Individual grief for example was frequently acknowledged through the rituals of the unveiling ceremonies, and memorials were frequently unveiled by a bereaved member of the community, or in other

instances the bereaved would lead the wreath laying rituals and have reserved seating and spaces. For example, at Malborough where not only was the memorial cross unveiled by a local dignitary (G.M. Vereker) whose son was the first name listed upon the memorial, but the other families laying wreaths were second (behind the ex-servicemen) in the procession from the church to the war memorial (The Kingsbridge Gazette 1920b). The relatives, families, and other mourning groups can therefore be seen as acting as one of the main components in the creation of remembrance memorials and the ceremonies which have become so intrinsic to their meanings.

The bereaved were however, frequently ignored in the planning of these memorials as the committees which planned them usually comprised of members of the parish council and local ministers, rather than from bereaved members of the community, and they often acted without consulting the families of those who were to be listed upon the memorials. For example, the Stoke Fleming war memorial scheme took the form of the restoration of an ancient cross in the churchyard, which was erected and arranged without consulting the bereaved who wrote to the committee asking for them to add an inscription from the Easter Collect. The committee held a public meeting and discussed the issue, yet it was clear that the committee felt the inscription too long (and therefore expensive!), and that any other inscription would not satisfy the bereaved, it being *very difficult to choose one which everyone agreed with*, (DRO1342A/PP328), despite the 29 signatures which requested the Easter Collect suggesting that a consensus existed amongst many of the bereaved (DRO1342A/PP329).

Private grief was therefore used to act as a representative of the community of mourning, embodying the meanings of the memorials to those attending unveilings, and in subsequent remembrance services (after Moriarty 1997: 136), rather than in shaping and controlling the public commemorative schemes. In time therefore the grief and mourning of individuals and different groups being almost completely subsumed into a more generic *public grief*, which left little room for individuals or groups such as mothers, fathers, orphans, wives, or ex-servicemen to be acknowledged separately (e.g. Damousi 1999). The process of diminishing individuality for both the names listed upon memorials and for the grief of the bereaved has however started to be reversed in recent years with the control of remembrance becoming increasingly controlled by

veteran groups and the families of the war dead (see also Chapter 7.4.2; Fig. 6.57). The emphasis upon a *shared experience of bereavement* can therefore be seen as one of the most central elements behind the prolific construction of public war memorials for the First World War (Tarlow 1997: 115; Gaffney 1998).

The importance of private grief in the commemoration of conflict in the $20^{th}$ Century is emphasised by the fact that 80.7% of the memorials recorded in this study are categorised as private (Fig. 7.5). Included within this figure are CWGC headstones which make up 42.6% of the private war memorials and 34.3% of the total. In total during this study 4515 war memorials were recorded (Fig. 7.5a; Appendix 6). The number of recorded memorials within this study is reflective of a much higher total than is recorded for the whole county by the UKNIWM which currently stands at 1575 (UKNIWM 2009). Even when the CWGC headstones (1550) and other burials (546) are removed a total of 2276 memorials recorded fit the criteria of the UKNIWM, of which only 542 (23.8%) are currently recorded on the UKNIWM database. Therefore if this level of commemoration was seen across the rest of the county, I would estimate that the county had at least 6000 war memorials. However, the figure is likely to be much greater, especially given the naval history of Plymouth and its heavy Second World War bombing. Additional to these 6000+ war memorials are the 5075 CWGC burials located in Devon (CWGC 2009) and an estimated 2000+ other headstones which commemorate military veterans or casualties.

Based upon the number of recorded war memorials in this study there is an average of twelve to thirteen memorials per parish, although if the CWGC headstones and other burials are included this number increases to 23. These figures are however heavily distorted by the cities and large towns of the region, as well as those places which have had long term military presences, such as Bickleigh near Plymouth where the Royal Marine Regiment has been stationed since 1950. For example, the average number of all categories of First World War memorials for parishes with populations of under a 1000 in 1911 is only 2.68, while for those with a population over 1000 is 12.40, which emphasises the huge variance in the number of war memorials erected between smaller rural communities (which generally suffered very few casualties) and the larger rural and urban centres of the county.
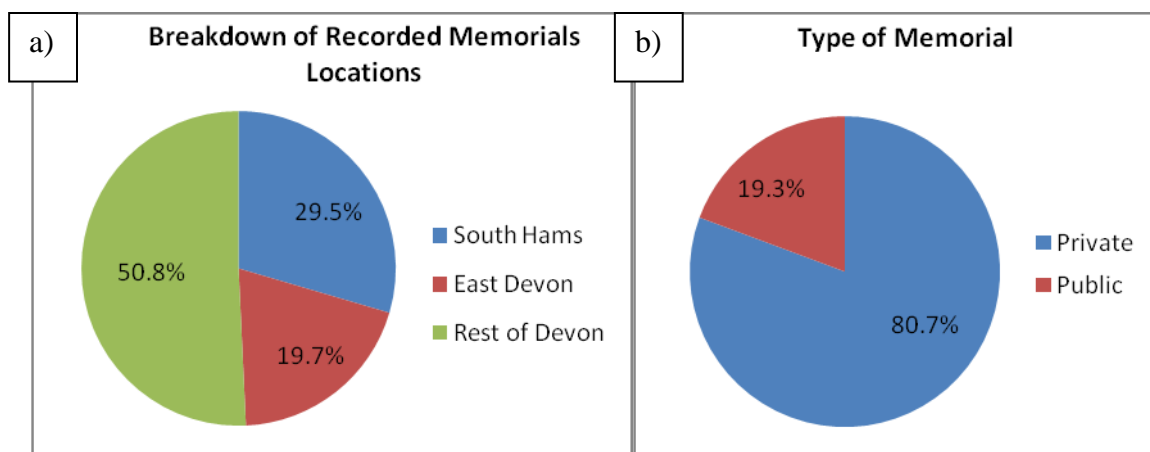
*Figure 7.5 – The locations of the war memorials recorded in this study (a) and the breakdown between public and private types (b).*

### 7.1.1 Forms

The statistics recorded in this study can be evaluated against those from the UKNIWM (for example, Furlong *et al* 2002), to emphasise the nature of war commemoration in the region compared to national patterns and averages (Appendix 5). It is clear that on the whole similar patterns of commemoration exist locally and nationally with *church fabric* memorials dominating (Fig. 7.6). However the low numbers of headstone additions which are currently included upon the UKNIWM database has consequently led to the figures produced in this study creating a much heavier emphasis upon *church fabric* war memorials (Figs. 7.6c-d). The larger percentage of non-figurative memorials seen in the statistics for Devon can be partly accounted for by the dominance of the cross in the region (Fig. 7.8), largely to the detriment of figurative and utilitarian war memorials. Figurative memorials are apparently largely restricted to London and the Greater Manchester region, and Devon can therefore hardly be seen to be abnormal in the low number of this type of memorial (Furlong *et al* 2002: 15).

The statistics recorded in this study can be used as evidence to link in with the debates between war memorials acting as expressions of national identity, articulating part of a national myth of the war experiences (e.g. Mosse 1990; Rowlands 1993; King 1998), or of them acting as discernible expressions of local identities and memories (e.g. Tarlow 1997; Winter 1995a). Both can find support within the results. For example the majority of the war memorials surveyed were locally instigated (Grieves 2001: 203), or constructed by the CWGC (e.g. Fig. 7.8). Only a small number of memorials from this study (under 0.2%) come from groups or nations

elsewhere, and most of these have been erected in recent years (e.g. Figs. 5.14e; 5.56). This is reflected by the large number of the recorded memorials which commemorate named individuals from the local community (63.5% of public war memorials). It is also manifested in the dominance of the cross (15% of public memorials) and the overriding use of granite in the construction of public external memorials (55.9%), which are both so strongly reflective of the Southwest/Devonian identities. Local influences can therefore be seen to account for the higher use of memorial crosses in the study area than occurs nationally (Fig. 7.7).

The cross alongside the majority of other forms, locations, and wordings used on the war memorials of Devon are not however outside of the national norms. They reflect patriotic and nationalistic sentiments alongside these more local influences, including for example the use of *king and country* in a memorials inscription (5%), or decorative elements such as flags (0.7%). The most evident influences are seen in use of commemorative forms designed or imitated from the CWGC repertoire, such as the sword of sacrifice, which is found on 0.2% of memorials. The influence of the CWGC also extended to several of the larger communities in the region (including Totnes, Torquay, and Exeter) commissioning CWGC architects to design suitable commemorative forms.

A further important national memorial form which also sees relatively limited use in Devon is Lutyens *Cenotaph*. There are only three directly comparable examples which were recorded in this study, namely the First World War memorials at Plympton St. Maurice (Fig. 5.37d), and Moretonhampstead (Fig. 7.8b), and the evacuation memorial at Slapton Sands (Fig. 5.37a). The two First World War examples both date to 1921, by which time the Cenotaph at Whitehall had been made permanent and widely endorsed by the public and government (e.g. Hanson 2005). The Moretonhampstead example in particular provides interesting biographical links to the original cenotaph in that it is one of the nearest towns to the Sir Edwin Lutyens (architect of the Cenotaph), designed Castle Drogo, which was still being built around the time of the memorials erection. It is perhaps not surprising therefore that this form was chosen, or that of the three examples from Devon it bears the closest resemblance to the original Cenotaph.

There is therefore significant imitation and application of nationalistic styles, motifs, and forms in the war memorials of Devon throughout the twentieth century. War memorials obviously

arose out of local commemorative practices (see Fig. 5.36) and forces (Moriarty 1997) to reflect local identities, needs and memories. However, they rarely challenged the official narrative of the CWGC, the Cenotaph, the Unknown Soldier, and the Armistice Day observances. The majority of war memorials in Devon and across the rest of the country are therefore reflective of local communities, but their characteristics are largely tied into the wider regional and national identities. Much further work is necessary in order to understand the differences which exist in the commemorative patterns on local, regional and national scales.
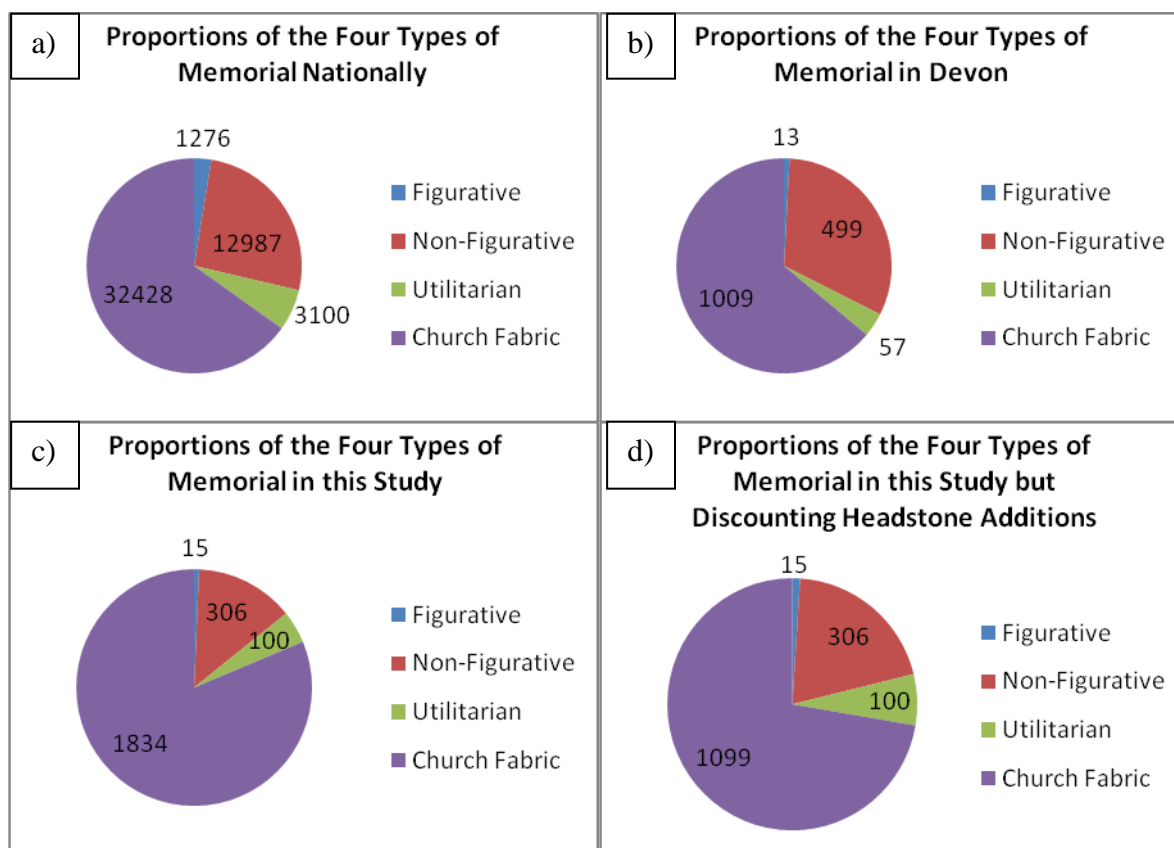


*Figure 7.6 – The breakdown of memorial types based on UKNIWM statistics nationally (a) and in Devon (b). The results of this study (c) emphasise that there is a much higher proportion of memorials which follow the UKNIWM categorisation of church fabric, but this is largely down to the large number of headstone additions which this study has recorded (d).*
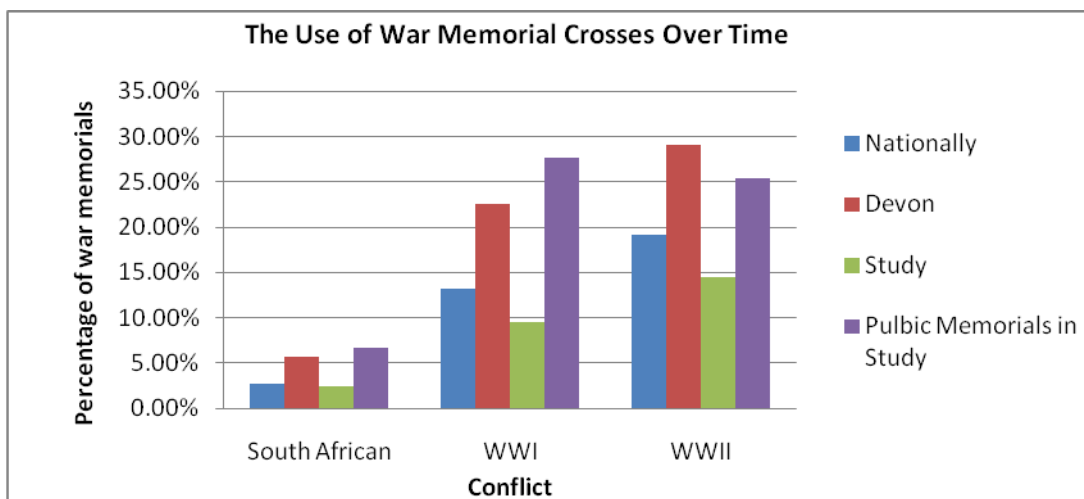
*Figure 7.7 – The percentages of war memorial crosses which emphasises that Devon has a much higher proportion of crosses than the national averages, particularly amongst public war memorials. The figures are taken from UKNIWM statistics for both the national (Furlong et al 2002) and Devonian percentages (accessed online 8/8/2009).*



*Figure 7.8 – The Cross of Sacrifice was erected in only a small number of the county's largest cemeteries such as at Paignton (a) (Photo: Author). The forms used by the CWGC's and for other national memorials such as the Cenotaph were often imitated for war memorials in Devon, such as for the Moretonhampstead war memorial (photographed here at its 1921 unveiling) which partially resembles the London Cenotaph (b)(From Moretonhampstead History Society 2010).*

The war memorials which were erected to conflicts before and after the First World War are often seen as gestures to memorial traditions, which were erected as obligations to remember, rather than as emotional responses to tragedy and loss that those from the Great War represented (Borg 1991: 84). This opinion is largely founded upon the huge change in the extent of memorialisation after the First World War and although the conflict can be seen to have created a huge breach in tradition, the memorials largely took traditional (or even ancient) forms, being strongly influenced by the existing memorials that had been erected after the South African War and more ancient commemorative traditions (Figs. 7.9; 6.47c-e).

Traditionalist forms almost entirely dominate the war memorials of all periods from the study area (as elsewhere), and are reflective of the safer choice these forms presented, rather than abstract modernist forms which were largely ignored or rejected by memorial committees, perhaps not surprisingly given the architectural conservatism common amongst rural communities (Tarlow 1997: 115). These traditional forms attempted to *transcend the historical occasion of their foundation*, creating a sense of timelessness, and establish links with the historical pasts of the communities in which they were situated (Rowlands 1993). The most explicit example of the use of traditional styles is in the frequent reuse of ancient crosses for many of the war memorials of Devon (at least 14% of the recorded memorial crosses either incorporate or directly imitate the form or location of an ancient cross).

The use of traditional forms can be seen as being strongly influenced by concerns about creating timeless and permanent memorials, especially as communities were well aware of the existence of local and national commemorative memorials which had failed in maintaining their significance, even over relatively short durations. The most prominent example of this which occurred in Devon, were the debates in 1919 which centred around discussions of moving the county's South African War Memorial in Exeter Cathedral (The Express and Echo 1919b; Walls forthcoming). The failings of the county memorial highlighted to the First World War memorial committees (particularly in Exeter) the need to get the form, materials, and location of memorials *right* to ensure their permanence (Fig. 7.9). Permanence was therefore an important consideration in the construction of the majority of war memorials, as this would ensure a

continuing public statement that the community owed a debt to those who died, which could be paid by not forgetting their sacrifices (Bartlett and Ellis 1999: 232).



*Figure 7.9 – Photos of the county war memorial window (a) and tablets (b) that were erected in 1903 in memory of the Devonian casualties of the South African War. The tablets were moved from beneath the window to the much less dominating position (which they still occupy) in Exeter Cathedral in 1919. The high profile nature of this failed war memorial strongly shaped the commemorative choices made after the First World War in Exeter and its immediate environs, with brown stone tablets and memorial windows rarely used (Photos: Author).*

### 7.1.2 Locations

The bulk of war memorials are located externally (74.4%). However this is largely because of the large bias created by the thousands of headstones and headstone additions recorded in this study (66.7%). Indeed the majority of public war memorials are located internally (62.3%), with the church and churchyard the most prevalent location for both internal and external memorials (Figs. 7.10a-b). The dominance of the church as a location for 20th century conflict commemoration is clearly also seen on a national basis with 56% of memorials being categorised as *church fabric* (Appendix 5).

A further significant relationship which is apparent in the locations chosen for many of the war memorials in Devon, is that public memorials (and to some extent private examples) are typically located at prominent, yet also liminal locations, such as road junctions, entrances, and boundaries (Figs. 7.10b and 7.10c). The liminality and therefore lack of use and significance of

these locations prior to a memorial's construction can perhaps be seen to have been part of the motivation behind these choices. The locations can be identified as previously holding little meaning, and were spaces upon which the other commemorative narratives or forms did not already impinge upon the significance which the war memorials erected on these sites attempted to create. The placement in central, yet liminal locations also reflected the communal origins of these monuments, or at least of attempts to create a wider significance of these memorials. Conversely, the main determining factor is their visual prominence to all from the community rather than the lack or prominent historical significance to the locations, especially within communities with non-conformist churches or dispersed settlement patterns.

Practical concerns often determined the placement of memorials, such at where there was a prominent and unused communal space, as at Kenton (Fig. 7.22d), and Loddiswell (Fig. 5.32a). These unused sites are normally found in the centres of communities or at road junctions and had little use or value, but give the appearance of having been chosen for their prominence rather than convenience, physical limits, or financial constraints. Many war memorial locations were however determined through the choice of individuals, or by the donation of lands, as at Kingskerswell (Figs. 7.11a-b), Shute (Fig. 6.51b) and North Tawton (Figs. 7.11c-d). The most obvious relationships which emerge between war memorials and the spaces in which they were established within, is that they are typically placed near or opposite the entrances to buildings (Fig. 7.10c). The significance of this relationship extends beyond the churches, with the majority of war memorials which occur inside schools, businesses, and halls also being placed in direct relationship with entranceways. Again these locations near to, opposite, or above entrances are evidence of the general preference towards liminal and visible locations as appropriate sites for the placement of twentieth century war memorials.

a) **Location of Public War Memorials**

b) **Site of Public War Memorials**

c) **Main Motivation Behind the Choice of Location for Public War Memorials**
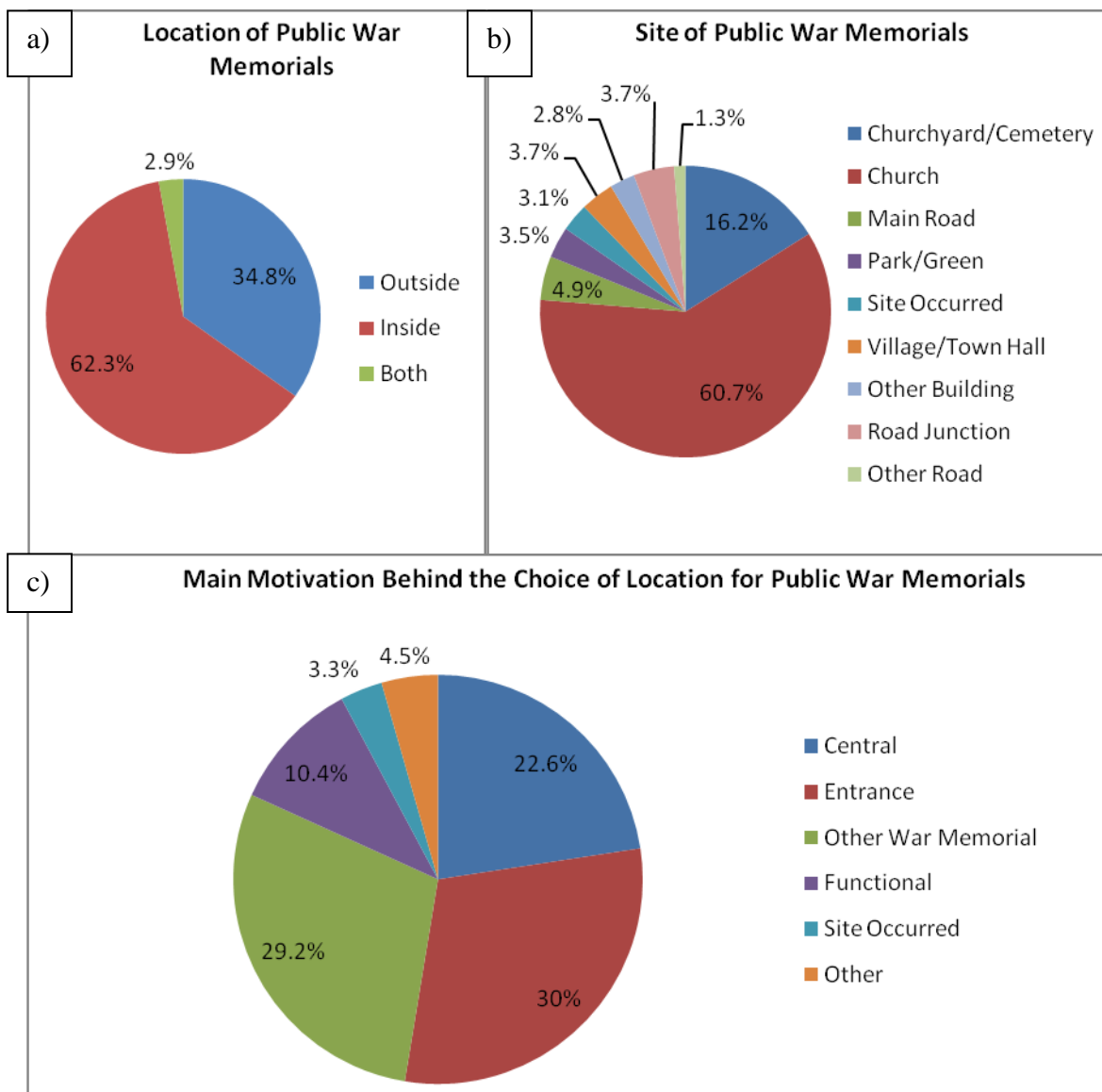
*Figure 7.10 – The location of public war memorials in Devon (a), and the type of locations these represent (b). The motivations behind these choices (beyond any religious stimulus) are also included (c), yet these are only the main suggested motives, as each memorials location can have multiple determining factors.*

The location chosen for a war memorial was crucial to its subsequent meaning and significance, and although it would be understood in other locations (due to their inscriptions and forms), the significance and strength of a memorial is largely created through the names listed upon it. These names are largely only relevant to the location in which a memorial was placed, and the existence of numerous dislocated memorials have often lost their commemorative function and

are retained for historic interest (e.g. the Allhallows South African war memorial plaque). Nora (1989: 22) suggests that memorials to the dead can be justifiably moved without altering their meaning; however this is rarely the case with war memorials, as the locations and communities in which they were located were intrinsically intertwined with their meanings and significance (hence only 1.06% of the recorded war memorials have been moved). Those war memorials which do have their locations changed usually only do so upon the closure or movement of the institution with which they are associated, especially common amongst businesses, schools and non-conformist churches. If however war memorials are moved within the same community, or same communal space (i.e. inside a church) then their meanings do suffer less, and they can still give an outward appearance of timelessness and belonging.

Given the uproar the proposed movement of the Torquay war memorial column recently caused (Fig. 7.11c), it is clear that the movement of war memorials is an emotive subject and is rarely supported by the whole community. The exception to this are if the movement is for legitimate reasons, such as to create a more tranquil, spacious or central setting within the community. For example the Willand war memorial stone was moved from the village hall to the churchyard so as to make all of the names legible, and so that it could be returned to its original location (Japes 1969: 33). Many community members see such proposed movements as disrespectful to the war dead and analogous to the desecration of their graves, as seen with proposed outcry over the movement of the Torquay war memorial (The Herald Express 2008a). Those war memorials which are moved are typically placed in association with other war memorials, or other commemorative monuments related to the institution or people listed upon them (as with the Bradfield Roll of Honour, see Fig. 6.54b). For example, the North Tawton war memorial was moved from the war memorial park to the local cemetery shortly after the Second World War (Brine 2009b), and became associated with war graves and headstone additions through this movement, but more importantly with the families and history of the people of the town, which the previous playing field location with its largely neutral and unknown history did not have (Fig. 7.11d-e). It was also a location more suited to commemoration, as an existing place of grief and mourning, which the playing field could never encompass as a site of recreation and leisure.
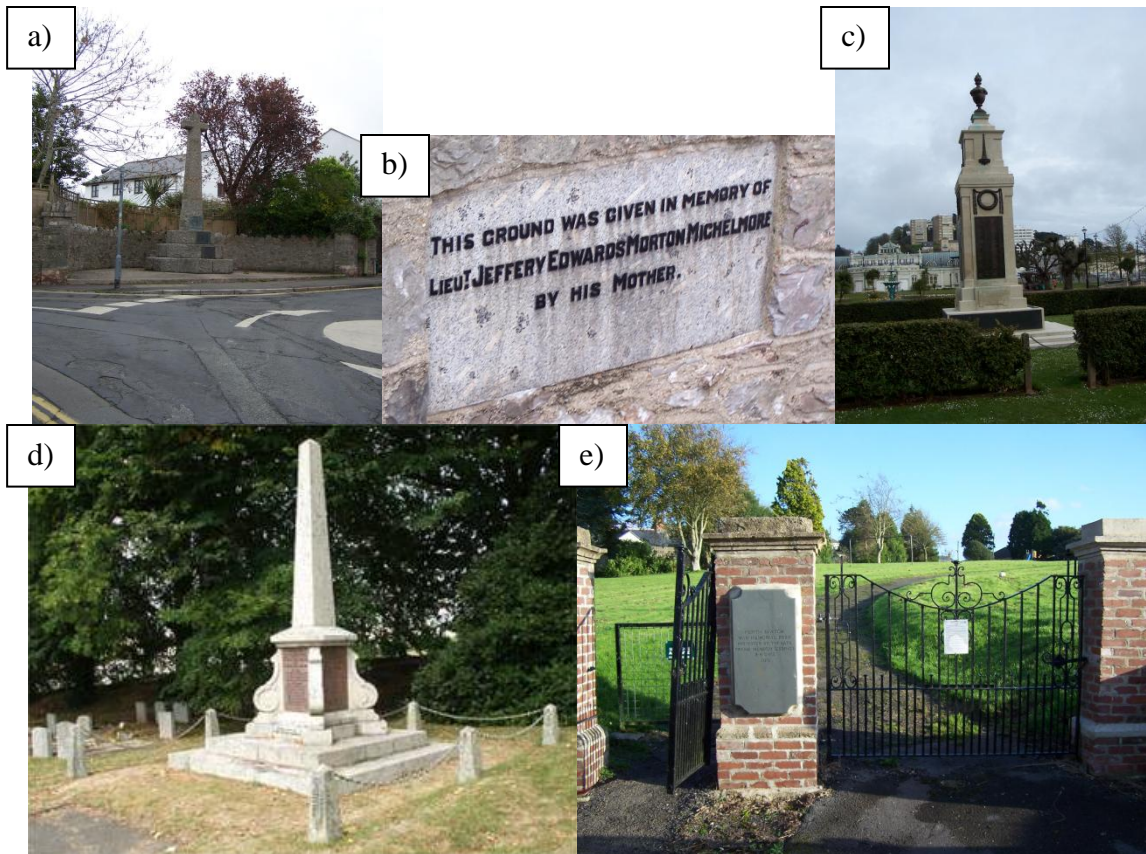
*Figure 7.11 – The Kingskerswell war memorial cross (a) was placed at a major road junction on land donated by one of the casualties parents (b). The suggested movement of the Torquay war memorial in 2008 caused local outrage (c). In contrast the North Tawton war memorial obelisk (d) was moved in 1948 from its original location in the war memorial park (e), having both been largely financed in 1919 by the Gibblings family (The Express and Echo 1919b) (Photos: Author).*

### 7.1.3 Inscriptions

The majority of the war memorials recorded in this study have inscriptions (99.2%), and 96.7% of public war memorials have some sort of inscription. The majority of these inscription use black text (65% of public war memorials), and other colours are less common, rarely occurring in isolation; particularly in instances when red, blue and gold are used which normally occur with each other or in conjunction with black lettering (Fig. 7.12a). A high proportion of public war memorials have no text colour and are therefore simply the colour of the material they are made from, this choice seems particularly prevalent in those instances when the letters are in relief (56.5% of clear coloured memorials have lettering in relief). White was the most frequently

used alternative to black and occurs on 10% of public war memorials, although it has become an increasingly viable choice in recent years, with 32% of white lettering appearing on Second World War memorials (compared to 20% on First World War), and 63% of white lettering appearing on public memorials erected since 1980.

The majority of the recorded war memorials had inscribed lettering (46%), however lettering in relief (13.9%) and lead lettering (13%) are also prominent (Fig. 7.12b). The number of printed and hand-written texts is very similar, partly as they frequently occur together (in 45% of examples), yet it is particularly noteworthy that the majority of handwritten memorials commemorate the First World War (52%), 6% of which have the Second World War appended onto them. A further 15% of hand-written memorials commemorate solely the Second World War but are almost exclusively copying the form from a nearby First World War memorial. Therefore only 14% of the handwritten inscriptions are associated with new war memorials commemorating conflicts other than the First World War. The restriction of handwritten memorials to the First World War is suggestive of the informal and often ephemeral beginnings that many of the war memorials and commemorative activities of the First World War had in comparison to those associated with the Second World War, which inevitably had much more established precedents.

**a) Text Colours on Public War Memorials**

Black 429, Grey 99, Gold 77, Red 86, White 106, Blue 27, N/A 34, Clear (Bronze) 61, Clear (White) 11, Clear (Grey) 20, Clear (Brown) 32

**b) Lettering Type on Public War Memorials**

Lead... 118, Inscribed 411, In Relief 124, N/A 34, Painted 49, Hand-Written 74, Printed 77, Other 5

**c) Lettering Style Used on Public War Memorials**

Printed 80%, Gothic 7.6%, Slightly Elaborated 8.6%, N/A 3.8%

*Figure 7.12 – The types of lettering which appear on the public war memorials of Devon (a), the colours used in this lettering (b) and the lettering style of the text used (c).*

The policy of commemoration adopted by the CWGC had been guided by the principle of an *equality of sacrifice meant an equality of commemoration*, but this had left little room for individuality (Gaffney 1998: 25). The lack of individualism allowed through the CWGC's policies was also in part recreated in the public war memorials erected in Britain, which only included a very restricted length of detail for each casualty. The restrictions on the level of detail and personal information included in official and communal memorial inscriptions can be seen to partly account for the high proportion of private commemorative forms recorded during this study. The need to personalise grief and memories is also reflected through the high proportion of home-shore war graves, which have headstones (20.8%), and kerbs (4.4%) manufactured by local craftsmen, rather than by the CWGC. The choice of not having a CWGC headstone enabled for much more personal information to be included. In particular the full names of the individual was used (only initials were included on the majority of CWGC Headstones), how and where they died, and familial relationships (e.g. Figs. 7.13a-c). In a small number of instances (0.4%)

this went further with CWGC headstones being supplemented by the casualty's details being included upon an adjacent family headstone (Fig. 7.13d-e).

The CWGC can with the exceptions of these burials be seen to have achieved its aims of treating all casualties with equality (Heffernan 1995; Tarlow 1997: 111). However this was not always the case for the war memorials erected by Devonian communities, with great variety apparent in the treatment of the names of the dead. Most obviously the ideal of equality, or the lack of it, is particularly evident in the ordering of names upon public war memorials. The alphabetical listing of names does however occur on the majority of the public war memorials to the First World War (51%), but this is more apparent after the Second World War (74%). The growing proportion of alphabetic listings reflects a growing ideal of equality in death in service, especially when compared to the commemorative repertoire for the South African War (alphabetical ordering is used on only 20% of the recorded South African War memorials). The ideal of equality in death is reflected in the desire to ensure that everyone *who qualified* was commemorated on the local war memorial after the First World War (e.g. DRO 1579A/17/44). However, the need for additional names upon 4.6% of public war memorials emphasises that this was rarely achieved, especially as so many died from the effects of their injuries and service after the war memorials had been erected.

*Figure 7.13 – Amongst the most common modifications made to CWGC burials are the addition of a tablet, such as for Pamela Constance Mary Cole's headstone from St. Andrew's Churchyard, Ashburton (a), or the addition of a kerb to the grave plot as occurred to the headstone of Chief Engineer Herbert George Gatzias' in St. Peter's Churchyard, Stoke Fleming (b). In many instances an alternative headstone form was used, such as that used for Private Lionel Howard Perring's burial in Dartmouth Cemetery (c), which was made by a local mason (F. Gullett) rather than by the CWGC. There are also several examples in Devon (seven recorded) of the CWGC headstones being supplemented by the inclusion of the casualty upon a neighbouring family memorial, such as in St. Ida's Churchyard, Ide (d), where Private Alfred Moore is commemorated by a CWGC headstone and on his sister's adjacent 1926 headstone. This was also seen in St. John the Baptist's Churchyard, Broadclyst (e), where Private William Hedley Palmer is commemorated by a CWGC headstone and on his parents (adjacent to the right) 1923 headstone (Photos: Author).*

The wording of the inscriptions included upon the war memorials in this study, provides clear evidence for the dominance of certain messages and identities which these memorials attempted

to convey. First, the inscriptions emphasise that the dead should be *honoured* and *revered* by the living, and that the communities should be *grateful* to the dead for sacrificing their lives (Fig. 7.14a). Second, the inscriptions also tend to emphasise that the war dead had given their lives willingly and gallantly (Fig. 7.14b); although a surprising proportion do not completely sanitise the casualties, with a significant proportion (12.8% of public memorials) stating that they had *died* and a further 2.6% using the word *killed*. The use of *died* and *killed* could be viewed as emphasising how the names which were included upon the memorials were chosen, i.e. if those who died of disease and wounds at home were deemed appropriate for inclusion. It is worth emphasising that these terms are much more extensively used amongst earlier war memorials (47.6% of South African memorials), although the use of *killed* is largely restricted to Second World War memorials which include civilian casualties.
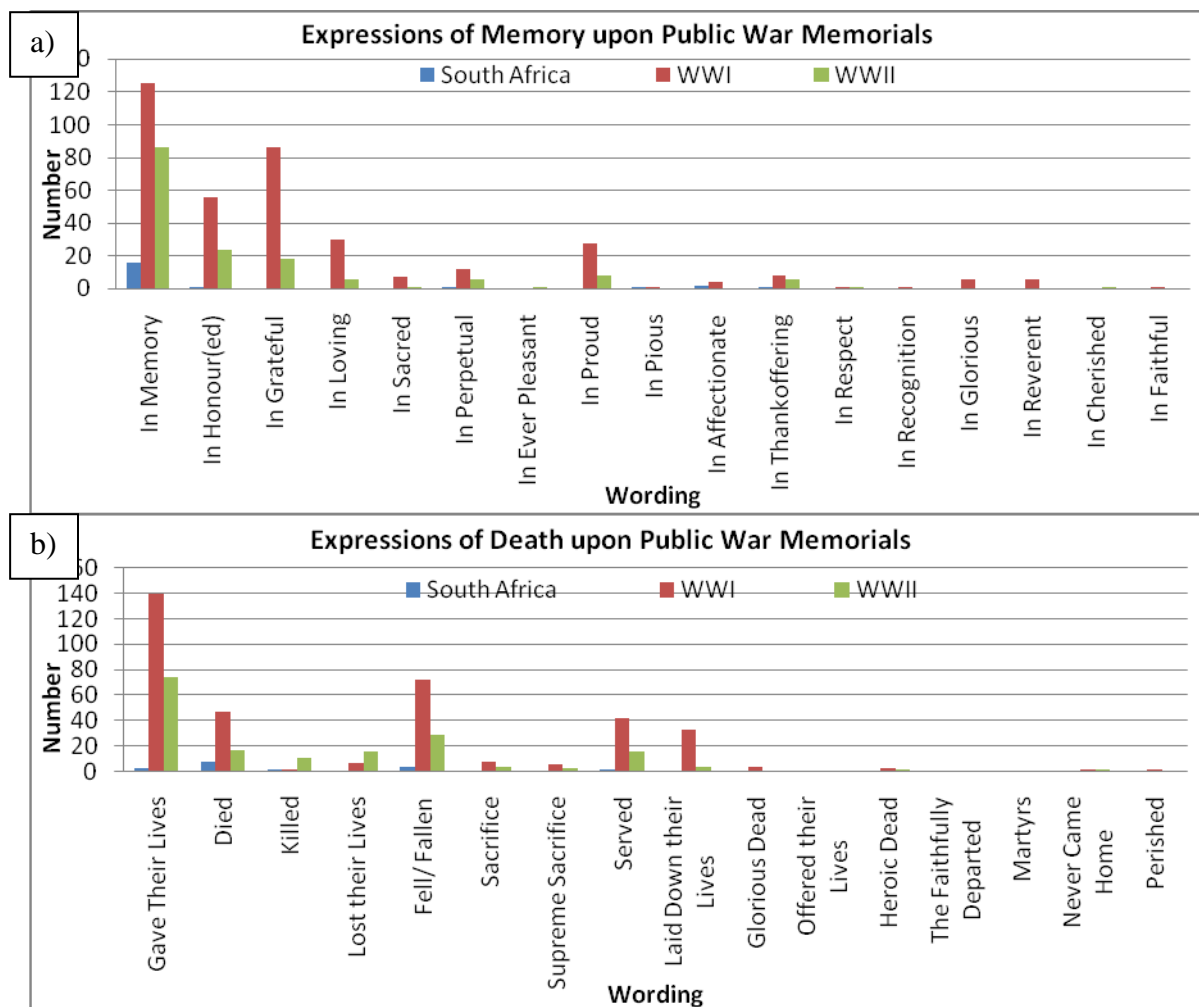
*Figure 7.14 – The breakdown of words used on public memorial inscriptions in Devon to express remembrance (a) and the words used to express death (b).*

### 7.1.4 Evolution

The influence of the South African War memorials upon the commemoration of subsequent conflicts is very telling, and although the forms, locations, and inscriptions are rarely directly imitated in Devon (unlike for the memorial window in Ashurst, Sussex (see Grieves 2000; 2001)) they formed clear antecedents to many First World War memorials. The most noticeable example of the direct influence a South African War Memorial can play in Devon is seen at Ipplepen. The South African War memorial of the parish took the form of a restored churchyard cross, opposite the entrance to the church, with an additional plaque inside the church listing the casualty names. The restoration of the cross was done by Herbert Reed of Exeter, who was also called upon after the First World War to work on the restoration of another cross in the village centre to act as a war memorial. The cross was supplemented by a memorial inside the church, and a similar process occurred after the Second World War, when the names were added to the First World War cross and a tablet was erected in the church (Fig. 7.15).

Earlier war memorials can also be influential in creating a deliberate avoidance of copying their forms, positions, and inscriptions (see Figs. 7.9 and 7.15c). The success (or otherwise) of a war memorial can therefore perhaps be seen as being clearly evidenced through the commemorative strategies adopted for subsequent conflicts, and in consequence which war memorials remain the main foci for the commemoration of conflict for communities today. For example, very few South African War memorials in Devon had later conflicts casualties added to them, with the possible sole exception being the Filleigh war memorial cross (see Brine 2009a; Fig. 7.15d). In fact South African war memorials have become almost completely  ignored or forgotten as sites of conflict commemoration since the establishment of First World War memorials, as these have often gone on to become the sole foci for the commemoration of all conflict (especially post-1939).

*Figure 7.15 – The South African War memorial cross (a) in St. Andrew's Churchyard, Ipplepen was very influential upon the form of the First World War memorial in the parish (b). The similarity also extended to the internal memorials erected in St. Andrews Church (c), with the South African war memorial plaque (blue arrow) having the First and Second World War memorials placed in close spatial association (yellow arrows). The South African War memorial cross at Filleigh in contrast (d) had the names of the First World War casualties appended onto it (Photos: Author).*

The majority of public memorials which remained the focus of commemoration for the Second World War have largely retained their significance as foci for continuing remembrance activities and commemoration of conflict with subsequent casualties usually and still being added to these existing memorials. There are however, numerous war memorial schemes which are partly or completely forgotten, some of which have been identified during this study, but there are likely

to be numerous others. This is particularly the case with complex schemes which involved several different elements, some of which did not include inscriptions and have been largely forgotten in preference for the explicit elements of the schemes and most particularly those elements which include the names. For example, in Stokeinteignhead a complex commemorative scheme was instigated by the rector (Rev. Lake) after the First World War (Fig. 7.16). Reverend Lake's experiences of ministering to the troops in France during the war can be seen to have resulted in enhancing his desire for such a large and wide ranging commemorative scheme, which included a memorial window, an oak board listing the casualties names, oak panelling in the sanctuary, a new oak altar, and a brass processional cross (DRO 3420Aadd/PW29). The parish also erected a memorial cross in the village centre, which with the oak board in the church had the names and dates of the Second World War appended onto them, and it is these two memorials which are listed on the UKNIWM (numbers **25960 and 25961 respectively**). The other memorials, especially the panelling, altar, and processional cross are now largely forgotten commemorative elements. The forgetting of war memorials can also be seen as being partially the result of the huge quantity of war memorials (particularly after the First World War) which were erected, even within individual parishes.
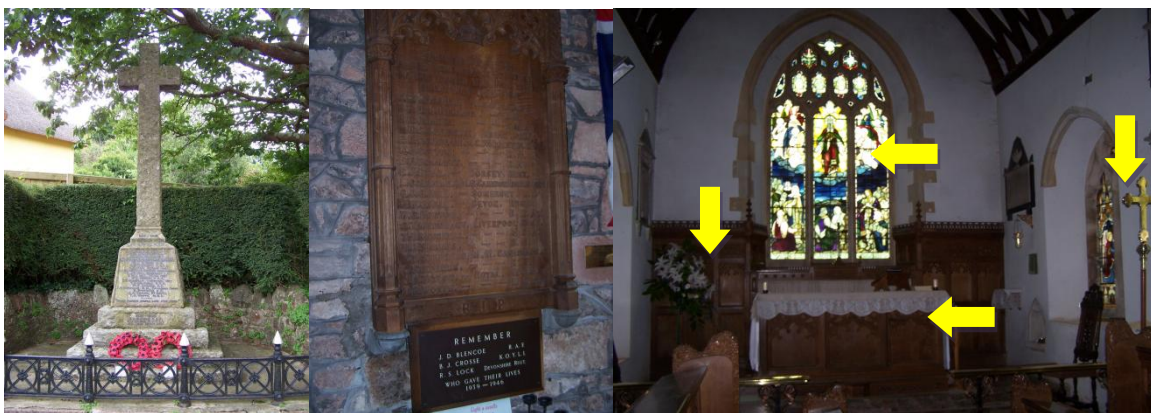


*Figure 7.16 – The war memorial cross at Stokeinteignhead village crossroads (a), and the First World War memorial board and Second World War memorial plaque (b) in St. Andrew's Church, Stokeinteignhead. Also as part of the First World War commemorative scheme in the parish the altar, panelling, window, and processional cross were dedicated (c) (Photos: Author).*

The statistics for the war memorials recorded in this study, across Devon, and the rest of Britain (Appendix 5) reveal the changing patterns which exist in the commemoration of conflict over the course of the 20th century. Nationally there is a growing trend towards the utilitarian and away from being located inside churches (see Furlong *et al* 2002). The UKNIWM statistics for Devon also emphasise a trend of moving away from the church, but only a slight growth in the utilitarian. These figures are however strongly biased by the number of war memorials (especially for the Second World War and Korean War) which were affixed upon earlier war memorials either through the names and dates being added upon an existing memorial or some sort of additional tablet, plaque or board being placed in spatial or stylistic association. To make the UKNIWM data comparable to that recorded within this study the same biases have been included. However, if these biases are discounted it is evident that some of the general patterns which are suggested to have existed nationally by Furlong *et al* (2002). For example, the suggested growth in the percentage of utilitarian memorials erected after the Second World War, are not so evident in terms of the total number of new war memorials in Devon (which may extend to other regions and nationally).

In fact in contrast to the UKNIWM statistics there is an increase in the percentage of war memorials located inside churches, and the role of the church and churchyard as the most appropriate site for commemoration can therefore be seen to have continued largely unabated until after the Second World War in Devon. This can be partially accounted for by the destruction and damage sustained by numerous churches within the region, which resulted in them often becoming a natural focus for the commemoration of the Second World War (see also Moshenska 2009; Webster 2008). The importance of bombed churches is most explicitly seen in the retention of the ruins of St. Charles Church, Plymouth, which became one of the central features of the rebuilt city. It is also seen in the extensive rebuilding and various memorials erected to the damage sustained during the Second World War at St. Andrew's Church in Aveton Gifford, St. Mary's Church in Torquay, St. Andrews Church in Plymouth, and in Exeter Cathedral.

By removing the biases inherent in the UKNIWM database also highlights the relative paucity of new war memorials which have been erected to commemorate the Second World War and

subsequent conflicts (just over 28% of war memorials were erected specifically to commemorate the Second World War). The lack of new memorials in Devon typifies a widespread (national) lack of new public war memorials (e.g. Robbins 1996; Tarlow 1999a: 167). Also a high percentage of these new war memorials (39% of them) were either located in close proximity to existing war memorials or imitate the form of an existing First World War memorial, meaning that most Second World War memorials are not representative of new commemorative traditions within these communities. Also around half (47%) of the recorded Second World War memorials emerged after 1954, and usually in commemoration of significant anniversaries rather than of named casualties from the conflict (Fig. 7.17).

The relatively late commemoration of the Second World War can be seen to be a reflection of the lack of public memorials erected in the immediate aftermath of the conflict, and of a growing desire to correct these commemorative absences. It is also a manifest of the growing dominance of veterans and veteran groups as the main instigators and controllers of conflict remembrance and its public commemoration. The remembrance and memorials of the Second World War therefore create a decidedly different pattern of commemoration to that seen after the First World War, which had largely been completed before the $10^{th}$ anniversary of its end (1928). The almost complete lack of continuing commemoration of the First World War in Devon (except for its occasional addition to Second World War memorials) can be seen in contrast to the more ambiguous and debated nature of the remembrance of the Second World War. The latter conflict has continued to be commemorated by different groups (especially veterans) and individuals attempting to empower their memories and identities through public acts of remembrance, and participation in ritual performances (see Gregory 1994; Connerton 1989).

The Second World War and its meanings has not been *set in stone* in the same way as the First World War, with a continuing ambiguity of how best to commemorate the conflict and many of the events which occurred during the war, most prominently the Holocaust (Young 2002; Charlesworth 1994), the Nuclear Bomb (Gieryn 1998; Gough 2000), and the subsequent Cold War (Ignatieff 1984; Mayo 1988; Sturken 1991; Foote *et al* 2000). Although perhaps most pertinently in Devon, it has been the deaths of civilians, the presence of huge numbers of Allied Troops, the evacuation of rural areas, and the influx of evacuees which have created much of the

ambiguity (see also Walls and Williams 2010). The largely closed commemoration of the First World War has been created not only due to the *saturation* of memorials, but also by the occurrence of the Second World War. Remembrance Sunday and the memorials themselves became sites for the commemoration of both conflicts, and First World War memories and memorials were largely subsumed by the memories, identities, and remembrances of a completely different, although not unrelated war and its casualties (Robbins 1996).



*Figure 7.17 – A large proportion of the Second World War memorials encountered in this study, were erected to commemorate significant anniversaries, normally to the detriment of specific casualties and named individuals. For example, the All Saint's Church 50th anniversary of V.E. Day entrance at Moreleigh (a), and the 50th Anniversary of V.E. Day Bench on Fore Street, Ipplepen (b). There also several memorials to the presence of Allied troops, such as the American flag and tablet erected to mark the 45th Anniversary of their presence in the Holy Trinity's Church, Salcombe, (c).*

Differences in how the two world wars were perceived after 1945 is evident however in several memorials in which the names of those killed in the Second World War are ordered differently or given a different level of detail to the existing names on a memorial. The methods used to append names onto an existing memorial are varied, although upon both external and internal memorials they normally imitate the existing methods used (such as the same form of plaque) and include the same level of detail and ordering of the casualties as upon the existing memorial (see Fig. 7.18). Therefore in those instances where a different form of memorial is erected, it is

suggestive of the existing war memorials perhaps being viewed as unsuitable (e.g. Fig. 5.38c). The reasons behind opting for alternative commemorative forms were unique to each community but include rationale such as the existing memorial being too ornate, its situation being in a poor position (e.g. low visibility), or there not being sufficient space around the memorial for commemorative rituals to take place.
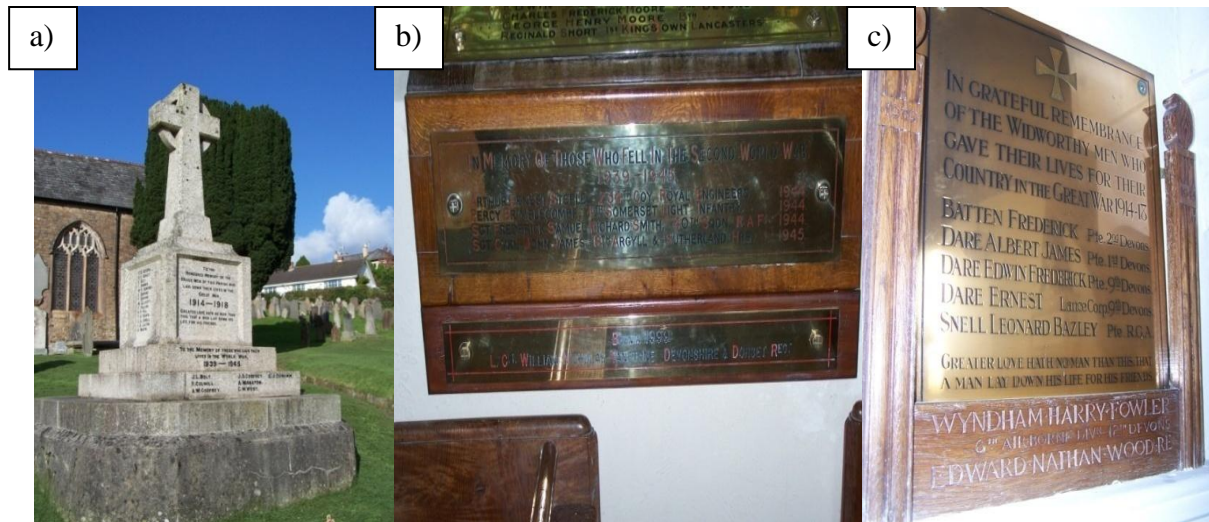


*Figure 7.18 – The appending of names onto existing war memorials can take a variety of forms. The majority of external war memorials simply have the dates and names appended onto another side of the memorial, or as at Hatherleigh (a) onto a lower step.  Amongst internal memorials there is more variation, although the simple addition of plaques, tablets, or boards directly below an existing memorial is most common, as seen at Dunsford (b), where the Second World War and Bosnian memorial plaques are located directly below the First World War memorial plaque and window. These normally imitate the same form, and include the same extent of information as the earlier memorials, although at Widworthy, the First World War memorial plaque was provided with a slightly more elaborate and aesthetic addition after the Second World War (c) with a board framing the existing plaque, even in this instance where the form is very different, the detail of the information included is identical to that listed upon the existing memorial (Photos: Author).*

Many parishes had erected several war memorials to commemorate the First World War, which enabled communities to have a choice of possible sites to focus upon for the commemoration of

the Second World War and later conflicts. Rarely were all of them re-used, with a general preference towards external and symbolic war memorials, as seen at Kenton (Fig. 7.19). Although exceptions, such as Moretonhampstead and Hawkchurch, emphasise that occasionally internal church memorials were initially chosen for the commemoration of the Second World War. In both of these instances however, the main external war memorials did not at the time include the names of the First World War casualties, and have only had the names from both world wars added in recent years (2000s). The addition of these names in recent years does however hint at a continuing favouritism towards external war memorials, since at least 1945, as well as the need to reaffirm the casualty identities as their immediate familial ties move or pass away.



*Figure 7.19 – Kenton's public war memorials include the South African War Memorial Board (a) located above the entrance to All Saint's Church, which seems to have been influential in the form of the First World War Memorial Board (b) located nearby. The First World War Memorial Board was erected in addition to an obelisk (c) and the Victory Hall (d). The commemoration of*

*the Second World War in the parish witnessed only the obelisk being supplemented with the dates and names of those killed. In All Saint's Church a memorial chapel (e-f) was dedicated to the conflict and a framed roll of honour erected, most likely inside the chapel, but currently found located on the shelf of the First World War Memorial Board (yellow arrow) (Photos: Author).*

The statistics and patterns that have been discussed above (and in chapters 5 and 6) will now be set against some of the major issues in war memorial studies. These discussions will centre upon the divisions between utilitarian and symbolic memorials; the role of the church; soldier-saint identities; the use of the timeless; and the creation of sacred spaces (see also Chapter 3).

**7.2 Utilitarian vs. Symbolic Memorials**

The choice between functional and purely commemorative memorials is portrayed as one of the main dilemmas which war memorial committees faced, particularly in the aftermath of the First World War (for example Black 2004; Inglis 1992; Moriarty 1997). This does not however appear to have been such an issue in Devon, with the majority of the public utilitarian memorials emerging post World War Two (70% of utilitarian memorials). The frequently evoked objection to utilitarian schemes was that the main purpose of a memorial was to commemorate the dead, and that the functional use of memorials would overshadow, or worse completely forget these commemorative intentions (for example The Kingsbridge Gazette 1920e; Gaffney 1998; 95). In many instances this has proved to be the case with utilitarian memorials which do not include a list of names explaining the link being largely forgotten and ignored in preference for non-utilitarian memorials. Symbolic monuments in contrast provided more visible and constant reminders of the dead, intending to interrupt the daily routine. However, by becoming so ubiquitous they arguably failed to achieve this (King 2001; Webster 2008; Barber 1949).

Moriarty states that around 5% of communities were able to reach a compromise after the First World War and erect both a utilitarian memorial and a monumental one (Moriarty 1997). She also suggests that this proportion would have probably been much higher, but for problems in raising funds (*Ibid* 1997: 128). Within Devon it seems that around 11% of parishes erected both

memorial types after the First World War, although this number may be slightly higher, with several utilitarian war memorials likely to have been largely forgotten (such as Stokenham Village Hall) or only been partially funded by the remaining money (for example, the Feniton Village Hall). The schemes which included both utilitarian and functional elements are usually associated with the larger parishes and settlements (which had an average population in 1911 of 1535, compared to the average of 974 for erecting solely a monumental scheme). Larger populations generally offered the potential of achieving much higher funding through public subscriptions. Utilitarian memorials are also generally erected in commemoration of higher numbers of casualties, and therefore a physical need and often desire to erect a larger memorial.

It is vital to emphasise that utilitarian schemes are always reflections of the contemporary needs of communities, with members of the memorial committees who proposed them often seeming to be *riding their own hobby-horses* (Webster 2008: 202). The individual desires behind utilitarian memorials are in part reflected by the majority of utilitarian war memorials within this study area having been privately funded (77%), with the various fixtures and fittings in churches being dominant amongst these (83% of them). Utilitarian memorials (and for that matter all war memorials) are therefore reflective of private desires and the needs of individuals as much as being representative of communal choices. Therefore much needed or long suggested schemes were frequently proposed as memorials (for example the Sidmouth Harbour Scheme, the Cathedral Cloisters of Exeter and the Okehampton Hospital). However, many were dismissed by the public, believing that they should be carried out by the authorities, or by the communities in means other than as war memorials. There are also several public utilitarian memorials which can be seen to have emerged as part of utilitarian schemes which had begun prior to, or during, the war years. For example, the Feniton lych gate was constructed in 1920 as a First World War memorial, but would have been an unlikely option for the village war memorial had the churchyard not been extended in 1915 (DRO 1090A/PI40-41). On balance a village hall, recreation ground or any other functional scheme is unlikely to have been considered as an appropriate commemorative proposal if there were already adequate examples of these in place within the parish/town.

It has been suggested that the monumental memorials had *won out after 1918*, but that a greater indifference (and even hostility) existed to building new monuments after the Second World War (for example, Webster 2008). In particular the National Land Fund, established in 1946 is often cited as being representative of the dominance of utilitarian commemoration after the Second World War (Carradine 1981: 233; Mosse 1986 and Webster 2008). The pattern of growth of utilitarian memorials after the Second World War is reflected in the recorded numbers of memorials by the UKNIWM (Appendix 5; Knight and Hewitt 2001: 226; Furlong *et al* 2002). If elements of the church fabric are included within the utilitarian categorisation, then a total of 14.5% of Second World War memorials recorded by the UKNIWM (compared to 10.8% of First World War memorials) can be categorised as utilitarian. The figures are slightly lower for this study; with 12.2% of Second World War memorials fitting the same categorisation (compared to 10.7% of First World War memorials). The slightly lower figure emphasises that within Devon (and perhaps elsewhere in the country) that there was not a significant shift in the commemorative forms towards the utilitarian, just that there was a continued development of utilitarian memorials as a suitable means of commemoration (for example, 8.3% of South African War memorials were utilitarian).

The growth of the utilitarian is seen as reflecting an avoidance of a further host of monumental memorials (Webster 2008; Corke 2005; Winter 1995a). However, it is the additions made to existing war memorials rather than an overwhelming growth in utilitarian memorials which has really creates this impression of a paucity of new monuments. Therefore less emphasis should be placed upon a utilitarian dominance after the Second World War, and a greater amount of investigation should be spent upon understanding the appropriation of existing war memorials. Indeed I would argue that it should be solely viewed that the lack of new memorials is not reflective of a saturated landscape of war memorials, or because of a preference towards the utilitarian, but as to the effectiveness of the existing First World War memorials as foci for remembrance of conflict and as expressions of communal loss and grief. The dominance of the utilitarian is therefore not as total as is often suggested, as although utilitarian schemes were followed by many communities, the majority focused their commemorative efforts and ceremonies upon existing First World War memorials. The influence even extended to the

imitation of forms, wording and location, in those instances when the Second World War memorials were not incorporated on an existing memorial.

Another determining factor which was likely to have played a role in the changing patterns of commemoration after the Second World War was the damage and casualties caused on the home front. The public and authorities were therefore more concerned with repairing and returning the country to normality through reconstruction, rather than in rebuilding communities through representations of the dead. The scars of the Second World War were not only caused by the absences of individuals (as after the First World War), but the landscape itself bore many traces and wounds from the conflict. Commemoration was therefore less of an immediate priority for many communities than it had been after the First World War.

**7.2.1 – Victory Halls**

The UKNIWM database (2009) records that there are eleven memorial halls in Devon (accessed on 6/8/2009), this study can add a further eleven examples to this number. Halls are therefore only a minor proportion of the UKNIWM recorded war memorials for Devon (0.76% which rises to 1.3% when my additions are included), although they only make up 0.29% (rising to 0.85% if headstones and headstone additions are removed) of the memorials within my study, which compares to 1.16% of UKNIWM memorials from across Britain (Appendix 5; Furlong *et al* 2002). The slightly lower proportion of halls in Devon could be due to a number of reasons, and may lend weight to Mansfield's (1995: 77) suggestion that memorial halls (in the aftermath of the First World War at least) tended to have been more commonly erected by large places with no dominant landowners. This is lent some weight in Devon, with the examples such as Tiverton, Exminster, Colyton, Broad Clyst and Whimple being amongst the larger rural villages and towns of the county, while many of those examples which occur in smaller parishes such as Aveton Gifford, Colyford, Bigbury and Wembury tend to have been erected after the Second World War, and in imitation of nearby parishes. Other examples in smaller parishes are frequently reflective of the conversion of existing buildings such as schools or pubs (most notably at East Ogwell). Many of the larger halls are also converted structures (such as Colyton, St. Andrews hall in Plymouth, and Halberton).

Many authors (such as Grieves 2001) have emphasised the role played by ex-servicemen in the demand for public halls and other constructions which promoted *social unity* after the First World War (Grieves 2001: 207). However, he also emphasises that this was a less common phenomenon in the rural areas as the demobilised servicemen (and also the bereaved) were frequently not specifically consulted in memorial schemes. This was particularly the case for those memorials which were instigated prior to the end of the war or immediately after it, when many service personnel had not returned home, and the veteran groups were only just beginning to become organised and form regional branches. For example, in Sidmouth during the first public meeting to consider a war memorial for the town a discharged soldier (Mr. Burge) suggested postponing any decision on a war memorial until the towns servicemen had returned, yet this was rejected on the grounds of it being *necessary to get on with a scheme*. *Getting on* almost gives the impression that they were in a rush to erect a memorial and that the form of the memorial was not important, just that they were seen to be erecting something appropriate; an aspect repeated in other war memorial projects also. The Sidmouth Memorial scheme did however add a member of the Comrades of the Great War to the committee (The Express and Echo 1918) and his presence probably helped ensure that at least the service personnel were consulted as to their preferred scheme through a postal ballot (The Express and Echo 1919e).

The importance of urban communities upon the choice of building a memorial hall, is perhaps reflected by the large proportion of the examples from Devon having been constructed in the large rural centres near the main urban centres of the county. For example near Exeter, halls were chosen or discussed at Exwick, Halberton, Tiverton, Broadclyst, Exminster, Kenton, Silverton, and Thorverton. They are not however exclusively confined to these areas with many found in the more rural areas of the region (for example, Coryton, South Zeal and Northlew) and examples scattered across the rest of Devon, but their prominence near the counties capital (Exeter) seems more than coincidental (Fig. 7.20).
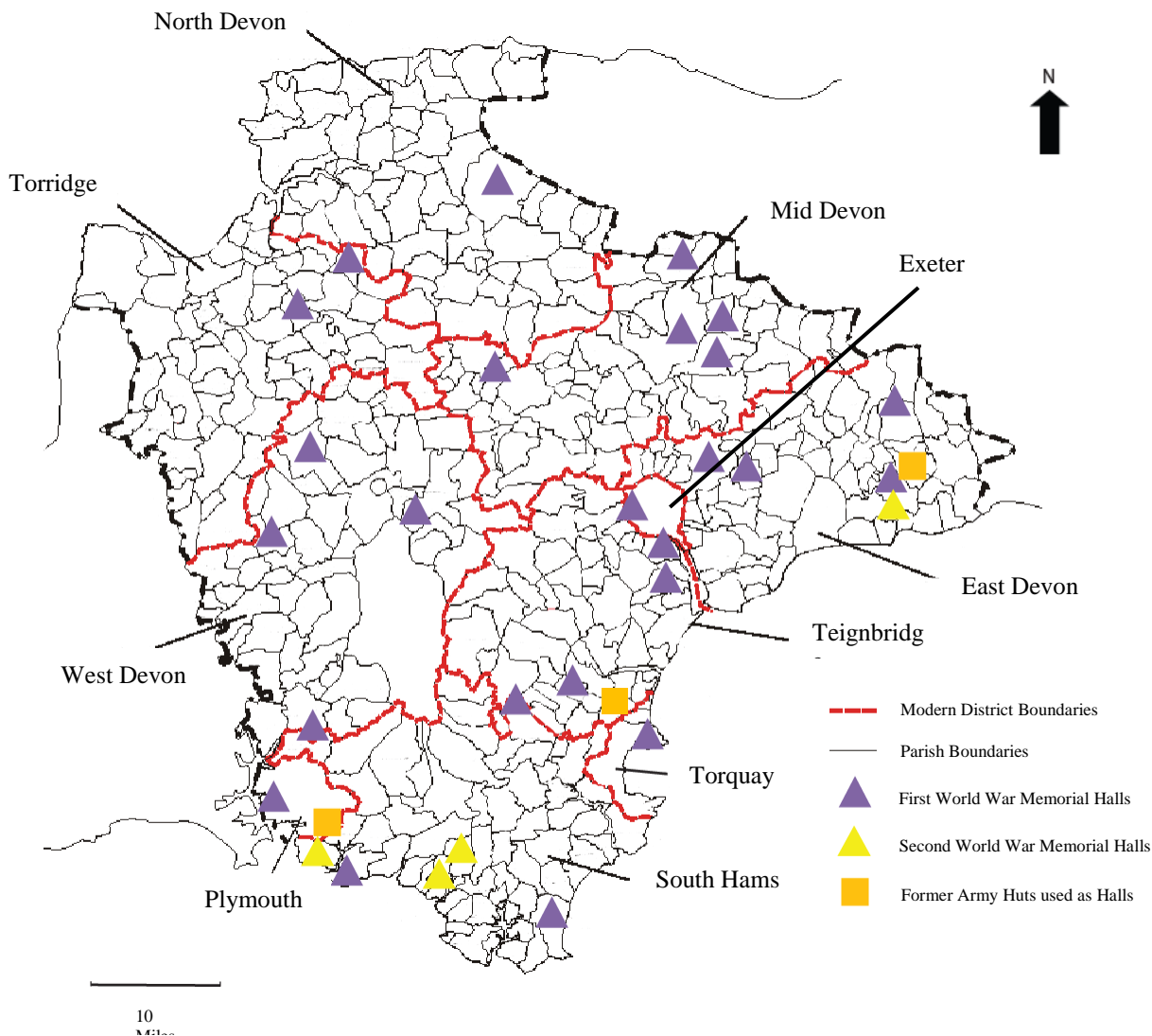
*Figure 7.20 – A distribution map of the war memorial halls found across Devon. The low numbers in the north of the county are likely to be slightly misleading as the majority of the sites recorded in this study were in the southern half of the county.*

The desire for halls after the First World War amongst service-men in particular was partly because of the facilities which had been available to the men on the front, with YMCA and Church Army huts used for recreational activities (Grieves 2000: 44). The war experiences and the sense of freedom not only extended amongst the young men of the communities, but also amongst the women who had experienced more independence through their war work in munitions factories, as nurses, and perhaps more prolifically in Devon, on the land (Burchardt 2002: 143-145). This freedom and experiences, led to a greater dissatisfaction with their old lives

(perhaps more so in the rural areas of Devon), and many wanted a better life, with village halls, hospitals, and other utilitarian schemes seen as one part of improving their home lives. A significant role was therefore played by ex-servicemen in the commemoration of conflict (Gregory 1994; Gaffney 1998; Black 2004).

Service personnel often saw it as their duty to honour their fallen comrades, and to ensure that they were remembered appropriately. The desire to honour the dead can be seen as a reflection of their own experiences, as well as the guilt often felt over their own survival (Gaffney 1998). By remembering the dead, and attempting to influence, control, or at least be involved in war memorial committees, also enabled veterans to raise the profile of their own needs. They can be seen to have attempted to ensure that neither the dead, nor themselves, could be forgotten. Gregory (1994) however suggests that the role of servicemen in commemoration was increasingly marginalised over time, initially by the needs of the bereaved, and later by the pacifist movement. Although the needs of the bereaved (or at least their perceived needs) may have played a more significant role in the commemoration of conflicts than the veterans, they still had an input in the majority of war memorial schemes (even if they weren't always listened too). Alongside the bereaved, servicemen also played a major role in the unveiling and armistice services. In recent years however veterans and veteran groups have increasingly begun to dominate the remembrance of conflict, and often act as the main instigators behind the erection of further war memorials. In fact around 85% of the memorials erected in the study area since 1990 have been largely funded or arranged by veteran groups (Fig. 7.21). The growing role of veterans as the instigators of commemorative schemes, can be partly seen as a reflection of their shrinking numbers and thereby their growing importance as the holders of memory.
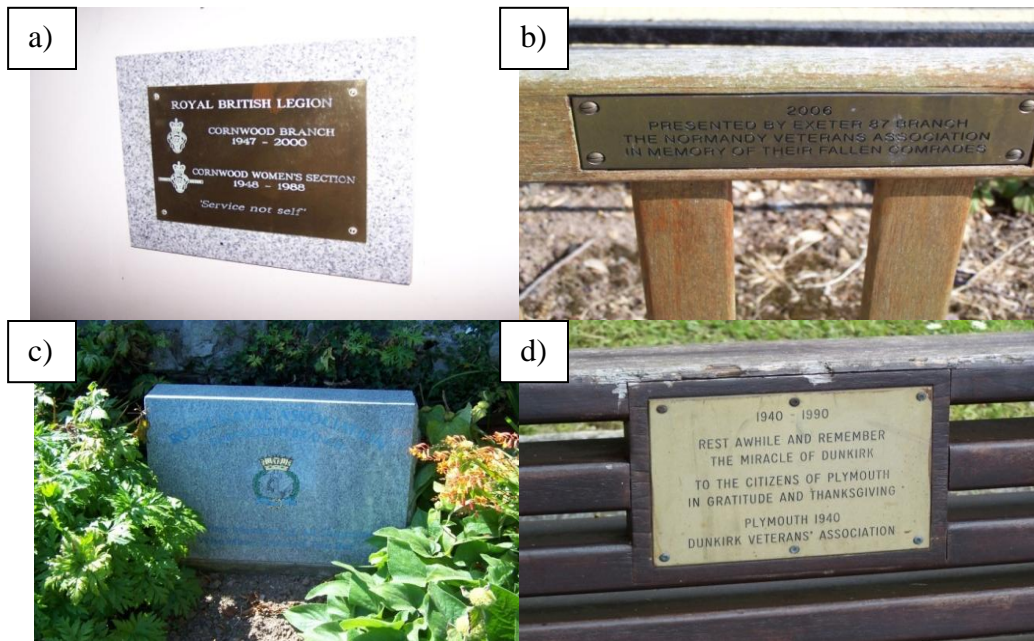
*Figure 7.21 – Some of the numerous memorials erected by veteran groups in the study area include the Cornwood Branch of the British Legion's memorial plaque (a), the Normandy Veterans Association bench at Alphington (b), the Dartmouth Naval Association's memorial stone (c) and the Plymouth Dunkirk Veterans Association Bench on Princess Street (d) (Photos: Author).*

### 7.2.2 Symbolic memorials

Many communities which had initially decided upon a memorial hall, or other expensive utilitarian schemes, such as a hospital, harbour, or recreation ground struggled to raise the needed finances, and therefore opted for a cheaper monumental alternative (Gaffney 1998; 87). For example, the Totnes War Memorial Committee had initially decided upon a recreation ground, with a monumental memorial sited upon it. However, the difficulty in finding an appropriate location and the cost of acquiring one resulted in the scheme for a recreation ground being put forward to the Town Council to provide, and instead a war memorial cross was erected in St. Mary's churchyard (DRO1579A/17/44).

A large proportion of parishes in Devon (34%) chose to erect external war memorials after the First World War, yet the numbers commemorating other conflicts, such as the South African War (only three, one of which was appended onto a First World War memorial) are minimal within the region. Later public commemoration tends to be focused upon these existing external

war memorials, hence 32.35% of Second World War memorials and 66.67% of Korean memorials are external types. The use of large and prominently positioned external war memorials attempted to partially compensate for the holes the missing of the community created. The majority therefore tend to be large, upright, solid objects which speak of permanence and a *continuity of belief* that those listed upon them had died for that community (Gough 1998). External war memorials are generally found in or near churchyards (65% of public war memorials) and are usually larger than any other churchyard memorials. In those few instances where they are not as large as a pre-existing memorials, they tend to be located a *safe-distance* from them, either in the churchyard itself or at an alternative location (see Figs. 5.54; 7.22a-b). On occasions this was not deemed possible, and in those instances as alternative form was usually chosen, which occurred at Modbury, despite the safe distance (Fig. 7.22b), but also notably at Chudleigh and Kenton (Fig. 7.22c and 7.22d).



*Figure 7.22 – In those parishes and towns where large external memorials already existed the public war memorials (highlighted by the yellow arrows) were usually placed independently from them or in an alternative form. For example, the Kenn war memorial cross (a) was placed*

*on the edge of the churchyard, at a considerable distance from an 1885 cross (in the*
*foreground), while at Modbury (b) a 1908 cross faces the churchyard entrance (in the*
*foreground), and the war memorial obelisk was sited at the road junction to the church. The*
*Chudleigh War Memorial Cross (c) is in close proximity to a water fountain obelisk erected in*
*1879, while the War Memorial Obelisk at Kenton (d) is located on the other end of the village*
*Green to a Cornish cross moved to the site in the 1880s (Photos: Author).*

**7.23 Erecting several memorials**

Grieves (2001) and Gaffney (1998) both outline through a number of examples that many communities after the First World War opted to erect several different memorials. The majority of their examples however emphasise that the main cause for the erection of more than one memorial within communities was because of conflicts having occurred between individuals and groups as to the most appropriate forms. However, it is clear that in Devon many of the examples are actually reflective of co-operation rather than disagreement. For example, the County memorial scheme typifies the compromises which many memorial committees attempted to make in selecting appropriate schemes after the First World War. The Devon memorial committee had after discussing numerous schemes finally opted for an external war memorial cross on the Cathedral Green in Exeter, three books of remembrance, and to part fund a new wing to the Royal Devon and Exeter Hospital (see Fig. 7.23; Walls forthcoming). The Committee had originally hoped to pay for repairs to the cathedral cloisters instead of an external war memorial, yet this proved unpopular, with the public viewing the scheme as something which generous benefactors should pay for (The Express and Echo 1919c).

The county memorial scheme provides a large scale example (see also Inglis 1992) of a process which was adopted by smaller communities across Devon, with memorial committees at Coldridge, Exbourne, Marldon, Colyton, Cornworthy and West Alvington all adopting commemorative strategies which included both utilitarian and symbolic elements. Quite frequently therefore different schemes were organised by the same committee, and this could include both utilitarian and symbolic elements, but also the erection of war memorials in several locations. For example, each denominational church within a parish could be provided with memorials within the same commemorative scheme, as occurred at Sandford (DRO 1238add2A/PG2), Cornwood, Dalwood, and Sidbury (DRO R7/7/CI58). These examples can be

seen as clear evidence of *communities of mourning*, which attempted to transcend religious differences and social class. This was especially the case in those examples where the vicar or landowner had lost loved ones (such as at Broadclyst, Newton St Cyres, and Sandford). The experience of loss probably made it easier for these community leaders to implement their own proposed schemes, as their involvement had to be largely accepted as they were speaking with the authority of bereavement as well as power, money, and status.

Consensus was not always achieved and many communities went through considerable difficulties in commemorating conflicts (e.g. Gough and Morgan 2004**;** Gaffney 1998; Walls forthcoming). In these instances different groups and individuals stimulated competing schemes, often as a reaction to the existing plans of commemoration such as at Stokenham (The Kingsbridge Gazette 1920e), and Kingsbridge (The Kingsbridge Gazette 1925). The competition for funds between these different commemorative schemes often resulted in considerable difficulties in raising money, and it is therefore not surprising that elements of the commemorative schemes in Stokenham (1920 and 1921) and Kingsbridge (1920 and 1925) were amongst the last in the South Hams to be realised. The erection of several memorials within a parish can therefore be indicative of conflicts over the best way to commemorate, or alternatively of consensus, just as the erection of a single memorial is not always indicative of everyone agreeing with the chosen form of commemoration.

a)

c)

b)

*Figure 7.23 – The county's First World War scheme included the Victory Wing at the Royal Devon and Exeter Hospital (a), and three rolls of honour, one which was buried beneath the memorial cross (c), a second displayed in the cathedral (b) and a third lodged with the county authorities (Photos: Author).*

## 7.3 The Role of the Church
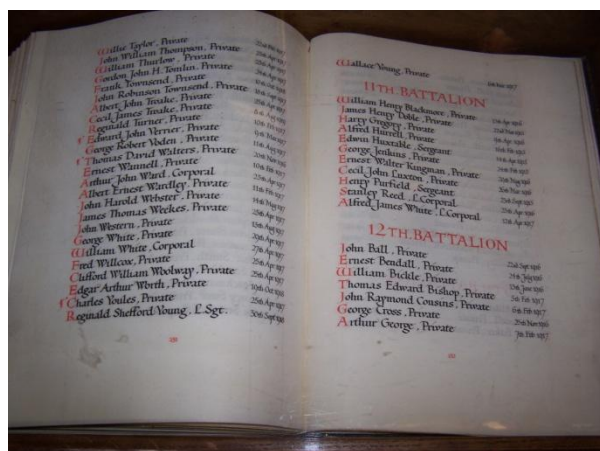


War memorials were rarely arbitrarily located, being fitted within existing meanings, histories, and within the remembrance practices of the communities in which they were situated. However, it appears that on some occasions little thought was spent on carefully choosing the locations or forms of public war memorials, with some communities (or at least the memorial committees) seeming to opt to erect ubiquitous forms, within the obvious boundaries of the parish church and churchyard. The choice to simply place a memorial within a church or churchyard sometimes resulted in the memorials being aesthetically at odds with their location, as evident with the First World War memorial cross at Strete, which was placed in the churchyard of the village church. Unlike the majority of war memorials recorded in this study, the Strete war memorial fails to integrate with its surroundings, with its faux-ancient appearance being at odds with the architectural style of the nineteenth century church (see Fig. 7.24).

*Figure 7.24 – The Strete war memorial cross in St. Michael and All Angels' Churchyard (a) is relatively unusual as it gives a visual appearance of not fitting in with its surroundings, largely due to its more ancient appearance than the church. The Cove war memorial cross (b), although prominently positioned near the entrance to St. John the Baptist's Church gives the appearance of a normal headstone due to its diminutive size and the use of polished red granite, a material unique in its application for an external public war memorial in the county (Photos: Author).*

The church was frequently the largest building in a parish, as well as being the most historic, and as a place conveyed a sense of the sacred, holy, and virtuous more than other locations within most of the villages and parishes ever could. The parish church had historically been the main communal *site* of mourning, and was (and to some extent still is) viewed as a place where records, memories, and histories last. It was therefore seen by many memorial committees and the majority of the public as a location which ensured permanence to any memorial sited within its boundaries (Bartlett and Ellis 1999: 232; Gaffney 1998: 123). The church was also often seen as the embodiment of the village, which the casualties of twentieth century conflicts also came to embody to those left behind. It was therefore often seen as the only place suitable for a war memorial, especially amongst rural communities (Mansfield 1995: 79; Grieves 2001).

Remembrance activities had largely been in the control of the Church of England (alongside other controlling institutions such as major landowners and businessmen) prior to the First World War. Webster (2008: 199) however suggests that the issue of locating a public memorial in the grounds of the church was one of the main discussions which communities engaged in when considering the location and form of war memorials. However, I would argue that this was mostly a consideration for larger communities, rather than for the majority of communities within this study. The dominance of the Church was however changing prior to the war, and is often seen to have been accelerated by it, with the newly empowered demobilised men and the bereaved attempting to influence the commemorative choices made within communities (Grieves 2000; 2001). The change in the Church's dominance is emphasised most pertinently through those communities which chose to erect war memorials outside of its control, a process which was considerably more common in the towns and urban centres of Devon, than amongst its rural communities. For example, in total around 30% of public First World War memorials were placed outside of the boundaries of religious building in communities of over 2000 people in 1911. The figure does however rise considerably (to almost 75%) if only the main commemorative projects of these larger communities are used.

In contrast amongst smaller rural communities (i.e. under 2000 in 1911) only 17% of public war memorials occur outside of the boundaries to religious buildings and spaces. The motivations behind why a churchyard location was not chosen amongst these 48 smaller communities, are rarely however solely a reflection of decisions to erect memorials outside of religious control. For example, twelve of these memorials are simply located just outside of the churchyard boundaries, either because of a lack of room or appropriate space within the churchyard, or because the location ensured a higher level of visibility (e.g. Figs. 6.16c; 6.22c). Another aspect which seems to have also influenced the non-churchyard placement of war memorials in these smaller communities is if the church was located away from the main road or settlement (e.g. Ipplepen and Holcombe Burnell). These physical influences may have acted as the main determining influences in the placement of most communal memorials in rural Devon, but physical considerations alone can be misleading. For example, the Lustleigh war memorial boulder was erected in 1924 after the local British Legion had instigated a campaign for a secular war memorial (O'Kelly 2008: 39; Fig. 7.25). The location of the memorial above the heart of the

village and on the main-road could however be simply interpreted to have resulted from a desire for visibility and safe distancing from the existing memorial cross (Fig. 7.25b).
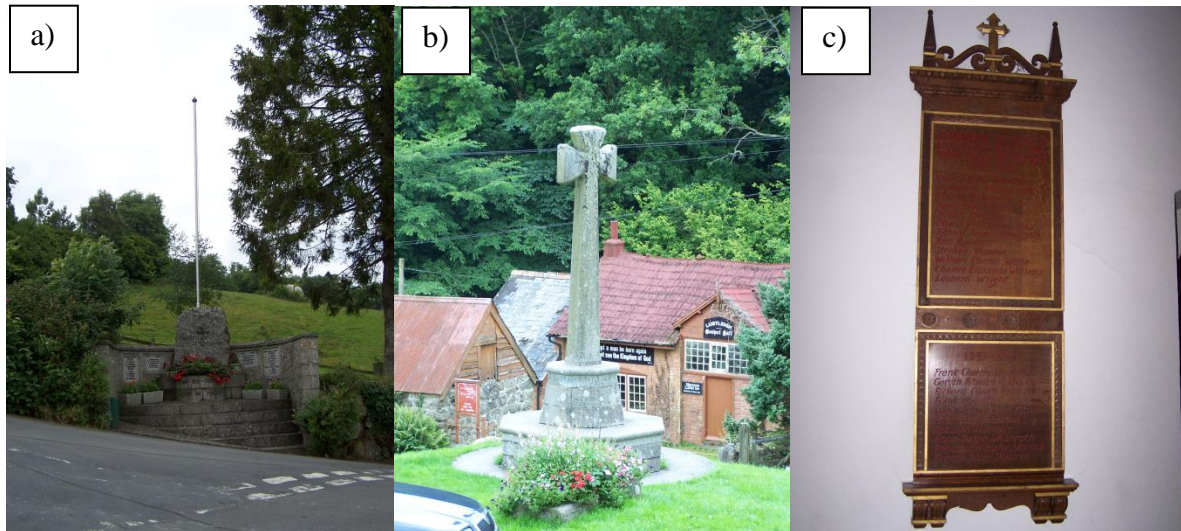


*Figure 7.25 – The Lustleigh war memorial boulder is located at the main road junction at the top of the village, and therefore at a safe distance from the 1906 memorial cross in the village centre (b), and from the war memorial board in St. John the Baptist's Church (c) (Photos: Author).*

Grieves (2000; 2001) emphasises that in many rural parishes the Anglican clergy had acted as *widely accepted leaders* in the commemorative processes after the First World War, and had still largely carried on alongside the major landowners the *paternalistic* traditions (*Ibid* 2001: 55). In theory therefore the Anglican church tended to exert more traditional influence and power over communities in the smaller rural parishes and particularly those which had no non-conformist churches nearby (Grieves 2001: 206). The dominance of the Church of England in Devon is therefore most evident in those parishes which had large non-conformist or other denominational churches present, but still chose to erect the communal war memorial within the boundaries of Church of England (or just outside) rather than in a more neutral space (e.g. Honiton, Hemyock, Aveton Gifford, Malborough, and Totnes). Some of the communities which had strong non-conformist presences did however erect memorials in more neutral spaces (such as Chudleigh, Ipplepen, Lustleigh, Newton Abbot, and Kilmington). In each of these instances the public memorials were erected in more central locations, outside of the dominance of a single denomination, and in between the various churches of the parish (e.g. Fig. 6.49).

There are only a few instances in Devon where the location of a settlement's main war memorial is located in association with a non-conformist church. For example at Bishopsteignton the war memorial cross is located just outside of the Methodist churchyard (Fig. 7.26a), while at Ashburton a Catholic Church was built immediately behind the First World War memorial in 1935 (Fig. 7.26b). In several of the examples in which the main parish war memorial is located inside the boundaries of the Church of England's land, the non-conformist churches are often provided with separate memorials as part of the same commemorative scheme. This is particularly common in smaller parishes, which worked together in their commemorative efforts such as at Sandford, Dalwood, and Cornwood (DRO 1238add2A/PG2). However, in several of the larger settlements (for example, Sidmouth, Salcombe, Kingsbridge, and Axminster) competing commemorative schemes were often established. Several large towns did however work together to provide a single memorial, as at Totnes and Honiton, which act as warnings that larger communities commemorative schemes do not always embody social divisions.



*Figure 7.26 – The Bishopsteignton war memorial cross is located in front of the Methodist Church (a), while the Ashburton war memorial cross (b) has the Catholic Church of Our Lady & St. Petrock nearby. These two relationships to non-conformist churches are not necessarily however the main determining factor in the choice of these locations, as the visibility of these main road sites, lack of obstructing structures were equally important (Photos: Author).*

### 7.3.1 Internal memorials and spaces

The association between the parish church as a site of history, memory and commemoration for each community is only one part of the motivation for using these locations, with the religious

connotations of the space equally important. Churches were sacred locations imbued with Christian meanings through the ritual activities which had occurred within their boundaries for hundreds of years. Sacred locations were inevitably the natural choice of location for erecting public war memorials, as they helped to imbue the memorials and their meanings with this sacredness through physical association. The most sacred of spaces were inevitably the local parish churches of the county, and in particular the internal parts of these buildings, which had served as symbolic and religious centres for communities for generations.

In Devon (and Britain) it is the internal plaques, boards, frames, tablets, and church fittings which dominate amongst war memorials (Appendix 5). However, it is typically the external and figurative war memorials which have tended to receive the majority of the attention in relation to interpretations of the commemorative landscape (e.g. Gough and Morgan 2004; Winter 1995a; Quinlan 2005; Corke 2005), with only passing mention of these internal forms (e.g. Grieves 2001; Gaffney 1998). In total 59.8% of public war memorials recorded in this study are located inside churches, and a further 2.5% inside other buildings (i.e. village halls, museums, hospitals). In addition, 15.7% of private war memorials occur inside churches, although this figure is slightly biased by the presence of burials within the total, and would rise to 41.4% if these were discounted.

The general avoidance of discussing internal forms (with the notable exception of windows) in the literature is partly due to their ubiquitous presence, but is also tied in with an amateur (or professional) art-historical valuation being placed upon their artistic merits, which is then applied towards their cultural and social significance also. The limited focus upon tablets, plaques, boards and frames by other authors, may also be partially seen to reflect the lack of study of the commemorative processes of smaller (especially rural) communities. In fact it is typically only those studies which have included work on rural communities and their commemorative forms that have touched upon internal memorial forms, although they still predominantly focus upon utilitarian and external memorial forms (such as Grieves 2000; 2001; Gaffney 1998). Rural parishes tended to have had fewer casualties, and frequently a lower proportion of their population serving than their urban counterparts (Todman 2005; Wasley 2000). The lower number of deaths coupled with a smaller population meant that large commemorative projects

were rarely warranted or affordable (see Fig. 7.16 for an exception) and that internal forms were typically chosen. However, internal church war memorials are also prolific amongst larger communities (over 2000 in 1911) comprising 57% of public examples. Internal memorials are therefore unfairly ignored in preference for the external monuments and utilitarian projects erected to commemorate both World Wars.

Several patterns emerge as to the most common locations used inside the churches of Devon, with the relationship to other war memorials the most prolific amongst public war memorials (40%), some of which were later additions (37% of them), while the remaining 78 examples were placed in relationship with earlier war memorials. The relationship to other war memorials is most explicit however amongst Second World War memorials, with 84% of internal examples located in relation to First World War memorials. In contrast First World War memorials were rarely placed in spatial association with South African War memorials (for exceptions see Fig. 6.47c-e), or to earlier private war memorials. Amongst private memorials the relationships with other war memorials is even more explicitly made (52% of them), most conspicuously they are frequently situated in relation to other (private and public) memorials to casualties from the same conflict (e.g. Fig. 7.27).

*Figure 7.27 – The Silverton war memorial board in St. Mary's Church is flanked by two private memorial plaques to Sergeant E.W. Moore and Captain R. Savery (yellow arrows) (Photo: Author).*

The other pattern which is particularly explicit is the close relationship between internal memorials and the entrances to these buildings, and a significant proportion (5.7%) of public war memorials are actually found in the porches of churches (e.g. at Sidmouth, Bigbury, Stoodleigh, Collaton St Mary, Hatherleigh, Fremington, and Washfield). The majority of the war memorials found in the porches can be categorised as rolls of honour, the sole exception being the Sidmouth war memorial tablets which replicate many of the characteristics of rolls of honour (see Fig. 6.60d). Roll of honour memorials can be clearly seen to have evolved out of lists and perhaps even shrines that were maintained in the same locations during the war years. The evolution from informal and temporary memorials is reflected partly in the choice of material for these memorials which are usually wooden boards or framed card (74%). The placement of rolls of honour in these liminal locations can in part be seen to reflect the nature of the commemoration which they materialised, in that they remembered all who served and not just the deceased. The distancing of rolls of honour from the main body of the church was in part a response to the

Church authorities concerns of churches becoming *covered with the names of living men* (Bishop of Exeter in The Totnes Times 1920b). It is also a reflection of the fact that the names listed upon these rolls did not solely *belong* to the church (as still alive), or to secular society (because they also included the dead). Therefore, locations which were between these two sections of society are perhaps inevitable.

The relationship between internal memorials with entrances also extends to other forms inside the church, with memorials being placed above the main entrance (or other doors), to either side, or opposite. The relationships to doorways although obviously unique within each church, create similar spatial relationships for many war memorials, such as being closely located to the baptismal font, bookcases, and church tower. However, the most important reason for so many communities choosing this location was presumably the high visibility and prominence of these spaces (particularly opposite the entrance) and also of the informal commemorative traditions (i.e. rolls of honour) which many of these memorials developed from. The location also created a *safe* distance from the altar and pulpit, and therefore away from the complete dominance of the church and it liturgy. The majority of church war memorials are therefore placed within the more secular space of the nave or side aisles, thereby creating a memorial of the people located within the traditional space of the people; yet still within a religious and sacred space (though not controlled or dominated by this religious message).

### 7.3.2 The churchyard and cemetery

Although war memorials acted as powerful symbols of remembrance and commemoration they failed to satisfy all of the bereaved, who found other methods to remember and commemorate (Bartlett and Ellis 1999: 242; Saunders 2001). The most prolific form which were analysed within this study are additions made to family headstones. Headstone additions were within the financial means of many more families than the erection of a private memorial inside the church, travelling to France/Belgium to retrieve temporary grave markers, or the construction of a larger private memorial in the churchyard or elsewhere. The role of the churchyard and cemetery is often seen as having played a less important role in the remembrance of the dead since the late 19th century, and the First World War is seen to have furthered this diminishing role as so few of the casualties were easily accessible at local burial sites (only about 5%), with many located

abroad or with no known grave (see Tarlow 1997). It is clear that the role of the churchyard as a focus for commemoration had not completely disappeared however and its continuing importance as a centre for commemoration is emphasised by the number of headstones which have war casualties appended onto them (16.7% of the recorded war memorials are headstone additions).

The importance of the churchyard/cemetery for private commemoration is also apparent in the high proportion of public war memorials which are situated there (43.8% of external public war memorials are located in churchyards and cemeteries). This is not to suggest that the home, workplace, and other more personal locations had not become possible sites of commemoration, with photos of uniformed men, the *dead man's penny,* and trench art found in many of the homes of the bereaved (e.g. Saunders 2000; Whittingham 2008). Memorials were also frequently erected in workplaces, social clubs, schools, and the open countryside (Quinlan 2005). The commemoration of the war dead was therefore largely relocated away from their bodies, but not only to the parish war memorial and a perhaps a family headstone in the local churchyard, but also to the *homes and minds of the bereaved* (Tarlow 1997: 117).

The diminishing role of the churchyard and cemetery as an appropriate location for commemorating the war dead over the course of the twentieth century is evident in comparisons between the numbers of Second World War headstone additions contrasted with the numbers of First World War examples. For example at St. Bartholomew's Churchyard, Yealmpton there are eight First World War casualty additions (seven of which appear on the parish war memorials), compared to the single Second World War addition (who is not listed on the parish war memorial). Clearly the scale of casualties can partly account for these differences but even when broken down into percentages across the study region around 34% of First World War casualties are commemorated on public war memorials as well as headstone additions, compared to 16% of Second World War casualties, and 31% of South African War casualties. The shift may not only however be reflective of the changing nature of the churchyard and cemetery as a place of commemoration, but also a reflection of the success of existing public war memorials (and other means) for mediating grief and mourning for families after the Second World War.

The role of headstone additions in the commemoration of 20th century conflicts has been an under researched aspect of war memorial studies, with Bartlett and Ellis's (1999) excellent paper one of the few exceptions which touches upon this commemorative tradition. They discuss the commemorative schemes adopted after the First World War in the rural parish of Northop in North Wales. The parish had three main settlements and three public war memorials erected commemorating the 41 casualties of the First World War. 21 of these names are also included on family headstones in the parish churchyard, a figure much higher than amongst most of Devon's parishes. For example, Luppitt is one of the few parishes in the study region which has almost half of its war casualties (five of the eleven from the two world wars) commemorated by the parish memorial and on family headstones in the churchyard (Fig. 7.28).

The inclusion of the name of a war casualty on a family headstone may suggest an element of dissatisfaction with the official communal memorials (see Fig. 5.32), but it is perhaps more likely to reflect the desire for personalised commemoration (e.g. Bartlett and Ellis 1999: 242). It provided an opportunity for families to publicly locate further biographical information about their personal losses than the public war memorials enabled, most typically including the full name, age, familial relationships, how, where and when they died (e.g. Figs. 5.70a; 6.60a). The resolve to create personal sites of mourning can be seen as evident in the dating of the majority of these additions as many occurred either during the war years before public commemorative schemes were instigated (26.31% in the study), or in the years immediately following (28.45% of headstone additions occurred within five years of the end of the war in which the casualty occurred). Headstone additions are not the only form of external memorial privately erected in the churchyards of Devon, and some influential families erected cenotaphs or large external memorials in churchyards, which they were later buried adjacent too (Fig. 7.29). The most revealing example was an obelisk erected in St. Thomas' Churchyard, Exeter, in memory of S.G. Dunsford who died in Alexandria in 1918 (Fig. 7.29a). His parents had paid for the memorial, and were subsequently buried at the site and commemorated upon the side of the memorial, therefore given the appearance of a typical headstone addition.

*Figure 7.28 – The Luppitt war memorial cross in St. Mary's Churchyard (a) lists ten names, five of which also appear as headstone additions in the churchyard. These are in memory of E. Burrough (b), F. Pulman (c), W. Davey (d), W. Rowlands (e), and R.J. Valentine (f) (Photos: Author).*



*Figure 7.29 – The private cenotaphs in Devon, include Private S.G. Dunsford's obelisk (a), and Captain R.A.F. Chard's memorial cross at Whimple (b), both of which have family burials associated. The Bazely/Homan family crucifix at West Hill in contrast commemorates three*

*family members who died abroad, two in the First World War (at Ypres and Voormezeele), and*
*was placed at the edge of the churchyard (Photos: Author).*

### 7.3.3 Christian symbolism and messages

The Christian emphasis made by British war memorials extends beyond their spatial associations with churches, to the forms and messages which they convey. This is most explicitly seen in the use of the cross as a war memorial or as an element of decoration upon other forms (e.g. Fig. 7.25a and Furlong *et al* 2002). The predominance of the cross after the First World War has been partly attested to the experiences of those at the front, who encountered numerous Calvary crosses (in France and Belgium), and recreated them through trench art, and commemorative forms on the battlefields (Saunders 2000; 2001; Whittingham 2008). This was not however the sole reason for their widespread use in commemoration after the First World War, as the cross also epitomised ideals of sacrifice, a holy crusade, and righteousness. The connections between the sacrifices of the service personnel and that of Christ was also emphasised through its use, although this connection could have been made much more explicitly through the use of a crucifix (Saunders 2003: 9), but there are only three examples of this form in the study, while only nine examples include a crucifix as an element of decoration. The low number of crucifixes which are used in Devon may hint at the relatively low Catholic population of the region at this time. An aspect in part supported by their higher occurrence around Plymouth and the southern parts of the county, with all but two of the examples coming from this part of the county. However, I would also argue that the low numbers of crucifixes is not solely the result of religious beliefs, but also because the image focuses upon death rather than in sanitising death through its non-representation which the majority of public war memorials materialised (see Fig. 5.14d for an exception).

The Latin cross is the most widely found external public war memorial type found across Devon (15.2%), and also the most common decorative motif (13.4% of public war memorials). It can be seen as a largely protestant symbol which not only symbolises Christ's sacrifice, but places emphasis upon his resurrection. The accentuation of the resurrection alongside sacrifice was an important element in the choice of erecting memorial crosses and in their use as a decorative motif because it sanitised death, symbolising that their righteous deaths were not the end, nor were they worthless. Yet how directly the choice of erecting a memorial cross is associated with

religious ideals can perhaps be questioned (Furlong *et al* 2002: 12), especially given the large number of instances in the region where ring crosses were erected (27% of memorial crosses). The form was only rarely used as a decorative element (0.05% of war memorials), but its use for public war memorials and for headstones can be seen to emphasise links to the Celtic history of the region rather than as solely representing a religious symbol.

Furlong *et al* (2002: 15) state that Cornwall has a particularly high proportion of Celtic crosses (78 examples) and judging by the results of this study Devon has a similarly high number (27 examples were recorded, which suggests there are at least 60 examples in the county). The use of the cross was therefore as much to do with its ancientness and timelessness as its links to Christianity, Christ's sacrifice or the resurrection. The use of ring crosses can be seen to reflect the wider Celtic revival of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, which was seen particularly in Ireland and Cornwall, but also influenced the monumental traditions of Devon. This influence extended therefore not only in the use of ring crosses, but also as the granite used for these First World War memorials had typically been sourced from Cornish quarries.

## 7.4 Soldier-Saints

The link between the sacrifice of Christ and that of service personnel extends beyond the use of the crucifix and the cross to include references within the inscriptions upon the war memorials. Many inscriptions carry religious quotes (16.3%), which tend to emphasise the importance of the remembrance of sacrifice (Gaffney 1998: 131). War memorial inscriptions often make blatant comparisons to the sacrifice of Christ or other holy figures such as, *I am the resurrection and the life* (0.3%); *make them to be numbered with thy saints* (0.1%); *be thou faithful unto death and I will give thee a crown of life* (0.6%). The use of Christian symbolism provided a way of viewing death in conflict, and attempted to make sense of the losses to the bereaved, linking the deaths to the sacrifice of Christ and to the ancient (for example, Tarlow 1997: 115). The Christian messages also extend to linking the deaths to depictions of the solider saints, particularly St. George, St. Michael, and on odd occasions St. Longinus and St. James. These traditional Christian icons are used mostly upon memorial windows (54%), yet they do occur in association with other memorial forms, and can be seen to emphasise ideals of faith, chivalry, justice, truth, honour, love and hope (Grieves 2001: 211).

The use of solider-saints images further established that the sacrifices of the local modern servicemen could be viewed as parallel to them, as noble combats of good versus evil. Especially given the dominance of St. George and St. Michael shown slaying a dragon or the devil (representations of evil) having parallels with the victory over the *evil* Boers or Kaiser (Fig. 7.30b). Soldier-saints can thus be read as depicting both a triumph over evil and also a victory over death, representing that the war dead would be remembered and redeemed (e.g. Fig. 7.30). The Christian redemptive nature of many inscriptions such as *they laid down their live for us* (2.3%) and *Greater love hath no man than this, than to lay down his life for his friends* (2.6%) further emphasise that the deaths of these service personnel were noble and saintly (Davies 1993). The war dead (particularly of the South African and First World Wars) were therefore depicted as noble, brave and good individuals, who were representative of the greater good of the communities from which they came, and of the nation. War memorials through their decorations, inscriptions, forms, and locations held up the war dead as models of behaviour and values through their noble sacrifices.



*Figure 7.30 – Detail of St. Michael the Archangel on the Newton St. Cyres war memorial window in St. Cyr and Julitta's Church (a). Lt. S. Hellyer's memorial window from St. Mary the Virgin's Church, Brixham (b) typifies the clean and peaceful depictions of contemporary servicemen. Servicemen when they were occasionally used are also sometimes depicted in mourning or at attention, as on the Abbotskerswell war memorial tablet in the Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary (c) (Photos: Author).*

**7.4.1 Sanitised deaths and absences**

Grieves suggests that it was *difficult and certainly not comforting* for the bereaved to represent war service in realistic ways, and that this is reflected in the decorative motifs chosen for war memorials, even down to the lack of use of modern servicemen their weapons and uniforms (*Ibid* 2001: 209). To some extent this certainly appears to have been the case, with the realities of modern war being kept at bay through the emphasis upon self-sacrifice, the warrior-saints, and medieval weaponry. These ideals and images brought with them a blend of *patriotic justification* and comfort to the bereaved rather than the memorials acting as reminders of carnage, devastation and mutilations (Koven 1994; Grieves 2001). Despite the perceived dangers which Grieves (2001) portrays in depicting soldiers in contemporary uniforms, they do occur on a minority of public (0.5%) and private war memorials (1.2%) within the study region. The majority of these depictions are associated with the South African War (61.3% of examples), yet they continued to be used upon First World War memorials (37% of examples) but are largely absent from later memorials.

The diminishing depiction of servicemen was partly a reflection of the growing sanitisation and distancing of death within society (Winter 1985; Todman 2005), but also of the mechanised nature of 20$^{th}$ century conflicts. The mystique and romanticism of warfare, weapons, soldiers, and of their brave deeds although surviving until after the First World War had been irreversibly changed by the conflict. War and weapons were no longer deemed such suitable objects or depictions to use for, or on war memorials. This is reflected in the almost complete removal of all publically located First World War and South African War weapons, which had been an established element of the commemorative landscape prior to the Second World War. It is also apparent in the absence of depictions of even medieval or classical weaponry and soldiers (let alone modern ones) upon war memorials commemorating the Second World War or later conflicts. The romanticism felt towards the weapons, machines and the servicemen of the World Wars can however be seen to be growing again as they have become outdated, archaic, and alien that their meanings as symbols of death and destruction have changed. Some weapons, such as the spitfire, have even become important and diluted symbols of the conflict and of British identity.

Death was also sanitised through expressions of a quick and painless death in the wording of public war memorials, and in the official death notification letters received from the front (Gaffney 1998: 18). However, the desire to discover as much information as possible about how a loved one had died, (often seen as an essential part of coming to terms with their loss) is frequently made implicit on the inscriptions of private memorials, particularly headstones additions. These usually, even in the simplest examples, include the forenames (83%), relationships (79%), how they died (73%), country of death (64%) the date of death (84%) and age (80%). Although the more detailed examples also include rank (43%), regiment (39%), the location or battle in which they died (34%), and maybe also the place or date of birth (4%), length of service (2%), or home (3%). Therefore death was often less sanitised upon private memorials than on public memorial inscriptions, which although tending to express sadness, absence, and loss (Gaffney 1998: 131), rarely included direct references of death or dying. Instead using inclusive phrases such as *those who gave their lives* which gave equality in death to all of those listed upon a public war memorial (Grieves 2000: 51).

There is a clear pattern in Devon that all service deaths began being treated with equality over the course of the 20th century. For example, the families of casualties of the First World War often petitioned memorial committees for the inclusion of names of men who had died of disease, at home, or as civilians through enemy action. Some individuals were excluded from public commemorative schemes due to the circumstances of their deaths, while others were accidently missed off (e.g. Fig. 7.31). In particular it is worth emphasising the commemoration and remembrance of the disabled service personnel who had returned home, many to die of the effects of their wounds and injuries (see Fig. 7.32). The disabled often served as painful physical reminders of conflicts (after Winter 1995a: 343), particularly after the First World War when they were at their most numerous, and arguably when medicine struggled most to keep up the with the repairing, hiding, and denial of their visible injuries (e.g. Koven 1994). The names of those who died of their wounds in the years after both World Wars were not surprisingly therefore rarely supplemented onto existing war memorials. However, their names may appear on rolls of Honour as having served, these also were rarely updated to show that they had subsequently died of the effects of their service.

*Figure 7.31 – The Ashcombe War Memorial Cross (a) which has had John Clarke's name (and the Second World War Dates and casualty) appended onto the memorial in the 1990s. He had initially been left off the memorial as he was buried (b) in the parish churchyard of* St. Nectan's *(Photos: Author).*

*Figure 7.32 – R. Garlick's (1926) headstone in St. Mary's Churchyard, Plympton (a), Lieutenant M. Curnow's (1941) headstone in St. Clements Churchyard, Dartmouth (b), S. Green's (1925) headstone in St. Gregory's Churchyard, Seaton (c), and B. Pearson's (1928) plaque in the Holy Trinity's Church, Galmpton. These are representative examples of the various private memorials erected to service men that died in Devon from the affects of their service during the First World War. These individuals were largely ignored from the public memorials of the region, with only S. Green out of these examples being added to the parish war memorial (Photos: Author).*

### 7.4.2 Naming the dead: remembering individuals or a community?

War memorials can be seen to have been constructed to presence the dead within communities (Tarlow 1997; Saunders 2003; Bartlett and Ellis 1999), and were part of the widespread desire, especially post the First World War, of bringing the dead home. War memorials can be seen to have made the war dead materially and spiritually present within communities, acting as poor substitutes for their physical presence. The use of names enabled diverse remembrance and memories to be commemorated within each public memorial, acting and embodying different memories and feelings for each family and for the wider communities of those commemorated. The importance of names to the meaning of war memorials is reflected in the high proportion of public memorials which include them (84%), while the majority of those memorials which did not include the names tend to form only one part of a commemorative scheme (9%). This leaves only 7% of public war memorials which do not include names, and most of these commemorate battles, anniversaries, or war more generically, and therefore not of specific local casualties. The importance of reaffirming the presence of the war dead is further evidenced through the growth in popularity of spiritualism as a result of the First World War (Carradine 1981; Tarlow 1997). The growth in spiritualism acted alongside the construction and compilation of commemorative forms to (re)locate the dead within their communities and families.

The use of names on war memorials is one of the main ways in which war memorials were imbued with significance, and dramatically impacted upon the creation of a sacred meaning to these communal spaces of war remembrance (Inglis 1992: 593). This is further reflected by it tending to be those memorials which do not include names which have become the forgotten or ignored memorials within these communities, typically in preference for external memorials

which included the names. The power and sacred quality of the names of the war dead has if anything grown in the last two decades, with the desire to honour all equally resulting in many memorials which previously did not include names upon them having them added. This is most evident amongst external war memorials, such as those at Exmouth, Moretonhampstead and Hawkchurch which have had names added onto existing public memorials. Several other external memorials have had Second World War casualties appended onto them as at Axminster and Torquay.

The inclusion of names did not however ensure a war memorial's lasting success as a commemorative focus for a community. For example, the Cenotaph in London, which can be argued to have been (and still be) one of the most famous and affective war memorials, partly achieves its success by including no names. The lack of names thereby ensure the memorial acts as a symbol of all the war dead (a parallel component to the Unknown Soldier), allowing for a *democratic remembrance* of the war dead of the First World War and for subsequent conflicts (Gough and Morgan 2004: 667). The Cenotaph was exceedingly influential upon the form of many other war memorials to the First World War both nationally and internationally (Winter 1995a; Hanson 2005), yet in Devon its influence was not so explicit (the only close physical parallels being at Moretonhampstead and Plympton St. Maurice). However, the non-inclusion of the names of the dead upon some external public memorials may have been influenced by the Cenotaph (for example at Hawkchurch). The choice of not including the names of the dead was often based upon aesthetics, especially in instances of restored ancient crosses (for example at Shillingford St. George) or where the names were included in nearby places of worship (for example at Cornwood).

The Cenotaph had been a memorial designed for everyone (Hanson 2005), while the majority of the war memorials recorded in this study were designed by, and for, local communities, many of which were only small in size. The names of the dead were therefore used to maintain the mnemonic links between people, communities, the dead, and place (i.e. their shared homes and history). The few exceptions to this rule in the region are generally those memorials established as county memorial projects, a small number of national memorials in Plymouth, and a few to internationally significant events which occurred within the region (e.g. Fig. 5.56). Mansfield (1995: 67) supports this pattern by suggesting that rural war memorials always list names, unlike

their urban counterparts, and that they invariably include more information than urban examples. Devon largely followed this pattern; particularly as the main war memorials in the two largest urban centres (Plymouth and Exeter) do not include the names of the war dead (instead lists of the names are buried under the monuments). It is also apparent that many of the urban parishes tend to only include the initials and surname of the war dead (63% of public urban First World War memorials) while only 12% of public rural memorials include this low level of detail (Fig. 7.33). This is partly a result of the cost of the inscriptions (with urban parishes usually having more names to list), but is also a reflection of the more personalised remembrance, and perhaps greater sense of community within these rural parishes.



*Figure 7.33 – The Heavitree War Memorial Board (a) and Newtown War Memorial Cross (b) are typical of urban parishes, which frequently solely include the initials and surnames of casualties (Photos: Author).*

Inglis (1992) suggests that about 5% of First World War memorials in Britain list all who served, and that this occurs because of the voluntary nature of enlistment in 1914 and 1915 (Inglis 1992: 586) which persevered as a dominant element in the remembrance of the conflict after the war. In this study the proportion of public war memorials which include lists of all who served is 7.8% but this figure is inclusive of rolls of honour, and would be a much lower proportion (3.3%) if only monuments were included (i.e. not framed lists or books). This suggests that although many parishes surviving public war memorials may have been derived from earlier less permanent and often no longer surviving forms or lists, that it was usually not seen as appropriate to include the names of all who had served upon a war memorial, perhaps

particularly the case with internal Church of England memorials. The lack of inclusion was probably also the result of a lack of space upon many memorials, or due to a lack of funding. Also the majority of parishes had some sort of Roll of Honour including all who served either publically located or within the parish records, thereby negating the need for their further inscription.

The names of both the dead and the living acted to provide evidence of the scales of loss, service, and of the sacrifice which the community made, as well as triggering the recollection of memories and identities (Moriarty 1997: 137). The inclusion of all names can therefore be seen as a reflection of communal pride, as with expressing grief and loss. The selection of names was not however a straight forward process, and frequently committees had to make controversial decisions on who to omit, for example Jonathan Black discusses how the name of a former soldier who committed suicide in 1921 was petitioned for by his family to be included upon the Macclesfield war memorial, but was unanimously decided that it couldn't be included as he had taken his own life and not been killed in action (Black 2004: 137). This example is not unusual, with men such as Arthur Edgcombe of Aveton Gifford, committing suicide in the years immediately after the First World War (The Kingsbridge Gazette 1920c), and not having their names included upon any public war memorials. Black (2004) draws an interesting comparison between this treatment to that of the *Shot at Dawn* Memorial at the National Arboretum, which emphasises the *emotional fragility and vulnerability of men at war* and thereby the changing attitudes towards the trauma which servicemen went through (*Ibid* 2004: 146). One can perhaps anticipate that in the future the names of those service personnel who took their own lives in the years immediately after a conflict (particularly the First World War) will one day be appended onto existing external war memorials, or that new war memorials could be erected to those who took their own lives.

## 7.5 The Use of the Ancient and Relics

The prehistoric, the medieval, and the modern often collided in the commemoration of the First World War, with reused medieval memorial crosses and prehistoric stones used in the construction of war memorials (e.g. Saunders 2003). Other war memorials often imitated the

forms of ancient remains, or even through the located war memorials in association with ancient remains (e.g. Fig. 5.60). The use of the cross is one of the most explicit signs of this in Devon, with many examples either including the remains of ancient crosses (5.70%), or being directly copied from ancient forms (2.63%). The connection however extends beyond this, with a higher proportion of war memorial crosses chosen in parishes which had an extant ancient cross. In total 39.1% of parishes with ancient crosses erected war memorial crosses, compared to only 14.33% of parishes opting for this form when they did not have an ancient example in the parish.

The importance of ancient relics extends beyond war memorials being located near them, or in imitation of them, to ancient remains being moved and placed in close relationship to them (as seen at Culmstock). The role of relics also however extends to those of warfare, with several war memorials associated with historic canons (as at Thurlestone and Plymstock) and castles (Bideford, Exeter, and Plympton St. Maurice). Others were associated with more recent pieces of military equipment, such as the canon used in the South African War which was formerly located adjacent to the First World War memorial cross at Ashburton. An even higher amount of militaria however returned to Britain from the battlefields after the First World War, and much of this was used as elements of public and private commemoration in the immediate post war years. The majority of instances of the public use of these weapons and other militarian objects as elements in the commemoration of the conflict were however removed prior to the Second World War (Corke 2005: 14). Those items which were not removed at this time were often removed for scrap during Second World War.

The use of canons and guns had been a common commemorative element after earlier conflicts, being used as symbols of victory and military prowess rather than military casualties. However, the mechanised nature of warfare in the First World War meant that the majority of people did not view these guns as objects of nobility and beauty (The Express and Echo 1919a), but rather as ugly reminders of mass death, which is the main reason the majority were removed from public display, with aeroplanes a slight exception as they held a greater sense of nobility in acting as the charges of the chivalric *knights of the air* (Bishop 2004). Those examples of relics which have been retained in Devon do not usually take the forms of weaponry, or even objects associated to these weapons, but instead the mundane. For example the door knocker retrieved

from an enemy trench in the First World War at Uplyme, and a table built from bomb damaged timber during the Second World War at West Charleton. These objects can be viewed as personal and idiosyncratic fragments of these conflicts (Whittingham 2008), which the weapons and guns (at least in their raw forms) could not represent. By being both fragmentary and personal traces of conflicts these objects had a greater resonance and emotive power. These fragmentary objects have been *killed* by warfare, but had been physically recovered, repaired, and resurrected, just like society and the dead. They acted as reminders, rather than weapons which could only make the blatant statements of killing and damage, which could not be forgotten while they were retained and used in remembrance after the First World War.

The choices made in retaining objects and relics reflect deliberate attempts of *preservation* and therefore also of attempts to preserve the memories which they embody (White 1996: 12). For example this is clearly exemplified by the return of a large number of grave markers to Britain from the various fronts of the First World War. There are currently thirteen recorded examples in Devon (UKNIWM accessed online 8/8/2009*)*, although there are also likely to be a number held privately. These returned objects are often placed in association with further war memorials, acting either as foci for commemoration, as at Cockington (Fig. 7.34b), or being placed in flanking positions to public war memorials as at West Alvington and Kenn. They are also commonly placed in association with entrances as at Colyford, Manaton (Fig. 7.34a) and Shaugh Prior, with the latter two having the main parish war memorials located outside in line with the wall on which they were placed.

Another element of the material culture of the First World War, which has been widely used in both the private and public commemoration of lost family members are the *dead men's pennies*. Each badge included the name of the deceased person and had been designed to be commemorative. The manipulation, combination and display of these official commemorative messages within other objects and places of remembrance meant that they took on much more personalised meanings than their original official and sanitised sentiments. They were incorporated into a number of headstones across Devon, most prolifically in the Torbay area (two at St. Mary and St. Gabriel's Churchyard, Stoke Gabriel, two at St. Mary the Virgins Churchyard, Brixham). They were however appropriated into other commemorative forms in

hundreds of homes across the region, being included within framed display cases, alongside photographs and medals in the remembrance of family members (e.g. Fig. 7.35c). Such objects, like the trench art, grave markers and other objects symbolically connected to the casualties of war, have an emotive significance and power imbued within them through their connection with the names or bodies of the dead, and of the war experience.



*Figure 7.34 – Lt. J. Gibbons grave marker in St. Winifred's porch at Manaton (a) and Major C.H. Mallock's grave marker at St. George and St. Mary's Church, Cockington (b) (Photos: Author).*
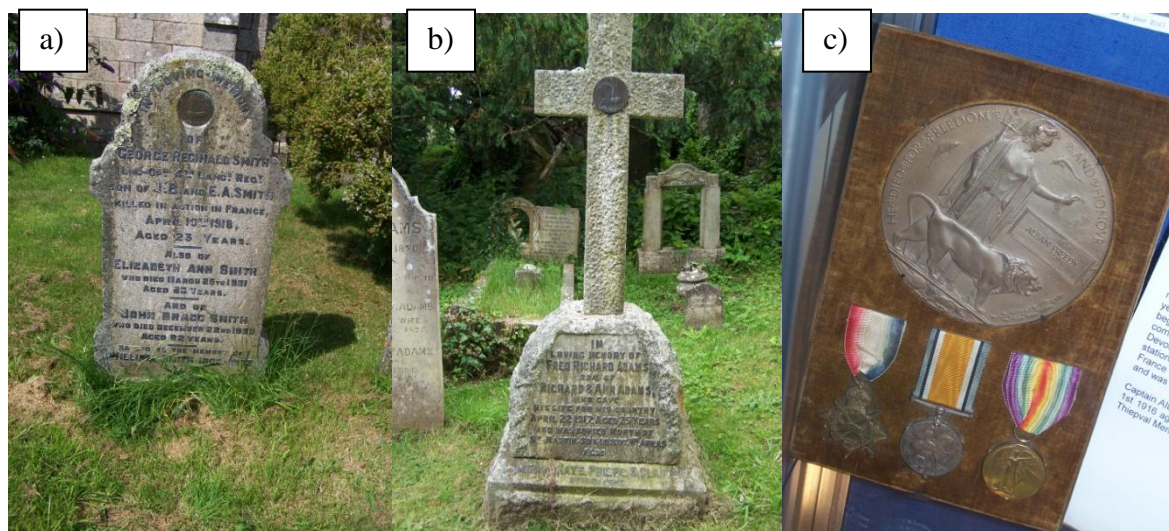


*Figure 7.35 – The Dead Man's Penny was frequently reused in commemorative memorials in Devon such as on the Smith family headstone, at Holy Trinity Churchyard, Drewsteignton (a). Also on*

*the Adams family headstone from St. Mary and St. Gabriel's Churchyard, Stoke Gabriel (b), and Captain A. Preedy's memorial board from Allhallows Museum, Honiton (c) (Photos: Author).*

## 7.6 Sacred Space: Rituals of Remembrance and Planting

Monument's which commemorated twentieth century conflicts *occupied an almost sacred space* within the minds of communities (Gaffney 1998: 95). War memorials interpretations were therefore harder to challenge by inappropriate use, neglect, or through the construction of other memorials in their immediate vicinity. The growing symbolic significance of the war dead within the mentalities of the community in which a war memorial was established ensured *sacredness* to the meanings of a memorial (Mayo 1988). The sacredness of war memorials also resulted (and was perpetuated) by the establishment of a sacred corona of space around the memorials themselves. By their very definition a *memorial* should be sacred (Gough 2008; Inglis 1992), and this was achieved not only through the choice of location, but also by this defined and enclosing space set around them. Even in those instances where war memorials were in association with religious buildings and spaces, they were placed in a position which created their own defined space within these sacred locations. However, this is usually more noticeably when the war memorials were placed in civic locations.

The defined space around public war memorials had several purposes. From the functional such as protection from animals and vandals, to the symbolic, such as demonstrating to viewers that the memorial has a protected status, and is privileged by the community in which it is situated (Tarlow 1997). Usually the sacred spaces of these public memorials were defined through the use of boundaries, such as the edge of the paved, lawned or walled area upon which a memorial was situated (16.4%), but also through the erection of fences (3.3% of recorded memorials), path ways and seating (1.2%). All of these definitions tend to emphasise the emptiness around the memorials, and generally have very little visual impact beyond this, as their role is secondary to the importance of the memorial, and their purposes were to exaggerate and emphasise the memorials significance.

One of the most striking and significant ways which is used to maintain the defined sacredness of public war memorials and their surrounding space is their surrounding flora and the *paraphernalia of remembrance* (Gough 2001: 2). Planting and arboreal symbolism was often carefully considered in consideration to the relationship with war memorials and commemorative landscapes (for example, Gough 2001). This is best exemplified in Devon by the removal of large trees which would have dramatically impacted upon a war memorials visual dominance, as at Newton Abbott where a large oak tree was cut down during the landscaping in preparation for the placement of the towns war memorial. The tree was subsequently chopped up and used for doorsteps across the town (Armstrong 2004), thereby creating a mnemonic link between the site of the fallen and the homes of the living.

Planting is often (though not exclusively) used to commemorate individuals, with family members remembering named individuals upon war memorials by the placement of flowers and other temporary remembrance paraphernalia (e.g. candles, signs, etc.). The growing use of remembrance crosses in recent years can be seen to reflect a growing importance in commemorating individual war casualties, which had been previously subsumed into the wider communal narrative of honour (Figs. 7.36a-b). However, the poppy has also become a symbol of remembrance more generally being used for the commemoration of veterans and the non-war dead (Figs. 7.36c-e). Flowers are symbols of transience and ephemerality, yet this is partly denied through using more durable materials to make them more lasting (such as laminated paper, plastic poppy wreaths, wooden crosses, etc.). The impermanence of flowers is also denied through the careful maintenance which the majority of public war memorials endure, with neatly manicured lawns, evergreen plants, or frequently replaced seasonal flowers acting as denials of death, symbolising the eternal importance of these sites and as symbols of regeneration and renewal (Gough 1998).
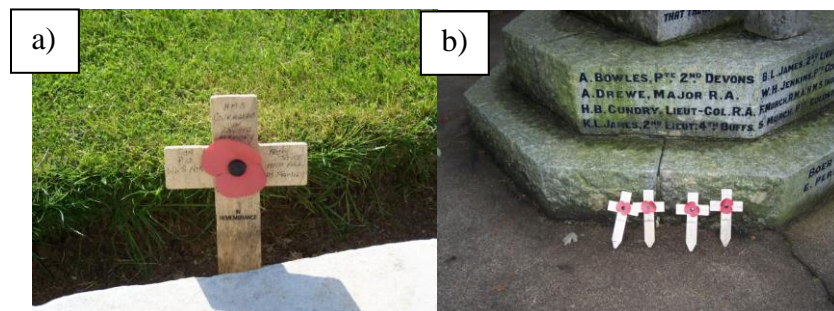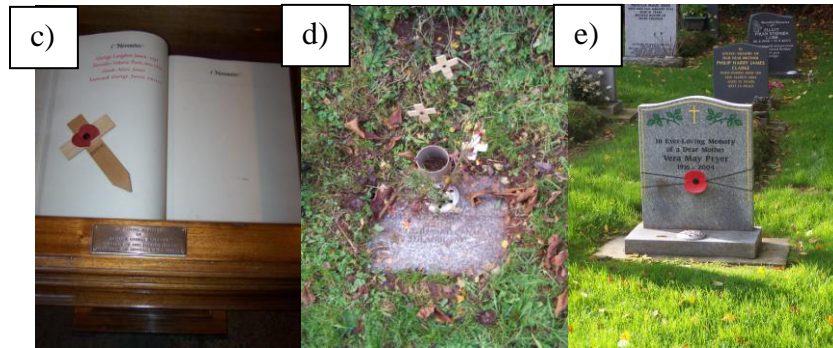
*Figure 7.36 – A remembrance cross at the Plymouth Naval Memorial (a) and four crosses in front of the Broadhembury war memorial cross (b). Remembrance crosses (and poppies more widely) are also used for individuals who had nothing to do with armed conflicts, such as on books of remembrance, as at St. Mary the Virgins' Church, Brixham (c), cremation tablets, such as in St. Thomas' Churchyard, Thorverton (d), and headstones, as at St. Mary's Churchyard, Kentisbeare (e) (Photos: Author).*

## 7.7 Summary

The commemoration of conflict throughout the 20th century in Devon clearly exhibits trends which both fit and contradict national patterns of memorialisation. The role of the local should not therefore be downplayed in the commemorative patterns of the nation, and much further work is required to understand the nuances of commemorative actions locally, regionally, nationally, and internationally. Public war memorials acted as a distinctive element, largely still visible today, which helped people and communities come to terms with both individual and collective losses throughout the 20th century (Gaffney 1998: 7). They may not have been the only form which individuals and communities used to commemorate conflict and war deaths, but they were, and have remained the most high-profile and enduring form of conflict commemoration. War memorials retain an emotive significance in today's society which goes beyond the *commemoration of a historical event* (Tarlow 1997: 118), and although their meanings, uses and roles have evolved, been appropriated, and to some extent forgotten, they still play a significant role in society. In fact despite the rituals and memorials themselves becoming part of a national history and tradition of remembrance, they are increasingly being re-appropriated by the communities in which they are situated as symbols of local memories, identities, and loss.

## 8.0 SUMMARY

The final chapter of this thesis draws together the outcomes of the research, returning to its five main themes of memory, identity, landscape, materiality, and biography. This summary discusses how the research has furthered the understanding of many key aspects of these fundamental issues. A synthesis of each of these themes is followed by a short discussion, based upon the accomplishments and limitations of this research, and highlights some possible directions for future investigation. A short conclusion follows this section which considers the success of the thesis in achieving its aim (Chapter 1.2) and research themes (Chapter 1.3).

### 8.1 Introduction: The Significance to Memorial Studies

This study has focused upon the twentieth century commemoration of conflict within two regions (East Devon and the South Hams) which has not only furthered the research into memorials in these areas, but also had wider implications upon the investigation of war memorials more generally. Not only has the thesis demonstrated the enormous variety of war memorial forms, locations and inscriptions (see also Trigg 2007; Grieves 2001; 2000; Furlong *et al* 2002), but it has also gone some way to readjusting the predominance of First World War narratives in previous studies. Through scrutinizing the processes of memorialisation across the whole of the twentieth century, this study has greatly clarified the changing nature of conflict remembrance in Britain (see also Quinlan 2005), contradicting many of the assumptions which have been made about war memorials. For instance, the belief that utilitarian schemes had dramatically grown in popularity to become the dominant form of commemoration after the Second World War (e.g. Webster 2008; Furlong *et al* 2002: 33) seems to be an exaggeration, with a much more even distribution through time evident within this study. The thesis has also addressed issues such as the lack of research conducted into smaller (and rural) war memorials (see also Mansfield 1995; Bartlett and Ellis 1999), and especially the deficiency of investigation into internally positioned examples more generally. The study has also substantiated the existence of palpable regional variation, which has been shown to have occurred even within the same county or district. This is not solely restricted to pre-twentieth century examples, with distinct regional and sub-regional identities and memories also embodied in the commemoration of the Second World War and later conflicts.

This study is also significant in that it adds 1794 memorials (which fit UKNIWM's criteria) to the national database, as well as providing further details about many of the existing memorials' records. This suggests that there is still a huge amount of site recording and documentary research which needs to be conducted to provide a more complete and thorough database (see also UKNIWM 2008). In fact if the levels of commemoration and the intensity of recording were the same as in this study across the rest of Britain the author would estimate that approximately a quarter-of-a-million war memorials could potentially exist. A dramatically higher figure than the 62000 currently recorded, or from the estimates made by the UKNIWM of 100000 memorials (UKNIWM 2008). It is clear that the detailed recording of all war memorials is still only in its infancy, although this is not surprising given that UKNIWM was only established 20 years ago, and that the majority of regional or county level recording projects have existed for much shorter durations. This study has therefore considerably furthered the current appreciation, investigation and recording of war memorials, but it has also supplemented the key theoretical debates which have run though the study.

## 8.2 Memory and Commemoration

The study of the memory of twentieth century conflicts, particularly of the World Wars has, and continues to, receive considerable attention. However, this has often focused upon national memories (e.g. Winter 1995b; Gregory 1994; Connelly 2004). Regional variations have typically only received limited attention and usually only within the context of utilising individuals reminiscing to ascertain the social histories of local communities (e.g. BBC 2006; Gray 2005). This study has further emphasised that important differences in the nature of memory and commemoration in and between regions exist, and deserve much fuller consideration, with the monolithic model of memories and war memorials no longer having any value for future studies. There is therefore, huge potential in conducting detailed studies in other areas of Britain which are comparable in their level of depth and breadth as this thesis has advocated. Comparable studies would further highlight the atypical and local origins of the majority of war memorial projects, continuing the recognition of the variety of memories and identities which were connected to these conflicts and memorials.

While emphasising the local origins of war memorials this study has attempted to suggest that these were shaped (and influenced) by wider national myths and memories. War memorials were not erected in isolation, and they rarely appear to have questioned national sentiments, instead mediating many of these national ideologies through local agency. This thesis has accentuated the importance of local events and experiences of conflicts in determining how they were remembered and physically commemorated, especially in terms of the locations, forms, and inscriptions of war memorials. The prominence given to local memories at these sites created further mnemonic significance between each war memorial and the community in which it was erected. For example, the large naval involvement of many places in Devon is accentuated by the coastal positioning of many First World War memorials. Most notably with the First World War memorial at Salcombe, a community in which memories of the 1916 Salcombe Life Boat Disaster took equal precedence to the conflict's remembrance. The local origins of war memorials mean that they are an ideally suited element of the twentieth century landscape for researching the nature of local memories and identities, and the interaction of these with national sentiments.

The idea that the erection of war memorials was as an *act of closure* (Gough and Morgan 2004: 678) is also evidenced by this study. This is most clearly indicated by the majority of memorials in Devon typically dating to the immediate aftermath of the conflict commemorated, particularly amongst South African and First World War memorials. The remembrance of subsequent conflicts altered this pattern slightly, with the commemoration of the Second World War and later conflicts still continuing at pace. This thesis has hypothesised that this lack of closure for these later conflicts can perhaps be accounted for as a result of the relative dearth of new commemorative memorials and forms which were erected in the immediate aftermath of the Second World War. The majority of communities initially simply added the names and dates of the Second World War (and to a lesser extent subsequent conflicts) on to existing First World War memorials, therefore failing to allow these wars to occupy separate commemorative spaces in the landscape. The memories of these later conflicts were therefore completely tied to the remembrance of the First World War, both through utilising its commemorative forms and its anniversary (11th November). The lack of closure is therefore partly a reflection of the inappropriateness and ineffectiveness of the existing (early twentieth century) commemorative

repertoire in materialising the memories and identities connected with the Second World War (and later conflicts).

Commemorative monuments are, however arguably, as much about forgetting as remembering (Rowlands 2001; King 2001; Ignatieff 1984). Although war memorials acted as physical symbols of memory, they also enabled communities and individuals to forget, removing their burden to remember through action and storytelling (Nora 1989). The process of forgetting is inevitable, but was enhanced through the selective nature of the remembrance of these conflicts, with death in service becoming sterilised within a narrative of noble sacrifice for God, King, country, and especially the community (Tarlow 1999a: 165). Forgetting was not however, possible for many veterans, or for the families of the bereaved, and the trauma of warfare and their casualties has been one of the reasons for the continued desire amongst communities to remember. This is expressed both through the erection of new war memorials, the revitalisation of memories through the physical changes made to existing memorials, and by the ceremonies held at these sites.

Without the frequent re-inscription of the meanings and significance of war memorials through conducting commemorative ceremonies, the *forgetting* of the memorials themselves could also occur (Winter 1995b; Gough and Morgan 2004). The first to fade are typically those utilitarian memorials that become outdated and superseded by later developments, which is particularly evident amongst hospital beds or wards (e.g. the Royal Devon and Exeter Hospital's Victory Wing). Other utilitarian examples which are particularly prone to having been largely forgotten are memorial playing fields (e.g. Broadclyst and Loddiswell) and halls (e.g. Stokenham and Exwick). The liability of the commemorative element of utilitarian constructions being forgotten seems particularly prominent amongst those memorials which do not clearly articulate their intentions and origins through their name, inscription, and particularly if they fail to include the names of the dead. This study has shown that those utilitarian schemes embarked upon for later conflicts are particularly predisposed to this, usually being less explicit in their commemorative function than their First World War counterparts. This is often because they no longer use the words *Victory* or *War Memorial* in their titles. The more vague *Memorial* and *Peace* are instead

typically used as a prefix in their names, while the names of the dead are even less commonly listed within their boundaries.

The forgetting which occurs through inaction, outdating, and the utilitarian uses of these commemorative spaces, has often been compounded by the existence of other nearby war memorials. Typically this is an externally located memorial which has been adopted as the main (and often sole) commemorative symbol for the community despite the existence of several others (e.g. Kenton). The growing dominance which these externally located war memorials have within many parishes can perhaps be viewed as evidence of the growing secularisation of society, especially between the two world wars, with these externally located examples having greater prominence within peoples' lives than those situated inside churches. The importance of these external spaces has even grown into the use of prominent places in the churchyards of several parishes with no external war memorial as temporary remembrance locations each November (e.g. Kentisbeare, Hooe, and Payhembury). This study has thereby argued that externally located memorials have become (since the 1990s if not earlier) the most prominent symbols of remembrance (and not just conflict remembrance) in many communities. This is partly because of the diminished control of the church regarding remembrance and the increasing prominence of veteran groups in commemorative initiatives. It is also a reflection of the inclusiveness which these memorials are seen to materialise (i.e. they belong to all in the community as they are seen to commemorate all). It is also a reflection of remembrance again becoming a more individualised action, with the visibility of the location and sacred space in which it is established, enabling private and public tributes to be left. This process is more restricted in internal locations, which are frequently locked and also only afford space for a single official tribute. This growth in remembrance has been partly enabled through the growing importance of the two minute (or minute) silence in society, and its extension from the remembrance of conflicts to the commemoration of other tragic deaths (Phelps 1999), although it may currently be losing its impact by its overuse.

It has become further evident throughout this study that the names inscribed upon war memorials have been such an important element in the mnemonic significance of war memorials to the communities in which they are located. Their importance originates from the careful act of

gathering all *appropriate* names together from the families of the bereaved, veterans, local authorities, and other sources (see Inglis 1992; The Totnes Times 1920e). The collection of names acted as part of the process of mourning by individuals and families, who suggested suitable names for inclusion and thereby received public recognition (or rejection) of their grief through the recognition of these names. The gradual loss of the individual meaning of these names to the communities in which the memorials were situated has resulted in the growth of a new commemorative type (since at least 1997). These take the form of carefully compiled lists of names and biographies for all casualties which have often been published (e.g. Williams and Evans 1997; Mettler and Woodcock 2003; Hill 2009; Ryall 1993) or placed in folders in the local parish church, Royal British Legion Club, or museum (e.g. Broad Clyst, Ugborough, Newton Ferrers, Noss Mayo, Honiton, and Ashprington). The reclamation of the names and thereby identities of the dead although partly the result of the growth in genealogical interests and research, also represents one of the various reinvigorations and reinterpretations that war memorials have experienced over time which have enabled their continual (and once again growing) importance in society and in the memories, histories and identities of communities.

## 8.3 Identity

The bereavement suffered within so many families (especially in the world wars) created links between individuals and families in a *kinship* of mourning (Winter 1995a: 326). These bonds were drawn upon in the commemorative memorials that emerged, which put emphasis upon the local community and losses through the inclusion of the named war dead. It has been suggested that *naming the war dead became the pre-eminent design consideration* (Grieves 2001: 209), and Laqueur (1994) took this even further by emphasising that war memorials can be primarily seen as *sites of names*. This study has shown that although names were an important component of most war memorials, usually acting as one part of all larger commemorative schemes (i.e. those with more than one aspect), not all war memorials were designed with the names included, although many have had them added in recent years (e.g. Hawkchurch and Moretonhampstead). The inclusion of names enabled the identities of the dead (and thereby their families, friends, etc.) to be conjoined with a prominent space, which would have been known to the deceased, and

that they have now become known by (Grieves 2000: 56). Even in those instances when the original connections between the dead and the community had been tenuous (e.g. Williams and Evans 1997) or even non-existent (e.g. Mettler and Woodcock 2003).

This use of names also emphasises a community's intimate knowledge of each individual, suggesting that they mourned their absence, and that their deaths had mattered to the community (Grieves 2001). However, this is much less clear in the instances when only initials rather than full names are used (25% of public memorials in Devon). The use of initials may be partly a result of limited finances, but this thesis has argued that it also stresses the existence of less personalised connections with the war dead within these communities, supported by the fact that the majority of these memorials were found in urban locations. The individuality of names can also be lost due to the overwhelming scale of casualties on many (First World War) memorials, with individual stories being used and submerged within the wider story of collective loss and experience on conflict within that community. It was however the presence of individual names which enabled individual families to mourn and thereby identify with these sites, creating the powerful significance of these sites in identities and memories (after Gaffney 1998: 23).

The focus of many previous investigations into war memorials has tended to be upon which identities are articulated, with the debates centring upon the existence of a division between war memorials acting as expressions of nationalistic or local communal identities (see also Tarlow 1997; Rowlands 1993). This thesis touches upon the contrasts which memorials attempted to embody between local and national identities in their forms, locations, and inscriptions. The memorials which this study has focused upon are placed in public locations and often through public actions, thereby expressing communal identities, yet they were also places of private mourning and identity. War memorials worked in conjunction with other commemorative practices as public expressions of private memories and feelings (Tarlow 1997: 118) and as expressions of community and belonging. However, the main focus of this study has been upon how war memorials materialised identities rather than upon the extent that the local or the national was articulated within commemoration activities. This has included the investigation of changes which occurred over time in the commemorative patterns, and of the continually

evolving value which has been placed upon war memorials in the identities of individuals and communities.

The majority of war memorials emphasise a Christian identity in their locations, forms and inscriptions and this thesis has included the detailed analysis of the influence that the Church of England played in the commemoration of conflict throughout the twentieth century (see also King 2001; Gaffney 1998; Trigg 2007; Grieves 2000; Webster 2008). Christian identities for the war dead and the bereaved are therefore explicitly referenced in the majority of twentieth century war memorials, with only a limited number of memorials. For example the 2.7% of CWGC headstones in Devon which do not include a cross as part of their decoration. The Church can also be seen to have acted as the location which was most strongly tied to local identities, and was therefore an appropriate site to *permanently* connect the identities of the deceased with (after Grieves 2001: 208). This was partly the influence the Church had as the main historic (and religious) focus for each community's traditional commemorative repertoire.

The parish church was not however the only historic site which acted as a focus for war memorials, and medieval sites more generally were frequently used, especially medieval crosses and castles. Extant prehistoric or Roman sites were also used for the sites of war memorials, but much less frequently. However as with the use of other ancient sites their use can be seen as an attempt to link the meanings of these memorials with a community's history and identity. The historic sites which are used are usually the most visibly ancient extant buildings, structures and spaces within communities, adding a *timeless* quality to the memorials and emphasising the importance of these historic sites and memorials to identities.

## 8.4 Landscape

The existing landscape dramatically affected the positioning of war memorials throughout the twentieth century (see also Jeans 1988; Johnson 1995). In particular it is clear that the close spatial relationship between the church and churchyard was very influential upon the location of most commemorative projects until after the Second World War (in Devon). However, it also appears that the Church of England had begun to lose its monopoly upon commemoration and remembrance by the end of the First World War, and a much greater variety of locations (and also forms) began to be used, a process which was accelerated in the commemoration of the

Second World War. This study has also attempted to focus upon the roles non-conformist churches played in the commemoration of conflict, particularly in terms of the locations (and forms) of public war memorials often materialising the presence of non-conformist churches or groups within a community (a relationship which has often been neglected in other studies). This was expected to be particularly relevant in Devon, being a county in one of the great chapel-going regions of Britain (Hoskins 1964: 189; Harvey 2006: 82). It became evident however that in the majority of instances non-conformist churches only exerted a limited influence over the public commemorative schemes in the study areas. They did however exert enough power to occasionally erect separate memorials in their premises, either as part of the wider parish's scheme or occasionally as a reaction to the parish's commemorative schemes. The influence of the non-conformist church in conflict commemoration seems to have dwindled after the First World War (just as role of the Church of England's also decreased) and very few Second World War (or later conflicts) memorials are erected within the boundaries of non-conformist churches or churchyards (in Devon).

Public war memorials were designed to be inclusive, commemorating members of a specific community. The individual community decided who, and what was worthy of remembrance (largely based upon idiosyncratic and local reasons). This was most evident in emphasising who did and did not belong on the inscriptions, but also in their careful positioning of war memorials in relation to liminal locations (i.e. boundaries) within communal centres. The relationship which the majority of public war memorials (and a large proportion of war graves) had was with what were, and to some extent have remained, liminal spaces. This thesis has discussed in depth the direct correlation between war memorials to entrances and boundaries. The profusion of these relationships highlights not only the careful divisions which these memorials attempted to embody between the secular and religious, the conformist and the non-conformist, but also of the casualties' liminal presence within the community (i.e. not living or buried there). These liminal locations therefore represent the difficulties communities (particularly the authorities) had of balancing the remembrance and forgetting of these conflicts. This is particularly true in relation to the contrast which the use of names represented between being symbolic of brutal, distant, and tragic deaths, alongside acting as role-models who had placed sacrifice for the community above self.

War memorials have continued to alter and shape the landscape, with their meanings and significance restricting the constructions which have been permitted in their environs by church authorities, parish councils and veteran groups. This is most strongly witnessed in the outpourings of emotion and debate which have occurred over recent proposals to move several war memorials in the study areas, most notably the Devon War Memorial Cross in the Cathedral Yard (The Express and Echo 2008) and the Torquay War Memorial Column (BBC 2008). However many war memorials have, and continue to be, relocated, and this thesis has argued, in contradiction to Nora's supposition, that memorials to the dead (i.e. war memorials) cannot be moved without altering their meanings and significance (Nora 1989: 22). This is because the memories and connotations of the original location and those of the new site are inevitably different, and therefore a memorial's movement is always reflective of significant shifts in memories and identities. This is most apparent in those memorials located in institutions, businesses, or societies, which have closed, with many of these memorials coming to an end themselves (by being lost or destroyed). The memorials thereby experience (and materialise) a similar *death* as the social identity which they had previously reaffirmed through their form, location, inscription and associated remembrance rituals. Many of these *dead* memorials were however retained, although their forms were reaffirmed and integrated within the memories and identities of the company, business, school, or home, which took over their premises (e.g. Allhallows Museum, Honiton). Alternatively (and more frequently) the memorials are relocated to be in close relationship with existing war memorials (usually to contemporary conflicts) of the wider community in which the organization had been located (e.g. Ermington Methodist Church War Memorial was moved to the Parish Church).

It has become clear during this thesis that one of the most prominent elements of the physical landscape of the majority of public war memorials was their careful creation, or positioning within, a large defined space. This set space then accrued a quasi-sacred quality because of its association with the memorial. The defined corona of *sacred space* (Mosse 1990: 100) is typically larger than those set around other memorial types, particularly private memorials forms and headstones. This large corona around memorials was established (and has typically been preserved) in order to set these memorials and their meanings apart from other commemorative

forms and the everyday landscape. The existence of sacred space also frequently extends to war graves, which have (particularly after the Second World War) been kept separate from other burials in the regions' cemeteries and churchyards through the use of planting and pathways. The majority of the forgotten and neglected memorials are typically those which have had their space impinged by other structure and memorials (e.g. Dunkeswell's First World War Memorial Tablet). The use of *sacred spaces* served to physically and symbolically protect the meanings and status of these memorials (Tarlow 1999a: 160), as well as enabling a space for floral tributes to be laid and for ceremonies to be conducted.

The use of sacred spaces also worked in conjunction with other spatial elements such as the placement of war memorials on high points, road junctions and boundaries to enhance the prominence and therefore visibility of the memorials, and by association the memories and meanings which they embodied (see also Gough and Morgan 2004; Tarlow 1999a). The high visibility is also achieved through the larger size of these memorials when compared to other forms, and also by their careful placement away from other large memorials and structures. Visual prominence is particularly evident amongst the smaller parishes in this study (i.e. under 1000 people in the 1911 population), whose churches were located away from the main road or settlement, but were rarely used for the main parish war memorial, with a more prominent location usually chosen. Private memorials provide further evidence of this concern for high visibility although due to limitations in permission and funding this is often less blatant than with the larger public examples. This study has therefore argued that visibility was perhaps one of the most preeminent concerns in the erection of war memorials, and that this is reflected in the positioning of these memorials, their surrounding landscapes and in the materiality of these memorials.

**8.5 Materiality**

War memorials are one of the most prominent material traces of twentieth century conflicts. However, the distinctive materiality of each memorial has been an element which has often been neglected in previous studies (e.g. Trigg 2007; Gaffney 1998), and is perfectly suited for archaeological investigation (e.g. Rainbird 2003). The appreciation of the materiality of memorials needs to move beyond being solely restricted to focusing upon large external or sculptured memorials and adopt a more extensive appreciation, as has been advanced in this study, which includes the smaller scales of commemoration. This thesis adopted a fairly broad categorisation of forms and materials in order to draw comparisons. However the individual materiality of each memorial was not lost in this broad overview, with individual examples used for demonstrations and photographs for each of the sites included (Appendix 6). The majority of war memorials are constructed from durable materials and the more ephemeral forms which survive are usually those examples which have been protected by being located in churches, with the few external examples in this study having been erected in recent years.

This thesis has also stressed the importance which is placed upon the form of the cross in the commemoration of conflict in Britain throughout the twentieth century, particularly in Southwest England where there had been a growing interest in recording, preserving and interpreting ancient crosses in the early twentieth century (e.g. Mason Phillips 1937; 1938; Crossing 1902). The importance of the cross in the commemoration of the First World War has received some attention (e.g. Saunders 2003; Grieves 2000; King 1998; Trigg 2007: 299). However this study has shown that its use as a war memorial (in Devon at least) had its origins in a small number of (two) South African War examples. Its importance continued in the commemoration of subsequent conflicts, with casualties usually being appended onto First World War examples, and even occasionally suggested as a suitable form for new memorials, as occurred at Churston Ferrers (Tregaskes 2007). The use of the cross both as a prolific memorial form and as a decorative element can be seen as providing evidence of the reliance on traditional motifs to sterilise and define conflicts. In fact the dominance of medieval and classical influences in the forms and decoration of the majority of war memorials in this study seems to evidence that the use of the ancient was particularly prevalent. This even stretched to the use of prehistoric forms in several instances, although it was perhaps more common elsewhere in Britain and Europe than in Devon (e.g. Saunders 2003: 9; Holtorf 2001). Although the influence of extant prehistoric

remains in Devon is perhaps hinted at by the slightly higher proportion of obelisk forms on Dartmoor, which as the county's most blatant prehistoric landscape containing hundreds of standing stones, was more strongly influenced by this ancient past.

Another of the main issues discussed throughout the thesis is the meanings, significance and forms that the internal war memorials of the region took. These are the most numerous of war memorials (with the exception of headstone additions), but their significance has often been neglected in other studies. This thesis has attempted to readjust the imbalance. Internal memorials often provide hints at the earliest, and often ephemeral, forms of commemoration which were erected during conflicts and in their immediate aftermath. Their ephemerality is frequently reflected by the less durable materials which they are constructed from, through their positioning in the porches of churches, and in the arrangement of the names upon the memorials typically being in the order of enlistment or in which they had died. These internal memorials also offer a much greater variety in the decorative motifs used, with the emphasis, much like their external counterparts, being upon the ancient and the sacred, with medieval saints and classical elements such as wreaths amongst the most prolifically encountered. Internal commemorative forms also provide much greater variety in the use of materials than external examples and although the use of fine grained and light coloured stone dominates there is a more diverse range than is often suggested in the current literature.

The thesis has also considered the construction of utilitarian memorials, which have often been portrayed as being one half of the dilemma which communities faced because they had to decide between a purely symbolic memorial and a functional commemorative scheme (Inglis 1992; Grieves 2000; Gaffney 1998). This study has exposed however that this is a false dichotomy, with utilitarian memorials typically erected as only one part of a wider scheme, which also included a symbolic element, as at Sandford (DRO 1238add2A/PG2). This is particularly evident amongst memorials to the First World War, although utilitarian memorials from later conflicts are often less explicit in their purposes. A greater distinction between the utilitarian and symbolic commemorative schemes was therefore created after the Second World War, partly perhaps as a reaction to the already heavily saturated landscape of war memorials. The thesis has shown however that this does not mean that there was a significant difference in the number of

utilitarian memorials erected to commemorate the First and Second World Wars. This is despite previous studies often having portrayed the use of utilitarian memorials as increasingly prolific in the aftermath of the Second World War (Webster 2008).

**8.6 Biography**

The individual biography of each memorial offers great potential in highlighting not only common themes and patterns of commemoration (e.g. Inglis 1992) but also of some of the more unusual and unique responses and reactions to twentieth century conflicts (e.g. Rainbird 2003). This has been furthered by this study, which has approached each memorial individually. Whilst this information has been used to stress the broader patterns in conflict remembrance, it has also attempted to acknowledge the variety which existed within these biographies. The distinctive histories of evolution for each war memorial have highlighted the existence of some key patterns in the choices which communities and authorities have made in allowing only a limited range of memorials to be placed in close physical proximity. These later memorials which have been placed in close relation to war memorials can be broken down into two main categories. Memorials to the absent dead (i.e. cenotaphs) such as cremation tablets and benches are the most prolific, while memorials to tragic deaths such as child burials and benches to people who died young are also common. The addition of later war memorials to these existing commemorative sites can also be seen to fit within these two categories of absent and tragic deaths. This thesis has suggested that all of these additions are representative of the changing meaning war memorials have represented to communities and of their adoption as symbols of community which were connected to the commemoration of loss and tragedy and not solely of conflict. This process has been further evidenced through the growing use of the poppy as a symbol for the remembrance of all deaths and not just those which resulted from warfare.

The physical ruins and relics of the impact conflicts had, held a particular resonance in their remembrance. Although these remains mnemonic potential were often denied in the immediate aftermath of conflicts by their removal or destruction (particularly evident after the Second World War). The removal of these remains was the result of there being no need for them to be carefully preserved and retained in order to aid remembrance, as the absences within the home and landscape were a sufficient mnemonic trace. The limited preservation which occurred

(particularly during the South African War and extending until after the First World War) tended to be dominated by the retention and display of captured artillery weapons from the enemy, or of those belonging to local regiments. However, the destructive nature of the First World War and the resulting changes in attitude to weapons and conflict (particularly from the 1930s onwards) meant that these objects were no longer viewed by the public, veterans or the bereaved as appropriate forms of commemoration because they were so closely connected to death and destruction. The focus of preservation and retention therefore shifted from these violent and complete objects, to fragmentary remains which had been reconstituted into fresh wholes that typically had new (often utilitarian) meanings and functions.

The reconstruction of objects can be seen to have been a therapeutic act, with the remaking of whole objects symbolising the reconstruction of the lives of individuals, families, and of society, in the aftermath of conflict (e.g. Saunders 2000). Relics therefore enabled a more direct reference to the processes of destruction to be made, emphasising that as they could be healed so could the bereaved. This is particularly evident amongst the surviving archaeological record for the commemoration of the Second World War, which had seen the retention of extensive numbers of relics, most notably the remains of churches and other historic buildings (e.g. Charles Church in Plymouth).

## 8.7 Directions for Future Research

This thesis has dramatically furthered the research into twentieth century conflict commemoration, particularly with regard to the five main themes. However, considerable more research is required into the commemorative repertoire of British society in the twentieth century, especially in relation to regional variations, the biographies of each memorial, and the role war memorials have played in the identities and memories of individuals and communities. The key future avenues of research which have emerged from this study as requiring the most investigation are discussed in detail below.

One of the key issues which must be addressed is the full recording of all war memorials in Britain. It is clear that huge gaps currently exist in UKNIWM's database, and that a series of county or regional based assessments (perhaps best instigated by English Heritage or through

county-based HER's) could accelerate and enhance this recording process. By conducting regional based assessments and recording processes would also enhance the appreciation of the existence of any regional patterns in commemoration. This would be given particular value, if, like this study, the cultural, social, and historical contexts, of each war memorial were included.

Many of the regional studies which have been conducted thus far have focused upon those war memorials erected to the First World War, and much more work is therefore required upon earlier and subsequent processes of conflict commemoration. In fact the evident bias which currently exists in the literature towards the memorials and commemoration of the First World War needs dramatic readjustment. The importance of the South African War and earlier conflicts commemoration upon the forms, locations and scale of memorialisation for the First World War in particular requires much more detailed investigation with this thesis emphasising both the positive and negative effects of South African memorials upon later commemorative forms. The commemoration of the Second World War and later conflicts in Britain has typically been seen as having been restricted to utilitarian schemes, to existing memorials, and the retention of relics (e.g. Webster 2008; Gregory 1994; Moshenska 2008; Tarlow 1999a: 167), although a much more diverse process has been outlined during this study. The potential of investigating all modern war memorials has been accentuated during this thesis but requires much further investigation especially with regard to understanding the changing nature of conflict commemoration over time, between conflicts, and also by creating a greater contextual appreciation of each memorial.

It is also important for studies to move beyond investigating simply those memorials which are unusual, erected within large (and thereby urban) communities, or are considered aesthetically/artistically significant. This is clearly seen in the success of the thorough approach which has been adopted by the UKNIWM, having only initially focused upon the recording of sculptural memorials (Knight and Hewitt 2001). The benefits of such an inclusive approach has been further emphasised in this thesis, which has included the investigation of all of the commemorative types covered by UKNIWM. It has furthered this by also including all burials commemorated by CWGC, the burials of civilian casualties, and those to identified veterans. However, this study has by no means been a complete review of the variety of commemorative forms and locations, and future research which analyses these and also includes those

commemorative forms which occurred and survive in private homes, collections, and museums could provide a much more complete picture of the commemorative landscape. Future studies which include these commemorative forms in conjunction with the extensive study of publically located memorials, can offer an even more thorough depiction of the role the commemoration of conflict has played in the memories and identities of individuals, families, and wider social groups.

Another area which also deserves further consideration than has been possible within the remit of this study is the role CWGC played in the selection of other commemorative forms not only in terms of their imitation or use (as with the Totnes War Memorial Cross), but also of the existence of any adverse reactions to these forms. For example it was particularly evident in this study that there was a much more widespread adoption and a lower amount of modification to Second World War and subsequent conflicts CWGC headstones than amongst First World War examples, which is perhaps evident of their forms being more widely accepted. Also the impact that the presence of war graves in Britain's churchyards had upon wider commemorative styles deserves much more detailed and contextual research (Mytum 2000: 14). This seems particularly pertinent when considering that this thesis has underlined the variation which exists in the treatment of war graves and of conflict related casualties more generally within churchyards and cemeteries.

Analysis of the surroundings and contexts of war memorials is another aspect which requires much more detailed surveys to be conducted than have typically been used in studies. The benefits of analysing the surrounding landscape for each war memorial has been analysed in detail in this thesis, but could be taken further through the complete survey of churches, churchyards and cemeteries. Such surveys would facilitate a greater appreciation of the placement of war memorials and burials, and also their subsequent impact upon wider commemorative patterns within these places and communities. An appreciation of the landscape of conflict commemoration is a particularly evident gap in the current research into British war memorials, with attention tending to focus upon the commemorative landscapes of battlefields (Muzaini and Yeoh 2007; Gough 2004b; Lloyd 1998; Osborne 2001c) rather than upon those which evolved on the home fronts.

The type of detailed contextual appreciation of war memorials this study has presented, which has focused upon the roles of memorials in grief, memory, power relations, and identity, is essential for future studies. The careful investigation into the nuances of each war memorial's form, context, and biography are therefore the essential areas which require study in all future archaeological investigations of these monuments. This more nuanced appreciation can hopefully be utilised in future studies, while not preventing the continued discussion and investigation centring around the commemorative patterns and evolution of war memorial forms.

**8.8 Conclusion**

This thesis has analysed the commemoration of conflict throughout the twentieth century, and as such has attempted to adjust the bias that previous studies have shown towards the First World War. This has not however denied the importance of these Great War memorials, which are by far the most prolific in terms of numbers and of the variety of locations used. The study has aimed to apply archaeological techniques of investigation to these memorials, using a wider dataset in a much more detailed and methodical way than has previously been utilised. This has been achieved through the construction of a methodology and recording process which standardised levels of recording, and meant that the individual details and context of each memorial were not lost or neglected. This can be seen to have been relatively successful in that it produced a huge amount of empirical data, which was then integrated into a comprehensive database for analysis, allowing for the individuality of each memorial to be included and analysed. This database can, however, be seen as a work in progress as it would have been possible with further time to conduct a more intensive documentary search particularly in relation to the local newspapers and parish records, the potential of which was only touched upon in this thesis.

The construction of a database enabled a detailed analysis to be conducted into the patterns which existed in the landscapes, materialities and biographies of twentieth century war memorials. This has enabled the reanalysis to occur of many of the assumptions which have been

made concerning the nature of conflict remembrance. These include outlining the huge variation which existed in the planning and erection of war memorials, as well as emphasising the continuing dominance of the Church of England in Devon (and rural England) until after the Second World War. By analysing the development of conflict remembrance throughout the century this thesis has truly enhanced the understanding of the roles and social significance which war memorials (both public and private) played throughout the twentieth century. The study has therefore not only highlighted the pattern of evolution in conflict commemoration, but also the relationships which exist with memories, identities, the landscape, materiality and biography.

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