

The Materiality of Remembrance: Twentieth Century War Memorials in Devon

Volume One of Two

Samuel Walls

Submitted by Samuel Hedley Walls, to the University of Exeter as a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy by Research in Archaeology, May 2010.

This dissertation is available for library use on the understanding that it is copyright material and that no quotation from the thesis may be published without proper acknowledgment.

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.

CONTENTS

Volume One

Abstract	2
Contents	3
List of Figures	8
Acknowledgments	19
1.0 – Introduction	21
1.1 – Aim	22
1.2 – Objectives	22
1.3 – Research Themes	23
1.3.1 Furthering current war memorial research	23
1.3.2 Memory and commemoration	24
1.3.3 Role of identity	24
1.3.4 Landscape	25
1.3.5 Materiality	25
1.3.6 Biography	26
1.4 – Summary	26
2.0 – The Study Areas	27
2.1 – Introduction	27
2.2 – Study Areas	31
2.3 – The Devon Landscape: Rural, Urban and Coastal	34
2.4 – Demography	37
2.5 – South African War	40
2.6 – The First World War	42
2.7 – The Second World War	47
2.8 – Later Conflicts	50
2.9 – Summary	51

3.0 – Literature Review	52
3.1 – A Critical Review of Memory Studies	52
3.1.1 – The differing scales of memory	54
3.1.2 – Forgetting	59
3.2 – The Role of Identity	61
3.3 – Landscape	64
3.4 – Biography	66
3.5 – Monuments	68
3.6 – War Memorials	74
3.6.1 – Locations	77
3.6.2 – Aesthetics and materiality	80
3.6.3 – Inscriptions.....	82
3.6.4 – Rituals and ceremonies.....	85
3.7 – Summary	86
4.0 – Methodology and Sources	87
4.1 – Main Themes	87
4.1.1 – Memory and commemoration	87
4.1.2 – Identity	90
4.1.3 – Landscape	93
4.1.4 – Materiality	96
4.1.5 – Biography	98
4.2 – Methodology	100
4.3 – The Fieldwork Process	102
4.4 – The Historic Records	103
4.5 – Creating a Database and Presenting the Results	104
4.6 – Summary	105

5.0 – Case Study One: The South Hams	106
5.1 – Introduction	106
5.2 – Materiality	116
5.2.1 – Internal memorials	117
5.2.2 – Utilitarian memorials	125
5.2.3 – External memorials	129
5.2.4 – Decoration	153
5.3 – Landscape	168
5.4 – Biography	178
5.5 – Inscriptions	187
5.5.1 – Names	190
5.5.2 – Wording	194
5.6 – Summary	201
6.0 – Case Study Two: East Devon	202
6.1 – Introduction	202
6.2 – Materiality	210
6.2.1 – Internal memorials.....	212
6.2.2 – Utilitarian memorials	223
6.2.3 – External memorials	231
6.2.4 – Decoration	247
6.3 – Landscape	254
6.4 – Biography	262
6.5 – Inscriptions	269
6.5.1 – Names	270
6.5.2 – Wording	274
6.6 – Summary	278

7.0 – Discussion	279
7.1 – Introduction	279
7.1.1 – Forms	288
7.1.2 – Locations	293
7.1.3 – Inscriptions	296
7.1.4 – Evolution	301
7.2 – Utilitarian vs. Symbolic Memorials	309
7.2.1 – Victory halls	311
7.2.2 – Symbolic memorials	315
7.2.3 – Erecting several memorials	317
7.3 – The Role of the Church	319
7.3.1 – Internal memorials and spaces	323
7.3.2 – The churchyard and cemetery	326
7.3.3 – Christian symbolism and messages	329
7.4 – Soldier-Saints	330
7.4.1 – Sanitised deaths and absences	331
7.4.2 – Naming the dead: remembering individuals or the community	334
7.5 – The Use of the Ancient and Relics	338
7.6 – Sacred Space: Rituals of Remembrance and Planting	341
7.7 – Summary	343
8.0 – Summary	344
8.1 – Introduction: The Significance to Memorial Studies	344
8.2 – Memory and Commemoration	345
8.3 – Identity	349
8.4 – Landscape	351
8.5 – Materiality	354
8.6 – Biography	356
8.7 – Directions for Future Research	357
8.8 – Conclusion	360

9.0 – Bibliography	361
---------------------------------	------------

Volume Two

Appendix 1 – Population Figures for the Study Areas	387
Appendix 2 – UKNIWM Recording Form	393
Appendix 3 – Mytum (2000) Recording Form	397
Appendix 4 – Systematic Recording Form	398
Appendix 5 – Table of the Memorials Recorded in the Region	401
Appendix 6 – List of Sites Recorded	404
Appendix 7 – Database	740

LIST OF FIGURES

2.1 – Graph showing the number of recorded memorials listed by the United Kingdom National Inventory of War Memorials	29
2.2 – Map of the South Hams study area	33
2.3 – Map of the East Devon study area	33
2.4 – Map of the main settlement types in Devon	35
2.5 – Map of the later nineteenth century migration rates in Devon	39
2.6 – Photo of Buller’s Statue, Exeter (a) and a portrait of Lt. Col. Kekewich (b)	41
2.7 – Photos of wounded First World War soldiers (a) and Bradninch House, Exeter (b)	45
2.8 – Map of the evacuated regions of the South Hams	49
4.1 – Photos of the war memorial lych gate at Feniton (a), and the Butterleigh war memorial tablet (b)	88
4.2 – Photo of the Diptford war memorial board	92
4.3 – Photo of the Littlehempston roll of honour tablet	95
4.4 – Photo of the Brampford Speke war memorial entrance	97
4.5 – Photo of protestors in front of the Exeter war memorial	99
5.1 – Graphs of memorial types and burial monument types in the South Hams study area	107
5.2 – Graphs of the broad dating of memorials in the South Hams (a), the pre-twentieth century conflicts which are commemorated on twentieth century memorials in the area (b), the broad dating of pre-twentieth century memorials in the South Hams (c), and the conflicts which are commemorated on pre-twentieth century memorials there (d)	108
5.3 – Photos of Runaway Lane memorial plaque, Modbury (a), the Mount Batten Civil War memorial stone, Plymstock (b), and the Trafalgar Oak, Bigbury (c)	109
5.4 – Photos of Cpl. Veale’s memorial plaques at Dartmouth (a), Lt.-Col. Jones memorial frame, board (b) and plaque in Kingswear (c), Cpl. Prettyjohns memorial frame and kneeler from Dean Prior (d), Lt. Roberts cremation tablet at Newton Ferrers (e), and Maj. Farquharson’s headstone from Harberton (f)	111
5.5 – Photos of Sgt. Maj. Farrell’s headstone, Yealmpton (a), Newcombe family’s headstone, Modbury (b), and Sgt. Maj. Bond’s memorial screen and plaque, Dodbrooke (c)	112
5.6 – Photos of the public South African War memorials in the South Hams. The Totnes memorial plaque (a), Pte. Stone’s tablet from Sherford (b), the Ermington memorial tablet (c), the Galampton memorial tablet (d), the Holbeton memorial plaque (e), and Capt. Mildmay’s plaque at Holbeton (f)	113
5.7 – Photos of Slapton’s First World War memorials. The (east face of the) memorial cross (a), the roll of honour frame (b), Lt. Bastard’s tablet (c), Pte. Foxworthy’s headstone (d), Bos’n Hayter’s headstone (e), Smn. Perring’s headstone (f), Lance Cpl. Cole’s headstone (g), and the Blank family’s headstone (h)	114

5.8 – Photos of Slapton’s Second World War memorials. The (south face of the) memorial cross (a), the roll of honour frame (b), H. Whitaker’s headstone (c), W.O. Ellis’ headstone (d), the Torr family’s headstone (e), and the Blank family’s headstone (f)	115
5.9 – Graph of the conflicts commemorated on twentieth century war memorials in the South Hams (a). Photos of the Holmes family headstone, Totnes (b), the Jenkins family headstone, Ivybridge (c), and the St. Petrox’ war memorial board, Dartmouth (d)	116
5.10 – Graph of the range of war memorial forms used in the South Hams	117
5.11 – Graphs of the locations of internal memorials in the South Hams (a), and the breakdown between these forms	118
5.12 – Photos of the main internal memorials types. The First World War memorial tablet at Harberton (a), the First World War memorial plaque at Dartington (b), First World War memorial board at Rattery (c), the First World War memorial roll of honour frame at Chivelstone (d), roll of honour folder at Ashprington (e), Cenotaph flag and roll of honour frame at Plymstock (f), Pte. Richards gravemarker at West Alvington (g), Ringmore’s First World War memorial window (h), Lt. Col. Hancock’s reader at Dittisham (i), Ord. Smn. Steer’s altar rail at Aveton Gifford (j), Lt. Weekes candlestick at Modbury (k)	118
5.13 – Graphs of the materials used for internal memorials in the South Hams (a), the types of memorial board use in the region (b), and the conflicts commemorated by these boards (c). Also a photo of Halwell’s war memorial boards (d)	119
5.14 – Graphs of the types of framed memorials in the South Hams (a), and the conflicts commemorated on these frames (b). Photos of the different forms of framed memorials, i.e. framed photos from Aveton Gifford (c), a framed painting at West Alvington (d), framed information from Harbertonford (e), and a framed roll of honour from Kingston (f)	120
5.15 – Graphs of the framed memorial forms (a), the conflicts commemorated on rolls of honour (b), photos of the roll of honour book at Modbury (c), the Bigbury roll of honour board (d), and the Aveton Gifford roll of honour tablet (e)	122
5.16 – Graphs of the internal memorials of the twentieth century internal memorials (a), and of pre-twentieth century forms (b)	123
5.17 – Graphs of the types of tablets (a), plaques (b) in the South Hams, and the conflicts commemorated upon these tablets (c) and plaques (d)	124
5.18 – Graphs of the breakdown in fabric and fitting forms (a), the breakdown between utilitarian memorials (b), and the percentages of symbolic and utilitarian memorials (c)	125
5.19 – Photos of the De Courcy Stretton family’s window, Salcombe (a), K. Slocombe’s window, Hooe (b), Lt. De Cready’s window, Yealmpton (c), Cmdr. Gibbs’ window, Kingswear (d), St. Petrox’ First World War memorial, Dartmouth (e), and a graph of the conflicts commemorated on windows (f)	127
5.20 – Graphs of the dating of the fabric and fitting memorials (a), and of the other utilitarian memorial types in the South Hams (b). Photos of T. Randle bowl at Kingston (c), the Volunteer public house in Yealmpton (d), and the Lt. Wylly’s memorial reader from Slapton (e)	128
5.21 – Photos of the West Alvington war memorial clock (a), tablets and frames (b-c)	129
5.22 – Graphs of the breakdown of external memorial forms (a), non-burial forms (b), the locations of all external memorials (c), and of only the non-burial forms locations in the South Hams (d) ..	130

- 5.23** – Photos of Pte. Lowden’s headstone (a), Gnr. Putt’s headstone (b), Harbertonford’s obelisk (c), Stoke Gabriel’s cross (d), Dartmouth’s D-Day memorial (e), Kingsbridge’s war memorial statue (f), Small’s Memorial Bench (g), Stoke Fleming’s Royal British Legion Entrance (h), Bigbury Memorial Hall (i), Dartmouth sea-mine (j) 131
- 5.24** – Graph of the breakdown in materials used for external memorials in the South Hams 132
- 5.25** – Photos of the Glinn family headstone, Hooe (a-c) and Ugborough memorial cross (d-e) 133
- 5.26** – Graphs of the use of slate (a), and the dating of the use of this slate in the South Hams (b). Photos of Lt. Col. Webb’s headstone at Dartmouth (c), the Ermington war memorial cross (d), and the Buckland-Tout-Saints entrance (e) 134
- 5.27** – Graph of the conflicts commemorated on CWGC headstones in the South Hams (a), a photo of later CWGC headstones at Hooe (b). Also a graph of the types of CWGC headstones used in the South Hams (c), and a photo of the Chubb family headstone at Bigbury (d) 136
- 5.28** – Photos of Pte. Shelton’s headstone at Kingston (a), A. Edcombe’s headstone from Aveton Gifford (b), Capt. Peek’s headstone at Loddiswell (c), and Lt. Bettridge’s headstone from Totnes (d). A graph of the materials used for CWGC headstones in the South Hams (e), and photos of Pte. Cook’s headstone at South Brent (f) and P.O. Wakeham’s headstone from Dodbrooke (g) 138
- 5.29** – Graph of the conflicts commemorated on the non-war grave headstones of the South Hams (a). Photos of J.C. Easterbrooks’ headstone from Cornworthy (b), the Carter family headstone from Brixham (c), and E.J. Pook’s headstone from Dartmouth (d) 140
- 5.30** – Graphs of the materials used for non-war grave headstones (a), headstone additions (b), and the conflicts commemorated on headstone additions in the South Hams (c). Photos of the Collings family headstone from Stoke Gabriel (d) and the Bourne family headstone at Chivelstone (e) 141
- 5.31** – Graph of the social relationships between those commemorated on headstone additions and those buried on the site (a). Photos of the headstone additions from Kingston for J. Agg (b), S.A. Goss (c), C.V. Triggs (d), and L.J. Lugger (e) 143
- 5.32** – Photos of the Loddiswell war memorial obelisk (a), the Prout family headstone (b), the Preston brothers headstone (c), the Eastley family headstone (d), the Brooking family headstone (e), the Quick family headstone (f), and the Skinner family headstone (g) from Loddiswell 145
- 5.33** – Graphs of the broad dating of headstones used for First World War headstone additions (a), Second World War headstone additions (b), the specific dates of the First World War examples (c) and the Second World War headstone additions in the South Hams (d) 146
- 5.34** – Graphs of materials used for war memorial crosses in the South Hams (a), the other materials used for these memorial crosses (b), and the forms these took (c). Photos of the war memorial crosses at Kingston (d), Holbeton (e), Sherford (f), and Ugborough (g) 147
- 5.35** – Graph of the relationships war memorial crosses have with other crosses in the South Hams (a), and a photo of the Berry Pomeroy war memorial cross (b) 148
- 5.36** – Photos of the Thurlestone war memorial cross (a), the medieval cross in South Zeal (b), and the restored cross at Thurlestone (c) 149
- 5.37** – Photos of the Slapton Sands Evacuation Memorial (a), the Noss Mayo war memorial pillar (b), the Dodbrooke war memorial pillar (c), the Plympton St. Maurice Cenotaph (d), and a graph of the relationships large memorials have with crosses (e) 150

- 5.38** – Graphs of the conflicts commemorated on the other large external memorials in the South Hams (a), and upon small external memorials (b). Photos of the Second World War memorial at Cornworthy (c), the Torcross evacuation mosaic (d), and the Tilly Institute (e) 152
- 5.39** – Photos of St. Michael and All Angels Church at Stokenham (a), of the D-Day training damage on Slapton Sands (b), and St. Andrews Church, Aveton Gifford (c) 153
- 5.40** – Graphs of the decoration on the external (a) and internal (b) memorials of the South Hams 154
- 5.41** – Photos of the decoration from the First World War memorial tablet at Harberton (a), the roll of honour at Dean Prior (b), the First World War memorial tablet at Dittisham (c), the Auger family headstone from South Milton (d), W.H. Rundle’s headstone from Galmpton (e), the Stokenham evacuation frame (f), the war memorial board at Kingswear (g), the Dartington memorial plaque (h), the Ringmore roll of honour (i), and Lt. Hare’s plaque from Diptford (j) . 155
- 5.42** – Graphs of the decorative motifs used on the South African War memorials (a), First World War memorials (b) and the Second World War memorials in the South Hams (c) 156
- 5.43** – Photos of the Lockyer family tablet from Wembury (a), E.A. Wise’s tablet from Loddiswell (b), the First World War memorial at Wembury (c), the First World War memorial tablets at Dittisham (d) and the Second World War tablet from Dittisham (e) 157
- 5.44** – Photos of the Willcocks’ family headstone (a), Capt. Pownoll’s memorial from Ashprington (b), and the war memorial triptych from Noss Mayo (c) 158
- 5.45** – Graphs of the types of figurative decoration used in the South Hams (a) and their dating (b) 160
- 5.46** – Photos of the decoration on the Cook family headstone from Salcombe (a), C.M. Stewart’s headstone from Malborough (b), Lt. Rowe’s tablet from Ugborough (c), J.E. Mitchelmore’s headstone from Thurlestone (d), and the Moore family headstone from Stokenham (e) 162
- 5.47** – Graphs of the decoration which occurs on the memorial crosses (a) and other external memorials of the South Hams (b). Photos of the Malborough war memorial cross (c), the war memorial entrance at Dartmouth (d), and the US servicemen’s memorial at Ivybridge (e) 164
- 5.48** – Photos of the decoration on the war memorial crosses from Chivelstone (a), East Portlemouth (b), South Milton (c), Salcombe (d), South Pool (e), Ermington (f) and the medieval cross head from Ermington (g) 165
- 5.49** – Graphs of the decoration which occurs on the framed memorials (a), memorial boards (b), tablets (c), and plaques (d) in the South Hams 166
- 5.50** – Graphs of the decoration on the memorial windows (a) and on the fixtures and fittings (b) in the South Hams. Photos of Capt. Peeks memorial reredos from Loddiswell (c), the Modbury war memorial table (d), and the Modbury memorial reader (e) 167
- 5.51** – Graphs of the broad siting of war memorials (a), the locations of public memorials (b), the site of war memorials (c), and the sites used for public war memorials (d) in the South Hams 169
- 5.52** – Graphs of the main motivations behind the placement of all war memorials (a), public examples (b) and photos of the war memorial tablets at Harberton (c) and Kingswear (d) 170
- 5.53** – Photos of the Strete rolls of honour (a), the roll of honour board at Halwell (b), the Ugborough roll of honour (c) and the Newton Ferrers roll of honour (d) 171
- 5.54** – Photos of the Kingston memorial cross (a-b), and the restored medieval cross at Kingston (c) 173
- 5.55** – Graph of the types of space surrounding war memorials in the South Hams (a), photos of the Second World War memorial at Galmpton (b) and the Blackawton memorial cross (c-e) 175

5.56 – Plan of the Torcross war memorials (a) and photos of the tank (b) and tablets at Torcross (c)	176
5.57 – Photos of the Staverton war memorial plaque (a), the Second World War memorial rolls at Malborough (b), the Dean Prior war memorial cross (c), and the Aveton Gifford cross (d)	178
5.58 – Graph of the structures in close spatial association with public memorials in the South Hams	180
5.59 – Photos of Stoker Martins’ headstone from Stoke Fleming (a), the Holbeton war memorial cross (b), the Ugborough war memorial cross (c), the Loddiswell war memorial obelisk (d), the Royal British Legion’s memorial bench (e), and the Harbertonford war memorial obelisk (f) ...	180
5.60 – Plan of the Plymstock war memorial cross	181
5.61 – Graphs of the number of reused war memorials (a), and the types of memorial which had the Second World War appended (b) in the South Hams	182
5.62 – Photos of the memorial boards at Kingswear (a), Berry Pomeroy (b), the Beesands memorial font (c), Stokenham war memorial cross (d), and the Aveton Gifford war memorial cross (e) ..	183
5.63 – Photos of the First World War tablet at South Brent (a), the site of its original location (b), and the Second World War tablet (c). Graph of the percentage of moved war memorials in the South Hams (d)	185
5.64 – Photo of the Kingsbridge war memorial statue and memorial park	186
5.65 – Graphs of the types of lettering (a) and text colour (b) in the South Hams	188
5.66 – Photos of the lettering on the Rattery roll of honour (a), H. Percy’s headstone from Yealmpton (b), W.J. Foster’s headstone at Littlehempston (c), the East Portlemouth memorial plaque (d), the Halwell roll of honour board (e), and the Ugborough roll of honour (f)	188
5.67 – Photos of the lettering on the Fleet family headstone, Dartmouth (a), L.H. Wright’s headstone from Plympton St. Mary (b), and the North Huish war memorial tablet (c). Graphs of the lettering used on the war memorials (d) and public war memorials of the South Hams (e)	189
5.68 – Graphs of the percentage of public memorials which list names (a), the ordering of names (b), and the numbers of memorials which included changes in the ordering (c). Photos of the First (d) and Second World War casualties (e) on the Modbury war memorial obelisk	191
5.69 – Graphs of the average number of casualties commemorated (a) and the size of the populations (b) which erected the public memorials of the First World War in the South Hams	192
5.70 – Graph of the biographical information included on the war memorials of the South Hams (a), photos of the Dartington war memorial (b), and the Kingsbridge war memorial statue (b)	193
5.71 – Graphs of the date included on memorial inscriptions (a), the names used to identify the conflicts (b), and a photo of the inscription on the First World War tablet at West Alvington (c)	195
5.72 – Graphs of the phrases used to define memory (a), and those used to identify death on the war memorials of the South Hams (b)	197
5.73 – Graph of the cause fought for on the public memorials in the South Hams (a), photos of the inscriptions on the Thurlestone memorial cross (b), and on the Sherford cross	198
5.74 – Photos of the memorial board from St. Petrox Church, Dartmouth (a), the Stanleick family headstone at Modbury (b), and R. Mitchelmore’s plaque from East Portlemouth (c)	200
5.75 – Photo of the American D-Day memorial from Torcross	201

6.1 – Graphs of memorial types and burial monument types in the East Devon study area	203
6.2 – Graphs of the broad dating of memorials (a) and the conflicts commemorated upon pre-twentieth century memorials in East Devon (b). Photos of Colour Sgt. Hunt’s memorial plaque, Broad Clyst (c), and Col. J. Grey’s memorial tablet, Salcombe Regis (d)	204
6.3 – Graph of the pre-twentieth century conflicts commemorated upon twentieth century memorials in East Devon (a). Photos of Col. C.J.W. Grant’s headstone in Sidmouth Cemetery (b), Maj. Gen. A. Templeman’s memorial tablet from Hawkchurch (c), the Trafalgar Way plaque at Honiton (d), and Fenny Bridges battle memorial at Feniton (e)	205
6.4 – Photos of the Graves family tablet, Combe Raleigh (a) and the Broadhembury memorial cross (b) ..	206
6.5 – Photos of Capt. King’s plaque at Chardstock (a), Capt. Besly’s plaque in Awliscombe (b), and A.F. Long’s headstone in Broadclyst (c)	207
6.6 – Photos of the South African war memorials in East Devon. The Seaton memorial plaque (a), Lt. Edmonds’ window at Southleigh (b), the Kilmington memorial board (c), Hemyock memorial pump (d), Sidford memorial altar rail (e), Causley family headstone at Gittisham (f), and Allhallows school memorial chapel at Honiton (g)	208
6.7 – Graph of the conflicts commemorated on the twentieth century war memorials of East Devon (a) and a photo of Major Williams’ memorial tablet at Beer (b)	209
6.8 – Photos of the memorials to post-1945 conflicts in East Devon. The Honiton memorial cross (a), Cpl. Bristow’s headstone in Honiton (b), Lt. Cmdr. Banfield’s memorial plaque at Honiton (c), the Falklands memorial at Clyst St. Mary (d), Sidbury’s later conflicts memorial frame (e), and the Webber family headstone from Ottery St. Mary (f)	210
6.9 – Graphs of the memorial forms (a) and those used pre-twentieth century in East Devon (b)	211
6.10 – Graphs of the average populations for the main First World War memorial forms (a) and the average number of individuals commemorated by these forms (b) in East Devon	212
6.11 – Graphs of the internal war memorial forms of East Devon (a), the locations of these internal memorials (b) and the materials used in these forms (c)	213
6.12 – Graphs of the conflicts commemorated on the memorial boards in East Devon (a), and the types of memorial board (b). Also of the types of framed memorials in East Devon (c), and the conflicts commemorated by these frames (d)	214
6.13 – Graphs of types of framed memorials in East Devon (a) and the conflicts commemorated by rolls of honour (b). Photos of rolls of honour at All Saints (c), Sidbury (d), and Uffculme (e)	215
6.14 – Photos of the First World War plaque at Combe Raleigh (a), the First World War plaque from Willand (b), the First World War tablet at Sidmouth (c), the Sidmouth war memorial cross (d), the memorial altar and plaque from Sidmouth (e-f), Chardstock war memorial cross (g) and tablet (h)	217
6.15 – Graphs of the types of tablet (a) and the conflicts commemorated on these tablets in East Devon (b), photos of the memorial tablets from Stockland (c) and Clyst Hydon (d)	218
6.16 – Graphs of the extent of public war memorial reuse in East Devon (a) and the forms which are appended (b). Photos of the Buckerell war memorial cross (c), the First World War roll of honour (d), the First World War memorial plaque (e), and the Second World War memorial board and memorial bell (f)	219
6.17 – Graphs of the changing use internal memorial forms (a) and there changing use for public memorials in East Devon (b)	220

6.18 – Graphs of the types of memorial plaques in East Devon (a) and the conflicts commemorated on these memorials (b). Photos of the First World War memorial plaque from Combpyne (c), the Second World War memorial plaque at Escot (d), and the plaque erected in memory of Viscount Sidmouth at Upottery (e)	221
6.19 – Photos of the Broadhembury Royal British Legion flag (a-b), the H.M.S. Exeter pennant at Feniton (c), Lt. Miller’s grave marker from Harpford (d), Lt. Pearce-Brown’s marker from Colyford (e), and Capt. Barnes marker from Colyton (f)	222
6.20 – Graphs of the breakdown of fabric and fittings in East Devon (a), the extent utilitarian memorials were used in the region (b), the broad dating of these utilitarian memorials (c), and a breakdown in the utilitarian forms (d)	225
6.21 – Photos of the Offwell war memorial hymn board (a), the Purkess family hymn board from Culmstock (b-c), M. Clarke’s memorial panelling at Musbury (d), All Hallows School screen in Honiton (e), and Membury’s commemorative tower screen (f)	227
6.22 – The First World War memorial chair from Woolbrook (a), Lt. Nicholl’s chair at Honiton (b), the memorial cross and bench at Upottery (c), D. Channing’s memorial table from Sidmouth (d), Commodore Hubbard’s memorial table (e) and Lt. Col. Orange-Bromehead’s memorial bookshelf both from Kilmington (f)	228
6.23 – Photos of the memorial lych gates at Gittisham (a), Feniton (b), and Widworthy (c)	230
6.24 – The war memorial halls at Colyton (a), Whimble (b), Sidmouth (c), Stockland (d), Broadclyst (e), and Broadhembury (f)	231
6.25 – Graphs of the external memorial forms used in East Devon (a), the breakdown between the monumental external forms (b), the locations of external memorials in the region (c), and the locations of only the public examples (d)	233
6.26 – Graphs of the materials used for external memorials (a) and war graves in East Devon	234
6.27 – Photos of the Warry family headstone from Combe Raleigh (a), the Loveridge family headstone from Colyton (b), and the Shaddick siblings’ headstone from Culmstock (c)	235
6.28 – Graphs of the conflicts commemorated by war graves in East Devon (a) and the forms these war graves took (b). Photos of D. Channing’s headstone from Sidmouth (c-d), Pte. W.J. Browns’ headstone at Sidmouth (e), and Sgt. T.H. Clapp’s headstone at Seaton	236
6.29 – Graphs of the conflicts commemorated by headstone additions in East Devon (a), the conflicts commemorated by non-war grave headstones (b), the materials used for headstone additions (c), and for non-war grave headstones (d)	237
6.30 – Photos of J. Salter’s headstone in Clyst St. Mary (a-b), E.M. Butler’s headstone from Newton Popleford (c), W.J. Chard’s headstone from Honiton (d), W.J.A. Lane’s headstone from Honiton (e) and E.H. Brunet’s headstone from Sidmouth	239
6.31 – Graphs of the broad dating of the First World War headstone additions in East Devon (a), and the Second World War examples (b). Graphs breaking down the dating by decade of headstones which additions of the First (c) and Second World Wars were made	240
6.32 – Graph of the relationships which headstone additions had to those listed upon the headstone (a), also photos of the Ross family headstone (b) and Northcote family headstone (c)	240
6.33 – Photos of Pte. Pottinger’s headstone addition (a), and Lance Cpl. Salter’s headstone addition (b) both from Tipton St. John	241
6.34 – Photos of the war memorial crosses from Sowton (a), Axmouth (b), Chardstock (c), Seaton (d), Talaton (e), Clyst Hydon (f), Axminster (g) and at St. Mary’s Church, Axminster (h)	243

- 6.35** – Graphs of the cross types found in East Devon (a), the main material (b), and secondary materials used in these forms (c), also the relationships which these forms had with other crosses (d) .. 244
- 6.36** – Photos of the Higher Tale obelisk (a), Payhembury war memorial cross (b), Willand war memorial stone (c), Culmstock war memorial obelisk (d), the Uffculme memorial stone (e), and the Wellington Monument (f) 246
- 6.37** – Photos of the Upottery airfield memorial (a), Dunkeswell airfield memorial (b), and the Vimy Ridge door knocker from Uplyme (c) 247
- 6.38** – Graphs of the decorative motifs used for external (a) and internal memorials (b) in East Devon 248
- 6.39** – Photos of the decoration on the Membury war memorial board (a) and the Second World War memorial tablet at Plymtree (b) 249
- 6.40** – Photos of the First (a) and Second World War (b) rolls of honour at Sidford, and the Second World War memorial case from Ottery St. Mary (c) 250
- 6.41** – Photos of the First World War memorial window (a) the memorial tablet’s decoration (b-c), Capt. Whitaker’s window (d), the Hay Webb brothers plaques and Private Houghton’s tablet (e) 251
- 6.42** – Graphs showing the figurative decoration which occurs upon the war memorials of East Devon (a), the forms of memorial which include these decorative elements (b), the decoration which appears on the memorial windows (c) and upon other internal memorial forms (d) 252
- 6.43** – Graphs showing the breakdown in decorative motifs upon framed memorials (a), boards (b), tablets (c), and plaques (d) in the East Devon study area 253
- 6.44** – Graphs of the decoration which occurs upon memorial crosses (a) and other external memorials (b) in East Devon. Photos of the Honiton war memorial cross (c), Axminster war memorial cross (d), Sowton war memorial cross (e), and the Second World War memorial stone (f) 254
- 6.45** – Graphs of the breakdown in locations for all war memorials in East Devon (a), for public examples (b), and the sites which all memorials take (c) and for public examples only (d) 255
- 6.46** – Photos of the Salcombe Regis war memorial cross (a) and Rousdon war memorial (b) 256
- 6.47** – Graphs of the main motivations behind the choice of location for public (a) and private (b) memorials. Photos of Lt. Edmonds window and First World War memorial at Southleigh (c), the South African and First World War memorials at Hemyock (d), and the Allhallows memorial chapel and Honiton memorial cross (e) 257
- 6.48** – Photos of the private First World War memorial in St. Andrew’s Church, Colyton (a) and memorials in All Saints Parish Church (b) 258
- 6.49** – Map of the Kilminster 259
- 6.50** – Graph showing the breakdown in the amount of space around war memorials (a), photos of the First World War memorial tablet at Dunkeswell (b), the roll of honour at Luppitt (c), and the Second World War memorial window at West Hill (d) 260
- 6.51** – Photos of the Uffculme memorial stone and park (a), the Shute memorial cross (b), Stockland memorial tablet (c), the Dalwood cross (d), and the Membury war memorial board (e) 261
- 6.52** – Photos of M.A. Ramsey’s headstone from West Hill (a), the Pring family headstone from Sidbury (b), the Goodwin family headstone from Rockbeare (c), and Pte. May’s headstone at Clyst Honiton (d) 262

6.53 – Photos of the Hawkchurch war memorial cross (a-b), the Axmouth roll of honour (c-d), the Sidbury roll of honour (e), the Farway war memorial plaque (f), the Spratt headstone from Kentisbeare (g), and the Edwards family headstone from Honiton (h-i)	264
6.54 – Graph of the number of moved war memorials in East Devon (a), photos of the Bradfield roll of honour (b), Beer war memorial boards (c), the Willand war memorial (d), and Sgt. Snook's Headstone from Broadclyst (e)	265
6.55 – Graph of the structures found in spatial relationship with public war memorials in East Devon	266
6.56 – Photos of the Culmstock memorial board (a), Luppitt roll of honour (b), Cotleigh memorial tablet (c), the Colyton war memorial cross (d), and the Farway roll of honour folder (e)	267
6.57 – Photos of remembrance crosses at Kentisbeare (a), Broadhembury (b), Southleigh (c) and West Hill (d)	268
6.58 – Graphs of the lettering types (a), text colours (b), lettering styles (c) and lettering styles on the public war memorials (d) in East Devon	269
6.59 – Graphs of the number of public memorials which include names (a), the ordering in which names appear (b), any changes in the ordering of these names (c) in East Devon, and a photo of the U.S. Navy memorial at Dunkeswell (d)	271
6.60 – Graph of the biographical information which occurs upon war memorials in East Devon (a). Photos of inscriptions on Pte. Richards headstone from Axminster (b), the Talaton memorial cross (c), and the First World War memorial tablet at Sidmouth (d)	272
6.61 – Photos of the inscriptions on the Kilmington war memorial cross (a), and the Kentisbeare war memorial tablet (b)	273
6.62 – Graph of the dates used on First World War memorials in East Devon (a), a photo of the Musbury war memorial tablet (b), a photo of the Southleigh war memorial tablet (c), and a graph of the nomenclature used for the World Wars in East Devon (d)	275
6.63 – Graphs of the words used to express memory (a), death (b), and the cause fought for (c) on the public war memorials of East Devon	277
7.1 – The South African War memorials from Cockington (a), and Exbourne (b)	280
7.2 – Graph of the conflicts commemorated on the war memorials of Devon	281
7.3 – Photos of the Afghan war memorial plaque (a), the Queen's Lancers plaque memorial plaque (b), the 32 nd Regiment's memorial tablet (c), the 20 th Regiment's memorial tablet (d) and the Devonshire Regiment's First World War memorial (e) all from Exeter Cathedral	282
7.4 – Photos of the roll of honour from Jacobstowe (a), and the St. Olaves Church shrine, Exeter (b)	285
7.5 – Graphs of the breakdown of the locations of the recorded war memorials of Devon (a), and the types of memorial in Devon (b)	287
7.6 – Graphs of the proportions of the memorial types found nationally (a), in Devon (b), in this study (c), and from the study if headstone additions are discounted (d)	290
7.7 – Graph of the use of war memorial crosses over time	290
7.8 – Photos of the Paignton cross of sacrifice (a) and the Moretonhampstead Cenotaph unveiling (b)	291

7.9 – Photos of the South African War memorial window (a) and tablets (b) from Exeter Cathedral	292
7.10 – Graphs of the location of public war memorials (a), sites of public war memorials (b) and the main motivations behind the choices of location (c) in Devon	294
7.11 – Photos of the Kingskerswell war memorial cross (a), the sites dedication memorial tablet (b), the Torquay war memorial column (c), the North Tawton war memorial obelisk (d), and North Tawton war memorial park (e)	296
7.12 – Graphs of the text colours used (a), lettering types (b), and the lettering styles (c) on the public war memorials of Devon	297
7.13 – Photos of the P.M.C. Cole’s headstone from Ashburton (a), Chf. Eng. H.G. Gatzias’ headstone from Stoke Fleming (b), the Perring family headstone from Dartmouth (c), Pte. A. Moore’s headstone from Ide (d), and Pte. W.H. Palmer’s headstone at Broadclyst (e)	299
7.14 – Graphs of the expressions of memory (a) and death (b) upon the public memorials of Devon	300
7.15 – Photos of the public war memorials of Ipplepen (a-c) and the Filleigh war memorial cross (d)	302
7.16 – Photos of the public war memorials in Stokeinteignhead (a-c)	303
7.17 – Photos of the VE Day memorial at Moreleigh (a), the V.E. Day memorial bench at Ipplepen (b), and the U.S. memorial flag and tablet from Salcombe (c)	306
7.18 – Photos of the Hatherleigh war memorial cross (a), the Dunsford war memorial plaques (b), and the Widworthy war memorial plaque (c)	307
7.19 – Photos of the public war memorials in Kenton	308
7.20 – Map of the distribution of war memorial halls in Devon	313
7.21 – Photos of the British Legion memorial at Cornwood (a), the Normandy Veterans Association bench at Alphington (b), the Naval Association’s memorial at Dartmouth (c), and the Dunkirk Veterans Association bench from Plymouth (d)	315
7.22 – Photos of the Kenn war memorial cross (a), the Modbury war memorial obelisk (b), the Chudleigh war memorial cross (c) and the Kenton war memorial obelisk (d)	316
7.23 – Photos of the First World War memorials erected as county memorials in Exeter (a-c)	318
7.24 – Photos of the Strete war memorial cross (a) and Cove war memorial cross (b)	319
7.25 – Photos of the public war memorials from Lustleigh (a-c)	321
7.26 – Photos of the Bishopsteignton war memorial cross (a) and Ashburton war memorial cross (b)	322

- 7.27** – Photo of the Silverton war memorial board, Sgt. Moore’s plaque and Capt. Savery’s plaque 324
- 7.28** – Photos of the Luppitt war memorial cross (a), Burrough family headstone (d), Pulman family headstone (c), Davey family headstone (d), Rowlands family headstone (e), and the Valentine family headstone (f) 328
- 7.29** – Photos of Pte. Dunsford’s memorial obelisk from St. Thomas (a), Capt. Chard’s memorial obelisk in Whimble (b), and the Bazely/Homan memorial crucifix at West Hill (c) 328
- 7.30** – Photos of the Newton St. Cyres war memorial window (a), Lt. Hellyer’s memorial window from Brixham (b), and the Abbotskerswell war memorial tablet (c) 331
- 7.31** – Photos of the war memorial cross (a), and Pte. J. Clarke’s headstone (b) from Ashcombe 333
- 7.32** – Photos of R. Garlick’s headstone, Plympton St. Mary (a), Lt. M. Curnow’s headstone, Dartmouth (b), S. Green’s headstone at Seaton (c), and B. Pearson’s plaque at Galmpton (d) 334
- 7.33** – Photos of the Heavitree memorial board (a) and the Newtown memorial cross (b) in Exeter 336
- 7.34** – Photos of Lt. Gibbons grave marker at Manaton (a), and Major C.H. Mallock’s grave marker at Cockington (b) 340
- 7.35** – Photos of the Smith family headstone from Drewsteignton (a), the Adams family headstone from Stoke Gabriel (b), and Capt. Preedy’s memorial board from Honiton (c) 340
- 7.36** – Photos of remembrance crosses at the Naval memorial in Plymouth (a), the Broadhembury war memorial cross (b), on the book of remembrance at Brixham (c), a cremation tablet at Thorverton (d), and a headstone at Kentisbeare (e) 342

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This thesis has only been possible with the help of many people. First, to those who have supported me through the process, especially my wife Sarah, who has not enjoyed the most thrilling start to married life by visiting numerous churches and proof reading a thesis! Also thanks to my supervisors Dr. Oliver Creighton, and previously, Dr. Howard Williams, who gave me continual guidance, direction, and always managed to improve my morale. Also to my parents Robert and Tina and in-laws Hugh and Sharon, who cannot help but spot war memorials everywhere now! I am indebted to the Heritage Lottery Fund for funding this research through the X-Arch Project. Also to the X-Arch staff Sean Hawken, Penny Cunningham and fellow PhD researcher Faye Simpson, and to all of the volunteers, students and professionals involved with the various projects which X-Arch supported and facilitated.

Secondly to all of those who have helped with access and locating war memorials, with the various churchwardens, clergy and caretakers usually so amenable to my requests and who also provided an invaluable source of information about the history of many of the memorials and buildings. I would especially like to thank Reverend John Beadle for providing me with so much information about Methodist war memorials and with further contacts. I am particularly indebted to the various local history groups, who have answered my many questions and provided information, particularly Steve Hobbs (Hartland Study Group), John Pitt (Hope Archive Group), Jennie Stanley (Kingston History Society), and Tim Tucker (Sampford Peverell Archaeology Group). Also to those other individuals who have provided detailed information on the local commemorative patterns, including Dean Small (about the Torcross Tank), Ruth Everitt (regarding Yacombe) and Muriel Brine (relating to the South African War's impact on Devon). Also my thanks are extended to the staff of the Devon Historic Environment Record (particularly Susan Watts and Bill Horner), the Westcountry Studies Library, the Devon Record Office and the Kingsbridge Heritage Resource Centre. Also thanks to the following colleagues, Jonathan Berry, Martin Brown, Gilly Carr, Gabriel Moshenska, Jonathan Trigg and John Winterburn, for their advice, comments, copies of unpublished papers, and the oddly named Belgian beers and chocolates!

I would also like to thank my fellow post-graduates for making the research environment so vibrant and productive especially Lee Bray (and his Brayism's), Sheila Brown, Jodi Reeves Flores, Simon (*the permanent fixture*) Foote, Phil (*the corner*) Greenwood, Martin Goffriller, Julia Heeb (nee Wiecken), Genevieve Hill, Jill Hilditch, Wendy Howard, Caroline Jeffra, Ann Oldroyd, Richard (Sandy) Sandover,

Chris Smart, Adam Wainwright, and Imogen Wood. Particular thanks to Adam Jones for the many coffees, beers, and discussions, and to Brynmor Morris for reading earlier drafts of many of the chapters. Also to the builders and scaffolders who worked on the Laver building redevelopments throughout my research and who's drilling, hammering, whistling, shouting and belching have been so conducive to a peaceful and productive working environment! My thanks should therefore also be extended to those artists who drove out these distractions and provided the soundtrack to my studies, particularly Aynsley Lister, The Black Crowes, Black Stone Cherry, Creed, Iron Maiden, Joe Bonamassa, John Tams, The Levellers, Metallica, Nickleback, Ocean Colour Scene, Paul Gilbert, Rory Gallagher, Seth Lakeman, Silvertide, Thunder, and Zakk Wylde.