

# **“An Affair of the Soul”**

Commemoration of the Great War in Glasgow

Colin Blair

In memory of :

Private

John Blair

1st Battalion Seaforth Highlanders

17th of September 1914

Private

Peter Blair

2nd Battalion Seaforth Highlanders

25th of April 1915

## **Contents**

Declaration 5

Abstract 7

Introduction 9

I A War Remembered 12

II An Enduring Symbol 19

III A City Provides 26

IV Glasgow's Cenotaph 33

V Prince Albert Workshops 41

VI Their Names Liveth 47

Illustrations 56

Bibliography 60

Appendix 63

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## **Declaration**

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### **Dissertation 2011/12**

AB 420 BSc Honours Architectural Studies

BSc Honours Architectural Studies with International Study & Pg Diploma in Architectural Studies

### **Declaration**

“I hereby declare that this dissertation submission is my own work and has been composed by myself. It contains no unacknowledged text and has not been submitted in any previous context. All quotations have been distinguished by quotation marks and all sources of information, text, illustration, tables, images etc. have been specifically acknowledged. I accept that if having signed this Declaration my work should be found at Examination to show evidence of academic dishonesty the work will fail and I will be liable to face the University Senate Discipline Committee.”

Name: \_\_\_\_\_

Signed: \_\_\_\_\_

Date: \_\_\_\_\_

“And now in peace and memory  
The city bows its head  
in silence and remembrance  
Of its beloved dead”  
Glasgow, A Milne.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Bulletin. 12th of November 1919

## **Abstract**

On the 3rd of February 1919 a letter from the eminent architect Peter Macgregor Chalmers discussing the pressing desire to fittingly commemorate the First World War was published in the Glasgow Herald entitled “An Affair of the Soul”. The story of Glasgow’s approach to memorialisation with respect to the conflict sits within a very important period in the city’s and nation’s history. By looking at the social, political and economic context which Glasgow faced, the steps taken can then be appraised and understood. Shaped by a myriad of circumstances, the city provides a snapshot into the process of creating memorials which was repeated throughout the country at varied scales from local to national levels. Glasgow followed a three step approach and the varied typologies of these can be evaluated in response to their success in providing for the immediate needs of a grieving nation and in safeguarding the lasting memory of the men who gave their lives.

“Pro Patria 1914-1919  
To the Immortal honour of the officers,  
Non-Commissioned Officers and Men of Glasgow,  
who fell in the Great War, this memorial is  
dedicated in proud and grateful recognition by  
the City of Glasgow”<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Engraving on Glasgow Cenotaph.

## Introduction

Every year in the centre of Glasgow at George Square, crowds of people gather to remember those who gave their lives in conflicts throughout the last century. This commemoration is focused not just on the remembrance service and its associated silence, but also on the cenotaph located in front of the City Chambers. Since its unveiling in 1924 people from throughout the city and beyond have congregated at this monument to pay tribute to the fallen. Glasgow's approach to memorialisation in response to the First World War sits within the complex environment of post war Britain. By researching the archives of the war memorial committee, alongside evaluating public opinions through contemporary newspapers an understanding can be gained of the social, political and economic context. These factors culminated in a three step approach which breaks down into two categories, the symbolic and the utilitarian. These two typologies can therefore be evaluated in response to their success in safeguarding the lasting memory of the men who gave their lives alongside providing for the immediate needs of a grieving and wounded nation.

At the time of the First World War the wartime boom was the catalyst for huge orders and work for cities across Scotland with Glasgow at the height of its economic powers.<sup>1</sup> Proudly presenting itself as the second city of the empire<sup>2</sup> Glasgow and the Strathclyde region as a whole was dominated by the industrial sector which produced goods ranging from steam locomotives, textiles, coal and steel products, to the famous Clyde built ships.<sup>3</sup> In 1911 the total occupied male population of the city was 253,210. During the war years of 1914 to 1918 around 100,000 men were employed in the shipbuilding industry alone along with a further 20,000 working in Beardmore's Parkhead Forge.<sup>4</sup> Large numbers of women were also involved in the war industries with an estimated 65,000 having jobs in Clydeside munitions

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<sup>1</sup> Royle, Trevor. 2011. *The Flowers of the Forest: Scotland and the First World War*. Edinburgh: Birlinn. p.14, 183

<sup>2</sup> Mackenzie, Ray. 2002. *Public Sculpture in Glasgow*. Liverpool University Press. p.ix

<sup>3</sup> Fraser, W. Hamish and Maver, Irene. 1996. *Glasgow. Volume II: 1830 to 1912*. Manchester University Press. p.167

<sup>4</sup> Royle, Trevor. 2011. *The Flowers of the Forest: Scotland and the First World War*. Edinburgh: Birlinn. p.180, 187

factories through the conflict.<sup>5</sup> Glasgow was therefore a city in which the war manifested itself not just in the form of the armed forces but also through the efforts of the working men and women.

Since 1850, conflicts involving Britain had mainly been fought briefly and unseen, such as the Crimean or the Boer War.<sup>6</sup> Although blood was not spilled on the Scottish mainland between 1914-18 the economic and social conditions became almost entirely under the influence of the war. Visual reminders came in the form of uniformed men travelling to or returning from the front or spending time in the city whilst on leave, along with the huge industrial efforts being undertaken in the factories and shipyards. The war resulted in sweeping changes to the world's political landscape<sup>7</sup> with the destruction and creation of empires alongside the immeasurable impact of the huge loss of lives that occurred. Not since the Black Death had a single event had such a profound impact on Europeans and the conflict was to have a huge influence on the major events that unfolded during the following century.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Myra Baillie. 2002. *The Women of Red Clydeside*. p.46

<sup>6</sup> Robson, Stuart. 1998. *The First World War*. London: Longman. p.2

<sup>7</sup> Willmott, H.P. 2008. *World War One*. 2nd edition. London: Dorling Kindersley Ltd. p.5

<sup>8</sup> Gregory, Adrian. 1994. *The Silence of Memory: Armistice Day, 1919-1946*. Oxford: Berg. p.1

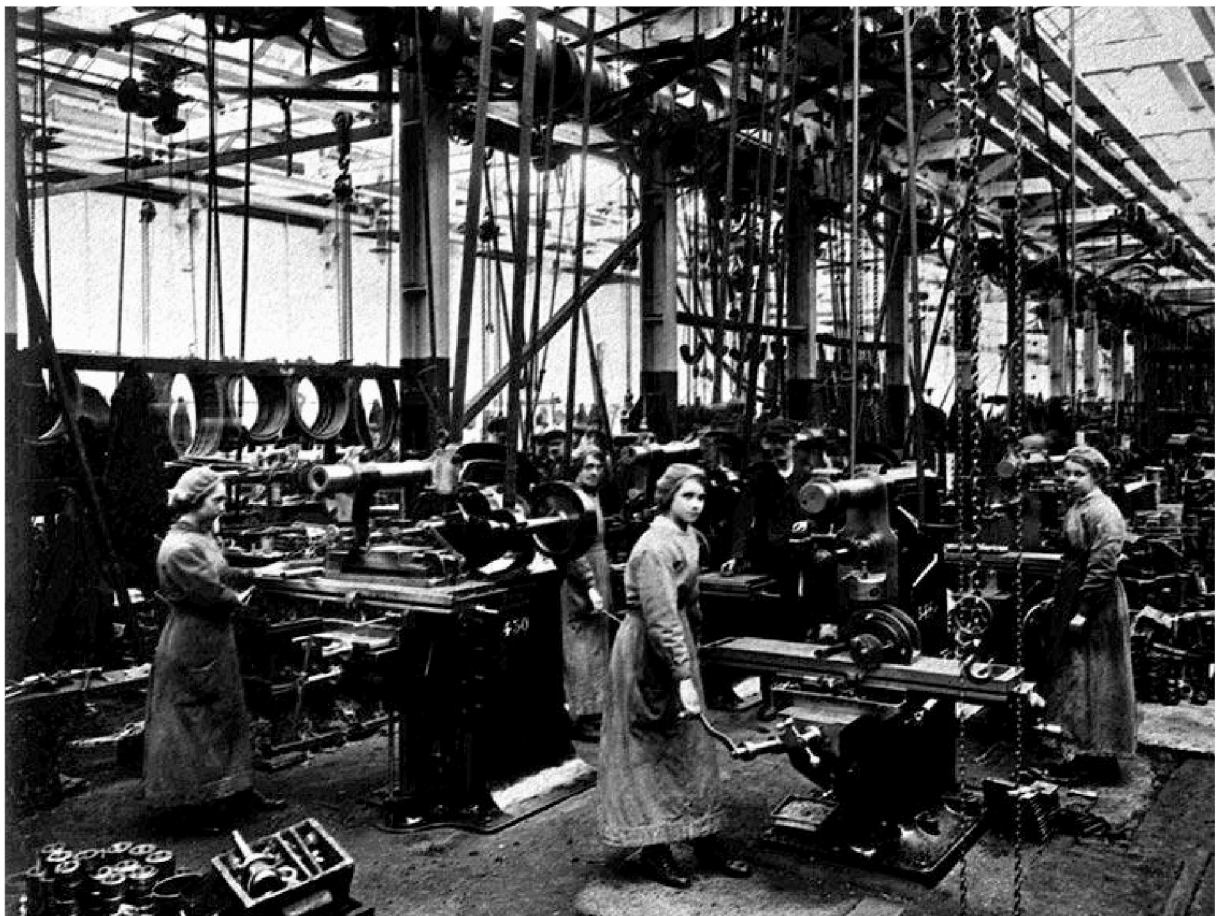
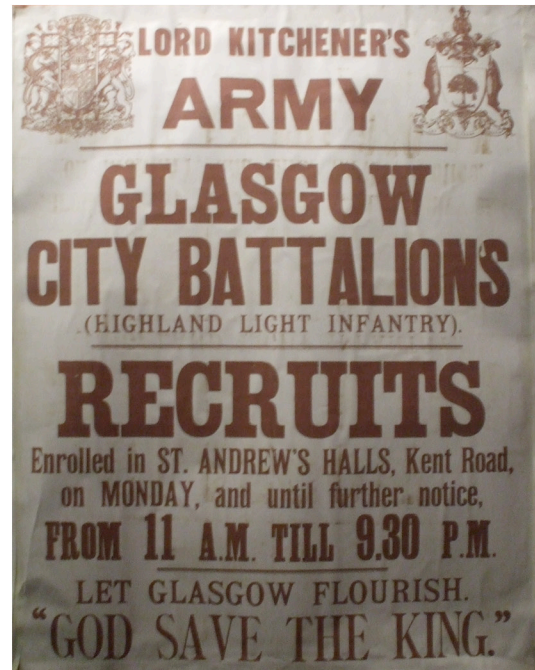
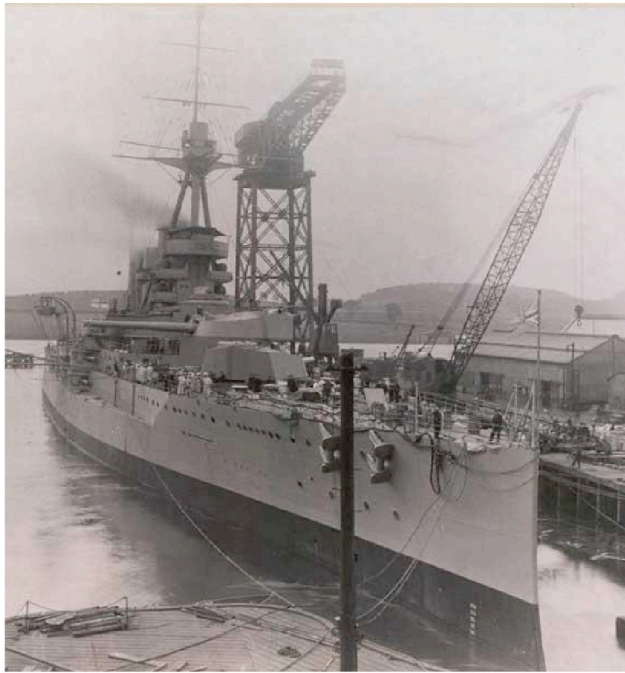


Figure 2: HMS Tiger, John Brown's Shipyard | Figure 3: Recruiting poster for Highland Light Infantry | Figure 4: Women working milling machines, Springburn Works.

## A War Remembered

Following four years of war on the 11th of November 1918 the armistice was announced spreading celebration and relief throughout the victorious nations “It was the greatest day of rejoicing Glasgow has ever known”.<sup>1</sup> People thronged the streets in the centre of the city, waving flags and displaying a happiness that was however tinged with sadness regarding those men who would never return. A proud city had watched as one-fifth of its population, over 200,000 men were mobilised during the conflict<sup>2</sup> and of those 18,000 lost their lives<sup>3</sup> with approximately a further 34,500 being injured, many seriously.<sup>4</sup>

The scale of this tragedy forged a climate where almost every individual in the country would have been either directly or indirectly affected by the death of a member of the armed forces.<sup>5</sup> Scotland contributed strongly to the Empire’s war effort, “half of Scotland’s male population aged between eighteen and forty-five was in uniform”<sup>6</sup> and suffered proportionally with the death of 148,000 men.<sup>7</sup> A strong desire was formed throughout the population that there must be some form of commemoration, something through which the memory could live on of those who gave the ultimate sacrifice. The lack of repatriation presented difficulties in accessing the graves which allied to the problem of unidentified bodies resulted in the pressing need for memorials to be created.<sup>8</sup> This situation was repeating throughout the nations involved in the Great War with schemes being planned ranging in scale from small village monuments to large national memorials. Alex King suggests that “war memorials arouse a variety of emotional responses ranging from pious

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<sup>1</sup> Osbourne, Brian D. 2003. *Glasgow. A city at war*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh: Birlinn. p.197

<sup>2</sup> Bell, Gilbert Torrance. 1993. *Monuments to the fallen*. p.385

<sup>3</sup> Harding, Bill 2000. *On Flows the Tay (Perth and the First World War)*. Perth. Cualann Press. p.150

<sup>4</sup> Approximation made on the estimate that 17.3% of those enlisted were to become wounded. From Gregory, Adrian. 1994. *The Silence of Memory: Armistice Day, 1919-1946*. Oxford: Berg. p.52

<sup>5</sup> Hay, Ian. 1931. *Their name liveth. Scottish national war memorial*. Edinburgh:T. and A. Constable Ltd. p.6

<sup>6</sup> Royle, Trevor. 2011. *The Flowers of the Forest: Scotland and the First World War*. Edinburgh: Birlinn. p.xiii

<sup>7</sup> Ibid. p.284

<sup>8</sup> Connelly, Mark. 2002. *The Great War, Memory and Ritual*. Royal Historical Society. p.44



devotion to outright hostility”.<sup>9</sup> The sheer scale of the First World War, fought on both sides largely by volunteers and conscripts means that despite any political or moral opposition an individual may hold, the despair in the human tragedy that unfolded was universal.

The tradition of commemorating great battles and heroic leaders through monuments dates back to ancient times.<sup>10</sup> In Britain prior to the Crimean War public opinion towards servicemen was low and memorials were individual only and based on class, money, position and rank.<sup>11</sup> Officers were afforded the option of a headstone at their own expense however ordinary soldiers were usually buried in mass graves. The first public war memorials in Scotland appeared following the Crimean War and the practice became widespread after the Boer War. Greater press coverage of these conflicts along with the use of volunteers within the army during the Boer War resulted in this changing attitude.<sup>12</sup> This turning point of commemorating Britain’s casualties of war accelerated due to the scale of the devastation in lives lost during the First World War. Spirited public opinion followed with Adrian Gregory describing there being a “new emotional reaction to death”<sup>13</sup> as traditional forms of mourning became unsuitable to deal with the challenging set of circumstances such as in most cases the lack of body or funeral. Social rituals towards death prevalent in the Victorian era<sup>14</sup> were disputed and the scale of fatalities was such that people were unable to break from their working routine to mourn and so attitudes to death were forced to change.

Methods of memorialisation can be either in a built form or created in a less tangible but often no less poignant approach. The latter includes Remembrance Day with its associated two minutes silence which was introduced in 1919 along with schemes such as endowments or charitable foundations including those who cared for injured and unemployed ex-servicemen.

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<sup>9</sup> King, Alex. 1998. *Memorials of the Great War in Britain. The symbolism and politics of Remembrance*. Oxford: Berg. p.1

<sup>10</sup> Osbourne, Brian D. 2003. *Glasgow. A city at war*. Edinburgh: Birlinn. p.11

<sup>11</sup> Summers, Julie. 2010. *British and Commonwealth War Cemeteries*. Oxford: Shire. p.7

<sup>12</sup> Ibid. p.7

<sup>13</sup> Gregory, Adrian. 1994. *The Silence of Memory: Armistice Day, 1919-1946*. Oxford: Berg. p.21

<sup>14</sup> Ibid. p.21

Physical memorials can be split into two main categories, firstly monuments and secondly interventions which provide a utilitarian purpose<sup>15</sup> with both attempting as Mark Connelly describes to “turn the sublime and abstract notions of grief, pride and hope into tangible symbols”.<sup>16</sup> The monument category can be further split into various manifestations. These include one which graphically depicts scenes of war through figures, friezes, artifacts or weapons. This typology was used for the Cameronians Memorial (Figure 5) in Kelvingrove Park, Glasgow<sup>17</sup> and the Royal Artillery Memorial in Hyde Park, London.<sup>18</sup> Many people felt this controversial style glorified the violence and they were also not keen on being reminded of the horrors of the war whilst the wounds created were still so raw.<sup>19</sup> However this truthful representation may be desirable as a silent warning to future generations about the violence and suffering which defined the conflict. Sculpted figures can also be shown in heroic or everyday poses, an approach which allows for those commemorated to be remembered in life instead of death. Alex Bruce states that these “idealised human figures” can “obscure the reality of maiming and disfigurement”<sup>20</sup>, however this reality can often provide no comfort to those left bereaved and so the popularity of the more romanticised representations can be understood. Figurative sculptures consisting of allegories of peace, victory or liberty reinforced the idea of a great purpose behind the sacrifice and were incorporated into schemes such as the Whiteinch and Partick memorial in Victoria Park (Figure 6).

Another approach is that which provides a symbolic representation of the suffering and sacrifice usually through a classical form such as an obelisk, a cross, an altar or a tomb.<sup>21</sup> The names of the fallen are often incorporated on these memorials as the naming of the dead is a key stage in the bereavement process.<sup>22</sup> A tomb can hold a body, be it named as with a

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<sup>15</sup> Glasgow Herald [GH]. 14th of February 1920

<sup>16</sup> Connelly, Mark. 2002. *The Great War, Memory and Ritual*. Suffolk: Royal Historical Society. p.25

<sup>17</sup> Osbourne, Brian D. 2003. *Glasgow. A city at war*. Edinburgh: Birlinn. p.11

<sup>18</sup> Skelton, Tim and Gliddon, Gerald. 2009. *Lutyens and the Great War*. Frances Lincoln. p.150

<sup>19</sup> Ibid. p.150

<sup>20</sup> King, Alex. 1998. *Memorials of the Great War in Britain. The symbolism and politics of Remembrance*. Berg. Oxford. p.30

<sup>21</sup> Bruce, Alex. 1997. *Monuments, memorials, and the local historian*. Dorset: Historical Association. Blackmore press. p.6

<sup>22</sup> Gregory, Adrian. 1994. *The Silence of Memory: Armistice Day, 1919-1946 (Legacy of the Great War)*. Oxford: Berg. p.23

traditional grave or unnamed as is the case of the Tomb of the Unknown Warrior in Westminster Abbey and the unidentified graves throughout the battlefields. The National War Memorial in Whitehall London designed by Sir Edwin Lutyens takes the form of a symbolic tomb or cenotaph which is derived from the Greek word kenotaphion, meaning empty tomb<sup>23</sup> (Figure 7). Variations on this typology can be influenced from either a secular or a religious standpoint. The cross in the context of a war memorial likens the struggle and sacrifice of the soldiers with that of Jesus, giving the conflict justification as being a crusade.<sup>24</sup> Scottish interpretations of these religious designs include the Mercat Cross as found in Govan (Figure 8), and the Celtic Cross as utilised in Pollokshaws and for the 7th (Blythwood) Battalion Highland Light Infantry memorial in Glasgow Green (Figure 9).

Schemes of a utilitarian nature, which would provide a public function whilst recording and integrating the memory of the war were often suggested but were less prevalent in their execution. Some examples of these schemes which still exist are the Erskine Hospital outside Glasgow and the Mount Florida Parish Church War Memorial Hall (Figure 10). Supporters of this approach felt it was important that a memorial should not merely be static and morbid<sup>25</sup> and that by providing for the living as well as the dead a more appropriate resolution could be achieved. Despite these honourable intentions, one estimate suggests that purpose built schemes of this type “made up less than ten per cent of all war memorials in the British isles”.<sup>26</sup> This figure does not however include those utilitarian but less tangible schemes which used funds raised for charitable donations and to support existing hospitals or organisations. Complaints were often raised that it was important that a utilitarian memorial should not use money raised for this noble cause merely to save the government from the provision of necessary service and infrastructure improvements.<sup>27</sup> Allied to this there was a fear that over time the original purpose of these constructions could become forgotten and so in turn the memory of the war and the men who died would be lost.

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<sup>23</sup> Gregory, Adrian. 1994. *The Silence of Memory: Armistice Day, 1919-1946 (Legacy of the Great War)*. Oxford: Berg. p.37

<sup>24</sup> Geurst, Jeroen. 2010. *Cemeteries Of The Great War By Sir Edwin Lutyens*. Rotterdam: 010. p.67

<sup>25</sup> *GH*. 18th of May 1921

<sup>26</sup> Goebel, Stefan. 2009. *The Great War and Medieval Memory*. Cambridge University Press. p.234

<sup>27</sup> *Evening News*. 3rd of May 1921



Figure 5: Cameronians Memorial, Kelvingrove Park | Figure 6: Whiteinch and Partick war memorial, Victoria Park Glasgow. | Figure 7: Cenotaph, Whitehall London.





Figure 8: Govan war memorial, Glasgow | Figure 9: 7th (Blythwood) Battalion Highland Light Infantry memorial, Glasgow Green | Figure 10: Mount Florida Parish Church War Memorial Hall, Glasgow

“These died in War  
That we at peace might live  
These gave their best  
So we our best should give”<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Engraving on Glasgow Cenotaph.

## II

### **An Enduring Symbol**

Within the government, many political interests were involved in the process of memorialisation. To justify the war and provide meaning in the loss it was important to reinforce the “virtues that were being defended”.<sup>1</sup> Following the return of the soldiers there was a worry that their collective mood was unknown, and that there was a need for unity and integration to keep their support. The voice of the bereaved and the veterans was sizable and politicians such as Lloyd George saw opportunities through being portrayed as one of the men who won the war.<sup>2</sup> The provision of utilitarian monuments tied with schemes such as the Haig Memorial Fund were supported by the government who hoped to appease public opinion and the need to look after the “glorious living” as well as the “glorious dead”.<sup>3</sup>

Glasgow had been a scene of unrest both during and after the war as a strong union structure within the city’s industrial heartlands saw fit to protest and strike in the face of a shifting working environment. The socialist sentiment behind the demonstrations worried the government, with the conservative historian Trevor Royle noting that “Clydeside found itself saddled with a reputation for militancy”.<sup>4</sup> There was a genuine fear amongst those in power that this was more than just a disgruntled workforce but was in reality a Bolshevik rising in the manner of the revolution which had occurred in Russia.<sup>5</sup> This period known as Red Clydeside spread from worries regarding the issue of dilution, rent increases and low pay combined with a growing disaffection towards the war and its aims.<sup>6</sup>

These factors culminated three months after the war ended in what became known as Bloody Friday (Figure 11). The ending of the war had reduced the workload for Glasgow’s heavy industries and along with the demobbed soldiers arriving from overseas the

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<sup>1</sup> Gregory, Adrian. 1994. *The Silence of Memory: Armistice Day, 1919-1946*. Oxford: Berg. p.5

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. p.10

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. p.79

<sup>4</sup> Royle, Trevor. 2011. *The Flowers of the Forest: Scotland and the First World War*. Edinburgh: Birlinn. p.233

<sup>5</sup> Craig, Maggie. 2011. *When the Clyde Ran Red*. Edinburgh: Mainstream Publishing.

<sup>6</sup> Royle, Trevor. 2011. *The Flowers of the Forest: Scotland and the First World War*. Edinburgh: Birlinn. p.230,232

employment market had become strained.<sup>7</sup> The unions hoped that jobs could be secured by reducing the working week to 40 hours and so a strike was called for the 31st of January 1919.<sup>8</sup> Over 60,000 protestors peacefully descended on George Square, however an unprovoked police baton charge proved the trigger for widespread rioting and violence.<sup>9</sup> The government, fearful of an escalation responded by sending one thousand troops from England along with six tanks which arrived in the Saltmarket and were prepared for deployment. Tempers however receded, the soldiers were not required for action and a compromise was reached in response to the demonstrators demands, with a 47 hour week being agreed upon.<sup>10</sup> This discontent amongst the public and revolutionary fears of those in power influenced the path of memorialisation with the city. It has been noted that the inherent patriotism in commemoration can be seen as “tending to operate to the disadvantage of the political left”<sup>11</sup> and so a robust approach by the Glasgow City Council would be an effective measure at countering socialist agendas.

The mood of the people of Glasgow with regard to commemoration could be gauged through the letter pages of newspapers such as the Glasgow Herald which was home to many discussions regarding the appropriate nature a city memorial should take. Within months of the war ending correspondents’ letters were published holding strong and passionate opinions about what they believed was the best course of action in documenting and commemorating Scotland’s war dead. Glaswegian architect John Keppie’s letter was published in the Glasgow Herald on the 31st of December 1918. He suggested that in order to “immortalise the sacrifice”<sup>12</sup> a memorial of civic character should be created, this he believed should be “devoted to the interest of no special class”.<sup>13</sup> His proposal was for an urban design intervention of a monumental bridge over the River Clyde positioned near St Enoch Square with at its centre a great war monument (Figure 12).

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<sup>7</sup> Craig, Maggie. 2011. *When the Clyde Ran Red*. Edinburgh: Mainstream Publishing.

<sup>8</sup> Glasgow digital Library. Red Clydeside: A history of the labour movement in Glasgow 1910-1932. 27 December 2011 <http://gdl.cdlr.strath.ac.uk/redclyde/index.html>

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10</sup> Craig, Maggie. 2011. *When the Clyde Ran Red*. Edinburgh: Mainstream Publishing.

<sup>11</sup> Gregory, Adrian. 1994. *The Silence of Memory: Armistice Day, 1919-1946*. Oxford: Berg. p.3

<sup>12</sup> GH 31st of December 1918.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.



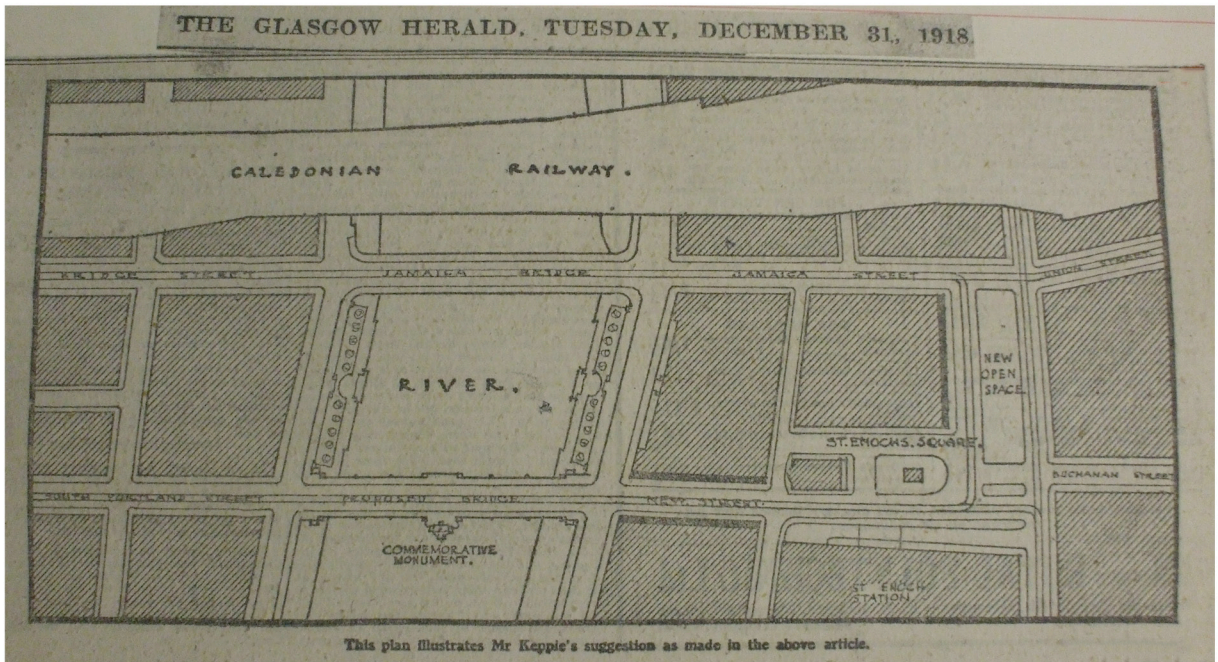


Figure 11: Bloody Friday, George Square | Figure 12: John Keppie's proposal for bridge over River Clyde

The sentiment of this approach was echoed with almost all variations of memorial forms being suggested on a wide variety of sites throughout Glasgow and beyond. Within the city, locations such as West End Park (Kelvingrove), Queen's Park, St Enoch Square, Blythswood Square, George Square and Cathedral Square were put forward.<sup>14</sup> Radical options included that of a memorial way running from Balloch, through north Glasgow terminating at Hamilton Palace, onto which local communities could place their own monuments (Figure 16).<sup>15</sup> This idea of memorial which reached out from the centre of the city appeared again with a grandiose scheme to create new boulevards reaching into the poorer areas of the city and culminating in large civic spaces containing a monument, surrounded by public facilities which would help forward the citizenship of the local community.<sup>16</sup> A new square was put forward by a contributor to be created off Sauchiehall Street which would then in turn be renamed Victory Street.<sup>17</sup> The creation of a public space off this city street was similarly proposed by another member of the public who hoped to link it with Blythswood Square via a Grand Avenue (Figure 14).<sup>18</sup>

Under the guise of utilitarian monuments one suggestion indicated the possibility of raising almost £2,000,000 to create an endowment fund to cover the running costs of Glasgow's four infirmaries.<sup>19</sup> The renowned surgeon Alfred Ernest Maylard contacted both the Herald and the Lord Provost putting his support behind the idea of a war museum to be located at West End Park<sup>20</sup> which he believed would be a fitting and "constant reminder" of the "irretrievable loss once sustained".<sup>21</sup> Architects Malcolm Stark and John C.T. Murray suggested an imposing memorial hall to be placed in the centre of George Square, citing its location as being of key importance to the city (Figure 15).<sup>22</sup> Letters received by the Lord

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<sup>14</sup> Various *GH* from 1918 to 1921

<sup>15</sup> *GH* 4th of June 1919

<sup>16</sup> *GH* 15th of January 1919

<sup>17</sup> *GH* 20th of January 1919

<sup>18</sup> *GH* 17th of January 1919

<sup>19</sup> *GH* 30th of December 1918

<sup>20</sup> *GH* 2nd of January 1919

<sup>21</sup> *GH* 1st of January 1919

<sup>22</sup> *GH* 27th of January 1919

Provost also presented opinions and requests for funds. The Scottish Veterans Garden City Association engaged in correspondence to ask for support with its work aimed at housing and training men disabled in the war.<sup>23</sup> Similarly the Princess Louise Scottish Hospital for Limbless Sailors and Soldiers (now known as Erskine Hospital) and the Glasgow Workshops for Disabled Sailors and Soldiers both staked their claims for involvement in any memorial scheme.<sup>24</sup>

From the contemporary newspapers it can therefore be seen that the general desire of the people of Glasgow was to have a memorial placed in the city centre. It was suggested that this would provide easy accessibility and create a greater impact as it would be seen by large numbers of people on a daily basis. The consensus was less clear when it came to the typology of the memorial to be utilised, the majority of correspondents did suggest a monument of some form although a substantial number subscribed to the notion of a utilitarian memorial. With respect to the monument there was no clear leaning towards a cenotaph, obelisk, cross or arch with many people believing that this should be a decision best left to the selected architect.

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<sup>23</sup> Glasgow City Archive. G1.3(1)

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*



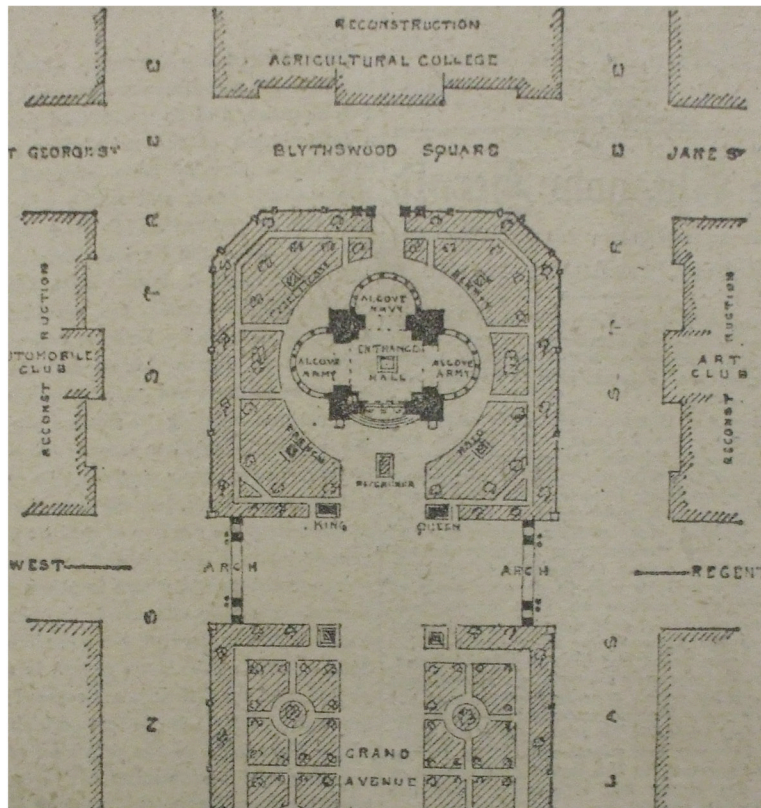
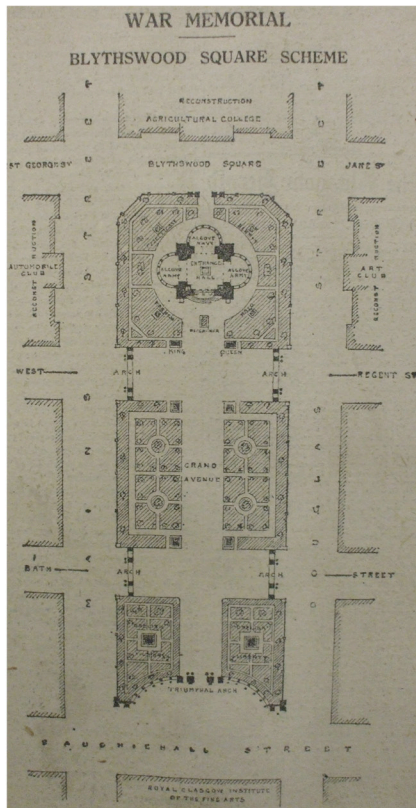
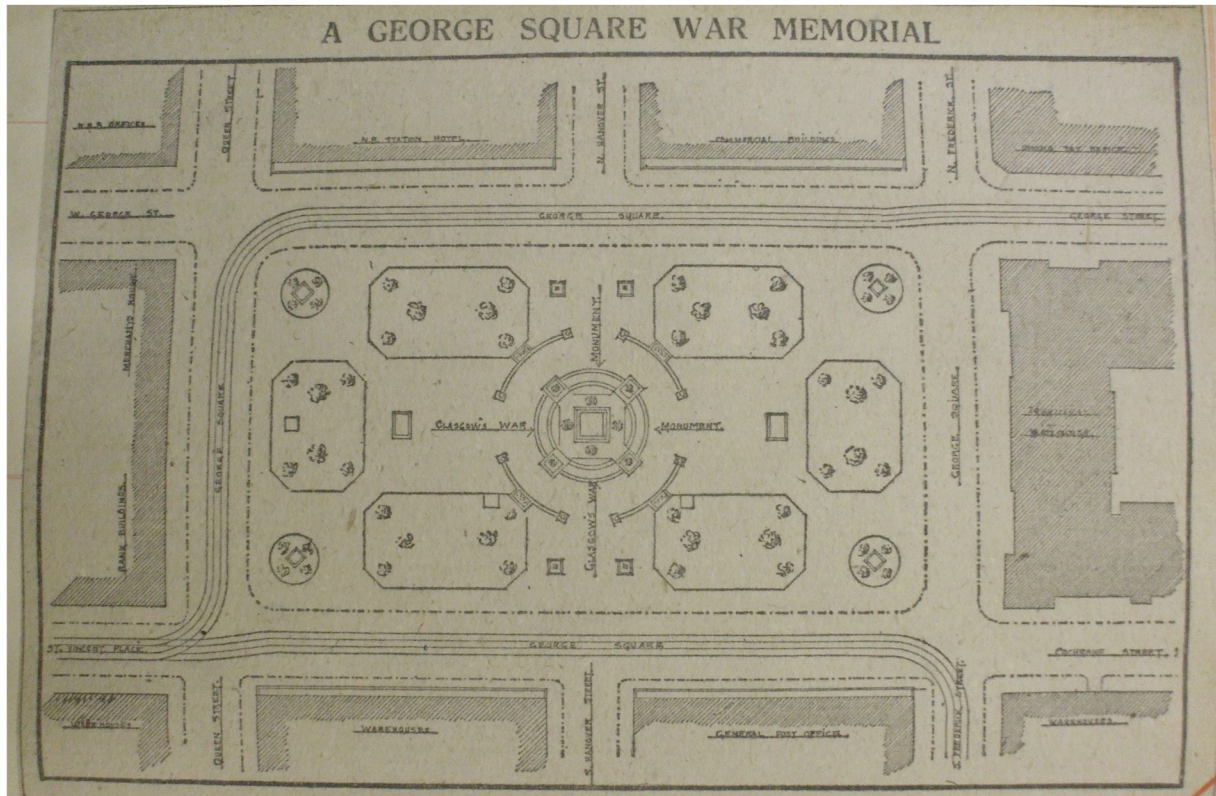


Figure 13: Andrew Balfour's proposal for a monument in George Square | Figure 14: Henry Higgins' proposal for extension of Blythwood Square and associated memorial to be constructed.



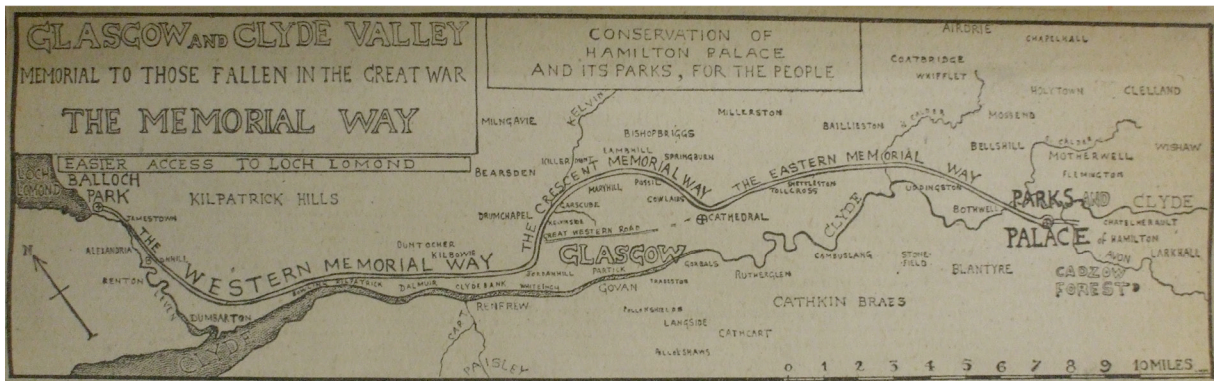
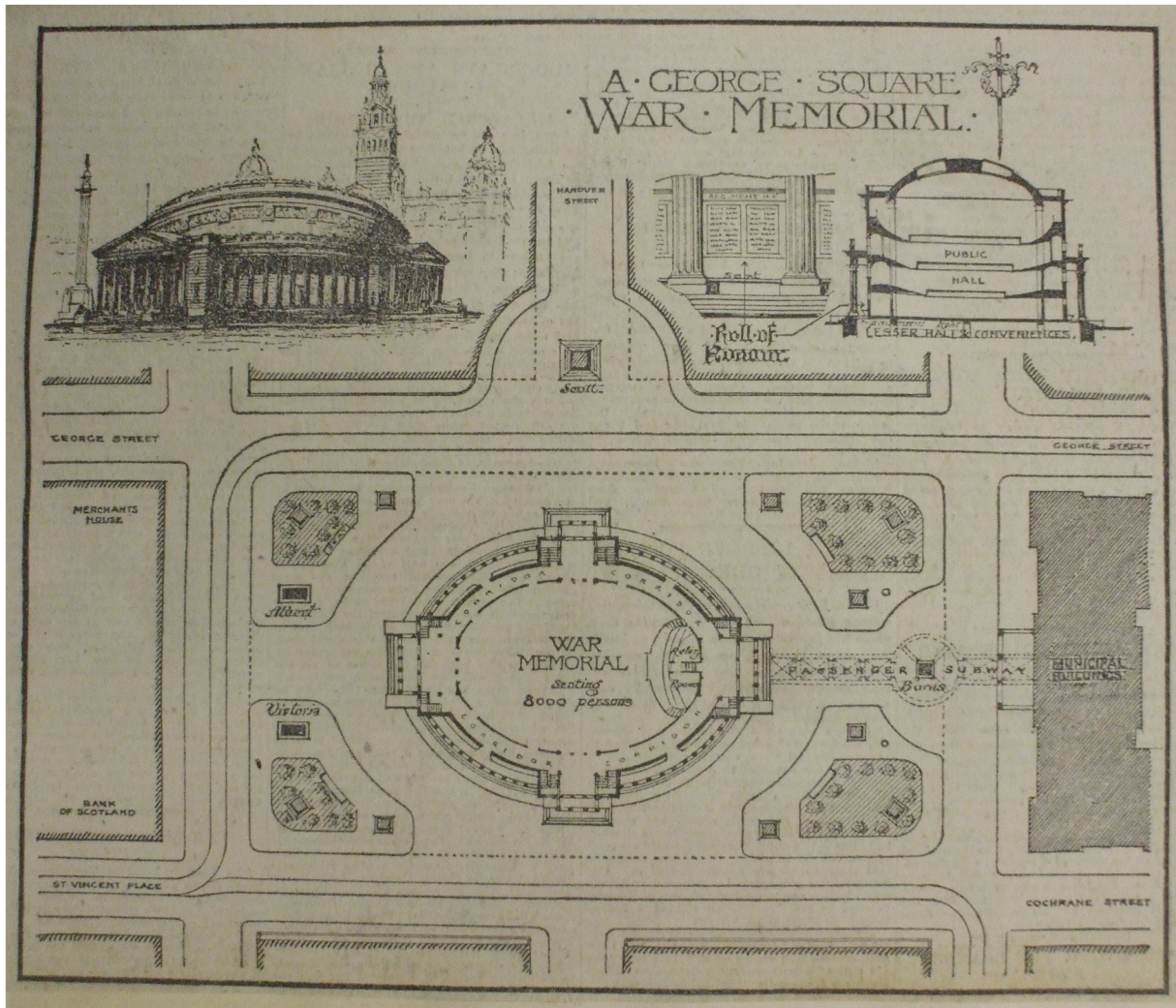


Figure 15: Stark and Murray's memorial hall proposed for George Square | Figure 16: Ludovic Mcl. Mann's proposal for a memorial way.

### III

## A City Provides

With the desire for a fitting tribute clear in Glasgow a war memorial committee was established and chaired by the Lord Provost Sir James Watson Stuart.<sup>1</sup> This process began with two private meetings, one with selected prominent citizens followed by a larger meeting undertaken by “representative citizens who might afterwards constitute the committee”<sup>2</sup> so as to focus opinion and come to a general decision which could then be submitted to the public. The Provost noted that a wide variety of suggestions had been made in the newspapers and correspondence and acknowledged this by stating a desire to create both a monumental and a utilitarian memorial.<sup>3</sup> During the public meeting held on the 13th of February 1920 resolutions were passed to proceed with “the erection of a cenotaph of artistic design on a site to be carefully selected” along with support being given to the Prince Albert Memorial Workshops for training of disabled sailors and soldiers. The appointed committee would then proceed with developing and resolving the details of the schemes subject to the necessary funding being raised.

One week later this new committee met and approved a three step approach as a method of appropriately marking the heroism and sacrifice of the men who lost their lives during the war.<sup>4</sup> First was the commission of a permanent monument in the form of a cenotaph to be placed in George Square. Second was an approach tackling the desire to provide a memorial of utilitarian nature, this involved the maintenance and extension of the Prince Albert Workshops for disabled sailors and soldiers at Killearn Street in Possilpark. The last aspect of the three steps was to distribute any surplus funds to charities or causes to be chosen at the committee’s discretion. The decision selecting George Square as the location for the most obvious physical tribute to the war came from the site’s civic importance along with it being a focus for patriotic scenes throughout the conflict. George Square has been

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<sup>1</sup> GH 14th of February 1920

<sup>2</sup> Glasgow City Archive. G4.1

<sup>3</sup> Glasgow City Archive. G4.1

<sup>4</sup> Glasgow City Archive. G1.3(1) File 56. 25th of October 1926

described as hallowed ground, a place where in 1914 men gathered to volunteer and throughout the war passed through on the way to the front.<sup>5</sup> By creating a monument on this location, Glasgow was symbolically bringing the memory of the men full circle back to the centre of the ever grateful city, creating a fitting, permanent reminder of their sacrifice. Further evidence as to the site's suitability can be seen with the public's natural tendency to congregate in George Square following the war to commemorate those who died, such as for the two minutes silence in 1919.<sup>6</sup>

The executive committee appointed were charged with the appeal for funds and by the 29th of October 1920 the money raised stood at £102,409. 9. 1d. The public naming of subscribers served to encourage regular donations with it being important for large corporations and high profile individuals to be seen to give generously in accordance with their standing.

Memorials were chosen to reflect the self perception of a city and so it was decided to invite four prominent architects to engage in a competition to design the monument to be placed in front of the City Chambers; Sir George Frampton, R.A. London; Sir Edwin Lutyens R.A. London; Sir John James Burnet A.R.A. Glasgow and Sir Robert Lorimer, A.R.A. Edinburgh.<sup>7</sup> Letters were sent to the four on the 26th of April 1921 with an indication that it would be desirable for any monument proposed to be able to be completed by 11th of November in time for the remembrance service and for a budget of £15,000 (£20,000 maximum if a design of sufficient quality warranted it).<sup>8</sup> The response was initially uninspiring with all four of the architects indicating that they would be unwilling to engage in a competition. At first Burnet and Lorimer indicated that there was a problem with the fact that no independent architectural adjudicator had been appointed and on top of this they noted that they were not interested in providing proposals through the framework of a competition.<sup>9</sup> Lutyens and Frampton both echoed this view with Frampton however signing off his response by suggesting that he believed it would be most appropriate for Glasgow to

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<sup>5</sup> *GH* 3rd March 1921

<sup>6</sup> Bulletin. 12 November 1919. p.3

<sup>7</sup> *GH* 26th April 1921

<sup>8</sup> Glasgow City Archive. G4.1

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.* Letters for Burnet and Lorimer dated 3rd of May 1921 and 30th of April 1921.

give the commission to their own talented home grown architect in the shape of Burnet.<sup>10</sup> Lutyens also added that with a timeframe as tight as suggested the most he could offer the committee would be to provide a version of the Whitehall cenotaph with some contextual amendments made to the details.<sup>11</sup>

There was some disquiet amongst the public at this stage, with several people being of the belief that the competition should have been an open one and not just offered to only these four individuals.<sup>12</sup> Sufficient interest was gained for this view that the head of the Glasgow Institute of Architects (GIA), William B. Whitie contacted the committee requesting a review of the situation.<sup>13</sup> However his position may have been slightly motivated by self interest in trying to increase the opportunities available to the members of the institute which he represented. The reasoning behind this stance of an open competition was that many architects had in fact fought on the front line, and through this active service many practices had been dissolved or shrunk in size. Therefore it was indicated that these men would be most in tune with the conflict and the requirements of its commemoration. One observer noted in the Glasgow Herald that these young men who answered their country's call should be given priority over the shortlisted candidates who in his eyes had "handled in their many years no weapon more deadly than a tee-square or a tape".<sup>14</sup> It can be acknowledged that the four selected architects perhaps lacked direct wartime action however they all had strong backgrounds in memorialisation. They were also all involved in the work of the Imperial War Graves Commission (IWGC) and so had seen the conditions of the battlefields where the men had fallen. With the suggestion of a four person competition being unappealing to architects of their stature the quality of the field for an open competition would have been considerably weaker.

The position of the committee was reviewed after the replies came in from the four shortlisted architects. Following Frampton's withdrawal it was decided to arrange meetings with Lutyens, Burnet and Lorimer to clarify the positions taken in their correspondence.

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<sup>10</sup> Glasgow City Archive. G4.1. Letter from George Frampton dated 30th April 1921.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid. Letter from Edwin Lutyens dated 28th April 1921.

<sup>12</sup> *GH* 27th and 29th of April 1921.

<sup>13</sup> Glasgow City archive. G4.1. Letter dated 30th April 1921.

<sup>14</sup> *GH* 30th of April 1921



Burnet was Glasgow's foremost memorial designer and a principal architect for the IWGC. Previous to the request to be involved in Glasgow's commemoration he had completed a memorial tablet at Glasgow University's Bute Hall and a monument in Dumbarton. Also in Burnet's favour was that he had a family connection to the corridors of power within Glasgow as his father in law was Sir James Marwick the former town Clerk of the city.<sup>15</sup> Later he was to continue designing memorials for New Cumnock, Grangemouth and Ballater along with many more at home and abroad including in Belgium, Turkey and Egypt.<sup>16</sup>

Lorimer was based in Edinburgh and like Burnet had been commissioned by the IWGC, being appointed to work on several projects in Italy, Germany, Egypt and Macedonia. On top of this he had been asked to design the National War Memorial for Scotland to be placed at Edinburgh Castle (Figure 17).<sup>17</sup> This scheme holds the country's roll of honour along with murals, friezes and stained glass windows depicting all the component parts of the Scottish armed forces. The provision of this memorial provided a focus for mourning from a national perspective which supplemented the existing provision at local and city levels. Lorimer's design served to "show the unity of the Scottish nation...a means by which Scotland could express distinctive identity whilst remaining securely within the United Kingdom".<sup>18</sup>

Lutyens was the remaining contender, an extremely talented architect and a prolific memorial designer he was also again a principal architect of the IWGC. On the Western front in France and Belgium alone Lutyens went on to design 138 schemes along with around 50 commissions within the British isles.<sup>19</sup> By 1921, he had built the country's most famous monument to the Great War, the Cenotaph in London. Later in 1925 he was contracted to create a submission to commemorate the missing of the Somme, a design described by Gavin Stamp as "one of the finest works of British architecture of the twentieth century".<sup>20</sup> Along

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<sup>15</sup> Bell, Gilbert Torrance. 1993. *Monuments to the fallen*. p.371

<sup>16</sup> Sir John James Burnet. *Dictionary of Scottish Architects*. [http://www.scottisharchitects.org.uk/architect\\_full.php?id=200088](http://www.scottisharchitects.org.uk/architect_full.php?id=200088)

<sup>17</sup> Architect Biography report Sir Robert Lorimer. *Dictionary of Scottish Architects*. [http://www.scottisharchitects.org.uk/architect\\_full.php?id=200052](http://www.scottisharchitects.org.uk/architect_full.php?id=200052)

<sup>18</sup> Macleod, Jenny. *Memorials and Location: Local versus National Identity and the Scottish National War Memorial*. *The Scottish Historical Review*. No. 227. 2010. p.73

<sup>19</sup> Skelton, Tim and Gliddon, Gerald. 2009. *Lutyens and the Great War*. London: Frances Lincoln.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid*. p.139

with his designs for New Delhi, this memorial at Thiepval (Figure 18) was his seminal work, a magnificent and beautiful tiered arch displaying the names of the 72,000 men who fell at the Somme and whose bodies were never found or identified.

At a meeting with the committee's representatives Lutyens indicated that his suggestion of providing a version of the London Cenotaph was informed by the extremely tight timeframe and that if he was given the commission and the deadline extended he would be happy to provide them with an appropriate and fitting new design.<sup>21</sup> Lorimer and Burnet responded to the meetings similarly, repeating the assertion that they would not partake in any competition. The representatives minuted that they gained the impression that both Lorimer and Burnet "did not consider there was any higher artist than themselves to whom they could submit their designs for adjudication".<sup>22</sup> Following this the executive committee on the 6th of June 1921 unanimously decided to award the commission for the erection of the cenotaph in George Square to Sir John James Burnet.<sup>23</sup>

This decision can be seen to be influenced by the support for Burnet that existed in the panel from the outset. On the 25th of April the proposal to invite four artists to compete was challenged by Sir John Ure Primrose, seconded by Sir D.M. Stevenson who suggested that Burnet alone should be invited to compete. This was however defeated by an 8 to 4 vote.<sup>24</sup> Following the responses it was again moved that Burnet should be offered the commission, however a vote of 5 to 9 favoured an amendment to first interview the remaining candidates before making a decision.<sup>25</sup> It does seem fitting in the same manner that Lutyens and Lorimer both designed the key memorials in the cities in which they were based that Burnet should take charge of providing Glasgow with an appropriate monument. Burnet's output in the city was of an immense quality and his appointment was widely acclaimed with the GIA president noting that "Sir John James Burnet not only occupies the highest position in his profession but is a Glasgow man of great artistic attainments".<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> Glasgow City archive. G4.1.

<sup>22</sup> Glasgow City archive. G.3(1)

<sup>23</sup> *GH*. 7th of June 1921.

<sup>24</sup> Glasgow City archive. G4.1. Minutes from meeting. 25th of April 1921.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid*. Minutes from meeting. 9th of May 1921.

<sup>26</sup> Glasgow City archive. G.3(1)



Figure 17: Scottish National War Memorial | Figure 18: Lutyens' Memorial to the missing of the Somme, Thiepval, France.

“Unveiled  
on  
Saturday 31st of May 1924  
by  
Field Marshal Earl Haig of Bemersyde  
O.M. K.T. C.C.B.  
Commander in Chief of the Expeditionary  
Forces in France and Flanders  
1915-1919”<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Engraving on Glasgow Cenotaph

## Glasgow's Cenotaph

The symbolic monument was the most prevalent form of memorial utilised following the First World War. A particular architectural language of memorialisation wished to convey the war as being “both heroic and uplifting and tragic and unendurably sad”.<sup>1</sup> The desire to bring meaning to the loss was generally achieved through traditional techniques and gestures alongside the use of “big words” such as; King, Country, God, and Empire.<sup>2</sup>

Following his selection Burnet submitted initial designs to the committee. Taking into consideration the prominent site in George Square he crafted a scheme which sought to be sufficiently monumental whilst reducing the visual intrusion when viewed towards the City Chambers.<sup>3</sup> The proposal comprised of a cenotaph rising to 32 feet tall at the base of a U shape plan which was defined by a low wall forming a symbolic sacred space of 57 by 30 feet where wreaths could be laid.<sup>4</sup> Orientated to address the square, the positioning allows for the onlooker to face east, symbolically both the direction that the soldiers would have advanced and the direction of the majority of their graves. Initial designs suggested the monument should be built of “stone or granite to harmonise with the municipal buildings”<sup>5</sup> and incorporated a vault 7 feet below the level of the square which would contain the names of the fallen and could be accessed via stairs (Figure 19).<sup>6</sup> Discontent was raised within the committee regarding the viability of this vault. At first it was suggested that Burnet should investigate the possibility of a fence being placed around the top to reduce the chance of accidents occurring. On further reflection the architect was requested to remove the vault altogether resulting in the cenotaph as we see it today. With the removal of the vault the names of the dead are now to be seen in the roll of honour kept within the City Chambers.

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<sup>1</sup> Winter, Jay. 2003. *Sites of Memory, sites of mourning: The Great War in European cultural history*. Cambridge University Press. p.85

<sup>2</sup> Gregory, Adrian. 1994. *The Silence of Memory: Armistice Day, 1919-1946 (Legacy of the Great War)*. Oxford: Berg. p.24

<sup>3</sup> Glasgow City Archive. G1.3.1.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. Official description.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. Minutes of meeting. 10th of November 1921.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.



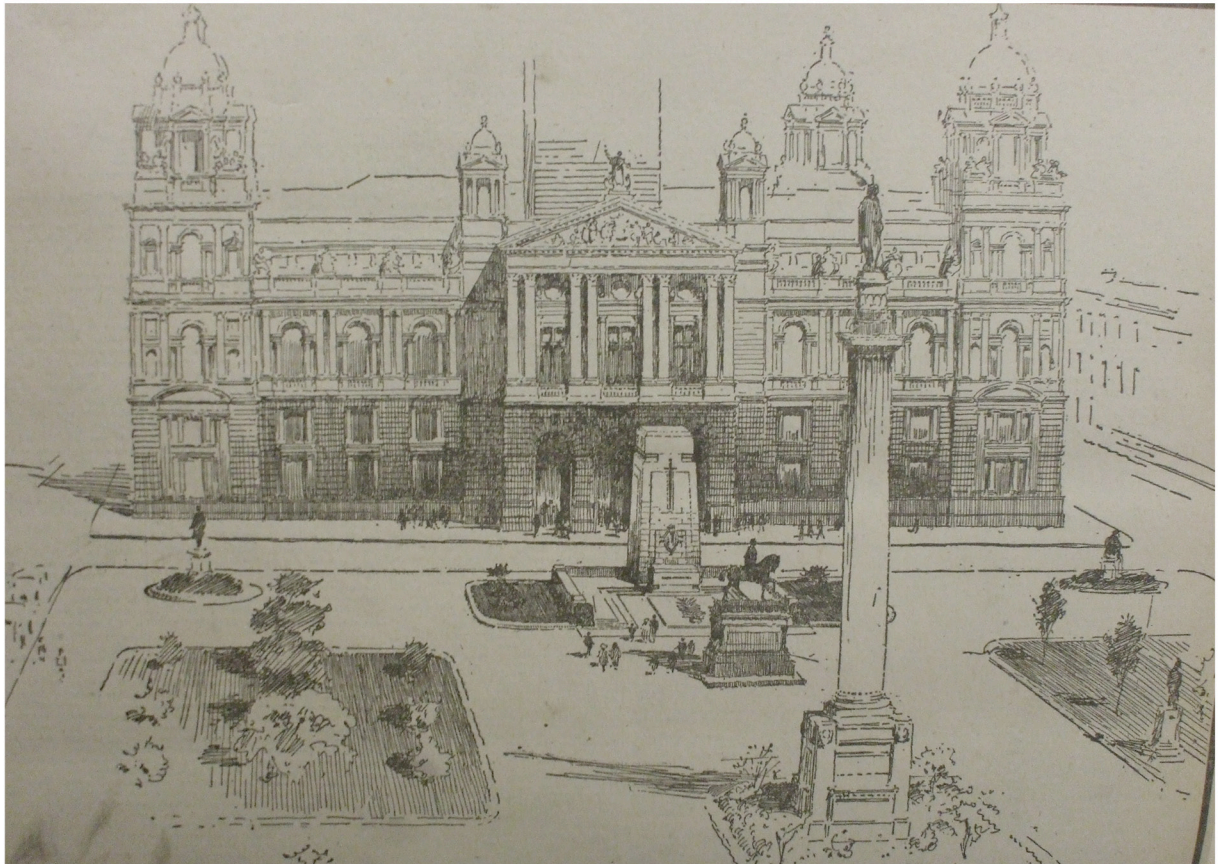
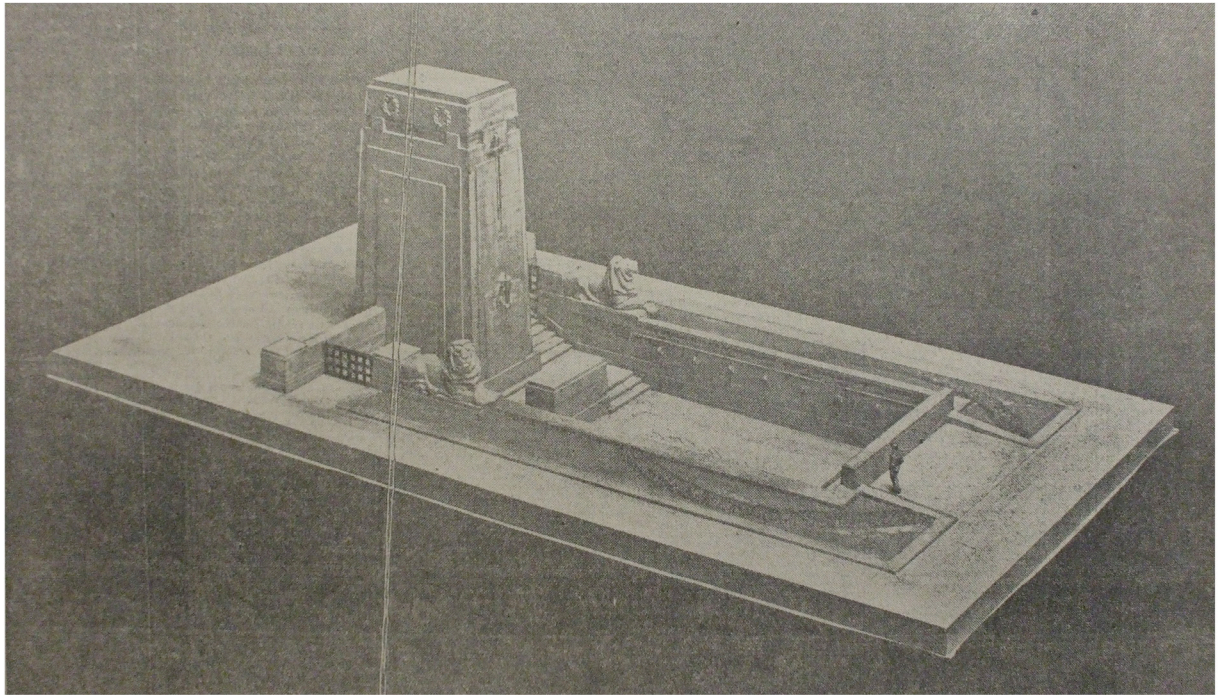


Figure 19: Burnet's cenotaph proposal with vault | Figure 20: Perspective drawing of cenotaph

The two couchant lions also moved at this point from originally being placed beside the cenotaph itself to their constructed position on the ends of the low walls which project towards the square. These lions gaze outwards as they guard the sacred space, a symbol of the empire and also a metaphor for the brave men who fell whilst serving their country.

The cenotaph itself takes the form of a pylon and is reminiscent in form of the cenotaph in London although proportionally it is wider and smaller in height. This change in proportions results in a form which departs slightly from the traditional sarcophagus shape but is however of the same distinctly recognisable language as used elsewhere. Placed in front of this is a war stone, with the inscription “Their names liveth for evermore”. The pylon and war stone are both generally secular monuments<sup>7</sup> reflecting the desire by the committee to provide an inclusive monument without a divisive religious association. The war stone within Glasgow’s memorial is a variation of Lutyens’ design which was widely placed in cemeteries on the Western front and formed the basis for many of his monuments throughout Britain. Lutyens’ approach of placing the stone on a 3 step plinth to suggest dignity is also replicated with Burnet’s design.<sup>8</sup> Although intended as a secular memorial the form of the stone is however reminiscent of an altar with its positioning on the east side of George Square adding to the religious undertone. This subtlety is repeated with the sword placed on the west side of the pylon facing the square, the tip of which points to the ground creating an abstraction of a cross and so providing connotations of the war being a religious crusade.<sup>9</sup> In addition to the sword on the cenotaph there is a sculpture of St Mungo, the patron saint of the city along with carvings of four wreaths and the imperial arms. The use of unpolished Kenway granite adds to the robust simplicity of the form and serves to reinforce the patriotic aspect of the memorial, supplying a Scottish reference in the same way that Portland stone is synonymous with monuments in England.

Burnet suggested that “the memorial should express not only grief for the fallen but the spirit of sacrifice and achievement”.<sup>10</sup> The departure from the pure, more solemn form of cenotaph used by Lutyens in London went some way to achieving this alongside the inclusion

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<sup>7</sup> Geurst, Jeroen. 2010. *Cemeteries Of The Great War By Sir Edwin Lutyens*. 010. p.55

<sup>8</sup> Skelton, Tim and Gliddon, Gerald. 2009. *Lutyens and the Great War*. London: Frances Lincoln. p.24

<sup>9</sup> Geurst, Jeroen. 2010. *Cemeteries Of The Great War By Sir Edwin Lutyens*. 010. p.67

<sup>10</sup> Ibid. p.373



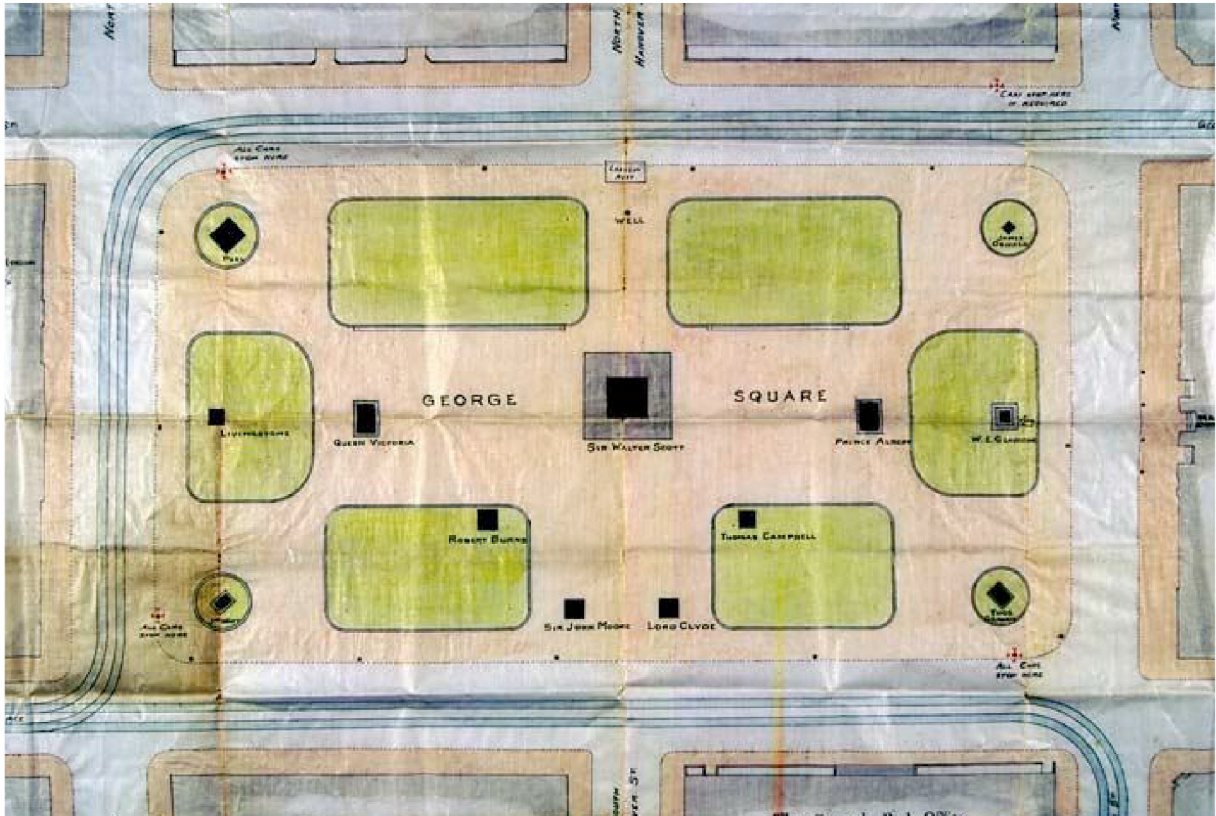


Figure 21: Plan of George Square before memorial was built | Figure 22: Aerial view of cenotaph showing position on eastern edge of square.



of other elements such as the palm leaf and inscriptions. The leaf holds suggestions of martyrdom with the word “Pax” alongside serving as a reference to peace, a virtue rarely expressed on Britain’s memorials (Figure 23).<sup>11</sup> Burnet hoped to encourage viewers to approach and interact with the monument in a particular way. The outstretched wings draw the viewer in and the placing of the palm leaf on a plinth just above ground level prompts “visitors to look downwards, as if bowing their heads before the memory of the dead”.<sup>12</sup>

The provision of a monument secular in nature served to avoid controversy within the Scottish environment of complicated ecclesiastical conditions and sectarian discontent.<sup>13</sup> A cross served as a temporary memorial for the peace celebrations of 1919 and by departing from this form for the permanent monument, the overt religious symbolism was removed. There was a nationwide dilemma regarding the place of religion in this time of grief. Many people saw religion as providing answers to the loss and meaning in the sacrifice however others wished to emphasise a ‘civic religion’ based on the contribution of King and country.

Bradford born Ernest G. Gillick, Esq. R.B.S. was the sculptor for the cenotaph with the contractor being Messrs. John Emery & Sons of Glasgow. The bronze work and flag stands were the work of Wm Morris & Co (Westminster) Ltd. London. The desire of the committee to have a memorial truly monumental in scale was constrained by the decision to allocate less than one-fifth of the overall funds raised to the creation of the permanent memorial.<sup>14</sup> This £22,000 was however still a large amount of money and it resulted in the city achieving a monument which stands proud in scale and design when compared with others in cities across Britain. In Manchester and York the city physical memorials cost £6,490 and £2,446 respectively however the North Eastern Railway company spent a further £20,000 on its own monument within York city centre. The magnificent Lutyens designed arch in Leicester cost £27,209 and in Edinburgh £5,000 was spent on the civic memorial of a war stone placed in front of the City Chambers.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> Bell, Gilbert Torrance. 1993. *Monuments to the fallen*. p.395

<sup>12</sup> King, Alex. 1998. *Memorials of the Great War in Britain. The symbolism and politics of Remembrance*. Oxford: Berg. p.232

<sup>13</sup> Hay, Ian. 1931. *Their name liveth. The book of the Scottish national war memorial*. Edinburgh: T. and A. Constable Ltd. p.26

<sup>14</sup> Bell, Gilbert Torrance. 1993. *Monuments to the fallen*. p.361

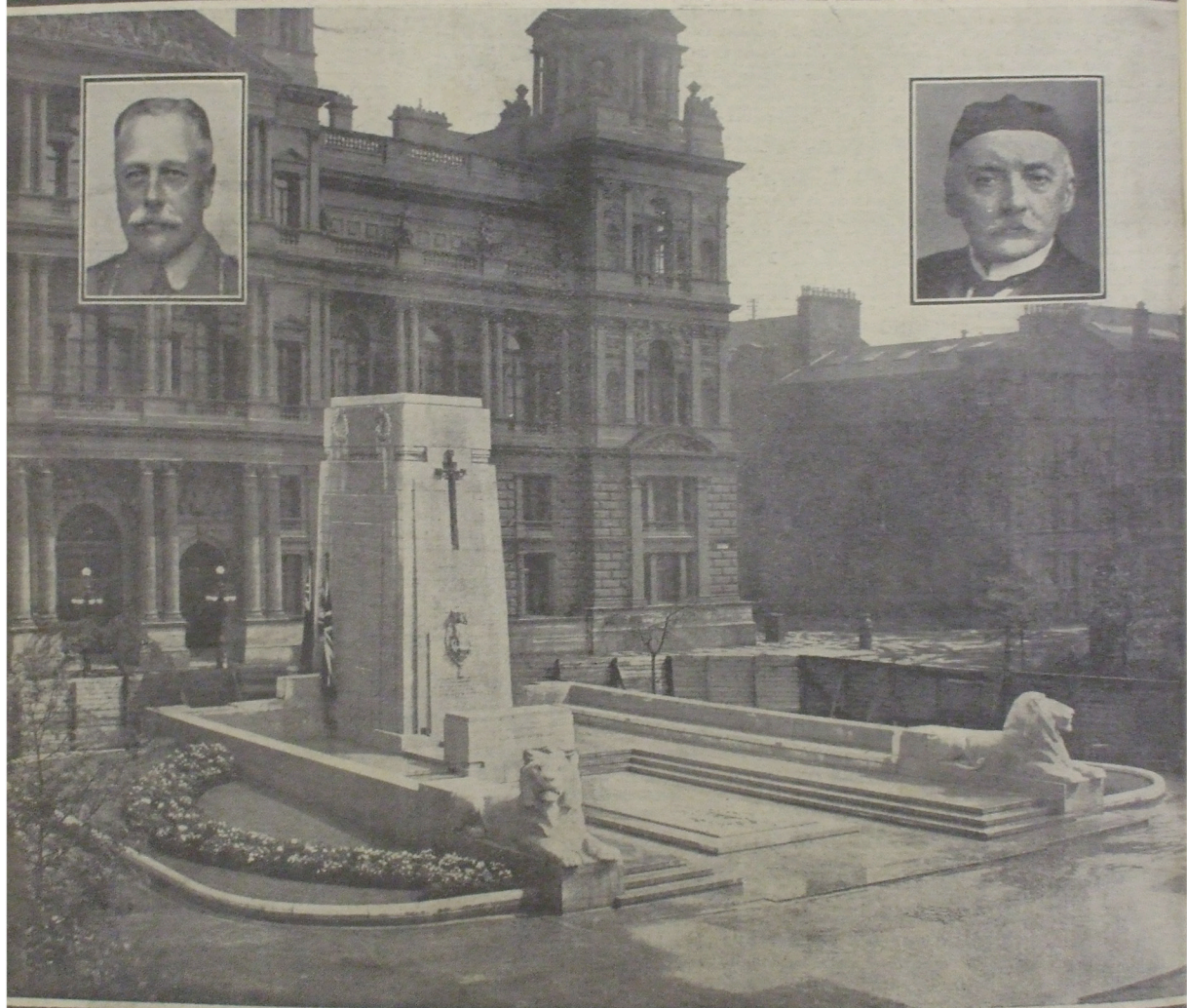
<sup>15</sup> Skelton, Tim and Gliddon, Gerald. 2009. *Lutyens and the Great War*. London: Frances Lincoln.



Figure 23: Palm leaf and wreath | Figure 24: Cenotaph viewed from north | Figure 25: Cenotaph viewed from George Square



**Glasgow's Cenotaph To Be Unveiled To-day By Earl Haig**



Field-Marshal Earl Haig will unveil this afternoon the striking war memorial designed by Sir John Burnet, A.R.A., R.S.A., erected in George Square, Glasgow, to the men from the city who fell in the war. Pictures of to-day's impressive ceremony will be published in our issue of Monday. The photograph we show was taken a few days ago, and gives a general idea of the memorial seen from above. Inset (left), Field-Marshal Earl Haig, and (right), Sir John Burnet, the designer.

Figure 26: Photograph of completed cenotaph prior to unveiling.

“Greater love hath no man  
than this  
That a man lay down his life  
for his friends”<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Engraving on Glasgow Cenotaph.

## Prince Albert Workshops

The utilitarian memorial function for the city of Glasgow was served by the remaining two steps undertaken by the committee. In total, including interest £110,000 was raised by the Glasgow War Memorial Fund. In contrast with the £22,000 allocated to the cenotaph, a comparatively sizable £62,000 was given to maintenance, equipment and extension of the Prince Albert Workshops. The balance was distributed to various other causes and organisations.<sup>1</sup> The workshops were named after Prince Albert (later to become King George VI) following a letter he sent to the war memorial committee suggesting that a scheme of this sort would be desirable addition to provide for the needs of the living.<sup>2</sup>

Located at 62 Killearn Street, in Possilpark north Glasgow the workshops were housed in a complex originally built in 1905 as an industrial shelter for homeless men.<sup>3</sup> After the end of the war the Glasgow Workshops for Disabled Sailors and Soldiers were founded with this site being purchased for their use. They were run by a committee chaired by Colonel Smith Park and in 1919 they contacted the Lord Provost suggesting that they could become involved in the city's approach to fittingly commemorate the war.

The establishment was opened in April 1919 with a range of training provided in the workshops in a variety of useful trades such as cabinetmaking, upholstery, French polishing, chair making, carving and wood machining along with separate boot making department (Figure 28).<sup>4</sup> Alongside this the facility also contained boarding, a kitchen and various communal spaces. The official opening ceremony was undertaken by Prince Albert on the 9th of December 1919.<sup>5</sup> Following being greeted at the entrance by a guard of honour furnished by the 2nd Battalion Royal Scots he was shown around by the Lord Provost along with Colonel Smith Park. Later he was presented with a carved cigar and cigarette box made by men within the woodwork department (Figure 29). In a letter to the Lord Provost dated 11th

<sup>1</sup> Glasgow City archive. G1. 3(1).

<sup>2</sup> *GH* 14th February 1920

<sup>3</sup> Glasgow post office record. 1912-13

<sup>4</sup> Scotsman 15th January 1921

<sup>5</sup> The Bulletin 9 December 1919.

February 1920 the Prince was to state that he believed “There could be no finer or more appropriate memorial to the memory of our dead than the establishment of an institution for the benefit of their comrades who have been disabled in the service of our Empire”.<sup>6</sup>

A visit to the workshops in January 1921 by Dr MacNamara the Minister of Labour showed there to be 20 men receiving board within the building, with around 80 men including instructors within the institution in total. About 120 men had successfully completed training since the opening of the facility.<sup>7</sup>

On the 26th of April 1922 it was decided following a meeting of subscribers and chaired by Lord Provost Paxton that steps were to be taken to close the workshops. It was noted that at the time of their establishment there was a shortage of provision for the training of disabled members of the armed forces but recently more options had become available with the opening of the Government training centre at Cathcart and the extension of facilities at the Erskine Hospital.<sup>8</sup> Therefore it was decided that with the allocated funds from the memorial fund running down it would be a sensible course of action for the nation to consolidate its interests in a few larger facilities as opposed to several smaller ones.<sup>9</sup> Remaining users of the workshops were distributed to other institutions and on May 25th 1923 the premises were sold to Schweppes the mineral water manufacturers.<sup>10</sup> The factory was knocked down in the 1990s to be replaced by flats and there is no reminder on the site to acknowledge its former importance.

The demise of the workshops provides an intriguing comparison with the cenotaph, a monument whose purpose continues to be served to this day. It may be suggested that the combination of the two gave Glasgow the opportunity to admirably provide for as many of those affected by the war as possible. The decision to spend almost three times the amount of money on the workshops compared to the cenotaph placed the veteran firmly at the forefront of the city’s commemoration. This differed from the approach more regularly taken in

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<sup>6</sup> Scotsman 14th February 1920

<sup>7</sup> Scotsman 15th January 1921

<sup>8</sup> Scotsman 28th April 1922

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10</sup> Scotsman 25th May 1923

Britain, which put the bereaved, primarily women who had lost sons and husbands as being the focal point of the mourning process.<sup>11</sup>

The provision of funds for the workshop can be seen as another measure taken by the council to help ease the social and political discontent within the city. In the same way that the cenotaph can be seen as countering the political left through the encouragement of a patriotic rhetoric the workshops serve to placate this opposition through a more collaborative approach. The image of the disabled and unemployed ex-servicemen was a powerful one and these individuals were quick to become disillusioned with any lack of care displayed by the government.<sup>12</sup> Allied to the dissent displayed on the Clydeside, whose strikers stood beside many veterans families at the rent protests<sup>13</sup> it was important for the council to reinforce its recognition of the problems and its ambition to solve them. By contributing such a sizeable sum to help provide for some of those who suffered most from the conflict the city proved its ambition to “minister to the living needs of men who fought in the Great War”.<sup>14</sup>

Following the distribution of funds to the cenotaph and the workshops the surplus was allocated by the committee to a range of honourable institutions. Reinforcing the city’s desire to support the veterans and the bereaved the money was primarily distributed to utilitarian causes. The Earl Haig Fund and the Glasgow Branch of Soldiers and Sailors Help Society were both given £9,566 with the Soldiers and Sailors Families association receiving £1,500.<sup>15</sup> Both the Princess Louise Scottish Hospital for Limbless Sailors and Soldiers and the Trades House Commonweal fund received £1,000 with a further £100 being allocated towards the National Memorial in Edinburgh.<sup>16</sup> It is true that the utilitarian aspect of Glasgow’s approach may not provide the same lasting memory as the cenotaph, however its immediate impact on the lives of those who received support and their loved ones would have been significant.

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<sup>11</sup> Gregory, Adrian. 1994. *The Silence of Memory: Armistice Day, 1919-1946*. Oxford: Berg. p.34

<sup>12</sup> Ibid. p.57

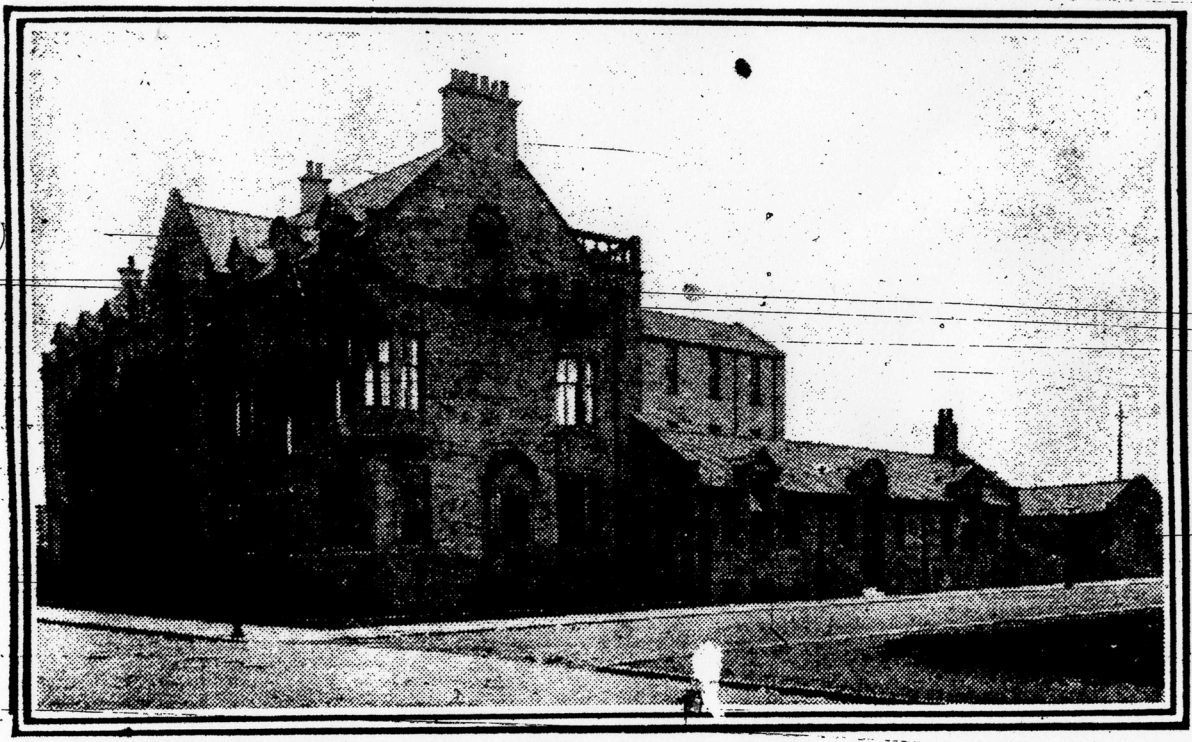
<sup>13</sup> Parker, Peter. 2009. *The Last Veteran. Harry Patch and the Legacy of War*. London: Fourth Estate. p.27

<sup>14</sup> *GH*. 8th of June 1921.

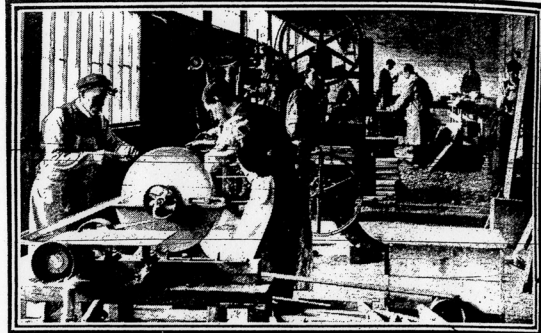
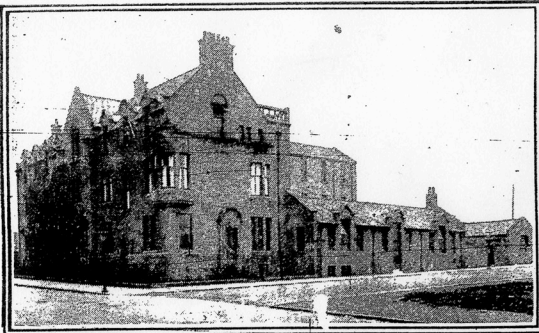
<sup>15</sup> Glasgow City Archive. G1.3(1)

<sup>16</sup> Ibid.





GLASGOW DISABLED MEN'S WORKSHOPS WHICH PRINCE ALBERT WILL VISIT TO-DAY



On leaving the Hydepark Locomotive Works this afternoon His Royal Highness will proceed (via Keppochhill Road) to the Glasgow Workshops for the Training of Disabled Soldiers and Sailors at Killearn Street, Fossick park, which he will formally declare open. Our photo on the left is an exterior view of the workshops; the other shows woodworkers "roughing out" a job.



Several trades are carried on in the workshops, the men proving skilful and capable workers, despite their disablement. Our photo on the left is a view of the upholstery department; the other, of the shoemaking department. Note, in the photo. on the right, the workman in an invalid chair.

Figure 27: Prince Albert Memorial Workshops | Figure 28: Interior views of the workshops.



On leaving the City Chambers the Prince proceeded to the Hydepark Locomotive Works of the North British Railway Company at Stringbarn, and made a brief tour of inspection. With him on the footplate of the loco motive is Mr Hugh Reid



The principal item of the afternoon programme was the opening of the workshops for training disabled sailors and soldiers at Possilpark. In calling upon the Prince to perform the ceremony, Colonel Smith Park, M.V.O., asked him to accept as a souvenir of the occasion a carved cigar and cigarette box made by disabled men in the carpentry department.

Figure 29: Prince Albert receiving his cigar and cigarette box.

“Under the tumult of victory joy in our hearts,  
is the deeper emotion of joy in peace”<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Bulletin 12th of November 1918

## **Their Names Liveth**

On the 31st of May 1924 the Glasgow Cenotaph was unveiled by Lord Haig in front of a crowd of around 100,000 people (Figure 31). In a moving ceremony wreaths were laid on the monument with the whole experience proving too much for many members of the crowd including 60 women who had to be treated for fainting and hysteria.<sup>1</sup> The general feelings were summed up by the Glasgow Herald, “The ceremony at George Square on Saturday was in some ways the most impressive that has taken place in the centre of Glasgow’s civic life...It was a spontaneous expression of profound emotion of all classes of the community”.<sup>2</sup>

The meaning however attached to the monument in George Square changed as the 20th century progressed, reflecting changing political attitudes through this period. By the 1930s, the myth of futility had taken hold in reference to the First World War and at this point much of the public decided to reappraise the memorials from a patriotic rhetoric to that based on peace.<sup>3</sup> Popular war fiction at this time along with the nations deep recession reinforced this discontent and the soldiers who served often became alienated as people began to feel that to support them was to support their trade.<sup>4</sup> Opponents to this new wave of feeling believed it was too soon to be judging the situation and that a sense of perspective gained over the passing of time would be necessary to truly judge the conflict.<sup>5</sup>

The outbreak of the Second World War in 1939 however shattered any remaining illusions of the 1914-18 conflict being the war to end all wars. Further loss of life during World War Two again brought the issue of commemoration to the fore as a live political topic. In terms of numbers the deaths of the armed forces were vastly reduced in comparison to the First World War however with the civilian casualties the opposite was the case. This shift blurred the distinction between combatant and non-combatant and so the nature of

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<sup>1</sup> The Times. 2nd of June 1924

<sup>2</sup> GH 2nd of June 1924

<sup>3</sup> Gregory, Adrian. 1994. *The Silence of Memory: Armistice Day, 1919-1946*. Oxford: Berg. p.122

<sup>4</sup> Hay, Ian. 1931. *Their name liveth. The book of the Scottish national war memorial*. Edinburgh: T. and A. Constable Ltd. p.154

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. p151



Figure 30: Final preparations for unveiling of monument | Figure 31: Cenotaph being unveiled

memorials changed.<sup>6</sup> Some discussions were conducted throughout Britain regarding the construction of new memorials however the general consensus was such that those built for the First World War should be used to symbolise the sacrifice made by the armed forces in both conflicts.<sup>7</sup> In 1945 the dates of the second war were added to Burnet's monument and so it continued to be the focus of the city's mourning in relation to its war dead.<sup>8</sup>

There was no meaningful German attack on the Scottish mainland during the First World War<sup>9</sup> but in the Second World War advances in aircraft technology brought Glasgow into range of the enemy bombers with the Clydebank blitz resulting in the death of 528 people.<sup>10</sup> A memorial to those who died in the raid was created in 1954 in Dalnottar cemetery, Clydebank with a plaque containing their names added in 2009.<sup>11</sup> This provides an example of the commemoration of a substantial loss of civilian lives within a wartime environment. In comparison to those who died fighting abroad, those who died on the mainland would be able to have a funeral conducted. The public naming of the dead occurred early in the process, with a roll of honour being created to supplement the symbolic monument itself which was built without names. The addition in 2009 of the plaque listing the names of those who died proves the continued interest and desire to remember those who lost their lives in the wars of the last century.

At a time when global conflicts show no sign of abating, the presence of the cenotaph proudly placed in the centre of Scotland's largest city should prove a silent reminder of the men who gave the ultimate sacrifice in search of peace. With the Culloden visitor centre recently opened near Inverness, and a new museum being constructed in Bannockburn, Stirling, I would hope that names of the Somme, Ypres, Loos and Arras amongst others would be recognised as equally significant in the shaping of Scotland. As these battles were

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<sup>6</sup> Connelly, Mark. 2002. *The Great War, Memory and Ritual, Commemoration in the city and East London 1916-1939*. Suffolk: Royal History Society Publication. p.231

<sup>7</sup> Bruce, Alex. 1997. *Monuments, memorials, and the local historian*. Dorset: Historical Association. p.34

<sup>8</sup> Mackenzie, Ray. 2002. *Public Sculpture in Glasgow*. Liverpool University Press. p.149

<sup>9</sup> Royle, Trevor. 2011. *The Flowers of the Forest: Scotland and the First World War*. Edinburgh: Birlinn. p.178

<sup>10</sup> STV news report. 2009.

<sup>11</sup> STV news report. 14th March 2009.



fought on foreign soil, and the dead remained where they fell, their memory lives on through the memorials placed in towns and cities across the nation.

The addition of the dates of the Second World War allowed the cenotaph to gain a new meaning and provide a place of mourning for those affected by this more recent conflict. Similar to the First World War those who lost their lives fighting abroad would have been buried near where they died, a situation which again resulted in the bereaved being deprived of a funeral and accessible grave. The role of a surrogate focus for grief was therefore attributed once more to the cenotaph, along with the local memorials and lists of names. Following a change in policy in 1948 repatriation was introduced at the expense of the relative.<sup>12</sup> However since the 1960s the next of kin have been given the option to have the bodies of their loved ones flown home without cost meaning that the majority of armed forces personnel who lost their lives after World War Two have been buried within the British Isles.<sup>13</sup> Over 15,000 members of the armed forces have been killed whilst serving since 1945 although it was not until 2007 that an official and all encompassing monument was created for them, the National Memorial Arboretum near Birmingham.<sup>14</sup> Conflicts since 1945 have been of varied scales and of a nature quite different from the two world wars. On the one hand they have harked back to an era when the nation's battles were fought in distant lands by a largely professional force (there has been no conscription since the Second World War). However the new media age has provided ever increasing coverage of these wars and this exposure has often split public opinion. Wars such as those in Iraq and Afghanistan have been controversial and this has coincided with a revival of interest and respect to the men who lost their lives in the two World Wars.

On Remembrance Sunday in Glasgow the post 1945 conflicts are commemorated through a temporary remembrance garden positioned adjacent to the cenotaph on the north side of the square (Figures 32 and 33). It consists of a large grassed area, planted with crosses bearing the insignia of various regiments along with other crosses decorated by the names of

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<sup>12</sup> Veterans UK, Veteran Issues - Remembrance. Repatriation. 27 December 2011. <http://www.veterans-uk.info/remembrance/repatriation.html>

<sup>13</sup>The Today Programme. BBC radio 4. Remembering the Fallen. 31st August 2011. [http://news.bbc.co.uk/today/hi/today/newsid\\_9577000/9577106.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/today/hi/today/newsid_9577000/9577106.stm)

<sup>14</sup> National memorial arboretum. Retrieved on 27th of December 2011 from <http://www.thenma.org.uk/>



Figure 32 and 33: Remembrance Sunday (2011) garden of remembrance

the many conflicts. Placed in front of these as a mark of respect in the run up to and after the service are wreaths and small wooden crosses with poppies attached. This temporary provision is necessary as despite public opinion placing the cenotaph as a symbol for all wars<sup>15</sup>, officially it stands for the two world wars alone. In practice the transient nature of the garden compliments the robust strength of the cenotaph and alongside the traditional service a moving and dignified atmosphere is created.

It is to the credit of Burnet's design that the monument has been embraced so readily throughout the testing confines of the last century. The intention to provide a permanent reminder of those who died can be seen to be achieved through the continued use of the monument as the focus for the city's remembrance. Successive generations have seen fit to attach their own grief to the cenotaph's simple, almost stark symbolic form. In spite of these different layers of meaning, the spirit which drove the creation of the monument remains a constant feature.

The Glasgow daily Bulletin newspaper noted on the 12th of November 1918 the day after the armistice had been signed that "Now not only is the Great War over but we hope that it has killed war. If it has not, we have no doubt that it has been fought in vain".<sup>16</sup> It is sad therefore that the fear of this sentiment was realised and that 21 years later a war of the same magnitude was to be seen again throughout the world. An almost unbroken line of conflicts involving Britain and Scotland has followed since and the cenotaph has been a subtle presence and reminder throughout. The key public response towards the monument is that of respect, respect to those who gave their lives in the past and respect to those who continue to serve.<sup>17</sup> There may be disagreement with the principles which have stood behind the wars of the 20th century however the humanitarian impact must be looked at as a singular issue detached from the nation's political approach. Each one of the names on the city's First World War roll of honour is someone's son, father, brother, friend or husband and therefore it is admirable that the foundations of respect and dignity that Glasgow's commemoration of the war created still stand to this day.

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<sup>15</sup> Questionnaire undertaken by author. 13th November 2011.

<sup>16</sup> Bulletin. 12th of November 1918. p.2

<sup>17</sup> Questionnaire undertaken by author. See appendix. 13th November 2011.





Figure 34: Women of British Legion laying wreaths (1954) | Figure 35: Officers laying wreaths (1957).



Figure 36: Remembrance day parade (1974) | Figure 37: Remembrance Sunday (2011) members of public viewing wreaths.





Figure 38: Remembrance Sunday (2011) remembrance service underway | Figure 39: Remembrance Sunday (2011) crowd moving towards cenotaph.

## **Illustrations**

### **Cover**

Fig 1. Glasgow Cenotaph, 2011. Author's photograph, digital.

### **Introduction**

Fig 2. HMS Tiger (1914). National Records of Scotland. Photograph. SCRAN.

Fig 3. Recruiting poster, Highland Light Infantry. Royal Highland Fusiliers Regimental Museum. Author's photograph, digital.

Fig 4. Women at milling machines during World War One (1915-18). Springburn Museums Trust. Photograph. SCRAN.

### **A War Remembered**

Fig 5. Cameronians Memorial, Kelvingrove Park Glasgow, 2012. Author's photograph, digital.

Fig 6. Whiteinch war memorial, Victoria Park Glasgow, 2013. Author's photograph, digital.

Fig 7. Cenotaph, Whitehall London, 2013. Author's photograph, digital.

Fig 8. Govan war memorial, Glasgow, 2013. Author's photograph, digital.

Fig 9. 7th (Blythwood) Battalion Highland Light Infantry memorial, Glasgow Green, 2013. Author's photograph, digital.

Fig 10. Mount Florida Parish Church War Memorial Hall, 2013. Author's photograph, digital.

### **An Enduring Symbol**

Fig 11. Bloody Friday (1919). Glasgow Museums. Photograph. SCRAN.

Fig 12. Correspondents proposal for bridge over River Clyde. Glasgow Herald. 31st of December 1918. Author's photograph of newspaper. Reproduced from Glasgow City archive. Mitchell Library.

Fig 13. Correspondents proposal for a monument in George Square. Glasgow Herald. Author's photograph of newspaper. Reproduced from Glasgow City archive. Mitchell Library.

Fig 14. Correspondents proposal for extension of Blythswood Square and associated memorial to be constructed. Glasgow Herald. 17th of January 1919. Author's photograph of newspaper. Reproduced from Glasgow City archive. Mitchell Library.

Fig 15. Correspondents proposal for memorial hall in George Square. Glasgow Herald. 29th of January 1919. Author's photograph of newspaper. Reproduced from Glasgow City archive. Mitchell Library.

Fig 16. Image of correspondents proposal for memorial way. Glasgow Herald. 4th of June 1919. Author's photograph of newspaper. Reproduced from Glasgow City archive. Mitchell Library.

### **A City Provides**

Fig 17. Scottish National War Memorial. Nick Haynes. Photograph. SCRAN.

Fig 18. Memorial to the missing of the Somme. Thiepval, France, 2011. Author's photograph, digital.

### **Glasgow's Cenotaph**

Fig 19. Image of Burnet's cenotaph proposal. Glasgow Herald. Author's photograph of newspaper. Reproduced from Glasgow City archive. Mitchell Library.

Fig 20. Perspective drawing of cenotaph. Glasgow Herald. Author's photograph of newspaper. Reproduced from Glasgow City archive. Mitchell Library.

Fig 21. Plan of George Square, 1919. Glasgow Trades Council Collection - Mitchell Library. Tracing paper. SCRAN.

Fig 22. Satellite view of George Square, 2012. Google maps, digital. Retrieved on 25th of February 2012. <http://maps.google.com/>

Fig 23. Image of palm leaf and wreaths, 2012. Author's own photograph, digital.

Fig 24. View of cenotaph from north on Remembrance Sunday, 2011. Author's photograph, digital.

Fig 25. Image of cenotaph from west towards City Chambers, 2012. Author's photograph, digital.

Fig 26. Photograph of cenotaph prior to unveiling. The Bulletin 31st of May 1919. Reproduced from Glasgow City archive. Mitchell Library.

### **Prince Albert Workshops**

Fig 27. Exterior view of the workshops. The Bulletin 9th of December 1919. Reproduced from Glasgow City archive. Mitchell Library.

Fig 28. Interior views. The Bulletin 9th of December 1919. Reproduced from Glasgow City archive. Mitchell Library.

Fig 29. Prince Albert receiving his cigar and cigarette case. The Bulletin 9th of December 1919. Reproduced from Glasgow City archive. Mitchell Library.

### **Their Names Liveth**

Fig 30. Final preparations for unveiling of monument (1924). Newsquest (Herald and Times). Photograph. SCRAN.

Fig 31. Unveiling of monument (1924). Newsquest (Herald and Times). Photograph. SCRAN.

Fig 32. Image of board commemorating conflicts since 1945 on Remembrance Sunday, 2011. Author's own photograph.

Fig 33. Image of garden of remembrance on Remembrance Sunday, 2011. Author's photograph.

Fig 34. Women of British Legion laying wreaths (1954). Newsquest (Herald and Times). Photograph. SCRAN.

Fig 35. Officers laying wreaths (1957). Newsquest (Herald and Times). Photograph. SCRAN.

Fig 36. Remembrance day parade, Glasgow (1974). Newsquest (Herald and Times). Photograph. SCRAN.

Fig 37. Members of public viewing wreaths on Remembrance Sunday, 2011. Author's photograph, digital.

Fig 38. Service underway on Remembrance Sunday, 2011. Author's photograph, digital.

Fig 39. Crowds walking towards cenotaph on Remembrance Sunday, 2011. Author's photograph, digital.



## **Back Cover**

Fig 40. War stone, with cross formed by poppies, Glasgow, 2012. Author's photograph, digital.

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