

**Music, emotion and remembrance: unveiling memorials to the fallen of World
War One in Scotland.**

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Abstract

The unveiling of memorials to those who fell in World War One were highly solemn, dramatic and emotional events. Yet while much attention has been given by historians to memorials and the purposes behind memorialisation, there has been less discussion of just how the feelings of the public were stimulated and provoked. Most accounts concentrate on the aesthetics and symbolism of the monuments themselves, and the speeches given by the officiating parties and individuals at unveilings. In doing so, however, they miss what was perhaps the most important emotional aspect of these ceremonies; music. This article seeks to go beyond the words spoken at unveilings and examines the role of music in establishing both the mood of the moment and the public's attachment to the memorials. The focus is on the major city memorials of Scotland plus the National Memorial at Edinburgh Castle and particular significance is given to the bagpipes and Scotland's most famous lament, 'The Flowers of the Forest'.

Keywords

Memorials, First World War, music, emotion, Scotland

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And then, as folk stood dumbfounded, this was just sheer politics, plain what he meant, the Highlandman McIvor tuned up his pipes and began to step slow round the stone circle by Blawearie Loch, slow and quiet and folk watched him, the dark was near, it lifted your hair and was eerie and uncanny, the Flowers of the Forest as he played it. It rose and rose and wept and cried, that crying for the men that fell in battle, and there was Kirsty Strachan weeping quietly and others with her ...

Lewis Grassie Gibbon, *Sunset Song* (London, 1932).

There exists now an extensive literature on the memorialisation of the Great War in Britain and beyond with specific contributions on the Scottish experience.¹ Informative

¹A full bibliography would take up far too much space but see in particular J. Winter, *Sites of Memory Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European cultural history* (Cambridge, 1995); A. Gregory, *The Silence of Memory: Armistice Day 1919-1946* (Oxford, 1994); A. King, *Memorials of the Great War in Britain : The symbolism and politics of remembrance* (Oxford, 1998); A. Calder, *Disasters and Heroes: On war, memory and representation* (Cardiff, 2004); A. Gaffney, *Aftermath: remembering the Great War in Wales* (Cardiff, 1998); K.S. Inglis, *Sacred Spaces: war memorials in the Australian landscape* (Melbourne, 1998); S. Sumartojo and B. Wellings (eds), *Nation, memory and Great War commemoration: mobilising the past in Europe, Australia and New Zealand* (Oxford, 2014). For Scotland see G. T. Bell, 'Monuments to the Fallen: Scottish War Memorials of the Great War' (Ph.D., Strathclyde, 1993); A. Calder, 'The Scottish National War Memorial', in W. Kidd and B. Murdoch (eds), *Memory and Memorials: The commemorative century* (Aldershot, 2004); J. MacDonald, "'Let Us Now Praise the Name of Famous Men": myth and meaning in the stained glass of the Scottish National War Memorial', *Journal of Design History* 14,2 (2001), 117–28; J. Macleod, 'Memorials and Locations: local versus national identity and the Scottish National War Memorial', *The Scottish Historical Review*, 89,1 (April 2010), 73–95; J. Macleod, "'By Scottish Hands, with Scottish Money, on Scottish Soil': building the Scottish National War Memorial', *Journal of British Studies* 49, 1 (Jan. 2010), 73–96; E.W. McFarland,

and richly detailed as these works are there is nonetheless something missing in their coverage of the ceremonies of commemoration. Most writers have, logically enough, focussed on the speeches delivered at the unveilings of memorials or on Remembrance Sunday.² Yet, while all are fully aware of the emotional impact of memorialisation, in particular the two minute silence, there has been less attention given to how that emotion was provoked by the memorials and the ceremonies surrounding them. Commemorating the dead did not wait until the construction of a memorial, but the unveilings provided an opportunity for each locality to establish what the memorials stood for and a template for how future commemoration should be conducted. The actual unveiling ceremonies involved considerable elements of public theatre and subtle etiquette. While one might expect the speeches, what Gregory has termed the ‘big words’,³ given on the various occasions to be the best way of interrogating these events what was being communicated was in many respects beyond words or was, at most, only partly verbal. The minute or two of ‘silence’ was given its poignancy in relation to the sound that surrounded it and most of that sound was provided by music and hymns.⁴

‘Commemoration of the South African War in Scotland, 1900-1910’, *The Scottish Historical Review* 89, 2 (Oct. 2010), 194-223; A. Petrie, ‘Scottish Culture and the First World War, 1914–1939’, (Ph.D., Dundee, 2006).

² King, *op.cit.* chapter 8; Winter, *op.cit.*, 93-8.

³ Gregory, *op.cit.*, 24.

⁴ Catherine Moriarty in an excellent account of the emotional impact of unveiling ceremonies only makes passing reference to hymns, the Last Post and Reveille, ‘Private Grief and Public Remembrance: British First World War Memorials’, in M. Evans and K. Lunn (eds), *War and Memory in the Twentieth Century* (Oxford, 1997), 125-42.

If speech was the main medium that promoted the official message or lesson to be learned from the sacrifice of the dead the argument being advanced here is that it was the non-verbal sounds that best expressed the raw emotions of the occasions and, in doing so, gave them their power and significance. The opening of the Scottish National War Memorial (SNWM) at Edinburgh Castle took place with a complete absence of any oration, the whole ceremony being driven by music, hymns and prayers, echoing the Armistice Day ceremony at the Cenotaph in London where no speeches were made and never have been.⁵ At every unveiling it was the music, more than the words, which created the atmosphere and did most to establish the common identity between the living and the dead. Martial but popular and immediately recognisable tunes such as ‘The Last Post’ and laments, especially ‘The Flowers of the Forest’ provided the emotional high points of the ceremonies.⁶

An immediate difficulty presents itself when we begin to discuss emotions and how they were expressed via music; how can such psychological states be identified with any certainty and how can they be measured? Musicologists constantly struggle with the recognition that music is a powerful medium for expressing emotion (going back as far as Homer at least) with the need to replicate that experience in order to

⁵ At the original ceremony in 1919 there were no prayers either. Gregory, *op.cit.*, 15.

⁶ One approach to the power of music over speech is offered by Philip Ball, ‘Unlike language, say, music has no dedicated mental circuitry localized in one or a few particular areas: it is a “whole brain” phenomenon.’ P. Ball, *The Music Instinct* (Oxford, 2010), 241. For a work that emphasizes the role of ‘the Last Post’ in provoking emotional response at commemorations see A. W. Turner, *The Last Post: music, remembrance and the Great War* (London, 2014).

‘explain’ the emotional power of music.⁷ The subject matter of this study – the emotional responses of people at unveiling ceremonies – does not lend itself to any forensic examination since these were unique events that cannot be replicated or analysed in a laboratory. Their ubiquity, however, does allow us to identify similarities both in how the ceremonies were organized and how those in attendance responded. While research in musicology can help us understand better how music affects or stimulates emotions, it is limited, though useful, in how far it can explain the collective responses at such events. These have to be examined in their actual historical context and such examination has to rely on published accounts, mainly from reports in newspapers, of how people reacted on the day, or ‘in the moment’. To better understand these responses we need to use historical method – to place the unveilings in their local and wider contexts and to try and identify what sort of music had most traction on public feeling. In short we need a social history informed by musicology.

In most academic accounts of unveiling ceremonies there is little attention given to the actual choice of music or to the central role which music played. Yet it is abundantly clear that music was both a crucial element in proceedings and had very definite political and cultural connotations. The clearest example of music as a contested element in the commemoration of World War One is the hostility directed against John Foulds’s modernist composition ‘A World Requiem’. Despite its positive reception among the public Foulds’s work fell foul of the narrow patriotism and

⁷ M. Zentner, ‘Homer’s Prophecy: an essay on music’s primary emotions’, *Music Analysis*, 29 (March – October 2010), 102-125; P.N. Juslin and J.A. Sloboda (eds.) *Handbook of Music and Emotion: theory, research, applications* (Oxford, 2010).

imperialism of the *Daily Express* which secured its eventual removal from the British Legion's Festival of Remembrance in 1927.⁸ While the reception (both positive and negative) to Foulds's universalist approach is significant, in nearly all instances of memorial unveilings there was no conflict over what pieces should be played.

Dominated, as they were, by the Presbyterian churches and the armed forces, unveiling ceremonies in Scotland had a distinct repertoire of musical accompaniment which reflected religious, military, and (most importantly) popular tastes.

Scottish memorials and Scottish music

This study concentrates primarily on the SNWM and the memorials of the five cities of Aberdeen, Dundee, Edinburgh, Glasgow and Perth, plus Inverness (the 'capital' of the Highlands). The period covered stretches from the first unveiling in December 1922 (Inverness) to the last in November 1928 (Perth). While this represents a limited sample of the huge number of memorials constructed after the war, the cities do provide an appropriate starting point as the coats of arms of the five are carved into the arch which leads into the Hall of the Regiments within the SNWM and each regiment did have an association with a particular place: Glasgow's local regiment was the Highland Light Infantry (HLI), Edinburgh's was the Royal Scots, the Black Watch was associated with Dundee and Perth, the Gordon Highlanders with Aberdeen, and the Cameron Highlanders with Inverness. Moreover, the combined total (c. 35,000) of those listed on

⁸ J.G. Mansell, 'Musical Modernity and Contested Commemoration at the Festival of Remembrance, 1923-1927', *The Historical Journal*, 52, 2 (2009), 433-54. See also R. Cowgill, 'Canonizing remembrance: music for Armistice Day at the BBC, 1922-7', *First World War Studies*, 2, 1 (2011), 75-107.

the six city memorials (or rolls of honour) account for a major proportion of the total of the Scottish 'fallen'. The actual number of Scottish dead remains a matter of dispute with estimates at various times ranging between 74,000 and 147,000. The latter figure, unsourced, seems to have emerged out of nationalist sentiment in the inter-war years. Recently Hew Strachan, referencing forthcoming work by Michael Anderson, has suggested somewhere between 90,000 and 100,000 as a more accurate assessment.⁹

Scotland offers a particularly interesting area of study given its almost schizophrenic response to the war. As measured in the numbers enlisting prior to conscription Scotland produced a higher proportion than anywhere else in the United Kingdom. Yet, over the course of the War and unlike elsewhere the ILP expanded its membership and branches. In the ten weeks following the declaration of war 30,000 men in Glasgow joined up, but the same city soon would become recognized as the main centre of anti-war sentiment and activity.¹⁰ Scotland expressed much of its identity through its martial traditions such as the kilted highland soldier who became emblematic of the British imperial army. And while Scotland was proudly loyal to the Empire so much of its popular culture, notably in songs, either celebrated victory over

⁹ H. Strachan, 'The Scottish Soldier and Scotland 1914-18', in D. Forsyth and W. Ugolini (eds), *A Global Force: war identities and Scotland's diaspora* (Edinburgh, 2016), 67-8. The numbers from the six cities are taken from press reports at the time with the exception of Edinburgh where a full roll of honour has never been compiled. The figure of 4000 for the capital is taken from online discussion boards and has to be regarded as very much a guestimate.

¹⁰ E.W. McFarland, 'Introduction' in C.M.M. Macdonald and E.W. McFarland (eds.), *Scotland and the Great War* (East Linton, 1999), 1-10; J.J. Smyth, *Labour In Glasgow 1896-1936: socialism, suffrage, sectarianism* (East Linton, 2000), 77.

the English or mourned defeat at their hands. In sharp contrast to the essential simplicity of Lutyens's Cenotaph, a work of 'striking minimalism' in the words of Jay Winter, the SNWM (designed by Robert Lorimer working within an Arts & Crafts perspective), is a highly detailed, allegorical monument within which each Scottish regiment has its own, individual 'memorial'.¹¹ Although it 'neither glorified or condemned' war, the SNWM, unlike the Cenotaph, was not free of patriotic symbolism; while it sought to be inclusive of the whole nation, it clearly celebrated Scotland's military identity.¹²

The principal figure behind the construction of the SNMW was the Duke of Atholl. Not only was it his idea from the start but he was in charge of the actual proceedings on the day of the unveiling and he had very clear ideas about what was needed music-wise; 'The desire is to have martial and Scottish music, but of a dignified kind.'¹³ Atholl corresponded with two people in particular over the choice of music, the order of playing and the arrangements of each piece. These were the Band Master of the 2nd Battalion of the Queen's Own Cameron Highlanders stationed at Redford Barracks which would provide most of music on the day, and W.G. Allt, the Master of Music at St. Giles Cathedral whose choir would provide most of the singing. There were no obvious disagreements between the three over the choice of tunes and hymns but it is clear that Atholl was determined to leave little to chance. In a very detailed

¹¹ Winter, *op. cit.*, 102.

¹²McFarland, *op. cit.*, 2; Macleod, 'Memorials and Locations' *op cit.*.

¹³ National Library of Scotland (subsequently NLS) Acc. 4714, Scottish National War Memorial (Duke and Duchess of Atholl Papers), Letter from Atholl to Band Master 2nd, Bn. Queen's Own Cameron Highlanders, 27 June 1927.

letter to Allt, the Duke suggested that while the King was in the actual memorial hall Kipling's 'Recessional' 'might be sung outside in Crown Square'. At the same time, however, he worried about the noise made by the band outside, 'as if it were too loud it would disturb the King going round looking at the Memorials.'¹⁴ Atholl was keen to have appropriate selections which would have a definite effect and both hymns and songs were curtailed as necessary to fit with the timing of the event and to ensure their impact. The band of the Cameron Highlanders were to play 'Scots Wha Hae' as the colours marched past the Prince of Wales into the shrine and Atholl thought 'it would be nice' if the choir would sing at the same time, but he worried about getting the arrangement and timing just right. In response Allt stated that 'Three verses of "Scots Wha Hae" sung at Army slow march time take 1 minute 45 seconds.'¹⁵

Even though subsequent services at the Memorial would never have the same weight as the original unveiling Atholl continued his concern with the choice of music in following years. Determined that there should be an annual ceremony in July to be held on the anniversary of the unveiling (not only a service of remembrance every November), Atholl recognized that the scale and scope of the original could not be replicated. Nonetheless his attention to what should be played and the arrangements remained the same. In 1928 there would be no military band available, 'but the pipes and drums are there, the pipers will be playing "The Flowers of the Forest"' Atholl was particularly desirous of having 'Scots Wha Hae' included, but without a band it

¹⁴ NLS Acc. 4714, Letter from Atholl to W.G. Allt, 20 June 1927.

¹⁵ NLS Acc. 4714, Letter from Atholl to W.G. Allt, 20 June 1927; Letter from Allt to Atholl, 25 June 1927.

would have to be ‘sung by choir without music ... and we should lose the great Thud ... Thud ... Thud... so peculiar to that tune.’¹⁶

A soldier who had seen active service in the Sudan, South Africa and in the Dardanelles Atholl was highly conscious of the emotional impact music could have at a public event and, while he recognized the importance of having all Christian denominations involved, he saw unveilings as ‘essentially a soldier’s show’¹⁷ While many might not have agreed with that sentiment, most memorial committees seemed to have been willing to leave the musical element of the unveilings to the military. At Stirling, dominated as the town is by its castle and the barracks within, the choice of music seems to have been decided by Major Scott who was the commander of troops in the castle. In a ‘Special Order’ dictated by Scott it was stated that the buglers would ‘sound “Last Post” and “Reveille” [and] Sgt-Piper Ormiston ... and Sergeant Ancell ... will play the Lament.’¹⁸ Other, smaller locations within Stirling county also deferred to military expertise in such matters. Both the Callander and Buchlyvie memorial committees simply wrote to Stirling Castle requesting pipers and buglers for their ceremonies without stipulating what actual music they were to play.¹⁹ It is unlikely that

¹⁶ NLS Acc. 4714, Letter from Atholl to Rev. Charles Warr, Minister of St Giles, 3 July 1928.

¹⁷ NLS Acc 4714, letter from Atholl to General Peyton, 28 February 1928

¹⁸ Stirling Council Archives, SB1/15/12, Stirling War Memorial Committee, ‘Special Order by Major J.C. Scott’, 10 October 1922.

¹⁹ Stirling Council Archives, CA/1/2/2, Callander War Memorial Committee, minute of meeting 22 August 1921; PR/KN20-23, Buchlyvie War Memorial Committee, minute of meeting 28 September 1920.

there would have been any disagreement over the choices made, but it does appear to have been recognized as the prerogative of the military.

Unveiling ceremonies

Most ceremonies did include speeches, usually by whoever had been invited to perform the unveiling as well one or two local figures. Where speeches were delivered they could be expressive and powerful but could be almost bland as well, tending towards the familiar; praise for the dead, recognition of the loss suffered by families, the debt owed to those who survived, and an undercurrent of hostility to socialism by stressing how the war had shown the nation triumphant through unity. A rare exception was Dundee where General Iain Hamilton called, almost provocatively, for the State to intervene practically to help ex-servicemen. Even where the notion of the ‘citizen army’ was emphasized the ceremonies were overwhelmingly martial in form with senior members of the military on most platforms and usually performing the actual unveilings. As well as being militaristic the commemoration services were religious in nature with the Church of Scotland and the United Free Church of Scotland being particularly prominent at a time when both were working together to strengthen the position of a united Church ambitious, once again, to speak for the nation. While the Scottish Episcopal Church played an active, if lesser, part also, the Catholic Church and the Free Church of Scotland were, for their own different reasons, largely absent from proceedings.

Perhaps the ubiquity of war memorials has rendered them largely invisible to us in the early twenty first century. Like statues to the famous they have become part of our ‘urban wallpaper’ but we need to consider whether without the memorials the

memory of the War would have remained so prominent and so pertinent for so long?²⁰ Among contemporaries there appears to have been a widespread awareness, indeed almost fear, that a permanent, public location for grieving and remembering was necessary if the sacrifice of the war was not to be forgotten. At the unveiling of the Glasgow memorial in George Square the Lord Provost explained:

The site of the memorial was appropriate and central, and as the citizens saw it day by day they would be reminded of, if indeed they could ever forget, the obligations under which they lay to those who made the supreme sacrifice, and to those who were happily able to return and resume their place in civilian life.²¹

As early as the mid-1920s concern was expressed that the Great Silence should be discontinued as it would be inevitable that memories would fade and participation decline, and there was a recognition that as time progressed the public mood did change; from the tragic to a more formal mark of respect.²² While Armistice Day itself remained dominated by a mood of sombre restraint, the night before gradually became more relaxed. Describing various celebratory dinner dances and balls held on the 10 November 1926, the *Scotsman* commented on the return of, 'Something like the old spirit of rejoicing which was abroad on the night of November 11 eight years ago.'²³

²⁰ J. J. Smyth and M. A. Penman, 'Reputations and National Identity, or what our Heroes say about us', in *La Réputation / Reputation, Études Écossaises*, 10 (2005), 11-24.

²¹ *Glasgow Herald*, 2 June 1924.

²² See letter to *The Times*, 3 November 1925 suggesting 1929 as the cut off and similar letters on 27 and 29 October; King, *op.cit.*, 22.

²³ *Scotsman*, 11 November 1926.

It is the case also that Armistice Day could be a contested ceremony. In 1921 in particular there appears to have been a pronounced degree of deliberate disruption by the unemployed and the Communist Party against the ‘hypocrisy and inhumanity’ of the event with press reports of protests in Dundee and Liverpool.²⁴ Resentment was fuelled as unemployment remained stubbornly high and efforts to help veterans were reined back or abandoned. For instance, in Glasgow the Prince Albert workshops for ex-servicemen which were established in 1919 as part of the City’s memorial were shut down only three years later.²⁵

In what appears to have been a common pattern, town or parish councils took the initiative in forming a war memorial committee which would have responsibility for raising the finance and deciding on the form of the memorial but without being a formal committee of the council. For instance, in Glasgow the Lord Provost issued a letter to ‘prominent citizens’ in January 1919 and it was this group which was established as the ‘Grand Committee’ in September that year.²⁶ At the unveilings the ownership and care of the memorials would then be given over to the local authorities. Aberdeen appears to have been different in its memorial committee being formally part of the Town Council, while at Perth the committee handed ownership to the Town Council which in turn immediately passed it over to the Church of Scotland.²⁷

²⁴ *The Times*, 12 November 1921; Gregory, *op.cit.*, 57-8.

²⁵ *The Times*, 27 April 1922.

²⁶ Bell, *op.cit.*, pp. 358-9.

²⁷ This was because Perth’s memorial took the form of the restoration of the ancient Church of St John’s in the centre of the city; see below p. 19; also King, *op.cit.*, 2, 26-30.

The platform parties were largely made up of local and national dignitaries. Lord Provosts and magistrates were, as one would expect, prominent participants along with the chairmen of the memorial committees. Where speeches were made the Provost would usually deliver an oration sometimes accompanied by the committee chairman, though the main speaker would be the person performing the actual unveiling. In Glasgow this was Earl Haig himself, a more than acceptable second choice after Buckingham Palace turned down the City's request that the King do the honours.²⁸ Edinburgh was successful in getting royal participation, with Prince Henry unveiling the capital's own memorial, while the Prince of Wales officiated at the SNWM. At Inverness the ceremony was conducted by Mackintosh of Mackintosh, prominent local landowner, Lord Lieutenant of Inverness-shire and an officer in the Cameron Highlanders.²⁹ At Dundee it was General Hamilton whose army career had come to an end at Gallipoli but who was the most prominent military figure in Scotland after Haig in supporting the ex-servicemen's cause.³⁰ At Perth the honours were done by General Sir William Peyton, Commander in Chief of the Scottish Command.³¹ Aberdeen was

²⁸ The response by the Palace to Glasgow's request was to point out that there were simply too many such requests for the King to possibly undertake and that, 'His Majesty therefore decided only to perform the unveiling of the National Cenotaph and of those memorials erected on his own properties.' Bell, *op.cit.*, 384.

²⁹ *Inverness Courier*, 15 December 1922.

³⁰ *Dundee Courier*, 18 May 1925; see also 'Unveiling of Dundee War memorial 1925', made available by Friends of Dundee City Archives, <http://www.fdca.org.uk/pdf%20files/DundeeWarMemoriallaw.pdf>; G. H. Cassar, 'Hamilton, Sir Ian Standish Monteith (1853–1947)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford, 2004); online edn Jan 2011.

³¹ *Perthshire Advertiser*, 3 November 1928.

somewhat different in that there appears to have been no speeches delivered at the unveiling but only dedicatory prayers offered up by the Rev. John White, Moderator of the Church of Scotland, and the Rev. James Harvey, Moderator of the United Free Church of Scotland.³²

As indicated above, the only speech which contained anything controversial was that delivered by Hamilton at Dundee. Excoriating the secret diplomacy that had led, and would lead again to war, Hamilton focussed mainly on the plight of those who had survived but who were ‘existing, more dead than alive, upon the “dole”’ and declaring it ‘was the first duty of the state to think of their old soldiers’ souls as well as their stomachs.’³³ Elsewhere the speeches tended towards the commonplace. At Inverness orations were made by the memorial committee chairman, the Lord Provost and Colonel Mackintosh. The first mainly spoke about the work of the committee in securing the monument while the Provost’s main concern appeared to be about needing to protect the memorial from possible future vandalism. Mackintosh spoke of the value of the memorial to those who could not visit the graves of their loved ones abroad, and drew attention to the suffering of the wounded.³⁴ At Glasgow the Lord Provost gave a lengthy speech eulogising the dead, calling attention to the duty owed to ex-servicemen, and appealing for a continuation of the national unity of war-time; ‘The best tribute they could pay to the memory of the glorious dead was for all sections of the community to unite together – irrespective of creed or party’.³⁵ Haig then delivered a typically brief

³² *Aberdeen Press and Journal*, 30 September 1925.

³³ *Dundee Courier*, 18 May 1925; *The Scotsman*, 18 May 1925.

³⁴ *Inverness Courier*, 19 December 1922.

³⁵ *Glasgow Herald*, 2 June 1924.

address, praising the dead, offering condolences to those bereaved and ending with a reminder of the duty owed to ex-servicemen.³⁶ At Edinburgh's city memorial the Lord Provost spoke before introducing Prince Henry who gave a very short and almost studiously conventional address.

Year by year on this solemn Day of Remembrance the citizens of Edinburgh will now be able to assemble here to pay their tribute to those gallant Scotsmen who so readily gave their lives. It is a high honour to me to associate myself with this historic ceremony.³⁷

At Perth the Lord Provost made a short speech before handing over to General Peyton whose comments were remarkable only in not making direct reference to those who had fought but survived. At the subsequent official lunch Peyton spoke of the need to get men into the Territorials where, 'there was that bond of discipline and sympathy and of devotion which abounded in the Army, and which must carry into civil life and citizenship which all worked against unfortunate class hatred.'³⁸ As the last unveiling examined here it may be, that by late 1928, it was no longer felt compulsory to emphasize the debt to ex-servicemen..

³⁶ *Glasgow Herald*, 2 June 1924. Haig must have given dozens if not hundreds of memorial speeches, all very similar. His lack of oratory, however, may well have been part of his popular appeal after the war. It has been argued that it was not Haig's military competence that made him a hero to many in the 1920s but his 'post-war activities on behalf of veterans, the disabled and the dead.' D. Todman, "'Sans peur et sans reproche': The retirement, death and mourning of Sir Douglas Haig, 1918-1928', *The Journal of Military History*, 67 (October 2003), 1083-1106.

³⁷ *The Times*, 12 November 1927.

³⁸ *Perthshire Advertiser*, 3 November 1928; *Scotsman*, 3 November 1928.

The role of the military and the clergy.

Given the militaristic and religious nature of the unveiling ceremonies they could not be universally inclusive. Even after the large intake of Labour MPs from the General Election of 1922 none of those associated with 'Red Clydeside' participated in any ceremony.³⁹ While politicians and even family members among the bereaved might perform the duty, the most thorough account of memorials in Scotland concludes that it was the military that carried out 'most unveilings and were to play a major role at almost every unveiling.'⁴⁰ This is confirmed at the unveilings at Inverness, Glasgow, Dundee and Perth, and even at Aberdeen, Edinburgh and the SNWM, the military were fully represented on the platforms, particularly at the last where the commanding officers of all three services were in attendance.

The other consistent feature was the role of the clergy and in particular the Church of Scotland. Even where ministers from other denominations took part the services were hardly ecumenical. The 'ceremonies' as they were sometimes referred to were in effect religious services performed by Presbyterian ministers and, as in England where the Church of England came to play an increasingly organising role in Armistice Day, so in Scotland also the Catholic Church retreated into holding its own separate services.⁴¹ Even for some Protestants, notably the Free Church, the memorialisation of

³⁹ Bell, *op.cit.*, 330.

⁴⁰ Bell, *op.cit.*, 328.

⁴¹ Gregory, *op.cit.*, 96-102; *Glasgow Observer*, 8 Nov. 1924. For a detailed account of how Catholic memorials in Scotland displayed that community's contribution to the war effort see D. Tierney, 'Catholics and Great War Memorialisation in Scotland', *Journal of Scottish Historical Studies*, 37, 1 (2017), 19-51.

the dead caused them grave disquiet, particularly the increasingly popular view among other Protestant clergy that the fallen of the War had been secured a place in heaven through the sacrifice of their lives. For the 'Wee Frees' this was more or less blasphemy as God alone could determine which souls were to be saved.⁴²

More research needs to be done, particularly in the Highlands and Islands, to see how memorialisation was conducted where Free Presbyterian and Catholic communities predominated, but for most of urban Scotland the unveiling services took a particularly Presbyterian form with the Church of Scotland taking a leading role in all those discussed here. In the cases of Glasgow, Dundee, Edinburgh and Perth the only minister officiating appears to have been from the Church of Scotland, while at the SNWM all four major protestant denominations participated: Church of Scotland, United Free, Free Church and the Scottish Episcopalian Church. It seems likely that even the Free Church, not in evidence at any of the others, felt that on this occasion it could not afford not to be represented at the nation's memorial.⁴³ At Inverness and Aberdeen, as was a common pattern elsewhere, the dedications were made jointly by ministers of both the Church of Scotland and the United Free Church, which were then in deep negotiations

⁴² James Macleod, "'Greater Love Hath No Man Than This': Scotland's conflicting religious responses to death in the Great War', *The Scottish Historical Review*, 81, 1 (April 2002) 70, 89-95. In a similar vein for England Gregory has referred to the blending of patriotism and the sacrifice of the fallen 'as a convenient means of justifying the ways of divine providence, even if it was theologically lazy to the point of heresy.' Gregory, *op.cit.*, 34-5.

⁴³ At the Edinburgh memorial the Rev. Alexander Dewar, Moderator of the Free Church, was present but did not take any part in the actual service. *Scotsman*, 12 November 1927.

over the unification process that would be finalized in 1929.⁴⁴ Perth offers the most direct association between the Church and memorialization, given that, to give it its full title, the ‘War Memorial to the Dead of Perth and Perthshire after the Great War’ took the form of the restoration of the city’s ancient church, St John’s. This was not only a physical restoration but a re-unification as the three separate Church of Scotland congregations which inhabited St John’s became a single communion again.⁴⁵

The role of the church further emphasizes the importance of music in the ceremonies or services; it was not only prayers that were said, but hymns, psalms and paraphrases that were sung. Most popular seems to have been the 121st psalm, ‘I to the Hills Will Lift Mine Eyes’, sung at Inverness, Edinburgh, and the SNWM, while the 2nd paraphrase ‘Oh God of Bethel by Whose Hand’, was part of the programme at Inverness and Perth. At Glasgow the hymn, ‘The Supreme Sacrifice’ was sung alongside Kipling’s ‘Recessional’ which, as we shall see below was not universally popular. At Aberdeen the single psalm was the 46th ‘God is Our Refuge and Our Strength’. At Edinburgh the 121st psalm was accompanied by the hymn ‘Oh God Our Help in Ages Past’, while in Perth, as well as the 2nd paraphrase, the 100th psalm, ‘Make a Joyful Noise Unto the Lord’, and the anthem, ‘Sorrow Not for Those That Sleep’ were sung. Whatever the exact combination, however, such religious music was ubiquitous with the exception of Dundee where there appears to have been an absence of hymns; the only

⁴⁴ See I. Machin, ‘Voluntaryism and Reunion, 1874-1929’, in N. MacDougall (ed.), *Church, Politics and Society: Scotland 1408-1929* (Edinburgh, 1983) 221-238.

⁴⁵ *The Times*, 5 November 1928.

direct religious element being the prayer and dedication spoken by the Rev. A.W. Ferguson.⁴⁶

It is clear that the unveiling ceremonies or services attracted massive crowds. At Inverness those present numbered 5000. At Aberdeen press estimates of the numbers visiting the memorial gave 30,000 on the day of the unveiling with 15,000 the following day and 18,000 the day after that.⁴⁷ At Glasgow, where the Cenotaph is located in George Square immediately in front of the City Chambers, it was remarked that the numbers present were the largest the city had ever known. Contemporary accounts are of a vast crowd assembling in the square before the ceremony was due to start, with overflow meetings arranged in various halls, and two open-air assemblies (south and north) at Bellahouston and Springburn public parks where the service would be broadcast; the former organized by the BBC and the latter by the Marconiphone Company.⁴⁸ At the SNWM where space at the Memorial was limited the service was duplicated on the Castle esplanade to allow greater public participation.⁴⁹ Later the same year Edinburgh's own memorial ceremony was broadcast by the BBC.⁵⁰ At Perth where all the seating within the newly restored St John's was taken, more space was made available in the adjacent City Hall in which the service was broadcast.⁵¹

⁴⁶ 'Unveiling of Dundee War memorial 1925' *op.cit.* Press reports make no mention of any hymns, etc.

⁴⁷ *Aberdeen Press and Journal*, 30 September, 1 October, 2 October 1925.

⁴⁸ *Glasgow Herald*, 2 June 1924.

⁴⁹ *Scottish National War Memorial, Opening Ceremony by HRH the Prince of Wales* (Edinburgh 1927); *Scotsman*, 15 July 1927.

⁵⁰ *Scotsman*, 3 November 1927.

⁵¹ *Perthshire Advertiser*, 3 November 1928.

Music and emotion: the power of the pipes

The huge number of memorials erected post 1918 meant that unveiling ceremonies became fairly standard as ‘many [committees] simply copied what others had done beforehand’.⁵² The SNWM may have been particularly ‘splendid’ as described in *The Times* but it was not that different from the others, just more elaborate.⁵³ Yet the unveiling of the SNWM – with its complete lack of any speeches – and Aberdeen with prayers only, forces us to re-consider how the emotional message behind the memorials was conveyed. In short it was possible to have an unveiling without speeches, but impossible to have an unveiling without music. Alongside the hymns non-religious music was played at every unveiling and contributed hugely in establishing the mood of the occasion.⁵⁴ It has been said that Handel’s ‘The Dead March’ was the most popular choice for commencing an unveiling though it does not appear to have been included in the ceremonies studied here.⁵⁵ There were variations and idiosyncrasies in the musical programmes with Kipling’s ‘Recessional’ being sung at Glasgow and ‘Before Bannockburn’ (also known as ‘Scots Wha Hae’) sung at the SNWM. The most popular songs or tunes were the National Anthem, ‘The Last Post’, ‘Reveille’, and ‘The Flowers of the Forest’. ‘God Save the King’ one would expect, yet it was sung only at Inverness, Glasgow, Aberdeen and the SNWM. ‘The Last Post’ and ‘Reveille’ were almost ubiquitous, with the former not appearing at the SNWM and the latter not played

⁵² Bell, *op.cit.*, 337.

⁵³ ‘a splendid and elaborate ceremony’, *The Times*, 15 July 1927.

⁵⁴ The one exception being Dundee where there were no hymns, only ‘The Last Post’, ‘Reveille’, and ‘God Save the King’ being played. ‘Unveiling of Dundee War memorial 1925’ *op.cit.*

⁵⁵ Bell, *op.cit.*, 338.

at Inverness. Finally, and most significantly, was the lament ‘The Flowers of the Forest’ performed either by massed pipers or a lone piper.

This tune famously commemorates the Scottish dead at the Battle of Flodden (1513) where James IV died alongside thousands of his army and most of Scotland’s nobility. The association of Flodden with its ‘generational loss’ and the First World War became increasingly pronounced. Stevenson and Pentland have pointed out that, ‘As the conflict developed and its nature and costs became clearer, the idea that Flodden as a national catastrophe, and an icon of loss, would bear comparison with the Great War became increasingly apparent.’⁵⁶ While the words sung today are from the eighteenth century it is not known exactly when the melody was written; it was first committed to paper in the 1620s though there has been speculation that it may well have been composed ‘shortly after Flodden.’⁵⁷ It was played at Glasgow, Aberdeen, Edinburgh, Perth and the SNWM but where it was not an alternative lament was performed: ‘The Land of the Leal’ at Inverness and, ‘Lochaber No More’ at Dundee. The pipes and the lament also followed the Scottish diaspora across the Empire. At memorial services following the death of Haig in 1928, in London, South Africa (Kimberley) and Canada (Ottawa), pipe bands performed ‘The Flowers of the Forest’ or an alternative.⁵⁸

⁵⁶ K. Stevenson and G. Pentland, ‘The Battle of Flodden and Its Commemoration, 1513-2013’, in A. King and D. Simpkin (eds), *England and Scotland at War, c. 1296-1513* (Leiden, 2012), 371-2.

⁵⁷ J. Purser, *Scotland’s Music* (Edinburgh, 2007), 90.

⁵⁸ NLS Acc. 3155 ‘Haig Papers’, see /248 for the programmes of various memorial services for Haig in early February 1928.

Given the enormity of what they were commemorating these ceremonies were bound to be moving, yet it is, at the same time, inconceivable to imagine them without music. The speeches may have been worthy and considered but they were hardly dramatic or uplifting in the way that the bugle or the pipes could be. At Aberdeen as the final notes of the Last Post ‘echoed away over the City’, the massed pipe bands played ‘The Flowers of the Forest’. At ‘this the most heart-gripping moment of the service, women were seen to break down completely as the touching pipe music rose upon the air.’⁵⁹ Even those who were hostile or at least ambivalent about the memorials succumbed to the raw power of the lament. The Glasgow socialist newspaper *Forward* usually took the opportunity of remembrance or memorial ceremonies to make direct or oblique criticism of the war. For instance in May 1924 *Forward* ran a Public Notice by Glasgow Corporation about the closing of George Square for the unveiling of the Cenotaph alongside an advert for a pamphlet by the MP Ernest Thwaite on those executed by the army, *Shootings at Dawn*.⁶⁰

Forward’s coverage of the unveiling ceremony was written by a prominent member of the Independent Labour Party (ILP), Helen Gault, who was among the crowd in George Square. In her article she questioned the motives of those who attended. Some had a ‘genuine desire to pay homage to the dead’, some were there out of ‘idle curiosity’, some were there for some excitement and colour in otherwise impoverished lives, and some were drawn by the ‘magnetism’ of a crowd. For ILPers such as Gault who were mostly pacifists, the problem with memorials and the

⁵⁹ *Aberdeen Press and Journal*, 30 September 1925.

⁶⁰ *Forward*, 31 May 1924.

ceremonies around them was the militarisation of bereavement and the justification, as they saw it, of the war and future wars to come. Gault was scathing about the singing of Kipling's poem, 'Recessional' which she regarded as 'shameless hypocrisy'. But when it came to 'The Flowers of the Forest' Gault's mood changed; that 'touched a deeper chord The mournful wail of the pipes seemed to renew an ancient grief.'⁶¹ If not exactly the same piece of music, it was certainly something very like it which the French geologist and friend of Adam Smith, Barthélemy Faujas de Saint Fond heard in Edinburgh in the 1780s. Clearly struggling with how to appreciate 'an instrument which lacerated the ear', Faujas wrote,

the piper then passed, without transition, to a kind of andante; his convulsions suddenly ceased: he became sad and overwhelmed in sorrow; the sounds of his instrument were plaintive, languishing, as if lamenting the slain who were being carried off from the field of battle. This was the part which drew tears from the eyes of the beautiful Scotch ladies.⁶²

Such similar responses, separated by over a century, force us to consider what there is about music that makes it convey and provoke emotion so well.

It is widely recognized that music is not only a source of individual pleasure but has, 'since its beginnings, served to foster social cohesion [such as] through the evocation of empathetic sharing in religious and secular ceremonies.'⁶³ While there is a

⁶¹ *Forward*, 7 June 1924.

⁶² Quoted in W. Donaldson, *The Highland Pipe and Scottish Society 1750-1950* (East Linton, 2000) 79.

⁶³ L. B. Meyer, 'Music and emotion: distinctions and uncertainties', in P. N. Juslin and J. A. Sloboda (eds), *Music and Emotion: theory and research* (Oxford, 2001) 352, f.n. 27.

widely held view that ‘music is a universal language of the emotions’, perhaps a more useful approach is that which recognizes music as culturally and historically specific and that appreciation of its significance relies upon understanding distinctive cultures and histories.⁶⁴ In order to comprehend what particular music is expressing a listener has to be ‘suitably qualified’ but this does not necessarily or even usually demand being formally trained or musically educated. It means simply being familiar ‘with the type of music in question, with its genre, style and idiom’.⁶⁵ The immediate context in which one hears the music is crucial. As Meyer has commented,

It is important to recognize that emotional responses to the “remembrance of things past” is [sic] dependent on the context of the act of remembering. Music that moves us in the concert hall or at a memorial service will probably be without affect in the elevator or supermarket.⁶⁶

Such theoretical approaches can be given more concrete expression when we consider the music played at Scottish memorials and particularly those tunes played by the pipes. In his history of *Scotland’s Music*, John Purser emphasizes the role of the military in sustaining and developing bagpipe music and the influence that music has had on the wider field of traditional music and beyond, going so far as to say, ‘it finds its place even in the racial subconsciousness.’⁶⁷ While one may not agree with that

⁶⁴ S. Davies, ‘Philosophical perspectives on music’s expressiveness’, in Juslin and Sloboda, *Music and Emotion*, *op. cit.*, 37.

⁶⁵ Davies, ‘Philosophical perspectives’, 28-9.

⁶⁶ Meyer, *op. cit.*, 348, f.n. 13.

⁶⁷ Purser, *op.cit.*, 313, 162.

assertion it is difficult to dispute Purser's more practical claim that the pipes are an excellent accompaniment for marching and public meetings because of the unique 'power of their sound [which] travels over a long distance and can be heard above the noise of a crowd'. At the same time, however, they are not simply 'warlike and raucous, but ... can convey both anguish and tenderness, with a power and intensity that few could match.'⁶⁸

That intensity is recognized within Scotland both in fictional and factual accounts. In James Kennaway's novel *Tunes of Glory*, first published in 1956, the hard-bitten Colonel Jock Sinclair reflects,

To the unpractised ear a pibroch has no form and no melody... But it is a mood and pibroch was something Jock felt almost physically, damp, penetrating and sad like a mist. It enveloped him and pulled at your heart ... the pibroch very often comes to a sudden end; it is a finish that makes it a fragment, and the more sad for that.⁶⁹

In one of the few personal accounts of how people actually felt at an unveiling, the architect of Auchtermuchty's Memorial, Reginald Fairlie, wrote, 'A piper ... played Lochaber No More. It was the first time I had heard it. I was touched very much by the

⁶⁸ *ibid.*, 156-7, 162.

⁶⁹ J. Kennaway, *Tunes of Glory* (Edinburgh, 1988), p. 22; Fraser Bell, 'End of an Old Song', *History Scotland*, 6,1 (2006), 48-53. The pibroch or in its original gaelic piobaireachd is a form of music unique to the great highland bagpipe. 'The music consists of a theme (ground) and variations on this theme. The theme can express joy, sadness, or sometimes in the "gathering" tunes, a peremptory warning or call to arms.' The Piobaireachd Society, <http://www.piobaireachd.co.uk/> accessed 23 May 2018.

music.’⁷⁰ Fairlie, who had served in the war and designed a number of other memorials, would represent what Davies has described as a ‘qualified listener’; the particular tune may have been unknown to him but he would have been familiar with pipe music generally.⁷¹ And one tune he would certainly have recognized was ‘The Flowers of the Forest’, known in Scotland since at least the early seventeenth century and likely for much longer. Its appeal can be gut-wrenching. John (Lord) Boyd Orr recalled his experiences of the Somme when, returning to the reserve trenches after the slaughter of his ‘friends and comrades’ he heard, ‘the piper of a Highland regiment which had suffered a similar fate, playing “The Flowers o’ the Forest are a’ wede away”. I have never in my life felt so unutterably sad.’⁷² And at the funeral of Haig himself,

It was only when the piper came down the nave ... pouring forth the strains of that Lament which enshrines the woes of Flodden and all the Floddens of history, only then did the eyes grow dim with tears, and the sob rise in the throat.⁷³

Its unique emotional power was used to end *Sunset Song*, the most famous and popular novel of twentieth century Scotland, first published in 1932 and reprinted numerous times since as well as being dramatized on the stage, television and cinema. Grassie Gibbon not only referred to ‘The Flowers of the Forest’ but reproduced the

⁷⁰ Quoted in Bell, *op.cit.*, 347.

⁷¹ A member of a prominent landed Scots catholic family, Fairlie served his apprenticeship under Lorimer. Fairlie’s main work was the National Library of Scotland on which he worked with Lorimer’s son Hew despite his strained relationship with the father. ‘Reginald Francis Joseph Fairlie’, *Dictionary of Scottish Architects*, <http://www.scottisharchitects.org.uk> accessed 24 May 2018.

⁷² Lord Boyd Orr, *As I Recall* (London, 1966), 71. See also Calder, *Disasters and Heroes*, *op.cit.*, 11.

⁷³ F. T. MacLeod, *The MacCrimmons of Skye* (Edinburgh, 1933) quoted in Donaldson, *op.cit.*, 421.

actual musical notation within the text of the final scene. As we have seen above, it was the most commonly played lament at unveilings and became inextricably linked with Remembrance Day and other ceremonies of public mourning. ‘So deeply is the tune associated with such occasions that there is a kind of taboo among pipers on its performance in most other contexts. It is never played merely to entertain.’⁷⁴ There could hardly be a clearer example of how context is crucial in determining emotional response.

The War stimulated the demand for pipers as the regiments increased massively in size and each new battalion appointed their own; it has been estimated that 2500 were active on the Western Front alone.⁷⁵ The casualty rate was horrendous with 500 killed and 600 wounded.⁷⁶ The pipes and pipers in their kilts and tartan are most obviously symbolic of Highland Scotland and, in paying homage to those who fell, Haig wrote, ‘Their fame will inspire others to learn the pipes, and keep alive their music in the Land of the Gael.’⁷⁷ But by the early twentieth century the bagpipes and piping were common throughout Scotland, urban and rural, lowland and highland, due to the growth in the second half of the nineteenth century of the pipe bands in which pipers played with drummers. Plebeian and urban, and disliked by the purists and the elite who dominated the world of the solo piper, the band movement became phenomenally

⁷⁴ Purser, *op.cit.*, 104.

⁷⁵ Donaldson, *op.cit.*, 317.

⁷⁶ B. Seton and J. Grant, *The Pipes of War* (Glasgow, 1920), vii; Donaldson regards this as a ‘conservative estimate’ and points out that the practice of the pipers leading the troops over the top had to be curtailed due to the unsustainable losses, Donaldson, *op.cit.*, 319-23.

⁷⁷ Seton and Grant, *op.cit.*, v.

popular involving large numbers of participants in both the army and in local communities. With its own competition circuit, practice sessions and often playing at communal events, the pipe band was ubiquitous in Scotland's towns and cities with more or less everyone familiar with its sound.⁷⁸

This is not, of course, to say that Scotland's musical heritage is uniquely suited to expressing and provoking such communal emotional responses. While a strong case could be made for the bagpipes, so can the 'universal' appeal of the bugle playing 'the Last Post' be recognized.⁷⁹ There were plenty of shared elements across the United Kingdom; military bands were popular beyond Scotland and the pipes were played at the original unveiling of the Cenotaph in London with 'The Flowers of the Forest' remaining part of the repertoire today. The choice of music at the annual Armistice Day ceremony in Whitehall was effectively finalized by 1930 and has remained largely unchanged since. As Jeffrey Richards has written, 'It carefully included traditional songs from the constituent parts of the United Kingdom' such as *Hearts of Oak*, *The Minstrel Boy*, *Men of Harlech*, *Isle of Beauty*, *David of the White Rock*, *Oft in the Stilly Night*, *Skye Boat Song*, *Flowers of the Forest*, Davies's *Solemn Melody*, Purcell's *When I Am Laid in Earth*, and Elgar's *Nimrod*.⁸⁰ This deliberate inclusiveness, of course, reflects that different cultures have their own idioms of musical expression and, as Anthony Storr has written, 'Particular pieces of music continue to be associated with

⁷⁸ Donaldson describes the pipe band as 'that most familiar of modern Scottish icons.' Donaldson, *op.cit.*, 358. See also H. Cheape, *Bagpipes: A national collection of a national instrument* (Edinburgh, 2008), 3-4.

⁷⁹ Turner, *op.cit.*, 147.

⁸⁰ J. Richards, *Imperialism and Music: Britain 1876-1953* (Manchester, 2001), 155-6.

particular societies’⁸¹ For instance the unveiling of the Welsh National War Memorial in 1928 was similar to that of the SNWM in that it was performed by the Prince of Wales but the musical element of the ceremony was quite different. ‘The Last Post’ was sounded prior to a minute’s silence, after which ‘Reveille’ followed, but no other martial tunes were played and the high point was the mass singing of ‘Land of My Fathers’.⁸²

‘Tradition’, however, is not something hermetically sealed off from other influences. As mentioned above Handel was a popular choice for Armistice Day ceremonies as was Chopin; the former regarded as more or less British and the latter as effectively French.⁸³ It was Chopin’s ‘Funeral March’ which was chosen for the internment of the Unknown Soldier in Westminster Abbey in 1920, and about which *The Times* rhapsodized as, ‘a piece of music which says in the language, not of any one time or people, but of Eternity’ Recognising the transcendental quality of music, the report went on, ‘Whatever we were thinking before we heard the first sound of it in the distance, that sound uplifted us to the height of the occasion and we were made one people, participants in one act of remembrance.’⁸⁴

Conclusion

⁸¹ A. Storr, *Music & The Mind* (London, 1993), 22.

⁸² *The Times*, 13 June 1928; for the story of the development of choral singing in industrial South Wales in the nineteenth century see G. Williams, *Valleys of Song: music and society in Wales 1840-1914* (Cardiff, 1998).

⁸³ Gregory, *op.cit.*, 138.

⁸⁴ *The Times*, 12 November 1920.

It is clear that, seen through the prism of unveiling ceremonies, the official purpose behind memorials and memorialisation was inherently conservative in the sense that honouring the dead was done in such a way that their sacrifice was to be seen as justifying the status quo. This ‘message’ was mostly implicit but could be made very explicit. In its leader on Armistice Day in 1926 *The Times* thundered against the leaders of the General Strike and made a direct association between British industry regaining its share of world markets and victory in the War. ‘Those lives were not given, those sufferings were not undergone, to leave open the way for strife and for “class war”’.⁸⁵ This perspective is different to that of Winter who sees the primary function of memorials as helping the bereaved recover from their loss. But their meaning was fluid and, in a sense, uncontainable; those attending unveilings were as free to take an anti-establishment view of the war and sacrifice of the fallen as they were to support it and we agree with Winter that it is likely that many held within themselves conflicting or opposing views.⁸⁶

The emotions of the public could be stimulated but they could not be controlled completely. The ceremonies examined here were military and religious, the potency of which came largely from tapping into established, if apparently contradictory, emblems of Scottish tradition and culture such as the highland soldier, Jacobitism, Protestantism, Scottish nationhood and British Imperialism. But what, at that moment, reconciled and transcended all of these was the power of a music that was associated both with the

⁸⁵ *The Times*, 11 November 1926. See Gaffney, *op.cit.*, 109-12 for similar condemnations and appeals for unity between the classes at memorial unveilings in the South Wales coalfield.

⁸⁶ Winter, *op.cit.*, 85.

military and the popular. It was a music that was not triumphant, that did not extol great victories, but which, on the contrary, was focussed on defeat, sadness, bereavement. It was the piper's lament, most notably 'The Flowers of the Forest', that best expressed the common sense of loss and which, in so doing, established the link between the public and the memorial.

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