



‘Splendid patriotism and heroic self-sacrifice’: First World War memorials in Welsh metalworks

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ABSTRACT

Much of the academic attention on issues of Great War mourning and commemoration has focussed on the civic memorials, particularly given that they are designed to be public, visible reminders of the local community’s contribution to the war effort. The focus of this article is on a different subset of memorials, in that they refer specifically to workers from particular companies who served in the war. As such they were not always public memorials, being located in many cases within the works and thus only on display to fellow workers. Yet neither were they entirely ‘private’ memorials, such as the ones established in so many family homes to those they had lost. This article considers twenty five metalworks memorials in the south Wales counties of Monmouthshire, Glamorgan and Carmarthenshire. Taken as a whole, these memorials convey a number of messages about south Wales society in the immediate aftermath of the war. In most examples these were commissioned within three years of the Armistice, and the terms they deploy show that the ‘language of 1914’ was still in vogue. Patriotism was ‘splendid’; self-sacrifice was ‘heroic’; the memory of the fallen was ‘glorious.’ Death was preferable to dishonour. In naming these men, the metalworks companies claimed them as their own and by extension laid claim to a share of the glory. The men’s identity as employees was highlighted in the numerous memorials which noted their position within the company. They had an identity as steelworkers or tinplaters, as well as their identities as men of their hometown, and as Welshmen, Britons and sons of the Empire.

KEYWORDS

Commemoration, First World War, Mourning, Wales, War memorials.

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Introduction

In response to the widespread desire across all the belligerent nations to commemorate loved ones who had served in the Great War, an enormous number and variety of memorials were established by official bodies and community organisations. For as Jay Winter (1995) observed, this was evidence of “the powerful, perhaps essential, tendency of ordinary people, of many faiths and of none, to face together the emptiness, the nothingness of loss in war” (p. 224). In the United Kingdom, the response ranged from large-scale memorials, such as the Cenotaph situated at the heart of power in London and which commemorated almost a million men from the British Empire, through thousands of civic memorials to the fallen from particular counties, towns and villages, down to simple plaques focussing on the hyper-local contribution which noted the loss of one or two men (Moriarty, 1997).

Much of the academic attention on issues of mourning and commemoration has focussed on the civic memorials, which were designed to be public, visible reminders of the local community's contribution to the war effort (Scates & Wheatley, 2014). The focus of this article is on a different subset of memorials, in that they refer specifically to workers from particular Welsh companies who served in the war. As such they were not always public memorials, being located in many cases within the works and thus only on display to fellow workers. Yet neither were they entirely 'private' memorials, such as the ones established in so many family homes to those they had lost (Winter, 1995, p. 81). They are similar to other 'unofficial' memorials that I have studied, which were set up by specific communities to commemorate their own, such as those in schools, chapels and clubs. It is my contention that these memorials are often more interesting and revealing than the 'official' civic memorials. Although civic memorials do display a range of inscriptions and designs, their commissioning was in most instances the result of committee meetings and subject to oversight and discussion in the local newspapers (Gaffney, 1998). Guidelines were established which set the boundaries for what was expected of a civic memorial, which resulted in a degree of uniformity.

In contrast, 'unofficial' memorials were most often commissioned more quickly than the civic memorials and as such often give a deeper insight into the feelings of the local community in the immediate aftermath of the war. This article considers twenty five metalworks memorials in the south Wales counties of Monmouthshire, Glamorgan and Carmarthenshire. Of these companies, fourteen produced iron or steel, and nine produced tinsplate (including one which produced both). There are two distinct clusters of memorials, one in south east Wales which is dominated by iron- and steelworks, and another cluster in West Glamorgan and the Llanelli area, where there are a variety of memorials with tinsplate being more prevalent.¹ The amount of information on these memorials varies greatly. Six are 'Rolls of Honour', naming all those who served in uniform; eighteen name those who died, and one gives no names. Several of the memorials give further details of the units with which the men served and/or the department they worked for within the company. They display a wide variety of designs and imagery, but even though the form of wording may differ, they explicitly convey the message that the men fought and died in a just and noble cause. The glory of their service and 'sacrifice' thereby reflects back upon the company that sponsored the memorials.

The memorials

One important factor to consider with these 'unofficial' memorials is the question of preservation. In contrast to civic memorials, which are generally awarded a high degree of protection, those established by other organisations are vulnerable to changing times and circumstances. Several hundred chapels in Wales have been demolished or repurposed over the past half century, and the number of First World War memorials that have been lost as a result runs into the hundreds. Many of the schools of 1914 have been re-developed or re-located, and there is no certainty that their old memorials were transferred over to their new buildings. In 1914 there were over 400

coal mines operating in south Wales, but the last deep mine closed in 2008. It is likely that most of these collieries had their own memorials to workmates who died in the war, but only around ten have survived.

Another industry that has faced a difficult time in Wales in the century-plus since the First World War is metal production. Wales has a long history of making iron, steel, copper and other metals, going back to the early modern period. In the eighteenth century major ironworks were established in the 'heads of the valleys' area in upland Monmouthshire and Glamorgan, while the Swansea locality developed an expertise in copper-smelting during the nineteenth century that ensured the area was globally important (Evans & Miskell, 2020). The growth of tinsplate in Swansea and Llanelli was vigorous in the late nineteenth century and other non-ferrous metal industries were also established in the Swansea valley. By 1914 this meant that there was a network of metal industries operating around south Wales, drawn by the abundance of coal for fuel, the decent transportation links, and the tradition of metal-making which meant a ready supply of skilled and semi-skilled workers.

One constant throughout the war was the support of the leading politicians and opinion-formers of Wales for the British war effort, notwithstanding the resilience of the minority viewpoint against militarism (Powel, 2017). This support was particularly marked amongst the capitalists who owned and ran the metalworks. The newspapers of south Wales in the early months of the war contain many articles highlighting how local employers were 'doing their bit' for the recruitment effort, with the managers of metalworks being particularly prominent. One such case in the early weeks of the war concerned the Neath Steel Sheet and Galvanizing Works. The *South Wales Daily News* of 31 August 1914 has a photograph showing 40 new recruits with the manager, Edward Gibbins located in the middle. The caption declared this to be "An example to the rest of Wales." The text declares that his "personal efforts in recruiting have met with this splendid response from his own employees." Further details from the *Herald of Wales* show that the forty men volunteered *en bloc* on 29 August, with a local silver band playing 'Rule Britannia' accompanying them as they marched to the Drill Hall.

The employers' support of the war extended to financial commitments. In the Swansea Valley in mid-August 1914 it was noted that both the Mond Nickelworks in Clydach and the Gilbertson Tinsplate and Steelworks of Pontardawe had guaranteed that the jobs of any men who volunteered would be kept open for them, and that their wives and families would receive financial assistance from the companies. Frank Gilbertson, manager of the Pontardawe works, wrote a public letter, published in a local newspaper (*Llais Llafur*, 5 September), strongly urging the younger men in his employment "to make up their minds at once to join the army, and so serve their country in the only way open to them." It is clear that these exhortations had some effect, as on 24 September the *Cambria Daily Leader* named 197 men from the Mond works who had volunteered, and 45 from Gilbertson's.

The managing director of the nickelworks was Alfred Mond, the Liberal MP for Swansea. He became exceptionally prominent in encouraging recruitment from the Swansea area in general and from his company in particular, no doubt driven in part by his German ancestry having made him the target for sniping by his political opponents. After guaranteeing £5000 of the £10000 cost of recruiting a Swansea Battalion for the Welsh Regiment, at one "splendid" recruiting meeting he urged potential volunteers "not to delay, but to join with the hosts of the Empire's sons in the greatest war the world had ever known, to liberate the world from the greatest tyranny it had ever known" (*Cambria Daily Leader*, 2 November 1914). Alfred Mond's vocal support of the British war effort did him no harm, as his company profited handsomely from the war (nickel is an essential component in the armour plating required by battleships) and he was appointed First Commissioner of Works in 1916. By the end of the war, 450 of his Clydach employees had joined the Armed Forces and 33 had died. Their service and sacrifice is commemorated by a magnificent bronze monument which is inside the Mond recreation hall. At the top there is a bas relief of a soldier and a sailor, kneeling either side of a shield emblazoned with the words 'Our Glorious

Dead.' The men's names are listed along with their rank and regiment (in two cases, their ships); by far the largest contingent (14 men) served with the Welsh Regiment.

Both the *Cambria Daily Leader* and the other Swansea newspaper, the *South Wales Daily Post*, frequently published lists of volunteers by workplace in the early months of the war. With a marked lack of subtlety, it was emphasised that those companies who had a large detachment on the 'Roll of Honour' were worthy of praise, and those companies not represented were failing to "do their bit" (Matthews, 2017, pp. 686–7). A special souvenir issue was published by the *Cambria Daily Leader* on 23 October 1914 with four pages of names of volunteers, listed by workplace. This publication deploys what I call 'the language of 1914': terms such as 'honour' and 'duty' had a concrete meaning in the contemporary discourse, which was well understood by the readership (Matthews, 2016; 2017). The pages' masthead exemplifies these ideals. Here one can see Britannia, guarded by a lion, perusing a Roll of Honour, flanked on either side by a sailor and a soldier, with the words 'Patience', 'Endurance', and 'Valour' underneath.

The only Swansea company to beat the Mond's tally of volunteers in the list of 23 October was the Mannesmann Tubeworks, with 210 names (out of a workforce of 1600 men). As the casualty reports began to trickle in, soon to become a flood, the notices about men who had been killed or wounded often included information which rooted them in their local communities: what chapel or church they attended, what sporting club they were involved with, and where they had been employed prior to the war. Over a dozen reports in the *Cambria Daily Leader* of servicemen killed in action state that the deceased was a Mannesmann employee. By the war's end, 58 of the company's employees had been killed. The company erected a memorial tablet to their memory, naming them underneath the words 'TO THE GLORIOUS MEMORY / OF THE MANNESMANN MEN / WHO FELL IN THE GREAT WAR.' The Mannesmann memorial is one of four of the twenty five memorials considered in this article which has definitely not survived.² The only record I have of this memorial is a cutting from the *South Wales Daily Post*, probably from 1922 or 1923, which shows the names engraved on a tablet, presumably of brass or a similar material. This does raise the question which cannot be answered with any certainty: how many other memorials were created but have since disappeared? No memorial is known to exist from the Neath Steel Sheet and Galvanizing Works but a newspaper report from December 1919 states that a tablet to the memory of the nineteen men from the works who were killed in action was shortly to be unveiled. Given the manager's commitment to supporting the war effort in 1914, it is no surprise to find him presenting the relatives of the fallen, and the 165 employees who served and returned, with gold medallions (*Cambria Daily Leader*, 8 December 1919).

Similarly, there are newspaper reports from a number of other metalworks where no memorial has survived which *did* make efforts to enumerate and commemorate those who served in the war. To give two examples from Swansea, the major Cwmfelin tin-plate works boasted in June 1919 that thousands of their workmen had served in the war, noting that 57 military decorations were won and "no less than 220 of them paid the supreme sacrifice." Baldwin's steel and tinsplate company also kept records of how many of their workmen served, noting at the reunion dinner for returned servicemen in December 1919 that 232 workers had joined up from their Landore works, while 800 attended a reunion of demobbed men and munitioneers in May 1920. However, no memorials have survived from either of these works, which are long gone from the Swansea landscape.

The number of names on these memorials varies greatly. The Roll of Honour from the Morlais Tinsplate works, Llangennech, commemorates one soldier who died and names another 38 who served. At the other end of the scale, the memorial at the Orb Steelworks, Newport (also known as Lysaght's) commemorates 121 dead servicemen. The mean number of employees named on the six Rolls of Honour is 120; the mean number of fallen on the twenty four which give names is 30.5. The Orb Works memorial highlights a point seen in many of these memorials – how the men were explicitly remembered by their role in the workplace. This memorial divides the men up not by military rank but by department: thus, there are 65 names of those who worked in the Mills; 15 from 'Sheetweighing'; 7 from 'Bar Bank'; 6 each from 'Close Annealing' and 'Cold Rolling'; 4

'Brass Shop'; 3 'Staff'; and 15 down as 'Miscellaneous' (Westlake, 2001, 135-7). At the bottom, the tablet declares 'Erected by their proud and grateful employers.'

This division by department can also be seen in the memorial on the list which names the greatest number of men, that of the Gilbertson Company of Pontardawe, which lists all those who served – 321, of whom 34 died. The Roll shows that 73 joined from the Steel Works Department, 99 from Sheet Mills & Galvanizing, 68 from Tinsplate and so on. This was designed by the *Western Mail*, a newspaper which produced many such war memorials for schools, chapels and workplaces. Although this version is less ornate than many of their other designs, it is beautifully crafted in black and red ink, with gold highlights.

Three metalworks Rolls of Honour which are more colourful and intricate in their design were established by companies in Briton Ferry (Skidmore, 2018). The Albion Steelworks memorial lists 74 who served by their department, including two who died; for the Briton Ferry Steelworks there are 92 names of whom six died; the Villiers Tinsplate Company names 104 employees, of whom eleven died. All of these memorials list the departments in which the men worked and the unit which they joined. The two regiments which attracted by far the most recruits were the Royal Welsh Fusiliers and the Welsh Regiment: the sole workman who joined the Royal Irish Regiment had an Irish surname (Flynn). All three memorials, created by J. S. Beynon, a printer from Llanelli, have at the top the title 'Roll of Honour', flanked by the Union flag and the Royal Navy's White Ensign.



Figure 1. Orb Steelworks memorial, Newport
Photograph by Gethin Matthews



Figure 2. Villiers Tinsplate Company Memorial, Briton Ferry
Photograph courtesy of John Skidmore

Some details of the Briton Ferry Steelworks memorial are interesting – perhaps the most unexpected entry under ‘Department’ is that of A. S. Webb, who is listed as the company’s ‘Cricket Pro’. This document is the most colourful of the three and taking centre-stage at the top of the Roll is a striking image of the Steelworks at dusk. This echoes the imagery of a large number of Welsh chapel Rolls of Honour which have an image of the chapel in a prominent position (Matthews, 2018, p. 498). This acts to root the list of names with the physical centre-point of the community which is commemorating them: it also reflects some of the glory back upon the institution. The fact that these three memorials have a similar style, even though their designs differ, suggests that there was a level of inter-dependence in their commissioning and execution. It is possible that

once it was known that one local works was creating, or had unveiled, a memorial to their employees who had served, other works in the town felt the need to have a memorial to *their* workers who had been in uniform. A similar pattern can be seen in those places in Wales that had a plurality of chapels, where one can often see a succession of unveiling of memorials, indicating that each place wanted to be seen (at least) to be as loyal as its neighbours/rivals (Matthews, 2018, pp. 498–500).

With commemorations on paper such as these, the question of preservation is even more pressing than with physical memorials. There were a large number of tinsplate works in the Swansea-Llanelli area, which each employed perhaps several hundred men, but which have left no physical traces as their locations have been redeveloped. Only a few of these have left memorials which have survived. Two tinsplate memorials from Llanelli, from the Old Castle works and the Morlais works, are under the care of Carmarthenshire Museum. One cannot say how many have been lost. The Imperial War Museum's database of war memorials gives some details of the 'Roll of Honour' established by the Morfa Tinsplate works in Llanelli, listing the 89 names, of whom twelve died, but as the memorial is noted as 'lost', one cannot say any more.

The Roll of Honour from the Morlais works is, like those from Briton Ferry, a colourful and elaborate affair. This gives the details of which unit the 39 men served in and notes their rank, which reveals some interesting patterns. Nineteen served in the Army (of whom nine were in Welsh regiments), one served in the RAF and nineteen in the Royal Navy, which is substantially more than one would expect. Of these nineteen sailors, seventeen served as stokers: this extraordinarily high proportion suggests that the men's experience of working in the tinsplate made them choose (or get directed to) the hard labour of feeding the ships' boilers.

More information about the Old Castle works' involvement in supporting the war effort and commemorating the involvement of their workmen can be found in the local newspapers. When Sidney Williams, one of the first employees to die as a result of the war, was buried locally, a report states that there were several floral tributes from the departments of the company. The company's support for those who had served and distinguished themselves continued beyond the end of the war. Reginald Davies became the fifth employee to be awarded the Military Medal; in May 1919 he was rewarded with a cheque for £20, with the managing director stating that he "had brought honour not only upon himself but also upon the works and all connected with it" (*Llanelly Star*, 3 May 1919). The company commissioned a brass memorial to the 31 employees who had died. It was put on public display in a local shop in August 1919 prior to its official unveiling on 1 November. On this solemn occasion the managing director declared that the men "had given their all in their fight for liberty, and it is our sacred duty to see to it that their sacrifices should not be in vain." Around 240 men who had returned from the Armed Forces were then presented with silver cigarette cases, while relatives of the deceased received a large framed photograph of the company's memorial (*Llanelly Star*, 22 November 1919).

Other workplaces across south Wales presented similar mementoes to their workers who had served. Those from the Cwmfelin Steel & Tinsplate Works received a colourful rectangular card. The image was of an over-sized Britannia, flanked by the Union flag and the Red Dragon, with a soldier and sailor shaking hands under her watchful gaze. The employees of the Hafod Isha Nickel-Cobalt works who had been in uniform received a pendant in 9 carat gold, 22.5mm across, in the form of a Maltese Cross within a circular surround. The name of the recipient was engraved on one side, and on the other, 'Served in the Great War' on the surround, with 'Hafod Isha Works' on the cross. The Hafod Isha works, situated not far from Swansea's main railway station, erected a stone memorial to those employees who died in the war prominent on the outside of one of the company's buildings. This names eleven who died and, interestingly, declares that it was instigated by the men's 'fellow employees' rather than by the company itself. One can find a list of 64 company employees who had volunteered in the first eleven weeks of the war in the *Cambria Daily Leader* of 23 October 1914; seven of these died and are commemorated on the memorial.

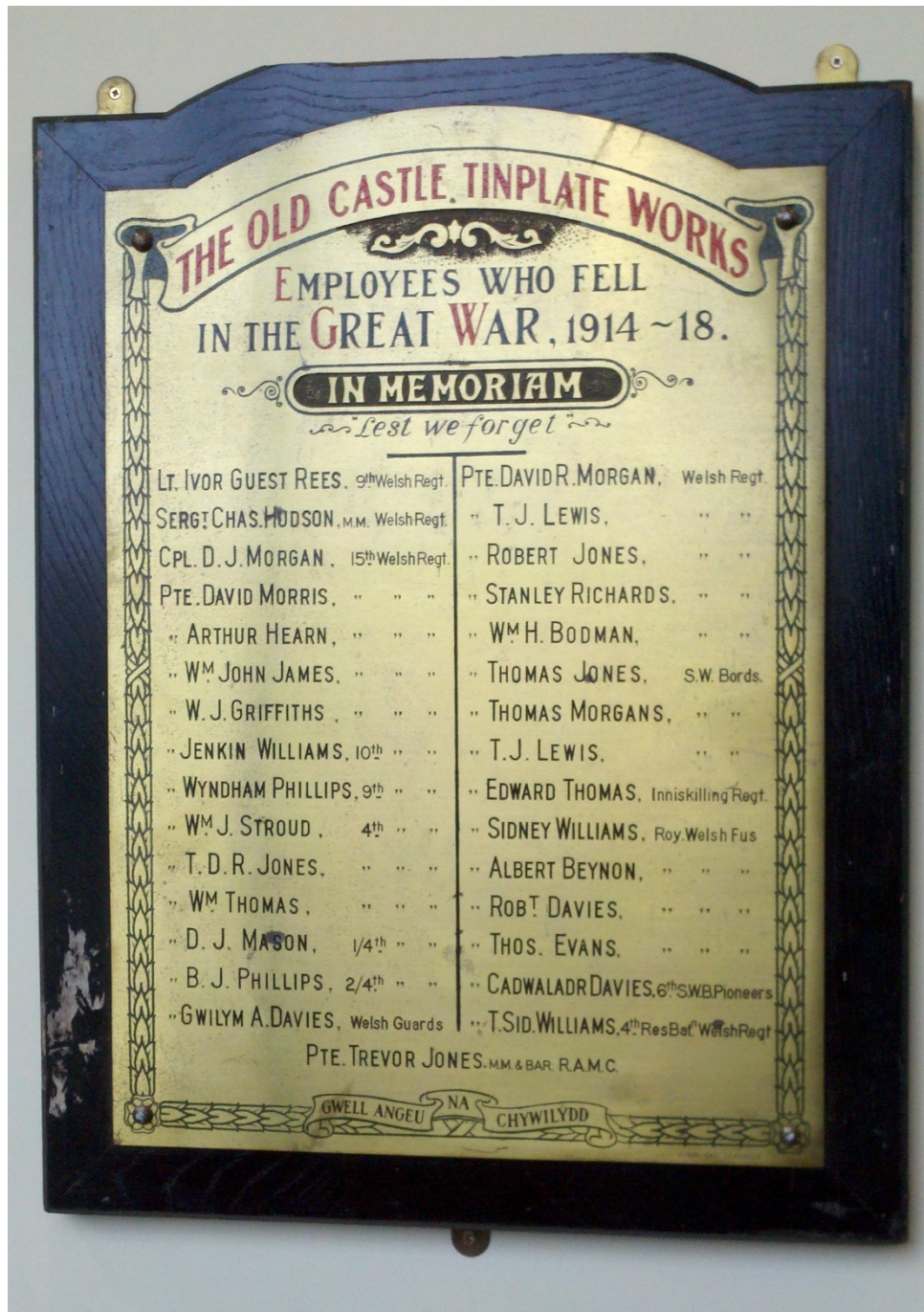


Figure 3. Old Castle Tinplate Works memorial
 Photograph by Gethin Matthews

A stone memorial was also created to commemorate the fallen from the Melyn Cryddan tinplate works, near Neath. This names 23 men and is inscribed 'TO / THE GLORY OF GOD / AND IN MEMORY OF / THE MEN FROM THIS WORKS / WHO FELL IN THE GREAT WAR.' It was unveiled on 10 April 1920 by the works' managing director, after which a reception was held where the returned soldiers and sailors were given "an official welcome-home." Each serviceman and the relatives of the deceased received a gold medal and seventeen of the relatives received oil paintings of "the dead patriots" (*Western Mail*, 12 April 1920). This is one of only two instances where the memorial explicitly mentions God. Even though the unveiling ceremonies could have a

religious dimension – in this case, an Anglican clergyman and a Nonconformist minister took part in the dedication of the Melyn Cryddan tablet – on the whole most of these metalworks memorials do not have explicitly religious inscriptions. Nor is it common to see explicit Christian imagery (in contrast to a large number of civic memorials). The other instance which has the wording 'to the Glory of God' is the only one of the memorials considered here in the form of a Cross. This was created by the Mansel Tinsplate works, near Port Talbot, to commemorate 29 men, and was unveiled by the Assistant Bishop of Llandaff in October 1920 (*Western Mail*, 18 October 1920). Nearby a month later the memorial for the Port Talbot Steel Company was unveiled, again with some pomp and ceremony. The works band headed a procession from the railway station to the hospital, where the memorial was handed over in front of a crowd of several hundred people and dedicated by the local vicar. The 39 steelworkers were commemorated with both a functional memorial, of electrical equipment for the hospital worth £1300, and a brass tablet with their names (*Western Mail*, 22 November 1920). There is a classical feel to this tablet, which has Doric columns either side of the names, and above, the Latin inscription 'Pro Patria Mori.'

The latest newspaper account of an unveiling ceremony that has so far come to light is that of the Upper Forest and Worcester Tinsplate works, in Morryston. This was unveiled on 7 November 1925, to the accompaniment of the works' male voice choir singing the 'Dead March' by Handel (a staple of the unveiling ceremonies in Welsh chapels and churches) and the hymn Aberystwyth. As well as an address by the managing director, who actually unveiled the memorial, four Nonconformist ministers gave short speeches and the local vicar gave the Benediction. To round off the proceedings, 'Hen Wlad fy Nhadau' (the Welsh National Anthem) and 'God save the King' were sung (*Western Mail*, 9 November 1925). This works memorial has been preserved, decades after the tinsplate works itself has disappeared, perhaps as it is so imposing, being almost two metres tall in black granite with the 54 names of the fallen embossed upon it in brass. Of these men, 21 can be found commemorated on the extant memorials of local chapels. Of all the memorials considered in this article, this is one of just two to have anything in the Welsh language upon it. Both this and the Old Castle Tinsplate memorial display the motto of the Welsh Regiment, 'Gwell Angau na Chywilydd', which translates as 'Better Death than Dishonour.' In these memorials, as with other First World War memorials in Wales, when Welsh symbols or the Welsh language were included, it was as a proud proclamation of the Welsh contribution to the war, not as a challenge to Wales' position within the British state (Gaffney, 1998, p.173).

Moving the focus towards the memorials in south east Wales, of the ten memorials on the list in this area, one company, the conglomerate Guest, Keen and Nettlefolds (GKN) has six entries from their iron- and steel-works.³ These all have a similar style, listing the fallen alphabetically by surname and initial, with the text 'IN EVER GRATEFUL RECOGNITION/OF THE SPLENDID PATRIOTISM/AND HEROIC SELF SACRIFICE OF/THE EMPLOYEES OF / GUEST, KEEN AND NETTLEFOLDS, Ltd. / [Name of works] / [Names] / WHO GAVE THEIR LIVES/FOR THEIR KING AND COUNTRY/IN THE GREAT WAR, 1914 – 1918.' No information has come to light as to when these memorials were unveiled, however, we can say that another branch of the GKN corporation organised an event in May 1919 to honour the employees of the Cwmbran Coke Ovens who had served in the war. The 41 men who had served and returned were presented with inscribed silver watches to mark their contribution, and relatives of the eleven who had been killed in action also received these gifts.

The sole extant tinsplate memorial in south-east Wales is the memorial of the Abercarn Tinsplaters' Memorial Institute, which has been preserved in a surgery built on the site of the Institute building. Twenty six men who worked at the town's Thomas Richard & Company works are named. The text closely echoes the words on the 'next of kin memorial scroll' that was sent to the relatives of those who had died in the war (Westlake, 2001, pp.10–11).

The sole example of a memorial which commemorates both colliers and steelworkers was commissioned by the Crawshay Brothers Company to their employees at the 'Mountain Levels and Steelworks.' 'Mountain Levels' refers to three small coal-mines run by the company; their steelworks had closed in 1910 but re-opened for a short time in the latter stages of the war to

make iron for the war effort and employed no more than 300 men. There are thirteen names on the memorial, but one cannot say how many were miners and how many were steelworkers. The wording is identical to that on the GKN memorials. It is now preserved at the museum at Cyfarthfa Castle, which used to be the home of the Crawshay family.

The memorial at the Ebbw Vale steelworks was unveiled on Armistice Day 1921. A bronze panel with a white marble surround bore the words 'IN EVERLASTING MEMORY / OF ALL / OUR EMPLOYEES / WHO FELL IN THE GREAT WAR / 1914 - 1918'; this was mounted on a slab of green marble. In contrast to the other memorials considered here, this did not name the fallen. Perhaps that is explained by their number; at the unveiling it was stated that of the 8 000 employees who served, almost a thousand "had paid the extreme penalty of their patriotism with their lives" (*Merthyr Express*, 19 November 1921). This memorial has not survived, apparently being broken in an unsuccessful attempt to move it when the steelworks closed. This exemplifies the vulnerability of even the most lavish memorials when the businesses that commissioned them close down. It is clear that the survival rate of metalworks memorials is healthier than those of some other workplace memorials (cf. the example of Welsh coal mines) perhaps because so many are solid, but it is entirely possible that a number of smaller memorials, or those commissioned on paper, have been lost.

Conclusion

Taken as a whole, these memorials convey a number of messages about south Wales society in the immediate aftermath of the war. In most examples these were commissioned within three years of the Armistice, and the terms they deploy show that the 'language of 1914' was still in vogue. Patriotism was 'splendid'; self-sacrifice was 'heroic'; the memory of the fallen was 'glorious'. Death was preferable to dishonour. In naming these men, the metalworks claimed them as their own, and thus they also laid claim to a share of the glory. The men's identity as employees was highlighted in the numerous memorials which noted their position within the company. They had an identity as steelworkers or tinplaters, as well as their identities as men of their home town, and as Welshmen, Britons and sons of the Empire. Clearly, these memorials declare that the men served and died *for* something. The commissioning company (for the most part in 1919–21) could hope that this would indeed be the war to end all wars, and that peace would prove permanent. These memorials too were meant to stand the test of time: all First World War memorials were "built to endure" (Scates & Wheatley 2014, p. 554). 'Their name liveth for evermore' was inscribed upon the (now destroyed) memorial at the Ebbw Vale Steelworks. However, just as the hopes of a lasting peace would prove transient, the declarations of these memorials that the memory of the metalworkers who served would be 'glorious' and 'everlasting' would fail to stand the test of time.

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About the Author

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<http://war-memorials.swan.ac.uk/>

Endnotes

1 For a link to the map, and a list giving details of the twenty five memorials, see <https://war-memorials.swan.ac.uk/?p=683>

2 The other three, considered later in this article, are those from the Neath Sheet Steel and Galvanizing Company, the Morfa Tinsplate Works and the Ebbw Vale Steelworks. Although they were extant relatively recently, there is reason to fear that the memorials of Hafod Isha and GKN Coverack Road are vulnerable.

3 I also have information on four other workplace memorials created by the company in Wales: three from coal-mines and one from a wharf. See Westlake, 2001, pp.75–6.