# SET IN STONE?: WAR MEMORIALISATION AS A LONG-TERM AND CONTINUING PROCESS IN THE UK, FRANCE AND THE USA

by

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*Abstract*

This thesis examines the development war memorialisation from 1860 until 2014 in the UK, France and the USA. It represents the first holistic and longitudinal study of war memorialisation as a continuing process. Previous approaches to memorialisation are critically reviewed and a unique new methodology is proposed. This approach challenges assumptions that memorials are only important to the generation responsible for their creation. Moving beyond an understanding that is based wholly on the socio-political circumstances surrounding their construction, it conceptualises memorials within a framework of three parallel time scales; the point of development within the war memorial tradition, the time that has passed from the conflict being commemorated and the time that has passed from the construction of the memorial. This methodology is used to demonstrate that these objects continue to have meanings for many years after the conflict they commemorate. This illustrates the many ways in which individuals continue to engage with war memorials, appropriating and re-appropriating them and transforming their meanings. Furthermore, this approach demonstrates that themes can be defined within the memorialisation process, and that these themes are not bounded by geographical context or period of time.

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# 1. INTRODUCTION

## 1.1 The Japanese American Memorial to Patriotism during World War II

In November 2000, a war memorial was unveiled in Washington, D.C. on the corner of Louisiana Avenue and D Street North West. Over ten years in the planning, the memorial commemorated the Second World War experience of tens of thousands of Japanese Americans (Figure 1.1- 1.3).



Figure 1.1 Japanese American Memorial to Patriotism during World War II (2000), Washington, D.C. USA. (Photograph by the author, 2012).

Whilst the memorial was originally intended to commemorate only the 800 Japanese American soldiers killed fighting in the American military during the Second World War, refusal by the National Capital Memorial Commission[1] to accept a military memorial commemorating a single ethnic group necessitated a revision in the memorial's design and purpose. As a result, the memorial's goal was subsequently amended to encompass the entire Japanese American experience during the Second World War, including the forcible internment of 120,000 Japanese Americans, 80,000 of whom were full American citizens; forcing the Japanese American community to come to terms with previously suppressed tensions relating to their war time memories.



Figure 1.2 Entrance to the memorial and crane sculpture by Nina Akamu. The Japanese American Memorial to Patriotism during World War II (2000), Washington, D.C. USA. (Photograph by the author, 2012).

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[1] Established by the Commemorative Works Act 1986 (40 U.S. Code, Section 89). The 1986 Commemorative Works Act provides guidance and restrictions on the location and design of new memorials and monuments in Washington, D.C. and surrounding areas.

The Japanese American Memorial to Patriotism during World War II[2] is described here in detail because it fulfils a valuable demonstrative purpose in introducing the two central concepts addressed within this thesis.[3] Firstly, the Japanese American memorial can be conceptualised as a distinct product of modernity, both in its unusual design and in the experiences it seeks to commemorate. As a result, the memorial demonstrates the extent to which the war memorial tradition, as applied to the common soldier, has evolved since its beginnings in the mid-19th century (1.1.1). Secondly, despite its contemporary design and purpose the memorial introduces key themes and processes that are common to memorials from all periods and which form the basis of this thesis. These themes reoccur throughout the chronological period discussed and relate to the time that has passed from the conflict itself, not the chronological date (1.1.2).

### 1.1.1   A modern memorial; design and purpose

The Japanese American Memorial was erected in 2000 during a wave of 21st century construction that has proved so prolific it has been termed 'memorial mania' (Doss 2010: 2).[4] Within contemporary culture memorials have emerged as 'a primary terrain on which diverse constituencies address the enormous and challenging complexities of a traumatic past' (Brett et al 2007: 1). As a result, the Japanese American monument represents only

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[2] From this point referred to as the 'Japanese American Memorial'.
[3] The Japanese American Memorial is examined in more detail in chapter 6 (6.3.2).
[4] This 'memorial mania' should be situated more broadly within the late 20th and early 21st century phenomenon described by Huyssen as the 'memory boom.' This 'memory boom' is inextricably linked to the modern media available for its transmission (Huyssen 2003:18). The Japanese American experience had been similarly expressed within such media and in 1987 at the Smithsonian Institution an exhibition titled 'A More Perfect Union: Japanese Americans and the United States Constitution' detailed the Japanese experience in the United States.

one of hundreds of memorials constructed globally that seek to publically represent past traumas, and in particular those traumas that originate in conflict.

The structure of the memorial itself is conspicuously modern, and offers a striking visual representation of the Japanese American wartime experience (Figure 1.1, 1.2). Visiting the monument is an immersive experience, one which encourages individuals to put themselves in the place of Japanese Americans during the Second World War. Movement through the memorial complex is intended to symbolise not only the painful experiences of Japanese Americans during the Second World War but also their journey in coming to terms with these experiences throughout the decades that followed. Consequently, the memorial must be contextualised within what Alison Landsberg describes as a 'larger trend in American mass culture toward the experiential as a mode of knowledge' (Landsberg 2004: 130). Landsberg argues that this desire for experiential learning about the past is both fundamental to, and symptomatic of, modern media and makes it possible for individuals to take on 'prosthetic memories'; memories of events which they themselves have not experienced. The Japanese American Memorial should, as a result, be viewed within this contemporary framework in which individuals seek not only to learn about the past, but to 'experience' it.

On entering the memorial the visitor is encircled by a wall of granite listing the names of the main internment camps and the number of detainees at each camp. Within this central walled area the viewer is confronted by a monumental bronze sculpture depicting two cranes entwined with barbed wire (Figure 1.2). To the right the vista opens up across a raised reflecting pool containing five large rocks (Figure 1.3). By continuing to move through the complex, the viewer passes inscriptions outlining both the history of the internment and

the subsequent apology by the American government. An excerpt from President Regan's apology, 'Here we admit a wrong. Here we affirm our commitment as a nation to equal justice under the law' is inscribed onto the memorial, next to the reflecting pool. [5] Dispersed within these descriptive panels are quotes from prominent members of the Japanese American community.[6] Next, the viewer passes a list of the names of those Japanese Americans who lost their lives fighting in the American military. Finally, upon leaving the viewer passes a bell, evocative of those from a Buddhist temple, which they are invited to ring to symbolise release from this painful experience (Odo pers. comm. 14/10/2012).[7]



Figure 1.3 Raised reflecting pool with five large rocks, the temple bell is visible on the top left of the memorial, and the quote 'Here we admit a wrong. Here we affirm our commitment as a nation to equal justice under the law' is inscribed on the wall. The Japanese American Memorial to Patriotism during World War II (2000), Washington, D.C. USA. (Photograph by the author, 2012).

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[5] For an overview of the internment process and subsequent reparations by the U.S. government see Hatamiya, L.T. (1993).

[6] For controversy surrounding these quotes see 6.3.2

[7] Franklin Odo, member of the Japanese American Memorial to Patriotism during WWII Memorial Board, in an interview with the author 14th October 2012.

The Japanese American Memorial's modernity rests not only in its form but also in its purpose. It is unusual amongst war memorials in that it simultaneously remembers two very different, and in many ways dichotomous, wartime experiences. The original memorial proposal, instigated by the Japanese American 'Go For Broke National Veterans Association' (GFBNVA), contained provision only for the 800 Japanese American soldiers killed whilst serving in the American military during the Second World War. Following its rejection by the National Capital Memorial Commission,[8] the proposal was subsequently amended to incorporate the entire Japanese American Second World War experience; including the internment of approximately 120,000 Japanese Americans, two-thirds of whom were full American citizens (NJAMF 2001).

Conflict experiences beyond the war dead rarely have a tangible heritage around which to construct a social memory (Mytum 2013: 49). Such public commemoration of the deliberate oppression of a group based only on racial prejudice, as expressed by the Japanese American Memorial, represents a particularly contemporary problem. Michael Rothberg, suggests that 'how to think about the relationship between different social groups histories of victimization' represents one of the central concerns of modern society (Rothberg 2009: 9). Memorial construction that specifically commemorates the contribution or victimisation of a particular group during a conflict is one way in which this issue is being addressed. Such an approach to commemoration would not have been possible in the middle of the 19th century when the war memorial tradition was in its infancy, and when individuals felt very differently regarding who and what should be commemorated.

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[8] The original memorial was rejected as the Commemorative Works Act had decreed there would be no further memorials for any particular military unit or any ethnic group (NJAMF 2001:19).

Even in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the construction of a memorial to events in which the United States was the perpetrator should have been problematic, particularly within the context of the nation's capital. As geographer Kenneth Foote argues in his study of trauma in the American landscape, 'reflective self-criticism does not fit easily into traditions that celebrate America's past, [t]here is no ready way to commemorate mistakes, to inscribe memorials with the message that a great injustice took place, one that should be forever remembered and never be repeated' (Foote 1997: 305). Yet, this was precisely what the Japanese American community chose to do through the deliberate and tangible remembrance of the internment, and through the inclusion of a quote from the American government's official apology for the internment within the memorial's design (Figure 1.3).

Public remembrance of these issues was made possible through the emphasis on the official apology and the symbolic significance that this held within American history. Speaking in front of Congress, GFBNVA representative Judge Marutani described the amended memorial design as follows:

> 'It is an important segment but it is not solely a military memorial. It is, indeed, a significant chapter in American history. What other government apologizes to its citizens for having committed a wrong? That's beautiful. It makes me proud to be an American' (NJAMF 2001: 20).

This reframing of the internment through the lens of the subsequent apology created a view of the Japanese American experience that was less problematic within the broader American historical narrative. Despite this reframing, that a previously oppressed group could reference its oppression in such a public format clearly demonstrates the wide range of experiences that are now deemed appropriate for war memorialisation. This thesis aims

to address this chronological development of war memorialisation through an examination of the evolution of the war memorial tradition, as applied to common soldiers, from the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century through to the present. In doing so it seeks to demonstrate that war memorialisation develops over time as new memorials continue to be influenced by those that have come before; not just by their distinct social and political circumstances.

### 1.1.2   Broader themes

The design of the Japanese American Memorial to Patriotism during World War II is unmistakeably modern and yet it draws meaning from elements that are recognisable within the war memorial tradition. Many viewing the monument would understand it to be a war memorial through the inclusion of elements that signify its intended commemorative purpose. The monumental bronze sculpture in conjunction with a lists of names are understood within Western culture to represent the war dead. In addition, within an American setting, and specifically within the monumental landscape of Washington, D.C., the reflecting pool is understood to represent a memorial context. These understandings have become established as a result of developments within the tradition of war memorialisation. An individual in the early 19th century faced with a memorial comprising of only a list of names would not be able to interpret this list as being from a conflict context as they would have no tradition on which to draw. The use of these elements within a modern memorial complex demonstrates the expectation that a modern viewer will be able to interpret these signs and understand the monument as a memorial.

The Japanese American example demonstrates the extent to which the war memorial tradition has developed since the beginnings of commemoration of the common soldier in the mid-19th century. Whilst it is in many ways a uniquely modern monument, it draws attention to many of the broader themes addressed within this thesis. These themes, discussed below, are found throughout the memorial tradition regardless of the chronological date. Recurring throughout the chronological time period 1860-2014, these themes demonstrate the value of taking a wider approach towards the study of war memorials. Rather than reduce each object to a consequence of distinct social and political circumstances, this thesis argues that memorialisation processes can be contextualised within a broader framework of a distinct war memorial tradition.

Erected over fifty years after the events it commemorates, the Japanese American Memorial demonstrates that the construction of memorials can continue for many years after the conflict has ended. Despite academic focus indicating the contrary, memorialisation is in no way restricted to the period directly after the conflict itself. Yet, the memorialisation that takes place many years after the event necessarily differs significantly from that which is carried out immediately after. The Japanese American Memorial committee was comprised of both individuals that had experienced the events being commemorated, and those born many years after. Tensions that developed within the group (described in detail 6.4.1) demonstrated that an emotive response to the memorialisation process is not necessitated by autobiographical memories. Psychologist Donna Nagata has examined the effect of the trauma of internment on second generation Japanese Americans. Nagata concludes that Japanese Americans whose parents had experienced internment, whilst they had no deeper level of knowledge relating to the

internment, felt less secure regarding their rights in the United States (Nagata 1990). The public recognition of this discrimination and the opportunity for discussion afforded by the memorialisation process can, as a result, play an important role in overcoming the generational trauma caused by the legacy of internment.

The process of design and construction took over ten years as the monument moved from its conception in 1988 through to completion in 2000. During this period, tensions developed within the planning committee over exactly whose history the memorial should present. This process came to embody the struggle over the representation of the past and who had the right to be remembered, and who, as a consequence, would be forgotten. Such tensions form a core theme of memorialisation from all periods. Yet, this struggle for representation does not always fall between the dominant and marginalised group. During the Japanese American Memorial process, divisions surfaced not between those planning the memorial and the National Capital Memorial Commission, but within the Japanese American community itself.

Augmented around issues of compliancy or resistance to the original internment process, these divisions became increasingly heightened as the memorial process progressed (see 6.4.1). Many within the Memorial Panel called for greater saliency to be given to acts of resistance carried out by Japanese American citizens against the internment process, including the many citizens who resisted the draft and were consequently imprisoned. As a result, attempts were made to reconcile the divided community through the active interpretation and reinterpretation of aspects of the memorial's design. Memorial features, including the crane sculpture (Figure 1.2) and five large rocks (Figure 1.3), were reinterpreted by members of the Japanese American community in order to accommodate

differing interpretations of the same past (see 6.4.1). The resulting multiplicity of meanings available within this singular memorial demonstrates the value of memorials for negotiating between different views of historical events.

The Japanese American Memorial demonstrates the extent to which war memorial tradition has evolved since the first examples were constructed to commemorate the common soldier in the middle of the 19th century. But its meaning is only possible because of understandings that have developed throughout the intervening decades. Despite this, there has never been a comprehensive chronological study of the long-term development of war memorialisation as a tradition within its own right. The creation of a developmental framework of the memorial tradition would allow memorials such as the Japanese American Memorial to be examined within the broader context of memorialisation, and not solely within their distinct socio-political circumstances.

The aim of this thesis, as a result, is twofold:

Firstly, in response to the lack of chronological framework, this thesis describes the longitudinal development of processes of war memorialisation in the UK, France and the USA. Focusing on memorials that address the loss of the common soldier or civilian during conflict, this thesis studies the evolution of the memorialisation process.

Secondly, this thesis proposes a new framework within which to approach the study of memorialisation. The development of the memorial process is not linear and memorialisation does not exclusively apply to conflicts in the order in which they occur, nor does the availability of new forms end the creation of more traditional mnemonic responses. Consequently, this thesis takes an approach which acknowledges this reflexivity,

drawing out the themes common to memorials of all periods and in doing so proposes a new approach to the study of war memorials.

## 1.2 A new approach: three parallel timescales

The longitudinal approach taken within this thesis allows for a much closer examination of the broader themes of commemorative practice which reoccur throughout the tradition of memorialisation. This thesis examines all memorialisation processes, including those that continue many years after the memorial has been constructed. As a result, it proposes a new approach to the study of war memorialisation; one which is no longer entirely socio-political centric but which conceptualises war memorials within three intersecting timescales:

1) The chronological timescale (O-P)

2) The time that has passed from the conflict (CT)

3) The time that has passed from the memorial (MT).[9]

It proposes that a consideration of each of these timescales is necessary if a full understanding of a war memorial at any given point in time is to be reached (Figure 1.4).

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[9] **O-P O** = Origins of war memorial tradition, which is stated as 1860, **P**= Present. **CT**= Conflict Timescale. **MT** =Memorial Timescale
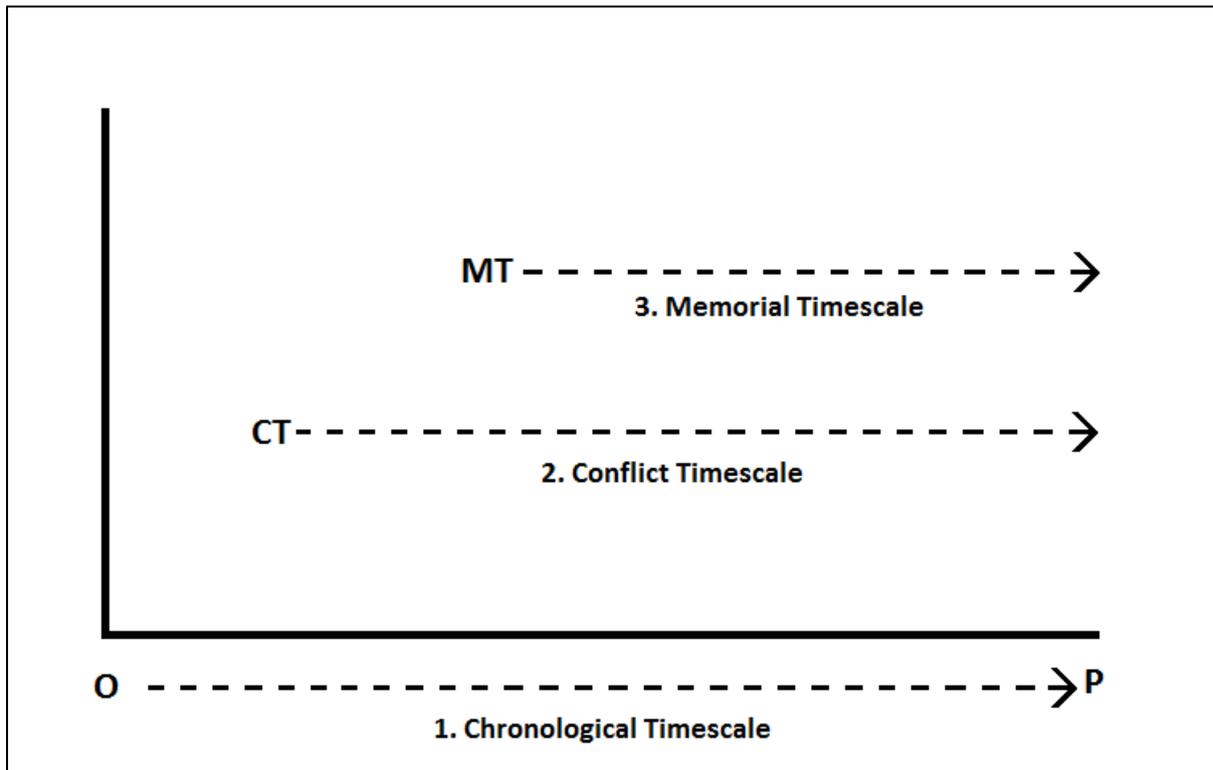
Figure 1.4 Three parallel timescales relating to the understanding of a war memorial at any given point in time:

**O-P:**  1860 – 2014 Chronological timescale/ memorial tradition
**CT:**  Time passed from conflict
**MT:**  Time passed from memorial construction


### 1.2.1. O-P Chronological timescale

The chronological timescale is conceptualised as being twofold, taking into account two important aspects of the chronological date of the memorial. Firstly, and, perhaps most obviously, it will take into account the social and political circumstances surrounding the memorial. These will necessarily affect the types of memorial constructed and the types of individuals deemed worthy of memorialisation. But the chronological date of construction also allows for a second, often overlooked, influence to be taken into consideration; the developments and understandings within the tradition of memorialisation that have taken place up until the point of construction. No memorial construction should be regarded in isolation but, instead, should be viewed within a wider memorial process that is influenced

by understandings of the memorial tradition. Those responsible for constructing a memorial draw on earlier mnemonic forms in response to expectations that have developed regarding who and what should be memorialised. As Figure 1.4 demonstrates, within this thesis the chronological development of the tradition from 1860 until 2014 (O-P) is examined. Within this time period war memorialisation has been constantly evolving, both through the construction of new memorials and the types of engagement with existing memorials.

### 1.2.2. CT Time passed from conflict

The effect of prior developments within the memorial tradition necessarily influences both those deemed appropriate for commemoration and the form that a memorial will take. Yet, a secondary timescale, one that has been largely overlooked by memorial scholars, also exerts a very strong influence on the type of war memorial constructed. This timescale relates to the time that has passed from the conflict itself (CT). This timescale is inevitably most affected by the types of memories dominantly held in relation to the conflict. The memories of certain conflicts can be maintained within social/ collective memory through the perpetuation of ritual activities, which often take war memorials as their focus (Connerton 1989: 41-71). Yet even if they are enacting the same ritual practice an individual's perception of the events being commemorated will differ depending upon the time passed from those events.

Halbwachs, in his seminal work on collective memory (1992 [1925]), distinguished four categories of memory, described by Olick and Robbins as autobiographical memory,

historical memory, history, and, memory (Olick and Robbins 1998: 111). These are defined as:

Autobiographical memory: memory of those events that we ourselves experience

Historical memory: memory that reaches us only through the historical records

History: the remembered past to which we no longer have an organic relation, the past that is no longer an important part of our lives

Collective memory: the active past that forms our identities

As the conflict commemorated passes though different stages of memory from autobiographical to collective, this necessarily has an effect on the types of memorial constructed and the messages that they are intended to convey. It must also be remembered that each individual will experience a memorial differently depending on their personal experiences as 'we will experience our present differently in accordance with the different pasts to which we are able to connect that present' (Connerton 1989: 2). A memorial constructed in the immediate aftermath of a war, by individuals with direct autobiographical experience of that conflict, will necessarily be very different from a memorial constructed 50 years after the conflict when it is beginning to enter historical memory. Similarly, the significance of the conflict, for example if it is considered collective memory or only as History, will affect both continued construction and levels of engagement with existing structures.

**1.2.3. MT Time passed from construction of memorial**

Once a memorial has been constructed the types of interaction available to an individual will depend upon the time that has passed since the construction of the memorial. Whilst much academic attention has been directed towards the processes that contribute to the construction of a memorial, much less attention has been applied to the post-construction phase. Historian Jay Winter, whilst acknowledging that 'commemorative sites and practices can be revived and re-appropriated,' concludes that 'most of the time, sites of memory live through their life cycle, and like the rest of us, inevitably fade away' (Winter 2010: 72). Yet, a lack of use by those responsible for their creation does not result in a loss of meaning for that object. If memorialisation is to be considered as an ongoing process an understanding must be sought which goes beyond the construction of the memorial. Continuing engagement with a memorial following its construction is an important part of the memorial process, and the time that has passed once the object has been constructed (MT) affects the ways in which individuals engage with the memorial. A memorial constructed at the time of the conflict, when the names of those listed will be recognisable to individuals viewing the memorial, will necessarily be engaged with very differently by individuals a century later, when the names will hold only symbolic significance.

Within this thesis, all forms of engagement with a war memorial form will be considered equally valid. This includes:

- P*hysical re-appropriation*, when alterations are made to the object itself, (e.g. adding names of previously excluded groups such as women/ soldiers shot at dawn)
- *Symbolic re-appropriation*, when subtle changes occur in the way the object is perceived (e.g. using a village war memorial to commemorate a non-combat death)

- And *negative appropriation*, when the object is treated in a way that is detrimental to its physical preservation (e.g. spraying a memorial with graffiti, stealing or destroying its structure)

## 1.3 Chapters

The thesis will comprise eight chapters which together examine the development of the war memorial tradition from 1860 to 2014. Through this study the thesis proposes a new approach to the study of war memorials, one which contextualises them within the broader framework described in 1.2. This chapter, Chapter 1, introduces the thesis and the key concepts that will be used throughout its discussion.

### Chapter 2

Chapter 2 comprises a survey of existing academic literature relating to war memorials. It demonstrates that their study has taken place within many different academic fields, resulting in the application of a wide variety of methodological approaches. This chapter demonstrates the limitations of existing literature, particularly when applied to memorialisation as a long-term process. Despite the extensive scope of memorial research, many studies have been limited to processes which concern the construction of memorials rather than their long-term use. As a result there has been little engagement with either the processes of memorial construction which take place many years after a conflict has ended

(timescale CT), or with the continued engagement with existing memorial structures (timescale MT).

**Chapter 3**

Chapter 3 describes the integrated methodology applied in order to study the longer term development of memorialisation processes. The thesis applied a primarily archaeological approach in which memorials were visited within their landscape setting and analysed as archaeological objects. This data was integrated where necessary with archival material relating to the construction and subsequent use of the memorial. Interview data was utilised in order to investigate contemporary attitudes towards both existing memorials and continuing war memorial processes in the UK and USA. [10]

**Main body: Chapters 4-7**

The main body of the thesis will comprise of Chapters 4-6 which relate to the chronological development of war memorialisation over time from 1860-2014, followed by a discussion chapter (Chapter 7). The chronological timescale (O-P) will progress within each chapter (figure 1.5). This timescale will be demonstrated diagrammatically at the beginning of each chapter. Within each chapter two connected forms of engagement will be discussed; the continuation of memorial construction to earlier conflicts, and the interaction with existing monuments.

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[10] A survey of contemporary attitudes to war memorialisation was carried out alongside this thesis. This research received 182 responses from UK individuals and 35 responses from USA individuals regarding their attitudes towards both new and existing memorials (appendix 1). The analysis relating to this research is beyond the word limits of this thesis and is being published separately.
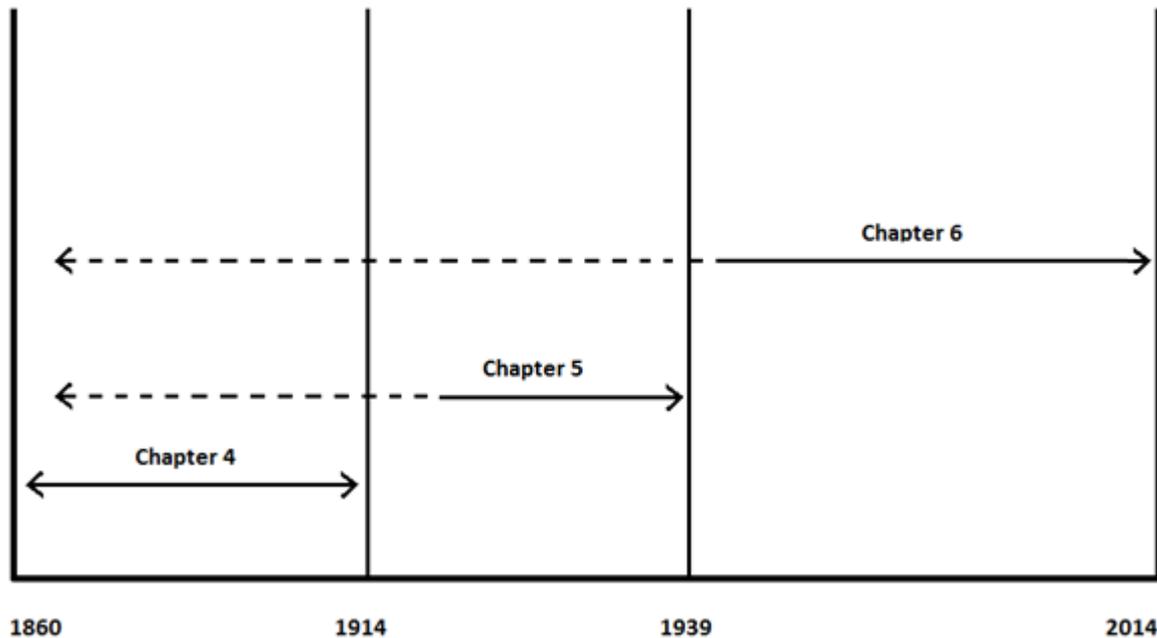
Figure 1.5 Chronological periods addressed within each chapter:
**Chapter 4:** 1860-1914
**Chapter 5:** 1914-1939
**Chapter 6:** 1939-2014

Due to the differing conflicts and socio-political situations within each of the subject areas this thesis will necessarily be inconsistent in its discussion of each study area. In Chapter 4 for example, which addresses the early development of war memorialisation, less attention is given to UK memorials as the effects of conflicts during this period were less far reaching than those in France and the USA. Similarly in Chapter 5, which focuses on memorialisation of the First World War, less focus is applied to the USA due to the more limited impact of the conflict and as a result more limited memorialisation. This thesis demonstrates that despite these differing circumstances the developmental processes that take place within the memorial tradition are very similar.

**Chapter 4: (O-P=1860-1914)**

Chapter 4 examines the initial phases of development of war memorialisation as it transitions from triumphal, large scale memorials, into inclusive and localised examples. Unlike many previous studies this chapter will incorporate all forms of war memorial, including those which relate to graves. This chapter examines the chronological period 1860 until the outbreak of the First World War in 1914 (O-P=1860-1914). Despite examining the chronological development of the memorial tradition the chapter also addresses the ways in which the type of memorial constructed changes in relation to the time that has passed from the conflict itself (CT). Uniquely amongst memorial studies Chapter 4 takes a holistic rather than a conflict-specific approach to memorialisation; addressing not only those memorials that commemorate the most recent conflicts but also those constructed to commemorate historic conflicts. By doing so this chapter demonstrates the reflexivity of the memorialisation process, which once begun triggered the memorialisation of other, often more distant events. It also takes into account memorials that were constructed within the study area by other nations, as the treatment of these objects is crucial to the understanding of the development of the memorial tradition.

**Chapter 5: (O-P = 1914-1939)**

Chapter 5 examines the developments that took place within the memorial tradition from 1914 through until the outbreak of the Second World War in 1939 (O-P = 1914-1939). Since First World War memorials form the largest groups in two of the study areas, Britain and France, it would be impossible to ignore this category. Yet, in a move away from existing

studies of First World War memorials this chapter seeks to examine practices which demonstrate trends in the broader understanding of memorialisation itself, and the ways in which these memorial practices influenced the perception of memorials in the present. This chapter examines not only those memorials constructed as a response to the First World War, but also investigates the continued construction of, and engagement with, memorials to earlier conflicts discussed in Chapter 4. Following the same approach as Chapter 4, the passing of time from the conflict being commemorated and the affect that this has on the types of memorials constructed, will also be taken into consideration.

**Chapter 6: (O-P =1939-2014)**

Chapter 6 focuses on the war memorialisation that took place from the period 1939 through to 2014 (O-P = 1939-2014). Whilst memorials relating to the Second World War are addressed within the chapter its primary focus is the continued construction relating to pre-1939 conflicts; particularly those erected in the post-1990 period. Drawing on interview data it examines the use of war memorials by groups who feel that their conflict experience, or that of the wider group, has been marginalised or excluded from dominant narratives relating to historic conflicts. It examines continuing engagement with existing memorials discussed in the previous two chapters.

In each of the study areas the process of memorialisation has been taking place for over 150 years. The meanings and understandings of such memorial plaques and monuments have changed significantly over time. As a result, the ways in which individuals relate to and interact with these structures in the present is very different from that which would have

taken place in the past. Utilising both interview research and examples both witnessed by the author and presented in the media this chapter examines the multiple ways in which individuals continue to engage with memorials in contemporary society.

**Chapter 7: Discussion**

Chapter 7 draws together themes that have been expressed in Chapters 4 to 6. These themes occur in each of the study areas and reoccur throughout the history of memorialisation, irrespective of chronological date. As a result, this chapter seeks to demonstrate how such themes instead respond both to the time that has passed from the conflict commemorated (CT) and the construction of the object itself (MT). By doing so it advocates a new approach to the study of memorialisation, one which not only seeks to understand memorials within the context of their own distinct socio-political circumstances but also within the broader context of the war memorial tradition. Such an approach facilitates cross cultural examinations of memorialisation across the temporal scope covered within this thesis.

**Chapter 8: Conclusion**

Chapter 8 draws conclusions from the main body of the thesis and from the discussion chapter, highlighting the benefits of the creation of a framework in which to situate existing memorial case studies. The chapter concludes the thesis with recommendations for further work revealed throughout the course of this research.

Together these chapters present a new approach to the study of war memorialisation. The methods adopted in this thesis move the understanding of each object beyond their distinct socio-political circumstances, to conceptualise the memorial as a transect of three parallel timescales; the memorial tradition (O-P), the conflict timescale (CT) and the memorial timescale (MT). In doing so it promotes greater saliency for the influence that the memorial tradition itself has on the forms of object created and the types of individual commemorated. Such an approach does not privilege one form of memorial process above another but considers every form of engagement as equally valid; from remembrance ceremonies to graffiti. The development of this framework provides a useful tool not only for understanding memorials of all periods and all geographical areas but its application may also be applied to other categories of object. The following chapter reviews current academic work in memorial studies, outlining why this new approach is necessary.

## 2.  BACKGROUND AND LITERATURE

### 2.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a survey of war memorial literature, charting its emergence from memory studies in the 1980s and highlighting the multifaceted nature of the discipline. In doing so it demonstrates the need for a chronological study of the development of war memorials and for an engagement with memorialisation as a long-term process. Research has predominantly focused only on memorialisation that takes places directly after the conflict itself. Consequently, there has been a lack of studies into both the processes of memorialisation that take place many years after the conflict being commemorated, and to those processes that take place a long time after the memorial has been constructed.

### 2.2 The beginnings of war memorial studies

Warfare has a long precedence stretching back into prehistory (Carman and Harding 1999), and the practice of constructing memorials to commemorate conflict has been in place for hundreds of years (Borg 1991, Carman and Carman 2005, Carman and Carman 2006, Chaniotis 2012, Cooley 2012, Low 2012). Frequently, pre-1850 war memorials are characterised spatially, by their physical proximity to the battle site or their location within religious institutions, and functionally, by their commemoration of the event itself or high ranking military figures. Around 150 years ago, this process of commemoration underwent a perceivable shift, both in its geographical location, and in its focus. In the latter half of the

19<sup>th</sup> century, war memorialisation grew to encompass all those who had died as a result of a conflict regardless of rank or station, and including civilian casualties. Sites of commemoration expanded to include the towns and villages from which these soldiers came, and memorials were increasingly found in more secularised settings. In the United States, memorialisation of this type began on a large scale in the 1860s, following the Civil War. In Europe, widespread war memorialisation came a little later, becoming prevalent in France during the 1870s following the Franco-Prussian War, and in the United Kingdom in the 1890s, following the First (1880-1881) and Second (1899-1902) Boer Wars.

Despite this long history of war and commemorative practice, the academic study of remembrance is a relatively recent development. It grew from increasing interest in the study of 'memory,' and in particular in 'collective or social memory' which became a central academic concern during the 1980s (Olick, Vinitzky-Serroussi et al. 2011: 3, Erll and Nunning 2012 : 1). The memory of conflict played a central role in this growing field. Focus on the cultural memory of conflict, as opposed to its logistical, tactical or purely political significance, was pioneered by Second World War veteran and literary historian Paul Fussell in, 'The Great War and Modern Memory' (1975). Focusing predominantly on literary representations, Fussell's account provided the first in depth analysis of the lasting effects of the First World War in British culture. Fussell argued that the experience of the First World War caused a divide between the way of life that came before and that experienced after; creating a rupture from Victorian ideals and ushering in twentieth-century modernity. Whilst this view has since been challenged by those that preference stability over discontinuity (for example Winter 1995) the study does mark a watershed in the academic

approach to the study of past conflict; it is the cultural memory of the event, as opposed to the logistics of combat, that is of primary concern.

## 2.3 Culture of memory and memory studies

During the 1980s, literature on the culture of memory grew, with many studies taking memory as their central focus (Nora 1984, Lowenthal 1985). Early academic studies frequently employed a political approach, emphasising the ways that images of the past were mobilised to establish continuity between past and present, legitimising present authority (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983). War commemoration was contextualised within this political narrative and framed as part of the process of binding individuals to a cohesive nation state by helping, 'to create, modify, or sanction the public meanings attached to historical events deemed worthy of mass celebration' (Anderson 1983: 116). Throughout the 1990s and 2000s many edited volumes dealt more specifically with the memory of conflict (Gillis 1994, Evans and Lunn 1997, Ashplant, Dawson et al. 2000, Muller 2002, Kidd and Murdoch 2004, Keren and Herwig 2009). Yet, despite the far reaching scope of these editions, the physical entity of the war memorial as an object of memory received comparatively little attention.

Lack of critical attention to war memorials is perhaps surprising given that as an object of memory the memorial seems such an obvious subject (Moriarty 1999: 655). Ken Inglis, in his consideration of this issue in the early 1990s, suggests three explanations: firstly, that most war memorials are of little artistic merit and would not, as a result, attract the attention of art historians; secondly, that the majority 'are merely tools of propaganda, political symbols

which truly reflect the official ideology of the period,' and finally that war memorials are so familiar to us that we are unable to consider them as History (Inglis 1992: 5). These views have a degree of legitimacy given the preference of large scale artistic examples in many early studies (for example Penny 1981 , Sherman 1994, Moriarty 1995), and the dominance of the 'political propaganda' approach taken by many scholars ( in Europe Mosse 1979, Parker Pearson 1982, Mayo 1988, in America see Mayo 1988a, Mosse 1990, Rowlands 1993, and in France Sherman 1994, Sherman 1999)**.** This approach, which naturally gave preference to large scale monumental structures, ignored the countless smaller local examples erected by the families and friends of those who had died.

These smaller, more localised, examples provide by far the biggest category of war memorials, and the type with which many individuals would be most familiar (Furlong, Knight et al. 2002, Login 2009). Consequently, it was established that these examples could be of equal significance to those erected on a grander scale; resulting in greater saliency being afforded to the genuine grief and mourning experienced following a conflict. Historian Jay Winter for example, suggested, 'their ritual significance has often been obscured by their political symbolism which now that the moment of mourning has long passed, is all that we can see' (Winter 1995). A recognition that most war memorials came from the people rather than politicians[11] gave greater prominence to their role in recreating bonds of community following a conflict (Tarlow 1999: 159- 165). Archaeologist Sarah Tarlow suggests that greater consideration should be given to the individual, emotive experience

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[11] In the UK no government support was provided for memorial constructions other than the Cenotaph (1920) and the Tomb of the Unknown Warrior (1920). The Civic Arts Committee was established (1915) to offer advice on memorial forms but this had limited impact (King 1998:71). In France some state assistance for war memorials was provided in the form of subsidies from the state in proportion to funds collected from the public (Sherman 1999: 106-108). In the US local and state governments play a much larger part in the financing of war memorials. Often after construction their care passes to the National Park Service.

following a conflict, and that commemorative responses take place at three levels: the national, the local and the personal.

Yet, these three levels cannot be easily separated, and Catherine Moriarty, in her earlier study of British First World War memorials, demonstrates that there can be no clear distinction between private and public commemoration (Moriarty 1997). Such an approach when applied to war memorials establishes a false dichotomy between the political and the emotional; suggesting that no emotional role can be fulfilled by large scale monumental structures and that smaller scale, local examples cannot be political. In reality, national monument committees are often motivated by the private grief of their members, whilst in turn this private grief might be politically framed to fit with national narratives, giving purpose to the death and thus making it more bearable for the individual (Sherman 1999, Ashplant, Dawson et al. 2000: 7-16, van Ypresèle 2004).[12] As a result what formed was dialectic, as opposed to dichotomous relationships between the two forms of memory.

## 2.4 Wider audiences for the memory of conflict

The increased interest in remembering past conflict, experienced within academia during the 1980s, was also paralleled within popular culture. Situated within a broader context of remembrance that took place at this time, which Huyssen describes as a shift, 'from present futures to present pasts' (Huyssen 2000: 21), the practice of remembering war was no longer the preserve of veterans, military historians and schoolchildren but was instead undertaken by wider publics. In addition, the scope of these remembrances expanded far

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[12] For a discussion of this in relation to the observance of Armistice Day in Britain see Gregory (1994) and in France see Theodosiou (2010).

beyond the logistics of the battle itself. Instead, as Catherine Moriarty demonstrates in her 1999 review of Great War research, 'the space of remembrance has broadened' and the history of the war is 'no longer just that of the Tommy but of his fellow soldiers from around the empire and his counterparts across the wire' (Moriarty 1999: 654). Multiple suggestions have been put forward for this sudden shift. These include the seemingly endless number of anniversaries which fell during this period, for example the 90th Anniversary of the Battle of the Somme and the 50th Anniversary of the end of the Second World War (Eley 1997, Bushaway 2001: 490, Todman 2009), and the modern increase in media available for the transmission of memory, which has been described as simultaneously aiding remembering and forgetting (Huyssen 2003: 17).

Pierre Nora, in his highly influential and expansive three volume work 'Realms of Memory', argued that this period marked a change in the ways individuals related to the memory of the past (Nora 1996: 1-20). Nora suggested that memory is a constant fascination within Western culture because it in fact no longer exists, and there is no longer an organic relationship with the past (Nora 1996). This, Nora believes, is a motivating force behind the increasing desire amongst individuals to investigate and record their own pasts. Nora's approach has been highly criticised and challenged by those who take a less sceptical view of contemporary relationships with the past. Jay Winter, for example, criticises Nora's study for being too parochial in nature and argues that the sacred has not vanished, it is simply no longer located within the traditional sacred spaces (Winter and Sivan 1999: 1-3). Winter suggests that the shifting audience in academic memory studies, which resulted from such events as the opening of First World War Archives and the many television programmes

broadcast during this period,[13] actually served to reunite history and memory (Winter and Prost 2005: 179).

Whatever the true cause, growing public interest in war memorials, particularly in the UK, has resulted in a great number of studies aimed at popular consumption.[14] Colin McIntyre's 'How to Read a War Memorial' published in 1990, and directed at the amateur historian, explores the potential of the names on memorials for social historical research (McIntyre 1990); something that has perhaps been superseded by the publication of the Commonwealth War Graves register online in 1998 (CWGC 2014). Consequently, there are growing numbers of local history studies of town and village war memorials carried out by local historians (including for example Ball and Housley 2005, Carter 2012, Wayman and Crutchley 2012, Smith 2013). These studies indicate a growing desire to put individual lives back into the memory of the conflict and connect on a personal level. Early attempts to look more closely at the cultural significance of war memorials similarly catered for the public interest in the topic. These predominantly take the form of basic gazetteer style publications (for example in UK Boorman 1988, Boorman 1995, Corke 2005, Quinlan 2005, in France Siffert and Coat 2005, and in USA Bond 2007, Heiman 2013) and generally focus only on artistically significant examples (Boorman 2005, Archer 2009). Preference for those examples which were of particular artistic merit is also reflected in the fact that the UK National Inventory of War Memorials began as an art historical survey, recording only those with significant sculptural elements (Furlong, Knight et al. 2002), despite the fact that

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[13] It could, however, be argued that it is unclear whether events such as the opening of archives is the cause or the effect of greater public interest in conflict memory.

[14] This increased attention resulted in concerns for the physical objects themselves and on the way that individuals and communities interacted with them. In the UK, this resulted in the creation of the UK National Inventory of War Memorials in 1989 and in 1997 the 'War Memorials Trust' a charity specifically concerned with their conservation. Created in 1997 and originally named the 'Friends of War Memorials' (Frances Moreton pers. comm. 22/11/2011)

sculptural examples make up only a fraction of the total number of war memorials (Login 2009).

## 2.5 The First World War and its war memorials

Despite some early attempts at a wider temporal perspective (see for example Borg 1991, 2.10), it is the First World War that has dominated the European study of memorials. At the end of the twentieth century an increased interest in the First World War was experienced throughout Europe and Australia (Scates 2009). Within this context the First World War holds a particular place as the great 'imaginative event' (in Europe see Hynes 1992 and in Australia see Hoffenberg 2001). Paul Connerton notes, for example, that 'for many people, but especially for Europeans, the narrative of this [the 20th] century is unthinkable without the memory of the Great War' (Connerton, 1989: 20). This emphasis on the symbolic power of the First World War was to have a lasting effect on the study of war memorials. Whilst First World War memorials do provide the largest individual category in the UK, (Furlong, Knight et al. 2002) and in France, a failure to engage with memorials from other periods has resulted in a lack of understanding of memorialisation as a process in its own right.

Taking this approach, much research focussed on the reasons for widespread memorial construction following the First World War. Explanations for the unprecedented erection of war memorials included: the widespread use of volunteer forces resulting in families that, unlike those from the professional military, were unprepared for loss (Bushaway 1992); the public's ill preparation for the scale of loss (Mosse 1990, Bushaway 1992, Tarlow 1999); the decision not to repatriate the bodies of the dead denying relatives of a graveside at which to

mourn and necessitating the construction of substitute graves (Sherman 1999, Connelly 2002, Goebel 2007); the special symbolic significance of the names when no physical trace of an individual could be found (Winter 1988, Laqueur 1994: 206) and finally that they provided a cathartic exercise for the older generation who felt guilt for being unable to prevent the conflict (Winter 1995, Winter 1999).

Whilst these are all valid arguments they are all grounded in the socio-political context of the conflict and fail to take into account that the process of memorialising the war began during, not after, the conflict. The practice of erecting small shrines to those who were serving and later marking those who had died was in place for the duration of the conflict (Connelly 2002: 25-35). This more ephemeral form of memorial is rarely referenced in studies of historic war memorials, although temporary and 'spontaneous' memorials as a modern phenomenon is a subject of burgeoning academic literature (Santino 2004, Doss 2008) This process was influenced by earlier memorial practices, relating not only to personal religious shrines but also to previous war memorials. Most studies of war memorials from this period fail to engage with the processes of memorialisation itself, which had in some cases begun over four decades before.

In order to further understand the memorial practices that took place following the First World War many studies have taken a historical approach, using archival resources to examine the discussions which took place surrounding their construction (Inglis 1992, Bartlett and Ellis 1999, Gough and Morgan 2004). Ken Inglis for instance takes a single example, 'The Homecoming' in Cambridge, and examines the decisions surrounding its location, funding, design and unveiling (Inglis 1992). Similarly, Jonathan Black examines the often heated discussions which took place in the UK concerning the form of the memorials

and who should be involved in the memorialisation process (Black 2004). Although Black's study is restricted to the First World War and deals with only four examples, the study does offer some temporal scope, taking three examples from the period 1919-1925 and including the 'Shot at Dawn' memorial, erected in 2001 at the National Memorial Arboretum. While the broader temporal range offers an insight into the different types of memorial practice, failure to make links between memorials results in little more than four case studies, and the parochial nature of both Inglis and Black's studies make it difficult for wider cross cultural comparisons to be made.

In depth studies of the memorialisation process have demonstrated the value of war memorials as a cultural resource. Nick Mansfield's (1995) examination of the construction of First World War memorials demonstrates the relationship between these objects and wider social issues, including tensions that arose between returning soldiers and their families and those who had no experience of the conflict (Mansfield 1995: 77). A more holistic study of this process is taken by Alex King in 'Memorials of the Great War in Britain' (King 1998). This volume takes a deeper look at the processes of memorialisation that occurred across Great Britain between the First and Second World Wars. King explores the decisions that dictated who should be commemorated and the form that this commemoration should take to demonstrate their multiplicity of meaning. This approach moves away from a singular fixed interpretation of memorial as a primarily political entity and engages with the notion that those using the memorials knew that they 'could be understood in different ways, and that their capacity to convey a particular meaning was not entirely reliable' (King 1998: 3). This expands upon Moriarty's earlier examination of British First World War memorials (Moriarty

1997) and reveals the complexity of the memorialisation process whilst acknowledging that their political and psychological functions cannot necessarily be separated.

The study of post-First World War memorialisation in Europe has been dominated by the work of the American historian of social memory Jay Winter, who has published extensively on the topic (Winter 1995, Winter and Sivan 1999, Winter 1999, Winter, Parker et al. 2000, Winter 2003, Winter and Prost 2005, Winter 2006, Winter 2010). In his 2006 volume 'Remembering War,' Winter dedicates a chapter to war memorials in which he calls for a 'social agency interpretation' of war memorials (Winter 2006: 135-153) and, as with his earlier studies, preferences more localised examples of memorialisation suggesting this 'may help transform our understanding of war monuments, and of the forms of remembrance which occur surrounding them.' Yet, Winter's work, like that of many other memorial scholars, emphasises the relationship between war memorials and those who have a direct experience of the events. This ignores not only those who did not have that experience at the time of the conflict, but also denies the continued importance of memorials as time passes from the events commemorated. Winter suggests that war memorials represent:

> 'an effort to think publically about painful issues in the past, an effort which is bound to fade over time. This fading away is always inevitable: all war memorials have a "shelf-life," a bounded period of time in which their meaning related to the concerns of a particular group of people who created them or who use or appropriate them as ceremonial or reflective sites of memory.' (Winter 2006: 140).

Whilst it is true that the original function of memorials may be limited to those responsible for their creation, this focus only on those with autobiographical memory of the conflict

serves to dismiss a whole range of phenomena in which people engage with existing war memorials for a diverse range of purposes. As the recent upsurge of interest in memorialisation and memorial construction attests, war memorials can have a relevance which reaches beyond those with autobiographical experience of the events being commemorated. Few scholars have addressed this interaction between those who have experience and those who do not, and the effects that this has on the perception and interpretation of memorials. Historian Ross Wilson provides a notable exception to the lack of studies relating to continuing memorial engagement in, 'Cultural Heritage of the Great War in Britain' (Wilson 2013). In this volume Wilson dedicates a chapter to the ongoing significance of the tangible reminders of the conflict, and in particular continuing interest in the commemoration of local 'Pals' Battalions (Wilson 2013:167-176)

## 2.6 Second World War memorialisation

Within a European context comparatively little attention has been given to post-Second World War Memorials. In Britain, the destructive effects of war on the home front have been cited as reason for a lack of monumental construction and for greater calls for practical memorials. Whilst it is true that there were calls for more utilitarian memorials both in the UK (Barber 1949) and in the United States (Shanken 2002), it must not be forgotten that that this debate was one that also took place following the First World War (Borg 1991: 136-142 , Mansfield 1995). A better understanding of memorialisation as a continuing process is required if it is to be understood fully within each context.

## 2.7 American memorial scholarship

If it is the First World War that has dominated early war memorial literature in Europe, the same can be said of a single monument within the American context. The Vietnam Veterans memorial, unveiled in 1982, generated an unprecedented amount of both public and academic attention (Foss 1986, Griswold 1986, Gans 1987, Blair, Jappeson et al. 1991, Sturken 1991, Wagner-Pacifice and Schwartz 1991, Abramson 1996, Tatum 1996, Ochsner 1997, Sturken 1997, Hass 1998, Theriault 2003, Tritle 2012). These studies are demonstrative of memorial studies more generally and come from a variety of different disciplines, employing a wide range of methodological approaches, ranging from architectural scholar Daniel Abramson's contextualisation of the memorial within the defining social phenomena of the 1960s to historian Lawrence Tritle's examination of the interaction with the monument both by other veterans and by those who have no experience of the conflict (Abramson 1996, Tritle 2012).

Literature generated by the construction of the Vietnam Veterans Memorial, both in terms of the monument itself and the war more generally (Sturken 1997, Lembcke 2000), resulted in greater consideration of how other conflicts were remembered and commemorated. During the 1990s studies of the Civil War memory and memorial construction became more prevalent. Many of these academic works focused on the role of memorials in reconciling North and South and in particular in the lack of representation of black American losses (Savage 1994, Watson, Tuorila et al. 1995, Savage 1997, Blight 2001, Shackel 2001, Blight 2002). The 150th anniversary of the Civil War has resulted in a resurgence of memorial construction relating to this conflict. An examination of this continuing tradition is therefore necessary. Despite studies relating to the commemoration of the First World War (Piehler

1994), the Second World War (Doss 2008), and in American culture more generally (Bodnar 1992, Piehler 1995), American war memorial literature remains dominated by the Civil War and the Vietnam War.

## 2.8 French memorial scholarship

France has a long history of both monument construction and war memorialisation (Ben-Amos 2012). Despite defeat in the Franco-Prussian War, the Third Republic undertook a scheme of monumental construction so prolific it became known as 'statuomanie' (Michalski 1998). Troyansky's early study of the memorials from this conflict situates Franco-Prussian War memorials within a political framework but recognises the need to include all forms of memorials and commemoration; suggesting that, 'in order to appreciate fully the *bricolage* that created and renewed national memory, we should investigate any and all structures that commemorate war dead' (Troyansky 1987: 123). Similarly Fischer, in his examination of the Alsace region between the Franco-Prussian and Second World War, explores the utilisation of public space to define national belonging and the use of monuments as concrete representations of larger debates over the past (Fischer 2010). The reading of these monuments and memorials in this area purely as political tools has since been challenged by an approach which acknowledges the complex relationship between grief and political purpose (Varley 2002, Varley 2008, Login 2012).

Karine Varley's (2008) study is worthy of further consideration, particularly as it is one of the few studies which examines the memory of a nineteenth century conflict and the process of commemoration that followed (Simpson 2012). Although it does not focus exclusively on memorials the volume provides an extensive study of the monuments and memorials

constructed in the decades between the defeat of the Franco-Prussian War and the First World War. Varley demonstrates the tensions that existed between government narratives and local desires to remember the conflict in the areas which had experienced the defeat. Whist it has been criticised as a study of memory (Chanet 2011), as an examination of memorials and commemorative practice Varley's volume proves very successful.

Before Varley's expansive volume French literature on war memorials was, like many European studies, dominated by the First World War (Prost 1992, Sherman 1994, Sherman 1996, Becker 1998, Sherman 1998, Sherman 1999, Smith, Audoin-Rouzeau et al. 2003, Kidd 2004). Whilst many acknowledge the long tradition of memorial construction which began with the Franco-Prussian War (Edwards 2000) there has been little engagement with the effect that this tradition had on later memorials. Daniel Sherman's 1999 volume 'The Construction of Memory in Interwar France' is notable for its extensive coverage of the war memorialisation that was carried out during this period. Sherman addresses remembrance and memorialisation from both a political and a cultural level, and unusually amongst war memorial studies he compares memorialisation at both the national and the local level (Sherman 1999). Whilst this volume does not address the use of these memorials after their construction, the lasting commemoration of the conflict is acknowledged in the epilogue which focuses on the commemoration that took place in the 1930s, 1960s and 1990s.

## 2.9 Trauma and lack of memorialisation

The increase in memorial studies in the last two decades has taken place in conjunction with growing scholarship on the legacy of traumatic experiences, and in particular traumas experienced during conflict. These experiences can, for example, be used to construct a

distinct group identity, as Leonard Smith demonstrates in his examination of French First World War veterans (Smith 2007). Within an American context this has been most thoroughly explored in the framework of the Vietnam War and the trauma experienced by returning veterans. In this setting, lack of official recognition for their combat experience is seen to have exacerbated the effects of the trauma received through the course of the war. Once memorialisation has taken place the visitation of the memorial by those who have experienced the trauma can have a therapeutic effect (Watson, Tuorila et al. 1995, Hunt 2010, Watkins, Cole et al. 2010, Tritle 2012: 169-171). This potential for processes of memorialisation to aid the recovery of victims' groups is receiving greater recognition. In 2007 the international conference on 'Memorialization and Democracy: State Policy and Civic Action' held in Santiago, Chile addressed these issues and sought to further understand this process with the aim of 'generating diverse strategies for integrating memorialisation and democracy' (Brett et al 2007: 3). For those that have experienced trauma during conflict, recognition, and memorialisation of this trauma, can play a crucial role in their recovery.

These studies naturally prioritise those who have autobiographical experience of the conflict trauma. Whilst there are growing studies of second generation trauma (Nagata 1990) and in particular in relation to the Holocaust (Hirsch 2008, Hirsch 2012), less developed is the understanding of long-term cultural traumas experienced by different groups within society. Memorialisation of the specific conflict experiences of marginalised groups in historic conflicts can play an important role in addressing these long-term effect cultural traumas. Stef Craps, in his volume on post-colonial trauma, argues that greater attention needs to be directed towards the 'kind of long-term, cumulative trauma suffered by victims of racism or

other forms of structural oppression' (Craps 2013: 4). In this context the construction of highly visible public memorials to previously un-memorialised conflict experiences can play a key role in facilitating the creation of forums for discussion (see 2.10). But the creation of tangible public memorials to the experiences of specific groups within a society produces its own particular problems.

Michael Rothberg, in his study of Holocaust memory, argues that 'one of the most agonizing problems of multicultural societies [is] how to think about the relationship between different social groups histories of victimization' (Rothberg 2009: 2). Groups such as African Americans, Japanese Americans and American Indians have experienced victimisation by European Americans, and similarly in a European context, individuals and groups have been victimised both as a result of their ethnic origin, gender, sexuality or religious background. Such added discrimination from both enemy forces, and perhaps more importantly from those with whom an individual is fighting, result in a very specific experience during conflict. Discussion of these traumatic experiences is problematised by the lack of discourse available for the particular conflict experiences of marginalised groups.

Psychotherapist Laura Brown, in her examination of Feminist perspectives on trauma, argues that trauma definitions have been constructed almost exclusively from the perspective of the dominant group which is composed of 'white, young, able-bodied, educated, middle-class, Christian men' (Brown 1995). This has resulted in a lack of discussion of the very specific conflict traumas experienced by members of a marginalised group, and in a lack of public commemoration of these traumas. The trauma of the original experience (either as active combatant or persecuted victim) is, as a result, perpetuated by a lack of official recognition for that trauma. In the last two decades, groups that have been

historically excluded from history are increasingly prepared to speak out against this exclusion and to 'debate, challenge, and contest which version of the past will be remembered' (Gallicchio 2007). Often these groups attempt to rouse popular support for their particular version of the past. These groups, which Jelin (2003) terms 'memory entrepreneurs,' often favour the construction of a war memorial in order to highlight their particular cause. The role that memorials can play in relation to historical traumas not based in autobiographical experience has received little academic attention and will be addressed in Chapter 6.

## 2.10 An inclusive approach

Almost all of the examples discussed above have limited themselves to the case study of a singular, or small group of memorials within one individual category (for example MacDonald 2001, Connelly 2002, Stangl 2003, Kidd 2004, van Ypresèle 2004, Stephens 2007, Buntman 2008, Hucker 2009). There have however been a number of successful studies which seek to incorporate all forms of memorial over both wider spatial, and temporal boundaries.

Broader studies of memorialisation demonstrate both the varied nature of memorials constructed following a conflict and the diverse backgrounds from which their study was approached. The first extensive study of Australian memorials was carried out by historian Ken Inglis (1998), that of Canadian memorials by heritage and planning scholar Robert Shipley (1987), and in America by Historian Kurt Piehler (1995). The more widespread development of war memorialisation as a form of monument was carried out by art

historian Alan Borg (1991). Borg's extensive volume represents the first long-term history of the construction of war memorials, beginning with the classical and ancient world. But it fails to acknowledge the huge gap in memorialisation from the ancient to the early modern world, something which has since been addressed from an archaeological perspective (Carman and Carman 2006). The art historical approach of the volume also results in often overly descriptive iconographic analysis which obviously favours the artistic and the monumental over the mundane, thus excluding from its consideration the countless memorial plaques, tablets and simple stone markers erected after a conflict.

Studies that have sought to look more generally at commemorative practice and remembrance have demonstrated the benefit of taking both a longitudinal and a wider geographical approach. Erica Doss, for example, in her extensive work on American memorial traditions examines memorials from across the United States (Doss 2010). Rather than focus on form or location, Doss breaks down her study into the themes relating to the types of events the memorials address. These are listed as grief, fear, gratitude, shame and anger. This approach builds on Kenneth Foote's very successful study of sites of trauma within the American landscape and the ways that these were remembered (Foote 1997). Whilst Doss does not exclusively deal with war memorialisation, much focus is directed towards memorials that are conflict related. The volume deals almost exclusively with monuments that have been constructed during the last three decades during the period of what she describes as 'memorial mania.' This study is particularly relevant to the processes examined in this thesis as it provides many examples of the ways in which people engage in memorialisation processes many years after the events themselves. Despite this there is only limited examination of contemporary engagement with existing memorials, for

example when dealing with the appropriateness of images of slavery on memorials (Doss 2010: 11) and the vandalism of memorials to Columbus (Doss 2010: 323). Similarly archaeologist David Stewart's (2011) extensive study of maritime, as opposed to military, memorialisation and remembrance is notable for its incorporation of both UK and North American traditions. Stewart explores the integration of maritime deaths onto familial graves and the transition to maritime memorials in both traditional funerary settings and civilian locations. Many parallels can be drawn between the development of maritime memorials and those constructed to military casualties, in particular, for example, in the treatment of the missing (Stewart 2011: 133-166).

This move towards a broader approach, both in terms of time period addressed and geographical scope culminated in 2012 with the publication of the first edited volume to deal exclusively with war memorials as opposed war memory (Low, Oliver et al. 2012). This volume, like Borg's (1991) extensive account, examines memorials from Classical Greece through to present day America. Yet, like Borg's volume, this study directs no attention to the memorisation which took place between the fall of the Roman Empire and Enlightenment France. This lack of coverage explained as being driven 'by the fact that one of our interests is in the exploration of the ways in which the commemorative habits that emerge in the ancient world are the consciously embraced and manipulated by modern cultures' (Low and Oliver 2012: 7). The volume presents memorialisation as a series of case studies with limited connections made between the memorialisation of different periods. As a result, there remains to be a study examining memorialisation as a continuing process which develops as new memorials draw upon the understandings of existing examples. Isolated studies which focus only on memorials from a singular period have resulted not

only in a lack of engagement with the traditions of memorialisation, but also in a lack of comparative approaches to the study of war memorials, particularly within the Western context (for an exception see Linantud 2008). Rather than segregating memorials by form or context it is more useful to examine the entire spectrum of mnemonic representation as a whole.

## 2.11 A biographic approach to the object

A longitudinal approach to the study of war memorials is crucial if a full understanding of their changing meanings is to be reached. Andreas Huyssen suggests that monuments should not be seen as permanent or concrete, either in their materiality, their symbols or their memory (Huyssen 1994: 9). Instead he suggests new meanings are ascribed to memorials as different people bring their own unique experiences to that narrative contributing new memories to the memorial site. As a result, a biographic approach, which examines the whole life span of a memorial, is necessary if a full understanding of the object is to be reached.

Paul Rainbird (2003) successfully applies this biographic approach to the Broken Hill War Memorial in New South Wales, Australia. From the outset of this paper Rainbird acknowledges that 'war memorials […] can be works of art, points of remembrance, symbols of terror, or heritage attractions at the same or different times, and similar monuments in different places will also be understood differently by different groups in a community' (Rainbird 2003). Despite its lack of depth and reliance upon Inglis' (1998) comprehensive study of Australian war memorials, it demonstrates the potential of the biographic approach

for elucidating the different meanings that memorials can have and the ways that these can change over time.

Other successful biographic approaches can also be found in Steven Cooke's (2000) examination of the Holocaust memorial in London, Harold Mytum's (2003/2004) material culture study of Irish gravestones, and James Young's, study of the Warsaw Ghetto Monument, constructed in 1948. Young examines the biography of this monument over a forty year period and observes the ways in which every individual using the monument appropriates it for their own purpose, memorialising something different and creating a different meaning in the monument (Young 1989: 70). The potential for illustrating the dramatic changes in meaning that take place as time passes from construction is further highlighted by Johnston and Ripmeester in their investigation of the memorial to Private Alexander Watson in St Catherines, Ontario (Johnston and Ripmeester 2007), and Brian Osborne's examination of the George Etienne Carter monument in Montreal (Osborne 1998).

Tensions can develop within this context. Kirk Savage, for example, examines the representation of African Americans in Civil War memorials and the tensions which existed between white Americans, and in particular Southern Civil War memorials and the African American community (Savage 1994, Savage 1997). Similarly, LeeAnn Whites (2004) examines the Confederate Civil War memorial from the University of Missouri and the controversies surrounding what was considered to be racist connotations which were found to be inappropriate within the college setting. Whites traces the biography of the memorial as it is moved by the City of Columbia to a city park, which was considered to be a more 'neutral' location.

## 2.12 The relationship between a memorial and its surroundings

The removal of the University of Missouri Civil War memorial from the campus to a nearby park demonstrates the importance of the memorial setting (Whites 2004). The landscape and environment surrounding a memorial can play a crucial role in the understanding of the object. Musil's often repeated phrase that 'nothing is as invisible as a monument' (Musil 2006: 64-68) is perhaps particularly relevant to memorials given that they are so ubiquitous within both the urban and rural landscape that they can disappear into their surroundings (Winter 2010: 72-73). A memorial which is no longer relevant to, and no longer 'speaks' to, the society in which it exists is in danger of becoming invisible within the landscape. But, changing social and political circumstances can give a memorial greater presence within its landscape setting. In Whites' example, the memorial had stood almost unnoticed for many decades, when changing attitudes towards race relations had made the monument 'visible' once again. Increasingly, individuals strive to make certain memorials more visible within the landscape through acts of engagement and remembrance; this is particularly pertinent within the setting of major anniversaries such as the centenary of the First World War and the Sesquicentennial events surrounding the anniversary of the American Civil War. New media technologies facilitate forms of engagement with memorials structures that would not previously have been possible.

The location of a memorial is rarely arbitrary and often represents a complex dialogue undertaken at the time of its construction. Memorials are often deliberately placed in a way that allows them to draw meaning from their location. Whilst the relationship between the monument and its surroundings has received relatively little attention in relation to war memorials, it has been more fully explored within the context of public art. Fentz and Kecht

for example, advocate that public art should derive its meaning from the space that it inhabits and that only when it confronts that public space at the level of concrete social relations can it become effective within it (Fenz and Kecht 1989). This consideration of the relationship between the environment, society and the monument is a useful concept for the study of memorials, especially those which have no sculptural or other artistic value. This relationship can be dialectic and not only can a memorial draw meaning from its surroundings but a memorial can in turn serve to sanctify the place. Jennifer Edkins for example, in her examination of the debates surrounding the construction of the Cenotaph, notes that

> 'the argument that the monument and the spot in Whitehall on which it stood had been consecrated by the salutes of soldiers in the march past [during Armistice Day commemorations] was crucial. The site was now sacred, and no other would do' (Edkins 2003: 64).

These sacred spaces create expectations regarding acceptable forms of social behaviour (Mayo 1988: 63). Developments, particularly within urban settings, can encroach on areas rendered sacred by the memorial resulting in tensions between different users of the space (Login 2009:36-37). Increasingly, renewed engagement with a memorial coupled with landscape changes around the monument results in calls for the structure to be moved to a more suitable location (Dann 2012, Biggleswade Today 2014, Sutherland Shire Council 2014). This can create tensions between respecting the original intention of the memorial designers, the structural integrity of the memorial, and the needs of a contemporary population. These tensions, whilst particularly relevant within contemporary culture, have

been experienced throughout the history of memorialisation and have yet to be fully addressed by academic studies.

## 2.13 War memorials: tourism, heritage and conservation

Despite an overall lack of attention to the use of memorials many years after their construction, one field that has embraced the on-going significance of war memorials is, perhaps unsurprisingly, the field of heritage and tourism studies. Of particular focus has been the use of memorial museums to engage with the legacies of highly traumatic experiences brought about by conflicts (Williams 2007). The museum as a memorial found prevalence after the First World War, but it has its beginnings in much earlier conflicts (Kavanagh 1988, Kavanagh 1994, Cornish 2004). Memorial museums are continuing to flourish and many examples have been constructed in the last two decades (Lennon and Foley 1999, Worthy 2004, Williams 2007). The commercial value of conflict sites and their accompanying memorials as tourist destinations is an area which is receiving increasing academic attention. Battlefield tourism now forms the largest category of tourist attractions in the world (Smith 1998) and generates a large amount of academic interest in its own right (for example Lloyd 1998, Seaton 1999, Henderson 2000, Semmel 2000, Slade 2003, Holguín 2005, Pollard 2007, Dunkley, Morgan et al. 2011). Historian Jim Weeks examines the development of the site of Gettysburg and its importance as a tourist destination and national shrine (Weeks 2009), and archaeologist Tony Pollard explores the manipulation and transformation of the battlefields of Culloden in Scotland and Isandlwana in South Africa (Pollard 2007). As popular interest in past conflict increases, and as time passes from these conflicts, their memorials can come to be considered as heritage objects in their own right.

The presentation of a memorial as an object of heritage, with the addition of signage and information boards, necessarily changes the meaning of the object. The addition of information relating to the memorial and the events it commemorates makes the assumption that those viewing the memorial will no longer have this knowledge; and by association that the memorial is no longer fulfilling its purpose as an object of remembrance.

Tensions can arise between the memorial as an object of remembrance and as an object of heritage in its own right. Intrinsically linked to these tensions are the preconceptions regarding its use in the past; preconceptions that a modern viewer will bring to a memorial. The effect of these preconceptions on both the perceptions of the memorials and the physical treatment of the objects themselves has been unexplored within academic studies of memorials. Despite this, such understandings can have a dramatic effect on contemporary engagements with memorials. Contemporary understandings of memorials favour quiet reflection and preference locations that allow for remembrance ceremonies. Yets in the post-war years, there was a belief amongst many that memorials should be in locations where they would be visible and accessible to large numbers of people. The development of private car ownership shaped and perpetuated memories of the war by virtue of the belief that local war memorials were expected to be of interest and accessible to the rising number of leisure motorists (Saunders 2007: 57). Yet, the belief that these structures were intended to have quiet locations has brought about the removal of several First World War memorials, often resulting in a detrimental effect in their conservation.

The lack of statutory protection for many memorials has resulted in many examples of both physical decline and in some cases destruction. John Stephens is one of few scholars to

address the physical preservation of these objects. Stephens takes a cultural biography approach in his study of the Katanning war memorial in Western Australia. He uses this approach to provide a framework to move beyond viewing memorials simply as a stage for political and social activity. Instead, he believes a war memorial 'provides thick and rich process to capture the 'becoming' of a place or object and its meaning as an accumulation of a lifetime of social and physical interpretation' (Stephens 2012). What is unique to Stephen's study is that it also addresses the benefits that such an approach could have for the physical preservation of war memorials as heritage objects, stating that:

> '…the current method of documentation and analysis of heritage places favoured in Australia… are principally aesthetic and fabric driven. However, a cultural biography approach may help give personal and community meaning a greater influence in heritage process' (Stephens 2012: 4).[15]

An approach such as this would give greater credence to the intangible qualities of heritage, the importance of which are only recently becoming fully understood (Lira and Amoeda 2009). Memorials are obviously tangible representation of the events they commemorate but a greater understanding is needed of the intangible qualities that they represent if they are to be fully understood (Carman 2009: 46).

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[15] For the relationship between war memorials and heritage outside the Western context see (Lunn 2007: 81-95).

**2.14 Conclusion**

This chapter has demonstrated that no one discipline can claim ownership of war memorials, and they can be found within fields ranging from military history, archaeology, and memory studies, to art history, geography and tourism studies. This multi-discipline approach has both benefited and hindered their understanding. Whilst it has been advantageous in providing a rich and multifaceted range of methodological approaches, it has often resulted in a lack of focus on the physical monuments themselves, and in limited dialogue between those from within the different disciplines. Many studies have been restricted in both temporal and geographic scope, focusing only on memorials from a particular conflict or within a single geographical area. This localised approach has resulted in a lack of recognition of the broader themes that occur throughout the process of memorialisation regardless of geographical or chronological context.

Much early research on war memorials focused on large scale examples, framed in terms of their political potential for reinforcing nationalist narratives (Mosse 1979, Mayo 1988, Mayo 1988a, Mosse 1990, Sherman 1994). Yet very soon after, claims were made for an approach which took into account the many smaller scale memorials which are constructed following a conflict, and gave preference to the personal bereavement narrative over the national narrative (Winter 1995, Tarlow 1999, Login 2009). From this, an understanding developed that the personal and the political, the public and the private were perhaps not as dichotomous as they might first appear.

Many early studies within a European context focused around the wave of memorial construction which occurred after the First World War, whereas in the United States the Vietnam Veterans Memorial dominated the discourse. Studies centred upon the moment of

memorialisation itself rather than taking a wider temporal perspective. The biographic approach has proved to be much more appropriate for the examination of the relationship between the memorial, the viewer and its environment, and the ways in which this changes over time. Yet, these studies are often small scale and focus upon one example. This has resulted in a lack of comparative studies into the ways that the process of memorialisation develops over time and in different geographic locations. As the memorial process continues, a greater understanding is needed of the ways in which different groups, particularly those who feel that they have been excluded from the memorialisation process, engage with both new and existing war memorials.

An inclusive study of memorialisation should not only apply to form but also to the period addressed within a memorial's lifespan. The meaning of a monument is not fixed and although war memorials may be preserved, the society around them changes and so does its interpretations of history. These changing interpretations in turn change the perceived meanings of war memorials (Mayo 1988a:73). As Sherman addresses in the epilogue to 'The Construction of Memory in Interwar France' 'the durability of commemoration as a type of representation involves both the continuity of its fundamental impetus *and* its ability to change, appropriating newly resonant cultural materials or discarding those that have become obsolete or overly controversial' (Sherman 1999: 311). Such understandings of the changing meanings of memorials in response to changing socio-political circumstances can only be achieved through a longitudinal approach that examines the long-term development of a memorial after its construction. Chapter 3 now explains the methodologies used within this thesis in order to examine this development.

# 3. METHODOLOGY

## 3.1 Introduction

This chapter introduces the integrated methodologies employed in undertaking this holistic study of war memorial processes, and describes in detail the approach taken towards the data. Firstly, decisions regarding the choice of terminology (3.2), subject areas (3.3) and armed conflict (3.4) used within this thesis are explained. Section 3.5 describes the research methods employed to collect the data. The approach taken to analyse the data is described in detail in section 3.6. This thesis takes a distinct approach towards war memorials, moving far beyond the socio-political circumstances surrounding their construction. By taking a longitudinal approach to their study and contextualising the objects within three parallel timescales, this thesis proposes a new approach to understanding war memorials of all periods.

## 3.2 Terminology and definitions

Before beginning a study of 'war memorials' it is necessary to define exactly what is meant by this term in order to set research parameters, and define what is included within the scope of the study. Within each of the study areas different terminology is employed to describe the commemorative object erected to remember those that have been affected by a conflict or other military activity. The term employed can indicate a distinct understanding of what a memorial itself represents.

In the United Kingdom, the term *'war memorial'* locates the object firmly within the context of the conflict, making no reference to the individuals commemorated (Becker 1992: 23).[16] The use of the term 'memorial' leaves uncertain the form of the commemoration, which may or may not be monumental (Inglis 1992: 585). In contrast, the French term '*monument aux mort'* suggests a memorial should take a monumental form. Importantly, this term indicates an implicit understanding of the function of a *'monument aux mort,'* since it provides no context for the deaths. Yet, the use of the term *'aux morts'* is significant as it locates the memorial firmly within the context of mourning; separating its function from the celebration of victory or service. Conversely, in the United States the term *'veteran's memorial'* is much more prevalent, suggesting an emphasis on service and not exclusively on death during conflict. This terminology gives a clear suggestion of the differential understandings of memorials in each of the study areas and indicates that, rather than having a universal understanding, a 'war memorial' is a cultural construct.[17]

Within this thesis the term 'war memorial' will be used to refer to all forms covered by *'war memorial,' 'monument au mort'* and *'veterans memorial.'* The Imperial War Museum's War Memorial Archive definition will form the basis of the definition used within this project (Table 1). The Archive describes a war memorial as:

> 'any tangible object which has been erected or dedicated to commemorate war, conflict, victory or peacekeeping. This includes memorials to those killed in, who

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[16] Criticisms have been raised against this term and it been suggested that it is restrictive and unhelpful. One individual wrote in to the War Memorials Trust suggesting that they change their name to 'Soldiers Memorials Trust' The individual was concerned that the term 'war memorial' gave the impression that the 'memorial' itself was concerned with the conflict and not with those who had lost their lives. (Frances Moreton pers. comm. 22/11/2011).

[17] Results from the survey of contemporary attitudes towards memorials (Appendix 1) indicate these subtle changes in the ways that memorials are understood in the UK and the USA and demonstrate cultural differences between processes of memorialisation.

served in or were affected by war or conflict; or who died as a result of accident or disease whilst engaged in military service.' (ImperialWarMuseum 2011).

Table 1 IWM War Memorial Archive Definition of a War Memorial

| IWM War Memorial Archive | |
|---|---|
| WMA records | |
| 1. | Only memorials located in the UK, Channel Islands and Isle of Man. |
| 2. | Memorials to conflicts from the earliest times to the present day |
| 3. | Memorials that commemorate acts of war, conflict, victory or peacekeeping. |
| 4. | Memorials that record thanksgiving for the safe return of individuals and groups or the coming of peace. |
| 5. | Dedications that have been added to gravestones which commemorate a casualty buried elsewhere. |
| 6. | Memorials that commemorate the service, return or death of military personnel during war, conflict or peacetime irrespective of the cause of death, as well as deaths after the end of the conflict as a result of wounds or the effects of war |
| 7. | Memorials that commemorate the wartime service or death of civilians serving in non-combatant organisations |
| 8. | Memorials that commemorate civilians, including refugees and internees who suffered or died as a result of enemy action or in a war related accident as well as a consequence of war or conflict. |
| 9. | Memorials to the service, suffering and death of animals during war |
| WMA does not record | |
| 1. | Gravestones marking the place of burial |
| 2. | Commercial products. |

This thesis will include all forms of memorial recorded by the War Memorial Archive. In accordance with the IWM definition only tangible memorials will be considered. This will necessarily exclude online memorials which commemorate both past and present conflicts. It is recognised, however, that these form an important part of contemporary engagement with memorials.

The Imperial War Museum definition will be necessarily extended in order to fulfil the aims of this study. As a result, it will include monuments marking or containing human remains. This is necessary for the consideration of early memorialisation practices, which evolved from those traditionally associated with the bodies of the dead, and relied on these material

remains in order to make their message understood (4.3.3). Such early forms of monument were crucial to the development of the war memorial form and, as a result, will be included within the thesis (see for example Figure 3.1). The IWM War Memorial Archive definition was created to apply to British memorials and is not necessarily appropriate for those within French or US contexts. Lack of battlefields in Britain within the time period discussed, and the decision during both the First and Second World Wars not to repatriate the bodies of the dead, resulted in a disassociation between the memorial and the physical remains that is not applicable to French and American memorial sites.



Figure 3.1 Franco-Prussian War Memorial to the Prussian Infantry Regiment n.78 with surrounding graves visible behind the monument (circa 1871) near Flavigny, France . (Photograph by the author, 2012).

## 3.3 Choice of study areas

Three geographically separate study areas are examined within this thesis, the United Kingdom, France and the United States of America. It is acknowledged that other areas could have been chosen which have equally extensive memorial traditions and were involved in similar conflicts, including Spain, Italy, Belgium and Germany[18] in a European context and Australia and New Zealand globally. Yet, these were rejected as a focus on only three areas with a similar conflict experience allowed for a more in depth study.

These three study areas, although geographically disparate, have many similarities in conflict experience. Each country was involved in conflicts during the latter half of the 19th century; conflicts that not only brought about changes in the nature of warfare, but also in attitudes towards those involved in warfare and more importantly their commemoration. For each of the chosen study areas the process of erecting memorials, not only to the battles themselves but to all those who fought, begins in the late 19th century. During this period, both France and the USA experienced fighting on their home soil, the USA during the American Civil War (1861-1865) and France during the Franco-Prussian War (1870-1871). Fighting which took place during the American Civil War between Confederate and Union troops provides an ideal comparison to that which took place between French and German soldiers along the eastern French border during the Franco-Prussian War. In Britain, lack of

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[18] Whilst it might be possible to consider Germany the ideal comparative case, particularly in relation to France and the UK, many factors led to its rejection. Firstly, within German scholarship the study of the memory of conflict, and in particular the First and Second World Wars is already the subject of a wide range of academic literature (see for example Confino & Fritzsche 2002, Paver 2012, Koshar, 2000). Secondly, the memory of the Second World War in Germany is now overshadowed by that of the Holocaust which forms a field of study in its own right (Winter & Sivan 1999: 4).

conflict on home soil during 19<sup>th</sup> century resulted in multiple commemorations that took place away from the sites of the battles themselves. As a result, the choice of study areas allows both for a comparison of the development of battlefield memorialisation within the US and France, and for a comparison with the development of memorialisation when commemoration on the site of battle was not possible.

Britain, France and the USA played key roles as allies in both the First and the Second World Wars; allowing a comparison of memorial practices amongst countries of similar conflict experience. Each country has also been involved in many separate conflicts following the end of the Second World War, including for example; the UK in the Falklands, France in Algeria and the USA in Korea and Vietnam. This allows for a comparative study of the continuing development of memorial forms during the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

Each of the study areas has a continuing tradition of war memorialisation in the present. Both the UK and the USA have been engaged in contemporary conflicts in Iraq (2003-2011) and Afghanistan (2001-2014). All three countries have also experienced increased interest in past conflicts brought about in part by the 150<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Civil War in America and the 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the First World War in the UK and France (and to a lesser extent the US). These new conflicts and anniversaries of historic conflicts have resulted in both a new wave of memorial construction relating to these conflicts, and affected engagement with the memories and memorials of previous conflicts. This continuing memorialisation not only allows an examination of the processes of memorialisation which took place after the conflict itself but also for an understanding of the presentation of such sites within contemporary society.

## 3.4 Choice of conflict

In order to fulfil its aims as a holistic study of developing memorial processes, this thesis does not take a conflict-specific approach, but includes all conflicts and military engagements that have resulted in memorial construction within the period examined. Evidently certain major conflicts have given rise to a greater number of memorials, and as a result they will feature more prominently in this thesis than smaller, less memorialised, conflicts. Across the three study areas these conflicts are: the American Civil War; the Franco-Prussian War; The First World War;[19] and the Second World War. Particular emphasis will be placed on conflicts and battles when it is of benefit to the comparative nature of the study. As a result, special emphasis will be given to the memorialisation which took place in the eastern area of France. This region forms 'one of the most contested territories in the geopolitical arena of Europe' (Clout 2011) and was passed between French and German governance four times within the time period of this study. Consequently, individuals from the same geographical region often fought on opposite sides of a conflict. This, coupled with the presence of the battlefields, makes an appropriate comparison for the Confederate and Union commemoration that took place on the battlefields of the American Civil War.

As a result of its particular focus on processes of memorialisation that continue many years after the events they commemorate, the study will incorporate all memorials constructed within the period 1860 to 2014. This will include those that commemorate much earlier conflicts, for example French memorials to the Battle of Bouvines constructed during the

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[19] Within this study this conflict will be referred to as the 'First World War' not the 'Great War' or 'World War One,' unless taken from a direct quote or the accepted name of a memorial. Similarly, the term 'Second World War' will be used and not 'World War Two.'

preparation for the First World War (4.3.7) and those constructed within the study areas by other nations, for example, Australian memorials constructed on the Somme battlefields (6.2.4.2).

## 3.5 Research Methods

The time period covered within this thesis, 1860-2014, allows for an integration of methodologies not available to earlier time periods. As a result, field, documentary, archival and oral testimony research was carried out in order to give a comprehensive understanding of the development of memorialisation over time.

### 3.5.1 Field Research

The primary method of research undertaken within this study was field research; visiting the sites of the memorials themselves within each of the chosen study areas. Although many of the examples used are well documented, with multiple images available, the experience of visiting each site within its landscape, or interior, setting is crucial to the understanding of memorials (Watson 2004: 92). In order to fulfil the holistic aim of this study large numbers of memorials were visited within each of the study areas. In the UK and France over 300 examples were recorded and in the USA over 600 memorials were recorded.

These examples represent a small proportion of memorials in each of the chosen subject areas. The IWM War Memorial Archive[20] estimates over 100,000 in the UK (Imperial War Museum 2011). In France, even if memorials were conservatively estimated at 2 per

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[20] Previously UK National Inventory of War Memorials (UKNIWM)

commune this would equal 73,104 examples, and even communes with no inhabitants have memorials (see 5.2.10). Similarly in the US if each town had only two examples this would equal over 70,000 memorials and the battlefield of Gettysburg alone has over 1300 examples. Of the examples visited approximately 110 memorials were selected for inclusion within this study. These examples were chosen from the wide range available because they demonstrated particularly clearly the broader themes within this thesis. Visible engagement with many of the memorials throughout their biography allowed their 'life-story' to be examined in multiple chapters.

Examples within this study will be limited to those memorials visited by the author, except in exceptional cases where it was not possible to visit the memorial within the timescale of the thesis. Visits to each memorial site were carried out and the memorial and its surroundings recorded using digital photography. Building on methodology developed by Carmen and Carmen (2006: 182-217), a number of different factors were recorded. For each site, detailed observations relating to both its initial construction and its long-term use were also recorded (Table 2).

Table 2 Questions addressed during field research

| Field research record | Questions |
|---|---|
| 1. Commemoration (Carman & Carman 2006) | • What is being commemorated by the memorial?<br>• Is the event commemorated?<br>• Are those that have been killed commemorated?<br>• Are all those killed commemorated or just higher ranking individuals?<br>• Are individuals present at the battle/ conflict recorded?<br>• Is the nation commemorated? |
| 2. Inscription | • If individuals are commemorated are they represented by number or by individual name?<br>• Is the date of and/or persons responsible for the construction of the memorial recorded?<br>• Does the inscription reference the State/ God? |
| 3. State of preservation | • Is the memorial conserved?<br>• Is any damage to the memorial deliberate or a result of deterioration over time?<br>• Has the memorial been repaired? |
| 4. Alterations | • Has the memorial form been visibly changed throughout its lifespan?<br>• Have names of subsequent conflicts/ casualties been added? |
| 5. Relationship with other memorials | • Is the memorial part of a group of memorials?<br>• Are other memorials visible from its location? |
| 6. Location | • Is the location of the memorial significant to the events/ people it commemorates?<br>• Does the memorial itself mark an event at a specific location?<br>• Is the memorial in its original location?<br>• If not is reference made to its original location and the reason for its removal? |
| 7. Active use | • Are there signs that the memorial is being actively used?<br>• Is this use for remembrance purposes, e.g. wreaths/ mementos left at the site of the memorial?<br>• Is the memorial being used for non-remembrance purposes? |
| 8. Presentation/ Interpretation | • Have signs/ interpretation boards been added to the memorial?<br>• If so, where are they located, on the memorial, next to the memorial, in a separate location?<br>• How do these boards interpret the memorial, e.g. through the events it commemorates, the history of the objects itself? |
| 9. Accessibility | • Is the memorial easy to access?<br>• Is the memorial only accessible at certain times?<br>• Is the memorial only accessible to certain individuals?<br>• Is permission needed to access the memorial? |

*Research methods used in each study area:*

*United Kingdom*

Research in the UK began with a period of desk based assessment to determine the varieties of memorials available for inclusion within the study. In the United Kingdom, the presence of the Imperial War Museum War Memorial Archive, a searchable online database of memorials, facilitated the location of appropriate memorials and provided direction to the field research (Imperial War Museum 2011). The geographical proximity of the study area to the researcher allowed for continued repeat visits to the examples included. In addition to memorials located through this archive, the contemporary centre for UK memorialisation, the National Memorial Arboretum, Staffordshire, also formed a focus for the study of contemporary processes of war memorialisation (Figure 3.2).



Figure 3.2 National Memorial Arboretum, (2001) Alrewas, Staffordshire, UK. (Photograph by the author, 2012).

*France*

In France field research was undertaken in two stages to test methodologies and the suitability of the approach proposed. This research was preceded by a period of desk based research. This research was aided by the presence of the online memorial database, MémorialGenWeb which allowed memorial selection to take place prior to visiting the sites (Blanchais 2000). This database lists memorials from all periods in each region and where available provides historic postcards relating to the original construction of the memorial (for example Figure 3.3).



Figure 3.3 Historic postcard of First World War Memorial (1924), Sedan, France (Image available: www.memorial-genweb.org/~cpa/com_mgw.php?releve=10748&insee=08409&dpt=08&comm=Sedan).

Figure 3.4 German Franco-Prussian War Memorial with German symbolism defaced (circa 1871), near Vionville, France. (Photograph by the author, 2012).

A primary research trip was undertaken along the eastern French border from Sedan to Metz (July 2011). This preliminary field visit tested the viability of research methods employed, determining what was possible to understand about processes of memorialisation from the sites themselves. This initial study focused primarily on memorials from the Franco-Prussian and First World Wars. The presence of many memorials relating to the 1870 conflict facilitated a study of the very early stages of the development of the war memorial tradition.

Following the successful completion of this preliminary study[21] a second, extended period of field research was undertaken, in an area ranging from Dunkerque to Metz (May 2012). This enabled the investigation of memorials dating from 1870 until the present. It also

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[21]Results are published in the Journal of Conflict Archaeology (Login, E. 2012. 'War Memorials in Sedan and Metz: The Evolution of War Memorialisation in Eastern France' *Journal of Conflict Archaeology*, Vol. 7 No. 3, 176-97

allowed the re-visitation of sites covered in the initial field research in order to answer questions that had resulted from the earlier study. For example, the preliminary work highlighted that following the First World War many 1870 monuments were physically transformed (5.2.8). A repeat visit allowed memorials to be examined more closely for signs of this transformation (Figure 3.4).

### *The United States*

An extensive six-month research project was conducted in the United States. This involved three interrelated research projects in order to examine the full range of memorialisation processes in the USA, beginning with the Civil War. The first project, based in Charlottesville, Virginia, involved the study of Southern Confederate memorials to the Civil War (August 2012). This was complemented by field research at the battlefields of Spotsylvania, Manassas and Fredericksburg, facilitating an understanding of the processes of Civil War commemoration that took place in the defeated Confederate states. The study was followed by field research at the Northern battlefield of Gettysburg (September 2012), which is commemorated by both Confederate and Union states. Finally, a three-month research project was undertaken in Washington, D.C (October–December 2012). This project enabled the study of national commemoration from the Civil War through to the present. Despite this wide focus, the primary aim of this field research was to understand the contemporary processes of memorialisation which take place involving groups who feel that their conflict experience was not fully recognised at the time of the conflict itself. Although many memorials were included within the study, three tangible memorials formed its focus: the Japanese American Memorial to Patriotism during World War II; the African

American Civil War Memorial; the National Women in Military Service for America Memorial, and one memorial which has yet to be constructed, the National Memorial to the American Indian.[22]

## 3.5.2 Documentary research

Conducting research within the historical period necessarily results in a wealth of available documentary evidence. The aim of this thesis, to build a framework within which memorials from all periods could be conceptualised, rendered in depth historical analysis of each memorial unsuitable. Yet, as Schofield and Harrison argue in their examination of archaeological approaches to the contemporary past, 'as for earlier historic periods, documentary sources and field investigation work best together, each testing and extending the other, drawing out comparisons as well as inconsistencies' (Harrison and Schofield 2010). Consequently, archive research relating specifically to the processes of memorialisation was carried out to give a more in depth understanding of both attitudes towards memorials in the past and the discussions that surrounded their construction

Although the primary method of investigation was field research, selective archival research was also conducted where possible. This thesis proposes a biographic approach to memorials (3.6.2), and consequently materials relating to the planning processes provide an invaluable resource for the pre-construction phase. Where possible individual archives relating to each memorial were visited. Extensive materials relating to memorials, and in

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[22] The results of this study are published in Login, E. (2014). Contemporary War Memorials and the Urban Landscape: The Memorialization of Marginalized Groups in Washington D.C. *Mapping Generations of Traumatic Memory in American Narratives.* D. Mihailescu, R. Oltean and M. Precup. Newcastle upon Tyne, Cambridge Scholars Publishing 212-244.

particular media articles, held by the IWM War Memorial Archive allowed for a comprehensive study of UK memorials. The study of long-term memorial processes in Peterborough, which resulted in the construction of four different memorials, was aided by archives held at Peterborough Central Library.

In the USA, the presence of an independent archive relating to the Women in Military Service for America Memorial facilitated in depth research of this memorial. Comprehensive records of the Vietnam Veterans Memorial held by the Library of Congress were examined to give a full understanding of this nationally significant monument. Records included images of the original rejected proposals for the memorial, which consequently gave a clearer understanding of why the final design was chosen. At Gettysburg the presence of extensive records relating to the long-term development of memorialisation at the site enabled in depth archival research.

Time restrictions during French visits prevented archive research at institutions and consequently all research was restricted to materials available online.

### 3.5.3 Interviews

To further understandings of contemporary memorial processes twenty seven in depth interviews (13 UK AND 14 USA) were also carried out with individuals associated with memorials (Table 3). These interviews provide an insight into the processes of war memorialisation that take place a long time after the conflict they are commemorating. Interviewees were selected based on their association with a particular memorial or memorial body.

Individuals were interviewed from three main UK memorial associations, the Imperial War Museum War Memorial Archive, War Memorials Trust and the National Memorial Arboretum. These interviews were undertaken in order to understand the role which these organisations play in relation to UK war memorials. Individuals were also chosen for their association with the construction of new memorials. Initially, individuals were chosen from amongst those who had constructed monuments at the National Memorial Arboretum and as research progressed other individuals were included for their role in memorial construction in other areas of the UK.

In the United States representatives were chosen for each of the memorials to marginalised groups. In addition representatives from national memorial campaigns were chosen to give a perspective on the processes of memorialisation which takes place at a national level. These interviews were designed to examine the ways in which individuals engage with memorialisation in modern society.

In response to time restraints and language restrictions, no interviews were carried out with individuals from a French memorial context.

Throughout the interview process a *semi-structured interview* technique was adopted (Bryman 2008: 438).[23] Prompts were used to ensure that the same questions were covered within each interview but questions were kept to a minimum, permitting each interviewee to speak as freely as possible and allowing the researcher to evaluate if questions would be addressed without specifically having been asked. This semi-structured approach allowed for reflexivity and 'an iterative process of refinement, whereby lines of thought identified by earlier interviewees could be taken up and presented at later interviews' (Beardsworth and Keil 1992: 261-2 cited in Bryman 2008:439). Given the potentially sensitive nature of the subject area a flexible approach was crucial as many individuals had an emotional response when discussing memorial processes with which they were involved. Consequently, the researcher was able to take a more sensitive approach to interviewees with a personal connection to memorials, than to those with a professional connection.

In response to the potential sensitivity of the subject and in order to make interviewees as comfortable as possible with the process, each interviewee was given the opportunity to choose the location of the interview. Although it is acknowledged that the place of the interview can be important for helping individuals structure their memories (Anderson 2004) it was felt, in response to the subject area and extended length of the interviews, that the interviewee should be able to choose a location that was most convenient for them.

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[23] For full transcripts of interviews directly referenced in the thesis see Appendices 8-12.

Table 3 Interviews with individuals associated with memorials

| | Institution | Interviewee | Date |
|---|---|---|---|
| **UK** | | | |
| 1 | National Memorial Arboretum (NMA) | Paul Kennedy | 18/01/2012 |
| 2 | National Memorial Dover | John Pegg | 26/06/2012 |
| 3 | Allied Special forces (NMA) | Mike Colton | 09/06/2012 |
| 4 | Auxiliary Territorial Service (NMA) | Beryl Furey-King | 10/06/2012 |
| 5 | Burma Star Memorial (NMA) | Glynis Longhurst | 06/06/2012 |
| 6 | COFEPOW (NMA) | Carol Cooper | 19/06/2012 |
| 7 | Suez Canal (NMA) | Richard Woolley | 31/05/2012 |
| 8 | Railway Workers Memorial | Sam Reed | 03/07/2012 |
| 9 | Noor Inayat Khan Memorial | Shrabani Basu | 24/03/2012 |
| 10 | UKNIWM | Frances Casey | 30/03/2012 |
| 11 | War Memorials Trust (Education) | Ruth Cavendar | 04/04/2012 |
| 12 | War Memorials Trust (Membership & Volunteers) | Nancy Treves | 04/04/2012 |
| 13 | War Memorials Trust (Conservation) | Emma Nelson | 04/04/2012 |
| **USA** | | | |
| 1 | Veterans History Project (LoC) | Bob Patrick | 23/10/2012 |
| 2 | African American Civil War Memorial | Hari Jones | 19/11/2012 |
| 3 | Native American Memorial | Stephen Bowers | 05/10/2012 |
| 4 | Japanese American Memorial | Franklin Odo | 14/10/2012 |
| 5 | Eisenhower Memorial (for) | Carl Reddell | 09/11/2012 |
| 6 | Eisenhower Memorial (against) | Justin Shubow | 16/11/2012 |
| 7 | Women in Military Service for America | General Vaught | 25/10/2012 |
| 8 | American Battle Monuments Commission | Tim Nosel | 22/10/2012 |
| 9 | Gettysburg NMP (Conservation) | Lucas Flickinger | 26/09/2012 |
| 10 | Longstreet Memorial (sculptor) | Gary Casteel | 26/09/2012 |
| 11 | Fine Arts Commission | Tom Luebke | 05/11/2012 |
| 12 | World War II Memorial | James Percoco | 06/11/2012 |
| 13 | World War I Memorial | Edwin Fountain | 02/11/2012 |
| 14 | National Coalition to Save Our Mall | Judy Feldman | 15/11/2012 |

## 3.6 Approach and analysis of data

The integrated methodology applied was crucial to the longitudinal approach necessary to understand the development of the memorial tradition from 1860 unit 2014. Extensive field research allowed a wide range of commemorative responses to be identified and potential themes to be drawn from the large data sets created. Subsequent integration of archives and oral testimonies resulted in the elucidation of processes not visible through field research alone, giving greater depth to the study. As a result of the large number of examples available for recording in each of the study areas quantitative analysis of this data was not carried out. Qualitative analysis, which began using preliminary data sets, allowed interpretation of the data to shape emergent codes (Charmaz 2000: 515). This facilitated the development of a framework of understandings of war memorials which can be described as follows:

3.6.1    War memorials commemorating the death of soldiers and civilians in conflict form a category of object in their own right, and this category is distinct from earlier, conflict focused, forms of war memorial.

3.6.2    As a result, a distinct memorial tradition exists and this tradition can be seen to develop over time.

3.6.3    War memorials can have both political and psychological functions and these are not easily separated.

3.6.4    The significance of a memorial as an object does not end with the generation that created it, but instead extends far beyond autobiographical memory.

3.6.5 A biographic approach to a memorial is most appropriate; this biography begins when the plans for a memorial are conceived and can continue even after the memorial has been destroyed.

3.6.6 All forms of engagement with a memorial are equally valid to its understanding.

3.6.7 To fully understand this engagement at any given point in time a memorial should be contextualised not only within its socio-political context but within three parallel timescales:

1. O-P the point in the development of the war memorial tradition

2. CT the time that has passed from the conflict being commemorated

3. MT the time that has passed from the construction of the memorial

These understandings will now be examined in detail below using their relevant numbers.

### 3.6.1 War memorial as category of object

This thesis takes an approach which understands memorials that commemorate common soldiers and civilians as a category of object in their own right. These objects are influenced by, but distinct from, triumphal forms of war memorial which existed prior to the mid-19th century.

Whilst the term object is used throughout this thesis it is perhaps more appropriate to view memorials as 'things' rather than objects (Joy 2002). Joy, in her biographic study of her grandfather's medal, successfully demonstrates that 'not even an object as strictly

contextualized as a war medal is innately meaningful: it must be performed in action to acquire meaning and only becomes meaningful when it is socially constituted in a particular way' (Joy 2002). Few memorials have any intrinsic economic or artistic value and consequently are of value only because of the distinct social meanings attached to them (see 3.6.5 below).

But these meanings are not static even in the 1930s many were aware of the changing meaning of memorials and teachers in France asked their pupils about the remembrance ceremonies themselves rather than the events they commemorated (Siegal 2002: 786). This becomes even more apparent once there is no longer anyone left alive with autobiographical experience of the events being commemorated. The sacred nature of war memorials elevates them above other objects in the landscape and their increasing value and (ideally) infinite nature demarcates them as 'durable' (Thompson 1979: 7). 'Durable' objects are perceived as being more valuable than those which are 'transient' and which decrease in value over time. The way in which we act towards an object is directly related to its perception as either 'transient' or 'durable' (Thompson 1979: 7). Engagement with a memorial will therefore be dependent upon the assumptions with which the viewer approaches it. These will of course depend, to an extent, on the memories of the event being commemorated. Yet, they will also be affected by the value placed upon the object itself. As the tradition of memorial construction has developed over time, memorials will be approached with a pre-existing understanding based upon the memorial tradition iteslf.

### 3.6.2 War memorial tradition

War memorials do not simply exist as individual objects but they belong to a category of monuments 'the war memorial.' The characteristics and iconography of the object itself have, as a result, become secondary to the understandings attached to it. This concept is developed by Paul Rainbird in his examination of the transformation of pots into tombs at Nan Madol. In this example, a single set of meanings is attached to different types of objects over time, demonstrating that this meaning can be more important than the characteristics of the pots themselves (Rainbird 1999). Similarly, an object can be viewed as 'a war memorial' and found important because it belongs to this category of objects, regardless of the physical form that the object takes. Even if the names or conflict commemorated are no longer considered relevant, a memorial can retain its significance because of the meanings it was perceived to have in the past and its location within this memorial tradition. Rainbird develops this concept in relation to the Broken Hill Memorial in New South Wales (Rainbird 2003).

In response to the lack of existing chronological frameworks examining this tradition the thesis aims to understand the long-term development of memorialisation beginning in the 1860s in the UK, France and the USA. By taking a longitudinal and comparative approach, and examining the similarities in memorial processes in differing geographical locations, each with unique social and political contexts, the study aims to understand the development of war memorials as a category of object that can be seen to evolve over time.

### 3.6.3 Political and psychological functions

The study of war memorials has been hindered by a bipartite approach which attempts to separate memorials according to their political (for example Gillis 1994; Mayo 1988; Mosse 1990) and psychological functions (for example Winter 1995, Tarlow 1999). Yet, it is clear that there can be no such clear division between understandings of memorials (see 2.3). As Ashplant (2000: 7) has suggested, the adoption of such dichotic paradigms has continued to hinder the study of war memorials. As a result, this study will take an approach which views both the political and the emotive as equally viable concepts and which seeks to understand the interaction between the two.

### 3.6.4 Continued significance

Academic focus on the period of a memorial's construction, and predominantly the construction that takes place directly after the conflict, has resulted in a privileging of engagement by those with autobiographical memories of the events being commemorated. Yet, as the anniversaries of the American Civil War and the First World War have demonstrated, memorials continue to be valued for many years after their construction, and in some cases even after their destruction. This significance may or may not relate to the memorial's original intended purpose, but it is inappropriate within a holistic study to privilege one form of significance above another. Consequently this thesis includes all understandings of memorials and not only those which are reliant upon autobiographical memories of the events commemorated.

### 3.6.5 A biographic approach

A biographic approach to the memorial, in which the object itself is centralised, is required for a full understanding of the levels of engagement that take place, and it is this approach that will be taken within this thesis. Anthropological methodologies will be employed to facilitate this approach. Memorials frequently have little intrinsic, artistic, or financial value, and as a result their significance is reliant upon the values attributed to them by individuals and interest groups. Objects gain meaning as stories become attached to them throughout their 'life-span,' even if the object itself is inherently unremarkable (Hoskins 1998). This approach, which preferences the social value of the object, is particularly useful in the study of non-monumental memorials which hold no intrinsic economic or technical value. War memorials should, as a result, be viewed in terms of their cultural biography as the remembrance values placed upon them by society preclude their commoditisation (Kopytoff 1988: 73).

War memorials may also be subject to changes in meaning and can undergo multiple transformations. This need not be a physical transformation in order for a change in meaning to take place (Gillings and Pollard 1999: 170). As people and objects gather time, they are constantly transformed, and these changes of person and object are intrinsically linked to one another. The purpose of an biographic approach is to illuminate both the physical and symbolic changes which occur to an object throughout its 'life' (Gosden and Marshall 1999). At any given moment in time they have different meanings to different people and these meanings will change over time. Memorials, like all signifiers, must therefore be viewed as both synchronically and diachronically polysemic (Clay 2012).

Within this thesis the biography of the memorial is understood to begin with the decision to create a memorial, or when an existing memorial begins to be considered unsuitable. Consequently, discussions regarding such issues as the form, location and purpose of the memorial, which can take place many years before the eventual construction, are considered an important part of the object's biography. Equally the biography of a memorial can continue even after the object itself has been destroyed if the memory of that object is retained and results in the location once occupied by the memorial being treated differently.

### 3.6.6 Engagement

In response to the multiple meanings attached to memorials, this study views all forms of engagement with memorials as equally valid and important. By taking this approach the study can move far beyond those which preference the original intended function of the object, if indeed this ever existed. Using this method, the use of a memorial as shelter by the homeless community will be considered equally valid to that of relatives leaving a wreath in memory of a lost loved one. Negative forms of memorial engagement, such as the addition of graffiti or the destruction of parts of, or the entire memorial, will also be considered. Such responses to a memorial are important indicators of the value placed upon that memorial within society.

It is acknowledged that different forms of engagement are not always mutually exclusive. For example, an individual from the UK visiting a battlefield memorial in France can be considered simultaneously as tourist and pilgrim (Dunkley, Morgan et al. 2011). Such

historical 'tourism' can play an important role in the production of popular historical consciousness (Popular Memory Group 1998:75-87). The effect of such activities will be examined within this thesis, particularly within the context of contemporary memorial tourism.[24] Increased demand for visitation to such sites has resulted in their presentation for tourist consumption, with the necessary signage and information boards. The presentation of memorials in this way necessarily changes their meaning. No longer are they reliant only upon the collective memories of those viewing the memorial for their interpretation but an explanation for their presence is provided by an external party, usually a heritage professional. This interpretative framework has the potential to shape the memory of the viewer, both in terms of the events being commemorated, and the memorial itself. This research aims to evaluate the effect of such heritage interpretation at the sites of war (6.3.7).

## 3.6.7 Three parallel timescales

This thesis takes an approach which views war memorials as a category of objects in their own right, distinct from other funerary memorials and triumphal memorials. It conceptualises these objects within three parallel timescales; the chronological date in relation to the memorial tradition (O-P), the time that has passed from the conflict (CT) and the time that has passed since the memorials construction (MT). The implementation of this

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[24] The UK National Memorial Arboretum for example receives an average of 300,000 visitors each year, despite having no geographical connection to the events it commemorates. (Figure taken from UK NMA website: http://www.thenma.org.uk/about-us/about-us/who-we-are/)

wider framework will allow for a more comprehensive understanding of a war memorial at any given point in time.

### *O-P Chronological timescale*

Within this thesis the chronological timescale (O-P) refers to the development that takes place within the war memorial tradition from 1860 until 2014. This will be broken down into three smaller time periods, to be addressed by the main chapters. Chapter 4 examines the development of memorials from 1860 to the outbreak of the First World War in 1914. This time period represents the very beginnings of memorialisation of the common soldier within a western context. Although this period of time is relatively short, developments within the commemorative process occur rapidly as memorial construction becomes an established part of the post conflict process. Yet, during this period memorials continue to draw on external funerary and triumphal forms and the influence of the memorial tradition will be felt less strongly than in other chapters. In Chapter 5, representing 1914-1939, the influence of the memorial tradition that had developed in the previous five decades is felt more strongly. Earlier war memorial forms, commemorating soldiers and civilians, resulted in their continued memorialisation being both normalised and expected. By the time period covered by Chapter 6, 1939-2014, the war memorial tradition can be viewed as fully established and new memorial forms draw upon existing examples.

*CT Time passed from conflict*

The approach taken within this thesis will give greater salience to the time that has passed from the conflict being commemorated than previous memorial studies. This timescale will be discussed in each chapter, through the examination of both continued memorialisation of earlier conflicts and continued engagement with earlier memorials. In Chapter 4, despite the short timescale covered, multiple revisions are undertaken in the types of structures that are constructed to the same conflicts. These re-evaluations in memorial design are influenced by the time that has passed between the conflict itself and construction (CT). As those with actual experience of the conflict become fewer, the memory of the conflict passes from autobiographical into collective memory. Whilst the meanings drawn from the war may be perceived as important enough to justify continued commemoration, the kinds of memorial required by those with only historical memories of a conflict will necessarily be very different from those with direct autobiographical experience. If existing memorials are considered unsuitable then new memorials will continue to be constructed. Each chapter examines broadly two phases of memorial process in relation to the time passed from the conflict being commemorated. The first examines the initial phase of memorialisation that takes place in the first 25 years following the conflict (CT<25 years). The second, examines the memorialisation that takes place much later (CT >25 years) as the conflict narrative is itself addressed through processes of memorial construction.

***MT Time passed from construction of memorial***

The time that has passed from the moment of a memorial's construction (MT) necessarily affects the ways in which individuals engage with the memorial. If memorialisation is to be considered as an ongoing process an understanding must be sought which goes beyond the construction of the memorial. Continuing engagement with a memorial following its construction is an important part of the memorial process. New meanings are attached to a memorial as the conflict it commemorates is reinterpreted amongst each new generation. Within each chapter the time that has passed from the memorials initially discussed at the beginning of Chapter 4, will increase. As a result MT will exert a completely different kind of influence in Chapter 6 where MT>100years than in the second half of Chapter 4 when MT< 50 years.

Whilst it is important that all three timescales be taken into consideration when examining a memorial at any given point in time, it must also be understood that each timescale does not exert its influence equally. Within the short period of time discussed within Chapter 4 the memorial timescale (MT) exerts less influence on processes of memorialisation than it will when the same memorials are considered within later chapters.

## 3.7 Conclusion

This chapter has outlined the integrated methodology of field, archive and oral testimony research. The extended period of research allowed repeat visits to almost all of the examples discussed within this thesis. This chapter has outlined the approach taken within this thesis. The war memorial is viewed as a category of object which is located within a

distinct war memorial tradition. It is the development of this memorial tradition which forms the structure of this thesis. A holistic approach to memorials is taken, examining the entire biography of the object, beginning with the decision to construct a memorial and continuing even past the memorials destruction. Within this biography all forms of engagement, both those that can be viewed as 'positive' and those that are viewed as 'negative,' will be considered equally.

# 4 EARLY WAR MEMORIALISATION PROCESSES: O-P =1870-1914

## 4.1 Introduction

War memorialisation has emerged as one of the primary phenomena of the late 20th and early 21st centuries. Within contemporary culture it is not only expected that individuals who give their lives during a conflict will be appropriately memorialised, but it is also accepted that those from more distant conflicts should continue to be commemorated. Memorial construction has become so normalised that it is often easy to forget that this tradition has not always been in place. As Graham Oliver describes in his study of classical traditions and commemorative practices in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries

> 'Over familiarity with contemporary culture can give the wrong impression of the unusual state of remembrance that has prevailed in the last century and a half: the listing of the war dead and the commemoration of the dead combatants of modern society is not typical of the treatment that most societies have offered to their war dead' (Oliver 2012: 113)

Whilst it is true that the practice of erecting monuments to all those that had died in conflict is a distinct contemporary phenomenon, this phenomenon did not appear fully developed in its present form, nor should its current form be seen as static and unchanging. Rather, war memorialisation developed gradually, drawing on earlier commemorative and monumental forms in response to constantly changing socio-political circumstances.

Through its examination of war memorials constructed throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (1860-1914), this chapter not only examines the early development of the war memorial tradition, but in so doing, it seeks to challenge a number of deep rooted assumptions regarding processes of memorialisation, assumptions that have resulted primarily from an over emphasis on memorialisation that was carried out in the period following the First World War. Memorials constructed during this period have been located within the distinct social and political circumstances surrounding the conflict, including, the unprecedented scale of loss, (Mosse 1990: 3, Bushaway 1992: 137, Tarlow 1999: 153), the use of volunteer forces (Bushaway 1992: 136), the guilt of the older generation (Winter 1995: 110, Winter 1999: 58), and the lack of gravesides at which to mourn resulting from the decision to bury the dead where they fell (Moriarty 1997: 126, Sherman 1999: 100, Connelly 2002: 44, Goebel 2007).

Lack of engagement with processes of memorialisation that took place prior to 1914 have resulted in approaches which frame the construction of First World memorials as a specific event rather than as part of an ongoing process. This has given rise to a number of assumptions, including that the First World War began the democratisation of the memorial tradition to include the common soldier and civilian casualties. This chapter seeks to demonstrate that these processes in fact began many decades before 1918 and that the memorialisation which took place following this conflict should not be viewed as a single event, but rather as a continuation of a long tradition of memorialisation. It also seeks to illustrate the reflexivity of the memorialisation process, demonstrating that the evolution of new forms of memorialisation did not put an end to earlier more traditional forms.

The approach taken in this chapter will be necessarily chronological in response to the lack of research applied to the preliminary stages of the war memorial tradition, but it will also bring out broader themes within the process of memorialisation that will be repeated in later chapters. This chapter will implement a new approach to memorialisation outlined in Chapter 1 (1.2). This approach is no longer entirely socio-political centric but conceptualises war memorial understandings as the transect of three parallel timescales. A consideration of each of these timescales is necessary if a full understanding of a war memorial at any given point in time is to be reached (Figure 4.1).
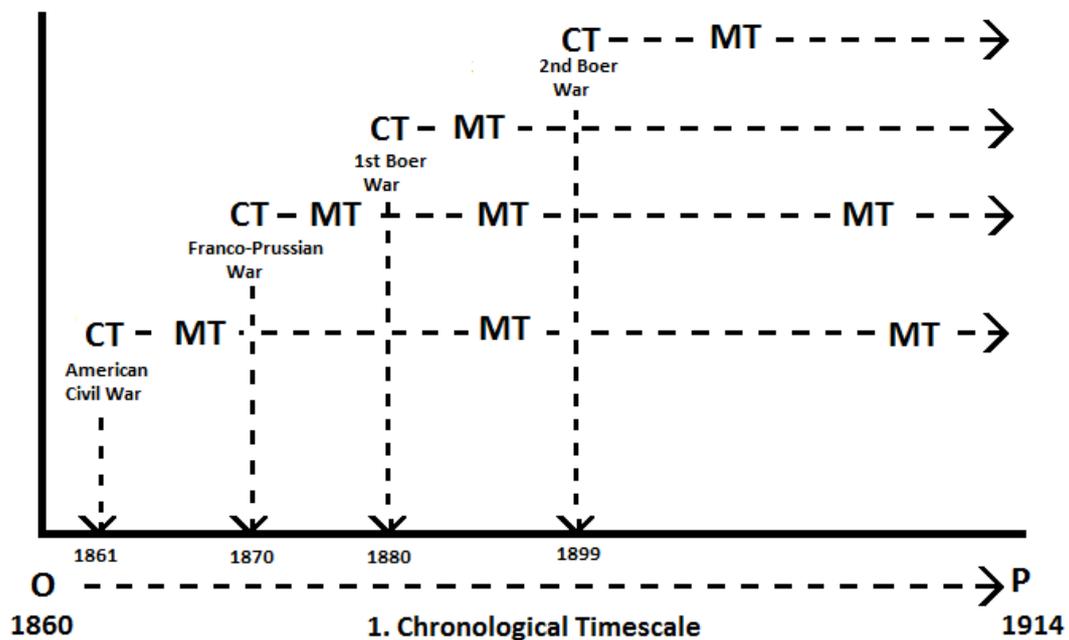


Figure 4.1 Three parallel timescales relating to the understanding of a war memorial at any given point in time:
**O-P:** 1860 – 2014 Chronological timescale
**CT:** Time passed from conflict
**MT:** Time passed from memorial construction

***O-P = War memorial tradition 1860 –1914***

Within these early stages of development, the memorial tradition develops quickly as commemorations of all those killed in conflict becomes both *established* and *expected.* As the tradition of memorial construction becomes customary during the late 19th century it begins a process in which other, often more distant, conflicts are commemorated through the memorial form.[25]

***CT =Time passed from conflict***

Memorialisation processes relating to a conflict continue as events are reinterpreted amongst each new generation. To examine these changes more closely the chapter is divided into two parts;  part 4.2 examines the initial phase of memorialisation that takes place in the first 25 years following the conflict (CT<25 years), and  4.3 examines the memorialisation that takes place as the conflict narrative itself is addressed through processes of memorial construction.

***MT = Time passed from memorial construction***

Engagement with a memorial can continue for many years after construction and the age of a memorial can cause it to be treated very differently. Within the short period of time discussed within this chapter, the memorial timescale (MT) exerts less influence on processes of engagement than it does when the same memorials are considered within later chapters. Consequently, whilst it is important that all three timescales are taken into consideration it must be understood that each timescale does not exert its influence equally

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[25] An examination of the circumstances surrounding the conflicts that took place during this period can be found in Appendix 2

**4.2 Initial post-war processes of memorialisation (CT < 25 years)**

**4.2.1 Introduction**

The early development of war memorials commemorating the common solider will now be examined within the context of rapidly changing warfare and attitudes towards the common soldier. Whilst this thesis focuses on the development of the war memorial tradition once it has begun in the mid-19th century it acknowledges that many factors result in this change in commemorative form. These factors are explored in more detail in Appendix 2. This section examines the development of memorialisation that takes place in the immediate aftermath of the conflict, when the memory of the conflict is predominantly auto-biographical (CT < 25 years). The commemoration that takes place within the first 25 years following a conflict necessarily responds to the immediate consequences of that conflict. Within France and the American South the most immediate consequence was that of the defeat. The first section (4.2.2) examines the evolution of memorial processes from these difficult memories. The development of war memorialisation as a form of monument in its own right is especially well illustrated by examples in which former belligerents remained in close proximity. The conditions in eastern France between French and German societies, and between Union and Confederate forces in the eastern United States, resulted in the development of memorialisation under the shadow of the enemy.

The following section (4.2.3) examines the appropriate treatment of the bodies of the dead. The newly elevated status of the common soldier had the dual effect. Not only did it necessitate the more careful treatment of their physical remains but it also made these remains available for symbolic appropriation by the nation state. During both the American and Franco-Prussian conflicts the construction of national cemeteries and marked graves for

the bodies of fallen soldiers of all ranks takes place for the first time. Yet, the transferal of

memorialisation from the higher ranks to that of the common soldier was not immediate,

and section 4.2.4 examines this transitional process. Section 4.2.5 examines the significance

that the names of the dead acquired within this context, particularly in the absence of their

physical remains. This is followed by a discussion of the reflexive development of the

memorialisation tradition. The chronological development of the memorial tradition (O-P)

was not linear in response only to contemporary conflicts, but rather reflexive, as new

trends in memorialisation sparked the memorialisation of much earlier warfare. This

reflexivity will be examined in section 4.2.6. The first part of this chapter will end with an

examination of the earliest forms of civilian memorials, challenging the notion that such

monuments originated following the First World War (4.2.7).

## 4.2.2 Difficult memories and monuments to defeat

Shameful episodes characterised conflicts in all three of the study areas within this thesis; in

France and the American South this took the form of the shame of defeat in the Franco-

Prussian and Civil Wars respectively and the UK's morally questionable practices of scorched

earth policies and concentration camps marred victory in the Boer War. These episodes

were clearly unsuited to the forms of historic monumental memorials that had evolved from

the desire to commemorate triumph and to perpetuate the memory of victory (for

examples see Borg 1991, Carman and Carman 2005, Carman and Carman 2006, Chaniotis

2012, Cooley 2012, Low 2012). The division and defeat experienced by both the American

South and France resulted in a lack of triumphalist rhetoric on which to draw to

commemorate their conflict experiences. As James Mayo suggests, when a country is

defeated in war its people experience not only disgrace, but other, more divided feelings as well as they are not able to 'simply reduce a war's outcome to winners and losers, [but] they are compelled to find a way to redeem themselves' (Mayo 1988: 169). Consequently, defeated nations are forced to examine both the legitimacy of the cause for which they fought and the manner in which they fought.

Whilst attempts at forgetting, through the omission of both tangible and intangible markers of the defeat,[26] might be considered the most appropriate reaction to such events, neither the Confederacy after the Civil War nor the French following the Franco-Prussian War chose to do so. Instead, both chose to mark the conflict through the construction of an unprecedented number of memorials which would serve as tangible reminders of the conflict for many years to come. In the immediate aftermath of their defeat in the American Civil War, the Confederate States were prevented by financial constraints from undertaking any form of initial monumental memorialisation. Yet, despite the devastating economic impact of the conflict on the Southern economy, attention was soon directed towards its commemoration. In France too, in what has been described as 'one of the great paradoxes of nineteenth century France,' the swift but devastating Franco-Prussian war resulted in one of the largest waves of commemorative activity and memorial construction the nation had ever seen (Varley 2008: 1).

Defeat in the Franco-Prussian War came not only as a great shock to most of the French nation but also made commemoration of the conflict very difficult. A conflict in which France had failed to win a single battle could not be memorialised in the traditional

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[26] This includes, for example, the construction of tangible memorials such as monuments and churches and also intangible remembrance activities such as religious services and public festivals to commemorate the anniversaries of battles.

triumphal way[27]. At this point communities in France faced two options; either they could choose not to mark this shameful episode and erect no monuments to its presence, or they could develop a new form of memorial which was not focused on triumphalism. Perhaps surprisingly the latter option was chosen with an unprecedented number of war memorials being constructed to the conflict between 1871 and 1914. War memorials in this region demonstrate particularly clearly the difficulties in trying to separate political motivation from the genuine needs of a bereaved public. As Varley proposes, 'the process by which war remembrance transfers from being primarily motivated by mourning to being more overtly driven by political considerations is complex and the two stages are neither separate nor sequential' (2008: 9). Yet, through an examination of early memorials in the UK, France and the USA, it is possible to demonstrate that the early funerary style memorials, more traditionally associated with mourning, laid the foundations for later more overtly political war memorials by providing a legitimate and acceptable form of monument based upon the memory of the common soldier. This association with common sacrifice served to elevate memorials to a special status, one which was beyond political reproach. Discernible developments in the memorial tradition can be derived from an examination of the different types of memorial constructed as time passes from the conflict (CT).

### 4.2.3 Relationship between memorials and the bodies of the dead

In all three study areas memorial construction grew from a strong association with the bodies of the dead. In both the United States and in France the unprecedented waves of

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[27] Of which France's Arc de Triomphe commemorating the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars provides the quintessential example.

memorial construction following the Civil and Franco-Prussian wars were initially concerned with the necessity of entombing the remains of the dead. Technological developments in warfare during the latter half of the nineteenth century had resulted in dramatically increased casualty rates (Elliot 1972). The American Civil War resulted in a death toll estimated at 620,000, proportionate to 5,500,000 in today's population (Faust 2006: 997). In France, the conflict of 1870-71 had resulted in 44,780 Prussian and over 150,000 French dead, the majority of whom had fallen in the battlefields of eastern France. Of primary concern during both conflicts was how to deal with this unprecedented number of bodies, particularly in the context of growing public awareness of these remains.[28] In previous wars the bodies of common soldiers had been buried where they fell, often in unmarked collective pits. Whilst this may appear disrespectful from a contemporary perspective it must be contextualised within existing burial practice at the time. During the 19th century, whilst funeral practice was often elaborate the treatment of the bodies of the dead was not, and many working class individuals were buried in communal graves (Laqueur 1994). But the end of the 19th century marked a period of changing attitudes towards the common soldier which impacted on the treatment of their remains and increasing use of volunteer troops had resulted in a military force deemed more worthy of commemoration (Mosse 1990).

Far from being driven entirely by a psychological need to show respect for the dead and their bereaved families, the practice of burying the remains quickly became established as central 'both to a nation's territorial claims and the sense of a unique identity that unifies its people' (Grant 2005: 509). Nowhere was this clearer than in the United States during the

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[28] Increased media technologies had made these bodies visible to wider publics, particularly during the Civil War when photographs of the dead could commonly be found in newspapers.

Civil War. This conflict resulted in the first specialised cemeteries created for war casualties in the USA (Mytum 2004: 44, 74).[29] Despite the nature of the conflict there was no united effort at burial, rather each side was left to deal with the remains of their own dead. This was particularly problematic for the Confederate South. Financial difficulties resulting from the conflict and the lack of any universal agreements meant that many Confederate remains were left to the mercy of battlefield relic hunters. At Gettysburg, Union day-trippers frequently retrieved various body parts belonging to confederate troops as souvenirs of their visit (Weeks 2009: 49). This trivialisation of the bodies of Confederate troops, coupled with a lack of memorialisation, served both to undermine their sacredness in the present and to minimise their presence in the future conflict narrative.

Greater financial stability in the northern states allowed a wider range of commemorative responses. During the conflict the Union symbolically appropriated the bodies of their own dead, incorporating them into the rhetoric of a United States of America. At Gettysburg, the Soldiers' National Cemetery was consecrated on 19th November 1863, only five months after the battle, and whilst the Civil War was still being waged (Figure 4.2 & 4.3). The symbolic significance of this treatment of the bodies of the Union dead was crucial to maintaining the conflict. For this to be possible a clear distinction was made between the bodies of Union troops and those of Confederate. Samuel Weaver, intendant of the Soldiers' National Cemetery, went so far as to swear that no Confederate bodies polluted the cemetery's sacred soil (Weeks 2009: 49). The cemetery provided one of the earliest examples in which the bodies of common soldiers were given individual burial plots (Figure 4.3).

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[29] A pre-Civil War American cemetery can be found in Mexico City. The Mexico City National Cemetery was established following the Mexican-American War in 1851 to inter the remains of unidentified war dead (Mayo 1988; 143).

Figure 4.2 Soldiers' National Memorial, National Cemetery (cemetery 1963, monument 1869), Gettysburg, P.A., USA (Photograph by the author, 2012).



Figure 4.3 Detail of individual grave markers at Soldiers' National Memorial, National Cemetery (1864), Gettysburg, P.A., USA. (Photograph by the author, 2012).

The creation of such memorial sites established new centres for national memory, which quickly became sites of pilgrimage, perpetuating the memory of the causes for which they fought. The memorialisation of individual soldiers in this way, and the failure to return the bodies of the dead to their homes, also had a second function. The burial of the bodies of the dead on the fields where they fell created a necessity for some form of memorial marker to act as a substitute grave within the soldier's home town or village. Whilst the interpretation of memorials as substitute graves is often suggested within the context of the First World War (Sherman 1999: 100, Goebel 2007: 44), this process in fact began much earlier. Commemoration of soldiers in this way on a national scale established the expectation that soldiers should be memorialised in an appropriate manner and that other towns should honour their war dead in a similar fashion. Yet, the centralised burial of the bodies of the dead necessitated the creation of a memorial that was not focused around their physical remains. As a result the creation of large scale monuments, such as that at Gettysburg, rather than taking away commemoration from smaller towns and villages, in fact promotes memorialisation in these areas. Large scale monuments established the importance of the war dead and, through their memorialisation, created an expectation that they should be commemorated.

In France, unlike at Gettysburg, the burials which took place following the Franco-Prussian War were of a more united nature, and French and German troops were frequently buried in very close proximity. Whilst this is perhaps surprising, it must be contextualised within 19th century France. As Eugen Weber demonstrated very clearly in his book 'Peasants into Frenchmen,' France achieved national unity much later than is commonly supposed, and even at the beginning of the 20th century, France was far from a homogenised nation state

(Weber 1977). Throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> century many areas had retained a distinct regional, as opposed to national, identity. This was especially true in many of the eastern border regions where the fighting had taken place, and particularly in the province of Alsace where, for many, being Alsatian came above being either French or German. As a result, in many eastern towns and villages, residents were more than happy to have local victims from both French and Prussian/German forces buried side by side (Fischer 2010). In addition, those that had experienced the fighting first hand often took a far more inclusive approach to commemoration. In the villages surrounding Sedan, where much of the heaviest fighting took place, French and Prussian tombs can frequently be found in close proximity to one another, for example in the Cimetière du Faubourg in the village of Mouzon (Figure 4.4) and in the village of Villemontry (Figure 4.5).



Figure 4.4 French and German Franco-Prussian War Memorials located opposite each other Cimetière du Faubourg (circa 1873), Mouzon France. (Photograph by the author, 2012).

Figure 4.5 Joint French and German Franco Prussian War Memorials, (circa 1873) Villemontry France. (Photograph by the author, 2012).[30]

Similarly in Mouzon's Cimetière Communal, French and Prussian casualties are buried directly opposite one another (Figure 4.6). Whilst stylistically they differ very dramatically, the French tomb consisting an ornate, ivy covered, broken column (Figure 4.7 left), and the Prussian a much simpler obelisk (Figure 4.7 right), a deliberate relationship is established between the two monuments through both their spatial positioning within the cemetery and the fencing used to enclose each tomb. Both monuments were also unveiled on the same day, the 4th April 1873, indicating that the village of Mouzon wished to honour its citizens equally, regardless of which side they had fought.

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[30] The memorials have clearly been moved at some point during their history, but given the relationship between other similar memorials it is likely that their current proximity reflects that of an earlier location.

Figure 4.6 French and German Franco-Prussian War memorials located opposite each other Cimetière Communal (1873), Mouzon France. (Photograph by the author, 2012).
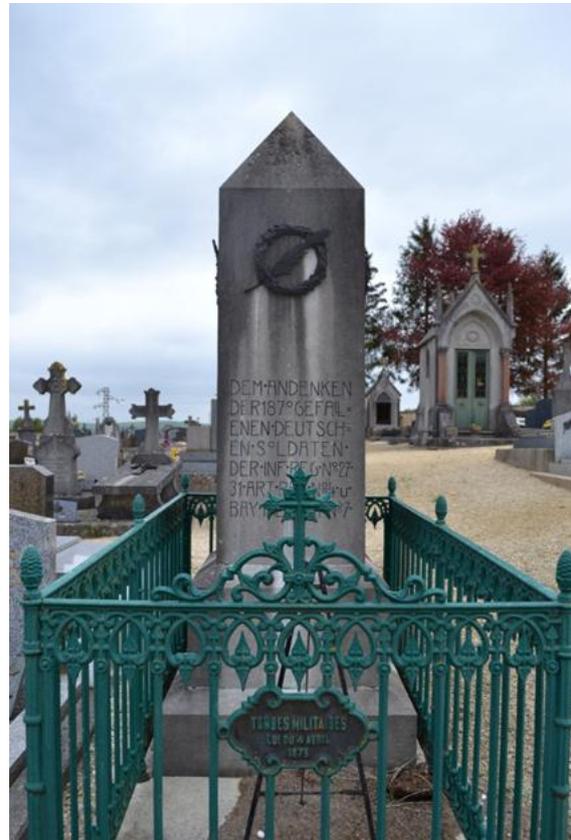


Figure 4.7 French (left) and German (right) memorials located opposite each other in Mouzon Cemetery (1873), Mouzon, France. (Photograph by the author, 2012).

Figure 4.8 Memorial and ossuary, Cimetière St Charles (original circa 1878, reconstructed circa 1912), Sedan, France. (Photograph by the author, 2011).

At a national level, Article 16 of the Treaty of Frankfurt had specifically included a clause in which French and German authorities had reciprocally agreed to respect and maintain the tombs of soldiers buried on their respected territories (Varley 2002: 326). For the first time in Europe, there was an acceptance of joint responsibility for the remains of the fallen by combatant nations. Implications of Article 16, laid out in the law on military tombs of 4 April 1873, resulted in the construction of 25 large ossuaries (Varley 2008: 60). Near Sedan two ossuaries were constructed, the first in Sedan's cemetery and the second in the cemetery of the neighbouring village of Bazeilles. Their construction marks the earliest examples of large scale monuments built to honour common soldiers, rather than the battles themselves. In Sedan the ossuary consists of a closed chamber with a simple obelisk above it bearing the inscription 'Honneur et Patrie' / 1870 / 31st August 1st September' (Figure 4.8). This national

focus for commemoration parallels the creation of national cemeteries by the north following the Civil War.

These centrally controlled monuments, like the National Cemetery at Gettysburg, removed the responsibility for the dead away from the battlefields and disconnected communities, both geographical and military, from the fallen. These ossuaries were predominantly located within traditional spaces associated with the bodies of the dead, such as churchyards close to the former battlefields. The decision to honour the fallen within a civilian setting rather than a purely military one suggests that the dead from these battles were perceived differently from those who had fought in earlier conflicts. By bringing the bodies of the war dead into a civilian setting a connection was established which was based on the individuals fighting rather than the battles in which they fought, encouraging those viewing the memorial to think of those that had died as individuals. Monuments such as these also demonstrate an expectation that individuals from these towns and villages would want to remember the war dead in this way, and that paying respect to the war dead could form an extension to a cemetery visit to commemorate familial dead not lost through conflict.

Whilst the ossuary at Sedan was neutral, that constructed at Bazeilles was very different both in its treatment of the dead and in the message that it portrayed (Figure 4.9). During the conflict the village had been almost entirely destroyed by Prussian Artillery (Figure 4.10). Devastation was to such an extent that in 1871 English visitors had offered to buy the village in order to preserve it as a monument to German barbarity (Appleton 1872:29-30).[31]

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[31] Whist this offer was rejected, the village does retain tangible traces of the destruction. The Maison de la Dernière Cartouche was preserved as a museum to demonstrate both Prussian brutality and French resilience. Desire to preserve the remains demonstrates that this concept, which has become epitomised by the village of Oradour-sur-Glane, in fact began much earlier.

Figure 4.9 Ossuary, inside which are the visible remains of French victims of the conflict, (begun 1878 and completed 1890) Bazeilles, France. (Photograph by the author, 2011).



Figure 4.10 The church of Bazeilles, following the Battle of Bazeilles, 1st September 1870. (Postcard collection of the author).

Rather than constructing a closed chamber, the ossuary visibly displays the remains of the French dead, including those skeletons which bore the physical traces of the cause of death. German casualties were buried beneath the structure and individual memorials, previously located on the battlefields, were placed inside (Figure 4.11). Preservation of battlefield memorials demonstrates an early respect, not just for the bodies of the dead themselves but for the monuments designed to mark these bodies. Whist the Treaty of Frankfurt specified that human remains should be appropriately treated it made no provision for the temporary monuments constructed to mark these burials on the field. That time was taken to collect not only the physical remains of the dead, but also their grave markers, illustrates changing attitudes towards the monuments erected to common soldiers. Importantly, it demonstrates that the marking of the graves of the dead, and the subsequent collection and preservation of memorials in this way, did not originate in the First World War.



Figure 4.11 German memorial within the ossuary, Bazeilles, France (Photograph courtesy of John Carman).

Whilst within the German vaults the battlefield memorials signified the dead, in the French crypts it was the bodies themselves that conveyed this message. The conscious decision to display the remains of the French dead demonstrates not only a desire to show the true brutality of the conflict (Varley 2008: 162-164) but to present this brutality in a very particular way. The stark contrast between the concealed remains of the German dead[32] and the exposed remains of the French firmly establish the French as victims of German barbarity, whilst allowing the town itself to be rebuilt. By focusing on the soldiers themselves rather than the battle, France was framed firmly within a victim narrative and any engagement with the defeat was effectively avoided.

Leaving the remains of the French soldiers visible and unburied also serves a secondary function. If Runia (2007: 324) is correct and by burying the dead humankind creates 'a prime condition for traditions, for stability, for transcendence,' then refusing to bury the dead can be seen to demonstrate a break with this stability. Insistence on the annexation of Alsace and Lorraine had effectively made future reconciliation between the two empires impossible and future conflict almost inevitable (Fortescue 2000: 12). As a result, it seems appropriate that the dead from this conflict, particularly those from the areas where the most brutal battles had occurred, were not buried and allowed to rest. Consequently, the ossuary memorial at Bazeilles can be seen not only to fulfil the needs of the bereaved by offering a focal point for remembrance but also the political need to keep the conflict alive and fuel *revanchist* narratives.

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[32] Although possibly at the request of the German authorities

### 4.2.4 Transitional monuments

Memorials commemorating soldiers at Gettysburg and in eastern France demonstrate the beginnings of a tradition in which the common solider would be central. Yet, the transition from triumphal monument to that commemorating the common soldier was neither instantaneous nor consistent. Following decades of memorialisation that had served to glorify the conflict and commander, the development of a memorial tradition to commemorate the fallen soldier necessarily drew heavily on existing memorial norms. At this early stage in the chronological development of the memorial tradition (O-P) (Figure 4.1) the construction of new memorials to the common soldiers was reliant upon existing funerary and monumental forms. Many memorials constructed in the decades immediately after the Franco-Prussian War clearly reference these earlier forms of monument and still display a clear distinction between those of the lower ranks and their officers, even if both are commemorated.

As the monuments in the cemeteries at Villemontry and Mouzon (Figure 4.5 to 4-6) demonstrate, much early memorialisation that took place away from the sites of conflict still focused around the traditional spaces associated with the bodies of the dead. As a result, many early war memorials can be found within religious and graveyard settings. Whilst preference was still given to those of higher ranks a definite transition can be found in the types of memorial being erected. Throughout the churches and church yards of the UK and France examples of these transitional memorials occur frequently. Following the French defeat in 1870, this transitional form of monument becomes particularly prevalent. In the eastern town of Gorze, for example, a monument in the cemetery exemplifies the transition

between memorials which commemorate only military leaders, and those which commemorate all those who have died (Figure 4.12).The memorial is dedicated:

> 'A la mémoire des soldats français morts sur le territoire de la commune de Gorze pendant et aprés les batailles des 16/18 août 1870 /Ici par les soins pieux des habitants de Gorze repose le corps de Guichard Benjamin Eugène Commandant au 66e régiment de ligne né à La Rochelle et décédé à Gorze le 9 avril 1871'[33]

The memorial is securely located within the traditional commemorative space of loss, and firmly associated with the body of the Commander, not the lower ranks of the regiment. Yet, desire to recognise the loss of all those associated with the conflict is clearly demonstrated.



Figure 4.12 Monument marking the grave of Benjamin Eugene Commander and all French soldiers killed in the municipality of Gorze, (circa 1871) Gorze France (Photograph by the author, 2012).

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[33] 'To the memory of French soldiers killed in the territory of the municipality of Gorze during and after the battles of the 16/18 August 1870 /Here by the pious care of the inhabitants of Gorze rest the body of Benjamin Guichard Eugene Commander in the 66th regiment of the line born in La Rochelle died April 9 in Gorze 1870'

Figure 4.13 Memorial to PtE A Goatham, Bredgar Church,(circa 1889) Bredgar, Kent, UK (Photographs courtesy of the War Memorials Trust).

Memorials such as that to Benjamin Eugene were frequently funded by family members, and as a result were often dependent upon familial wealth as opposed to rank. Following the Anglo-Zulu War in 1879 a memorial was erected to Private Goatham by his family members in Bredgar Cemetery in Kent (Figure 4.13). Whilst the British were eventually victorious in the conflict, it was not without its disastrous military endeavours. The Battle of Isandlwana (22nd January 1879) for example, had become infamous for the defeat of British troops by Zulu forces. Although the memorial is only to one individual, PtE A Goatham, it references all those who died during the battle that day (Figure 4.13).

The inscription on the base of the monument reads:

> 'they stood their ground cool and bold/ in that disastrous day/ and fought like warriors we are told/ till all were cut away/ in memory we shall sacred keep/ the men that fell that day/ though far in zulu land they sleep/ their souls have soared away/ upon the golden crowd gazing with eager breath/ he fought as one who fain would die/ and dying conquered death.

That those responsible for the memorial's construction chose to reference the infamous defeat at Isandlwana, as opposed to the eventual victory, demonstrates a change in attitude toward the memorialisation of conflict. The memorial is devoid of triumphalist iconography and through the narrative of soldiers fighting 'like warriors… till all were cut away' there begins the use of memorials to the common soldier to recast the memory of the conflict. Here the act of resistance despite futile odds becomes more important that the ultimate defeat of the battle or the eventual victory of the war.

These new forms of memorial demonstrate the shift taking place regarding the kinds of events and individuals that are deemed appropriate for memorialisation. Whilst preference is often still given to officers within the memorialisation process the need to commemorate those from all ranks is also beginning to be acknowledged. The 1st and 2nd Battalion East Kent Regiment memorial, for example, further illustrates this transition. Erected in Canterbury Cathedral to the Malay and Zulu War (Figure 4.14), this memorial names the Lieutenants and Captains who served in the conflict, but it is also dedicated to the '27 rank and file who died whilst serving.'

Figure 4.14 1st and 2nd Battalion East Kent Regiment Memorial (1881), Canterbury Cathedral, Canterbury, UK (Image available: http://www.roll-of-honour.com/Kent/CanterburyBuffsMalayZulu.html).

Within an American context a similar process of gradual transition can also be found in memorial construction following the Civil War. At the former battlefield of Gettysburg memorials constructed after the battle begin to commemorate all those who have died but continue to only specifically name those of higher ranks, even if they had not been killed in battle. This demonstrates a desire to memorialise all those who have been killed during the battle, but does not mark them out as individuals. The memorial to the 5th Wisconsin Volunteer Infantry Regiment, erected by the State of Wisconsin in 1888, specifies the war losses as 174 killed and 448 wounded (Figure 4.15). It goes on, however, to individually name Col. Amasa Cobb and Col. T.S. Allen, despite the fact that neither man died during the

Civil War and Col. Cobb was no longer with the regiment at the time of the battle, a fact that

is clearly illustrated on the memorial itself through the inclusion of the their dates of service.

Lower ranking victims of the battle are not named and the casualties are instead

represented only as numbers and contextualised within the state from which they

originated.



Figure 4.15 Memorial to the 5th Wisconsin Volunteer Infantry Regiment, (1888) Gettysburg, P.A.
USA. (Photograph by the author, 2012).

Transitional memorials such as this demonstrate that whilst preferential treatment was

given to the named officers, there was growing consideration for other servicemen who had

lost their lives, proving that the processes of democratisation of the war dead does not

begin spontaneously during the First World War, but develops within the memorialisation process in the decades before. Within the early development of the memorial tradition (O-P) war memorials drew heavily on other forms of monument, both funerary monuments and victory memorials, resulting in a period of hybridisation as war memorials transition from the purely triumphal to universal commemoration.

## 4.2.5 Names and Naming

Thomas Laqueur, in his introduction to 'Memory and Naming in the Great War,' describes the commemoration of common soldiers that took place in the centuries before this conflict. He quotes Shakespeare's Henry V in which a messenger, in response to being asked how many gentlemen were lost in battle, replies 'But few of any sort, and none of name' (Laqueur 2004: 150). Laqueur suggests that, 'none else of name' in fact largely sufficed to efface the overwhelming majority of dead soldiers from public memory from ancient times, when the battlefield stelae stood watch over their collective ashes, until the fall and early winter of 1914, when all of this changed' (Laqueur 2004).

It is undeniable that the First World War produced the first widespread European attempt to record the names of the individual dead regardless of rank. Yet, this phenomenon should not be viewed as a response only to the circumstances surrounding this conflict. Rather than providing the unique context necessary for the memorialisation of the common soldier, the First World War offered the opportunity to put into place understandings that had developed throughout the previous decades. A precedent had already been set through 19th century commemoration that those fighting in conflicts were important and should be remembered individually.

By the end of the nineteenth century it is clear that the processes of memorialising the dead following a conflict had developed significantly. Whilst soldiers were still often buried communally it was much less likely that such graves would go unmarked. Although developments in military technology and its destructive power often rendered the identification of the dead impossible, increasingly efforts were made to retain the individual identities of those killed. In the American Civil War in particular, greater importance was placed on both recording the names of those who had lost their lives and recording the presence of those whose names could not be found (Faust 2006).



Figure 4.16 Franco-Prussian War memorials in the Cimetiére de Madeline, Soldiers Memorial (left), Memorial to Captain Jean-François Vogel (right) (circa 1872) Amiens, France. (Photograph by the author, 2012).

Equally in France following the Franco-Prussian War recording the names of those that had died became increasingly important. At the Franco-Prussian War memorial and cemetery at the Cimetiére de Madeline in Amiens efforts were made to record individual names of the French dead (Figure 4.16). Even those individuals that could not be identified were buried individually and recorded on the monument as 'inconnu.' This memorial represents a transition between earlier forms which commemorate only the event or military leader and those which acknowledge the death of the common soldier. Here, for the first time, each individual soldier is named and provided with an individual burial plot. On the main memorial each soldier is allocated a number which corresponds to the numbers on the grave markers, allowing for the identification of each individual (Figure 4.17).



Figure 4.17 Detail of the Franco-Prussian War memorial demonstrating the numbered marker system, 1870 memorial, Cimetiére de Madeline, Amiens, France. (Photograph by the author, 2012).

Whilst the cemetery at Amiens provided an individual named plot for each soldier, it is far from the completely democratic representation afforded French soldiers following the First World War, when combatants of all ranks would be given an individual named grave marker. It does, however, make a marked change from earlier mass graves where no attempt was made at identification. Although a memorial is constructed which lists the names of the soldiers from Amiens, Captain Jean-François Vogel (1821-1870) has his own individual memorial adjacent to their joint monument (Figure 4.16 right).



Figure 4.18 Royal Warwickshire Regiment Memorial Fountain in its original location in Chamberlain Square (circa 1930) Birmingham, UK.[34]

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[34] Image taken from Corporation of the City of Birmingham. 1932. London (Birmingham Central Library Archives, Birmingham History H/3 394622).

Figure 4.19 Royal Warwickshire Regiment Sudan Campaign memorial fountain, Birmingham Central Library, Birmingham, UK. (Photograph by the author, 2010).

In the UK, by the start of the Second Boer War in 1899 memorials regularly came to include the individual names of those that had died. In Birmingham, for example, following the Sudan Campaign a memorial fountain was dedicated, 'in memory of all ranks of the Royal Warwickshire Regiment who fell in battle, died of wounds or sickness in the course of the Sudan Campaign 1898' (Figure 4.18- 4.19). The names of those who had died are listed on the reverse of the memorial. The names are listed in rank order, but the individual name of each soldier is given regardless of rank.

This sculptural fountain also provides one of the first examples of a memorial that is functional and located within a civic context as opposed to a purely religious one. By the end of the 19th century Birmingham had become a stronghold for non-conformism and the memorial to the Royal Warwickshire Regiment Sudan Campaign was erected away from the

church in Birmingham City Centre (and is now located within Birmingham Central Library) (Figure 4.19). This demonstrates not only a democratisation of the memorial process regarding who was being commemorated but also in terms of who had access to the memorial.

Similarly, Boer War memorials erected at Birmingham and Leicester following the Second Boer War name each soldier individually whilst maintaining their rank. Both examples were constructed in public secular spaces, in Leicester at the corner of Town Hall Square and in Birmingham in Canon Hill Public Park. The Leicester monument, unveiled in 1909, lists the officers and privates on separate panels to differentiate between ranks. On the Birmingham monument, erected in 1906, the names of all soldiers are listed together alphabetically but preceded by the rank of the individual. Whilst this may appear a less democratic representation than later memorials it must be remembered that despite their uniformity even Commonwealth War Graves prominently displayed the rank of each individual.

### 4.2.6 Reflexivity of memorial process

It is clear that throughout the late 19th century war memorials commemorating all those that had died as a result of conflict began to be understood as a form of monument in their own right. An expectation developed following a conflict that, whatever the result, those who had fought and suffered should be commemorated. Yet this expectation extended far beyond the most recent conflicts. The establishment of this process sparked a reflexive process, in which earlier memorials were viewed within the framework of memorial developments, and in some cases re-appropriated in order to take account of these developments.

Figure 4.20 Original memorial to Lieutenant Joseph Felix Vever, rededicated to the Franco-Prussian War, (original circa 1855, rededication circa 1871) Cimetiére Saint-Simon, Metz , (Postcard collection of the author).

At the Cimetiére Saint-Simon, Metz, a much earlier monument was re-appropriated and re-dedicated to French soldiers killed in Metz during the Franco-Prussian War. This monument originally commemorated the Lieutenant Joseph Felix Vever who died at Sevastopol on 16th August 1855 during the Crimean War (Figure 4.20 to 4.21). At the time of its construction the memorial made no reference to the other soldiers from the Crimean War. Following the Franco-Prussian War, the family of Lieutenant Vever gave the memorial in perpetuity to the city of Metz to serve as a memorial to French soldiers killed during the conflict. As a result, the names of captains, lieutenants and sergeants killed during the conflict were added to the memorial (figures 4.20 & 4.22). This appropriation demonstrates both a change in attitude towards memorialisation, as it becomes more inclusive in acknowledging all those

who had died as a result of the conflict, and also the reflexivity of the process itself. As expectations developed regarding who and what should be memorialised, earlier conflicts and their memorials are evaluated within this context, resulting either in the reinterpretation and re-appropriation of existing monuments or, in the construction of new memorials to these conflicts.



Figure 4.21 Details of Franco-Prussian War Memorial, showing the original dedication to Lieutenant Vever who died during the Crimean War, Cimetiére de l'Est, Metz, France. (Photograph by the author, 2012).



Figure 4.22 Details of Franco-Prussian War Memorial, showing the subsequent dedication to those from Metz who died during the Franco-Prussian War Cimetiére de l'Est, Metz, France. (Photograph by the author, 2012).

This rededication demonstrates a change in the ways in which those involved in conflict were perceived. By re-dedicating the existing memorial to French soldiers that had lost their lives during the Franco-Prussian War, the family of Lieutentant Vever are demonstrating a desire to link the memory of their relative to those from the later conflict. Lieutenant Vever had died at a time when there was no expectation that those dying in battle should continue to be commemorated by anyone outside their own family. The act of rededication is therefore mutually beneficial. Citizens of Metz who had lost loved ones during 1870-1871 now had a focus for their grief, and a local memorial at which they could pay their respects, and the family benefitted from the knowledge that through these actions Lieutenant Vever would also continue to be commemorated for his sacrifice during the Crimean War. This demonstrates the importance of taking into consideration multiple timescales when examining a memorial. The time that had passed from the construction of the memorial MT=15 years, and its interaction with the development of the memorial tradition O-P facilitate a new form of engagement, not possible at the time of the memorial's construction.

This development of new ways in which to commemorate conflicts did not end more traditional forms of commemorative expression. The availability of the common soldier for memorialisation, as demonstrated by the memorial at the Cimetiére de Madeline in Amiens (Figure 4.16), did not preclude the preferential memorialisation of military commanders. In all three contexts monumental memorials continue to be constructed to leaders in battle. What differed was that such memorials were not only erected by the state in a traditional triumphal display of militarism, but rather by family members or surviving members of a regiment as a mark of admiration and respect. On the Battlefield at Manassas a memorial was constructed by the family of T.L. Dunklin, mortally wounded during the Second Battle of

Manassas. Although little is known about the monument it is probable that it 'marks the spot where Dunklin was carried to the rear, possibly to a field hospital' (Mahr 1986: 45). This demonstrates a desire by the family not only to perpetuate the memory of their lost loved one, but to perpetuate this memory at the site of battle itself.



Figure 4.23 T.L. Dunkin Memorial (circa 1986), Manassas, V.A. USA. (Photograph by the author, 2012)

Similarly following the First Battle of Manassas a memorial was erected to General Bartow on 4 September, 1861 by soldiers from Bartow's old brigade. This is one of the earliest memorials to be erected during the Civil War. From contemporary engravings (Figure 4.24) the marker appears to have been a circular shaft of white stone with Bartow's last words (they have killed me boys but never give up the fight) inscribed near the top (Mahr 1986: 13). This monument has since been destroyed and replaced by a later monument (Figure

4.25). A soldier of the 8th Georgia described how, 'upon visiting the site of the marker prior to the Second Battle of Manassas, . . . the little marble column erected to Bartow where he fell near Henry House disappeared piece-meal from the attacks of the relic hunters' (Mahr 1986: 13). That the memorial could be destroyed in this way suggests that either the sacred perception of memorials had not yet developed at this time, or that it was not perceivable by all individuals visiting the monument.



Figure 4.24 Engraving of Bartow Memorial, (1861) Manassas National Battlefield Park, V.A. USA. [35]

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[35] Image courtesy of Mahr, repost, Manassas National Battlefield Park. (Copy taken by the author with permission from the Manassas National Battlefield Park).

Figure 4.25 Remains of the Bartow Memorial, Manassas National Battlefield Park, V.A. USA (Photograph by the author, 2012).

### 4.2.7 Memorialisation of non-combatants

It is clear from the examples discussed above that processes of commemorating the common soldier began many decades before the First World War, challenging assertions that this conflict was responsible for the democratisation of the memorialisation process. Similarly, it is often assumed that the recognition of civilian casualties did not take place in Europe and the USA until the period following the First, or even the Second World War. Yet, the memorialisation of non-combatants is not a new phenomenon, but emerges at the same time as the memorialisation of the common soldier.

Figure 4.26 Franco-Prussian War memorial (1875) Bazeilles, France. (Photograph by the author, 2011).

In the French village of Bazeilles, which had been almost completely destroyed during the Franco-Prussian War, there were high numbers of civilian casualties (Figure 4.10). Following the conflict an obelisk, paid for by subscription, was erected in the centre of the village (Figure 4.26). This memorial commemorates both military and civilian casualties together on the same monument (Figure 4.27). War memorials of this kind can, as a result, be seen to mark the beginnings of a completely new form of memorialisation in which everyone killed in conflict is acknowledged regardless of their status.

Figure 4.27 Detail of civilian casualty list, Franco-Prussian War memorial (1875), Bazeilles, France (Photograph by the author, 2011).

The obelisk at Bazeilles also calls into question the relationship between memorials and the bodies of the dead. It has been suggested, particularly in relation to those monuments built following the First World War, that war memorials were a response to the lack of physical remains of the dead and they acted as 'surrogate graves' (Sherman 1999: 100, Connelly 2002: 44, Goebel 2007: 3). Yet, at Bazeilles, the remains of both military and civilian casualties were contained in the ossuary located within the village cemetery. Perhaps this central monument constructed by the villagers can be seen as a reaction against the centralised government control of the ossuary monument.

The village memorial locates the dead within the heart of the community from which they came and, in another example of pre-First World War naming, give names to the nameless bodies within the ossuary monument (Figure 4.9). The ossuary is also located in a liminal

space right at the edge of the village. As a result, it would only be seen by those who were already aware of its location and actively seeking it. The obelisk contextualises the loss as private grief within the community, particularly through its inclusion of all casualties in the inscription, for example, DEHAYE JULES ET SES ENFANTS (Figure 4.27 top left). By locating a memorial which lists the names of the dead within the centre of the village a very clear message is given regarding their sacrifice and loss, a message that will be repeated through memorials to the First World War.

Civilian casualties were not limited to those caught in the cross fire of the new technologically advanced armies. Developments in military machinery had resulted in increased demand for munitions and the war matériel needed to support this improved fire power. During both the Civil War and the Franco-Prussian War large numbers of civilians were employed in a wide variety of different roles in munitions factories. With high percentages of men fighting at the front it was often women who filled these roles, As a consequence, accidents that occurred during the production of munitions not only resulted in high numbers of civilian casualties, but high numbers of female casualties, creating a new category of war time victim. These victims were often memorialised in a similar fashion to their military counterparts. Following an explosion at the cartoucherie at Dunkerque, for example, a large memorial was constructed to the female victims within the local cemetery (Figure 4.28). The memorial was dedicated:

> 'A LA MEMOIRE / DES VICTIMES / DE L EXPLOSION/ DU VII FEVRIER/ MD CCCL XXI/
>
> PRIEZ POUR ELLES

Figure 4.28 Monument aux victims de l'explosion accidentelle de la Cartoucherie (1871), Dunkerque Cemetery (Photograph by the author, 2012).

Similarly, during the Civil War, financial hardships caused by the enlistment of sons and husbands, forced high numbers of women into the armaments industry. This employment was problematic, particularly when accidents occurred.[36] A monument to one such accident was erected in Washington Congressional Cemetery. The accident took place at the Washington Arsenal on June 17th, 1864, and resulted in the death of twenty-one female employees (Figure 4.29). That women were expected to work outside of the home reflected poorly on the male populations and their deaths made them seem completely unprotected.

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[36] These accidents were often amplified by strict adherence to social norms, particularly relating to female dress, which were not only flammable but limited mobility and inhibited escape.

Sheets (2011: 18) suggests that 'perhaps raising a monument then became one last effort to demonstrate paternal and social care for the daughters, sisters and wives whose lives had been lost to federal negligence.' This marks a new form of memorial in which the object becomes symbolic compensation for the loss of lives not normally associated with conflict. Such construction whilst the conflict was ongoing also served to demonstrate that their contribution was acknowledged, acting as reassurance to those continuing to work.



Figure 4.29 The Arsenal Memorial, Congressional Cemetery, (circa 1864), Washington D.C., United States (Photograph by the author, 2012).

**4.2.8 Conclusion**

Developments in the type of conflict taking place clearly had a profound impact on the types of memory associated with those conflicts. Increased volunteer forces had changed the ways in which the common soldier was viewed, and created a new category of victim available for memorialisation. Advances in weaponry and combat style had a threefold effect on the memorialisation processes that followed. Firstly, it resulted in far more victims available for memorialisation, and secondly its increased impact often rendered those victims unidentifiable, and in the absence of an identifiable body recording the names of the victims on a memorial took on an added significance. And finally both its production and deployment within urbanised areas created a new category of civilian victim available for commemoration.

During the early development of the war memorial tradition (O-P), changes occurred rapidly as the commemoration of common soldiers and civilians became an expected response to death during conflict. Within the time period discussed above, however, the short time frames of CT and MT (<25 years) resulted in memorial processes that were primarily concerned with the bodies of the dead and with the engagement by those with autobiographical memory of the events commemorated.

The second part of this chapter moves on to memorial processes that take place over 25 years (CT=25-50 years) after the conflicts discussed in 4.2 and examines the affect that this this passage of time has on the types of memorial produced and the kinds of engagement carried out.

## 4.3 Second phase processes of memorialisation (CT >25 years)

### 4.3.1 Introduction

After the initial phase of memorialisation (CT = 0-25) there is a perceivable shift both in the types of memorials constructed and the ways in which these are used. Within both France and the USA, during the period between two and five decades after the conflict has ended, a new type of memorial evolves which differs dramatically from the initial responses. Rather than focusing on the memory of the dead themselves, either as individuals through their physical remains, or as members of the regiment or community from which they came, memorials instead began to address the memory of the conflict itself.

In both eastern France and in the north and south border in the US, memorials begin to be used to shape the way the conflict was perceived and consequently the way it would enter the collective memory of future generations. This process was particularly necessary for the defeated Confederate South following the Civil War and for the towns of eastern France that had become synonymous with defeat and the collapse of the Second Empire. In the UK, there was no such opportunity for the reinterpretation of the conflict narrative of the Boer Wars as commemoration of this conflict was halted by the outbreak of the First World War.

### 4.3.2 Appropriation of the bravery of the common soldier

In the American South, after the initial devastation subsided, the memory of the Civil War began to be reframed. Through this reframing the bravery of the soldiers was appropriated to negate the memory of defeat. Throughout the 1880s and 1890s towns began to erect

monuments to their war dead. Financial constraints often necessitated the purchase of monuments from catalogues; their low cost made them particularly popular in Southern towns struggling to recover economically. Many towns chose the standard 'standing soldier' such as this example from the town of Charlottesville in Virginia (Figure 4.30). Doss describes this process of figurative construction as a form of 'masculine recovery' for the defeated white men, suggesting that these monuments became 'material culture manifestations of the heroic white male body that helped recuperate socially constructed masculine attributes such as power, strength, militarism, and control and thereby restore the white youth's lost manhood' (Doss 2010: 213). This is a valid argument given that few monuments draw upon the iconography traditionally associated with mourning, instead incorporating military matériel and figures of active soldiers.
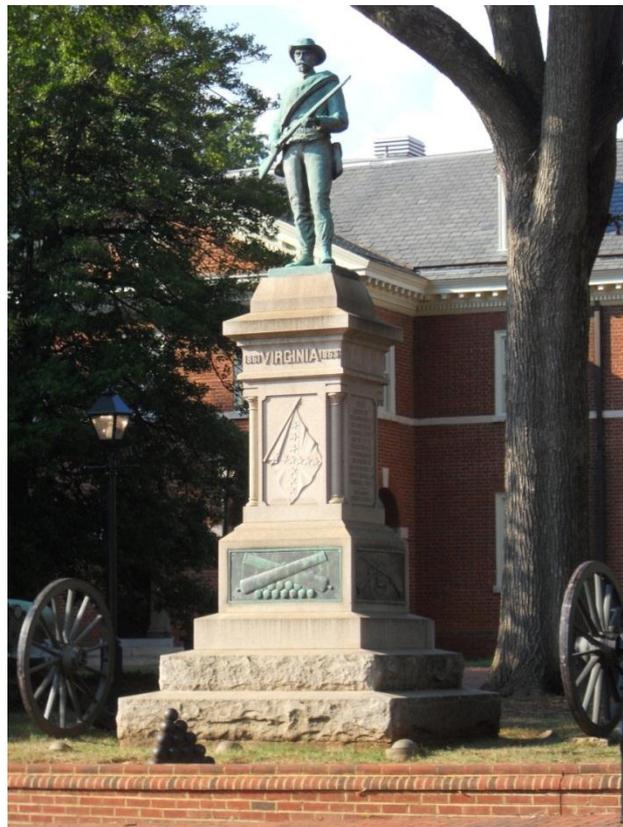


Figure 4.30 Civil War Memorial (1909), Downtown Charlottesville, VA, USA. (Photograph by the author, 2012).

In Charlottesville's Confederate cemetery the war memorial reinforces the message that Southern men fought bravely despite their eventual defeat (Figure 4.31). The memorial's inscription states that 'fate denied them victory but crowned them with glorious immortality' (Figure 4.32). By placing blame for the loss in the hands of fate, any engagement with the causes of the defeat is successfully avoided. This message would not have been acceptable in any other form of monument celebrating the Confederacy. But the use of the war memorial form, which had come to be understood as a sacred object through its associations with the bodies of the dead, facilitated this reinterpretation of the conflict in a form which was beyond political reproach.



Figure 4.31 Confederate Civil War Memorial, Confederate Cemetery (1893), Charlottesville, V.A. USA. (Photograph by the author, 2012).

Figure 4.32 Detail of the engraving on Confederate Civil War Memorial, Charlottesville, V.A. USA. (Photograph by the author, 2012).

In France, throughout the late 19th and early 20th centuries, similar efforts were made to recast the memory of the Franco-Prussian War, war in which France had failed to win a single battle. This memory was particularly problematic for those areas of eastern France that had remained French following the annexation. Not only were the towns from which the battles took their names now considered tantamount to the defeat, but the foundling government of the Third Republic, keen to distance itself from the humiliation of the Second Empire, had sought to scapegoat those areas in which the fighting had taken place.

Many examples demonstrate the extent to which this blame entered discourse surrounding the Franco-Prussian War, including the erection of the memorial in Lyon. The Lyonnais had successfully resisted the Prussians at Belfort and during the unveiling of a statue in their honour it was declared 'we shall engrave on … [the] young hearts the salvatory name of the Republic! And we shall leave to history to teach them about December 2nd., Sedan,[and] Metz' (Cohen 1989: 504). This narrative was particularly shameful for those eastern areas that remained French, since they were expected to show solidarity with a united France, whilst also taking responsibility for its defeat. It is perhaps not surprising that many of these areas chose to erect memorials to undermine the sense of shame incurred by the defeat. The town of Sedan in particular had become synonymous with the defeat of the Battle of

Sedan in 1871, a battle that had resulted in the surrender of both Napoleon and his army and officially ended France's Second Empire (Dupuy & Dupuy, 1977: 835-836).

In an attempt to re-appropriate the identity of Sedan and free themselves from what many considered to be an unfair burden, residents took the decision to erect a large monument in the centre of the town. Despite the predictable unpopularity of the plan with the government of the Third Republic, which would neither support the campaign nor send a representative to the unveiling, the memorial was constructed and was dedicated on 7th August 1897 (Varley 2008: 86). Through careful use of signs, which would have been recognisable to viewers at the time, the memorial sought to recast the memory of the conflict from defeat to that of heroism despite unconquerable odds. The new monument consisted of a large stepped obelisk topped with the figure of a dying French soldier, above him an allegory of Victory stands poised to place laurels on his head (Figure 4.33).



Figure 4.33 Franco-Prussian War Memorial, (1897) Sedan, France. (Photograph by the author, 2011).

Figure 4.34 Detail of Franco-Prussian War Memorial relief panels, Sedan, France. Showing ' Maison de la dernière cartouche' at Bazeilles (above) and 'Charge des Chasseurs d'Afrique' at Floing (below). (Photographs by the author, 2011).

The memorial avoided any difficult encounters with the narrative of defeat by making no reference to the battle itself and instead focusing on episodes from the surrounding villages (Varley 2008: 85). Panels located on the sides of the monument represent the Battle of Bazeilles, where French marines had made an infamous last stand against the Prussian infantry, and the charge of the Chasseurs d'Afrique at Floing in which the French cavalry, armed only with sabres, had charged against Prussian artillery (Figure 4.34). The inscription on the front of the monument, which translates 'impassive under fire, they succumbed only under force of numbers,' also sought to recast the German victory as illegitimate. This established French soldiers, like Confederate soldiers within the Civil War, firmly within the victim narrative, bravely resisting despite futile odds. This is clearly a different form of

monument from those previously erected, as it is the memory of the conflict that has become the primary concern rather than the memory of individual soldiers.

### 4.3.3 Memorial Associations

This second wave of commemorative activity was, in part, instigated by new associations whose primary function was to perpetuate the memory of the conflicts. In both France and the USA women played a central role in the creation of these associations. In France, memorial associations developed in the annexed regions of Alsace and Lorraine when women began placing tri-colour cockades on the tombs of French soldiers. This resulted, in 1887, in the creation of the Souvenir Alsace-Lorraine which aimed to preserve the memory of the war dead and maintain their memorials. This was later recognised as a national institution, the Souvenir Français, in 1906. Whilst this demonstrates a growing concern with the how this conflict was being remembered, tensions exist between a genuine desire to remember the dead and the perpetuation of political, and in particular territorial, claims. These tensions were recognised at the time and in 1909 von Zepplin, the president of Lorraine, wrote that the Souvenir Alsace-Lorraine was 'an association whose efforts are all orientated, under the guise of devotion and remembrance, to the artificial maintenance of French sympathies' (Hamman 2009: 323).

This demonstrates awareness that the war memorial could be used as a 'legitimate' and permitted form of monument with which to express political ideologies. It suggests that monument building was consciously used to affect how the conflict was perceived by future generations. The act of monument building itself, with its surrounding publicity campaigns,

fundraising activities and ceremonies, brought political concerns to the forefront. This could now be carried out more effectively using the memorial form as a legitimate monument, under the guise of preserving the memory of those who sacrificed their lives for their country. Creating new monuments to the Franco-Prussian War, which sought to recast the German victory as illegitimate, kept the return of the annexed territories at the forefront of national memory. Memorials erected in this second phase of memorialisation rarely contain the names of the dead and are instead concerned with the memory of the conflict itself, rather than the memory of individuals. Efforts to recast the memory of the defeat in France were such that French memorials to the 1870-71 conflict were still being erected in 1909.

In America the memory of the Civil War, and in particular of the Confederate past, were similarly kept alive by women's associations[37]. Like the Souvenir Français, many understood the political power that such movements could have. The Northern press held the Ladies responsible for 'inflaming the passions' through their commemorative traditions (Janney 2008: 2). Even former Confederate General Robert E. Lee commented that whilst he extolled the women's noble efforts, he would decline attending any Memorial Day exercises because he believed such celebrations engendered Northern hostility and slowed reconciliation. Gender stereotypes which framed women as incapable of engaging in political activity allowed women's groups to successfully engage with processes of memorialisation without interference.

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[37] This link between women and conflict was to continue through to later conflicts, see for example Piehler (1994).

Figure 4.35 Memorial on the Rotunda, (1906) University of Virginia, Charlottesville, V.A. United States (Photograph by the author, 2012).

In 1906, the Ladies Confederate Memorial Association of Albemarle County Virginia was able to erect a memorial on the University Campus, commemorating students and alumni who lost their lives fighting for the confederacy during the Civil War (Figure 4.35). Whilst this memorial does list the names of those that had lost their lives, no students enrolled in the University at this time would have any memory of those being commemorated and few would even have been born. The purpose of this memorial was to keep the memory of the Confederacy, and not the individual casualties, alive amongst the student population. Despite many of these commemorations occurring decades after the conflict itself their instigation by female organisations placed them securely within the realms of female

mourning. The work carried out by women in the immediate aftermath of the conflict meant that 'ex-Confederates could later glorify their past without much resistance from Northern observers' (Janney 2008: 6). Thus the memory of the Confederacy could be perpetuated through the remembrance of its war dead.

### 4.3.4 The site of conflict: battlefield tourism and battlefield memorials

It is clear that throughout the late 19th century the spaces deemed appropriate for war memorialisation had broadened beyond the battlefield. But the development of war memorialisation in towns and villages did not halt the processes that were taking place on the sites of battle themselves. This form of commemoration was driven by the desire from members of the public to visit the sites of battle that they had read about in newspapers and the popular press. Tourism around sites of trauma and conflict has a long history (Stone 2005), and the expectation that individuals would want to visit the sites of battle has a precedent that was set many years before. In the early 19th century, for example, the Napoleonic Wars had heralded mass tourism as hundreds of British tourists flocked across the channel to the former battlefields (Seaton 1999).

In the United States this form of tourism began with the Civil War. The battle of Gettysburg has been described as the 'American Waterloo' in terms of its significance, but perhaps an equally valid connection could be made with its relationship with the development of tourism and memorialisation (Weeks 2009: 13). Even before the Civil War had ended tourists flocked to the battle site. Many were keen to see the exact locations of episodes

from the infamous battle. An early recognition of the historical significance of the Civil War and its battles resulted in a form of battlefield memorialisation that was intrinsically linked to the creation of historical narratives. Consequently many second phase memorials erected on American Battlefields are highly descriptive and designed to make sure that the actions of each regiment entered the historical record in a form that was desirable.

The Clark's Battery Memorial erected by the state of New Jersey in 1888 (Figure 4.36), for example, marks the exact position of this regiment and the inscription on the memorial gives precise details from that day:

> 'Clark's Battery- Battery B 1st New Jersey Light Artillery 30 Corps- Fought here from 2 until 7 o'clock on July 2 1863, firing 1300 rounds of ammunition- Losses, Killed 1, Wounded 16, Missing 3-Erected by the State of New Jersey 1888.'



Figure 4.36 Clark's Battery Memorial, Sickles Avenue, (1888) Gettysburg, P.A. National Battlefield Park, United States. (Photograph by the author, 2012).

Figure 4.37 17th Maine Volunteer Infantry Regiment Monument, (1889) DeTrobriand Avenue, The Wheatfield, Gettysburg P.A. United States (Photograph by the author, 2012).

This suggests a very early concern for the memory of this battle and an acknowledgment of its importance within the wider historical narrative of the United States. In the decades that followed the battle each regiment was keen to 'mark their place in history' by constructing a memorial on the field. Desire to ensure that each event was represented exactly as each regiment required often led to high levels of historical information being included on the monuments. For example, the monument to the 17th Maine Volunteers at the Wheatfield Gettysburg, erected in 1888 (Figure 4.37) includes a highly descriptive account of the activities of the regiment both before and after the Battle of Gettysburg.[38] Rather than use the monument to list the men that had died the text situates the regiment within its wider

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[38] For full inscription see Appendix 3

historical context. Thus a highly descriptive form of monument evolved; one which was not primarily concerned with the memory of those who had lost their lives but instead with the memory of each regiment. In the decades following the war, regimental associations flocked to the former battlefields and constructed an unprecedented number of monuments in an attempt to ensure that their place in history was marked correctly.

As the memorialisation at Gettysburg increased, concerns grew over appropriate representation of the Confederate side. Despite no ban on Confederate construction, many felt that Battlefield Commission rules unfairly discriminated against Southern memorials and prevented their equal representation on the battlefield. Confederate Col. WM.C. Oates, for example, desired to erect 'a small Marker at each end of the ground on which the 15th was when forced to retreat'. His petition was declined as it violated the Battlefield Commission's policy stipulating that all regimental memorials had to mark the spot of the formation and not of the action. Yet, Col. Oates argued that this policy would prevent any memorialisation by the former confederate forces;

> 'Requiring monuments to be put by Brigade thus marking the position of a regiment in the line of Brigades at the point where formed for beginning the attack, will simply prevent any from being erected to the Confederates. There never will be any appropriation by States to do that and the soldiers are as a rule too poor to do it and no individual who is able to do it will ever erect one in that way' (Colnel Oates to William Robbins of the Battlefield Commission, Gettysburg, 2nd October 1906)[39]

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[39] Gettysburg NMP Archives, Oates file, folder 1. For complete letter see Appendix 4

This clearly indicates that tensions arose between differing sides regarding the representation of historical narratives. The Battlefield Commission desired the field to be represented as it was in the moments before the battle. To Confederate forces it was preferable to have representation where they experienced what they considered to be their most heroic action, demonstrating a tension between the use of the memorials for historic purposes and their use for redemption by the South. In fact the Battlefield Commission specifically sought to avoid an engagement with any narratives of heroism through the memorials. In 1915 the Commission rejected the proposal for an inscription to be placed on the statue of Brevet Major-General Alexander Stewart Webb on the grounds that:

> 'the inscription does not conform to the rules of the Commission, … especially in the fact that it sets forth that "The Brigade gallantly resisted". The law says that the inscriptions shall be without censure praise or blame' (Gettysburg NMP Archives, US Commission monuments and Markers, Box 3 Folder 6)

Such attempts at neutrality suggest an understanding of the ability of memorials both to influence the historical narrative of particular events and to create new tensions if 'competitive' memorial construction was allowed to take place.

### 4.3.5 French and German memorials on the eastern border

Issues of competitive memorialisation are even more pertinent along the eastern border regions of France following the Franco-Prussian War. Memorial construction on the former battlefields continued throughout the later 19th century. Whilst within a European context

the construction of memorials to mark former battlefields was not new (Carman and Carman 2006), the form that these memorials took and the huge numbers of erected on the battlefields were unprecedented. In the former battlefields of eastern France it is perhaps unsurprising that in the areas that remained French, the majority of memorials are French, and in those which became German, they are German (Carman 2009: 46). What is surprising is the extent of tolerance which was shown towards war memorials from the opposing sides. Furthermore, regiments and families of those who died were also allowed to visit the memorials and conduct remembrance ceremonies.
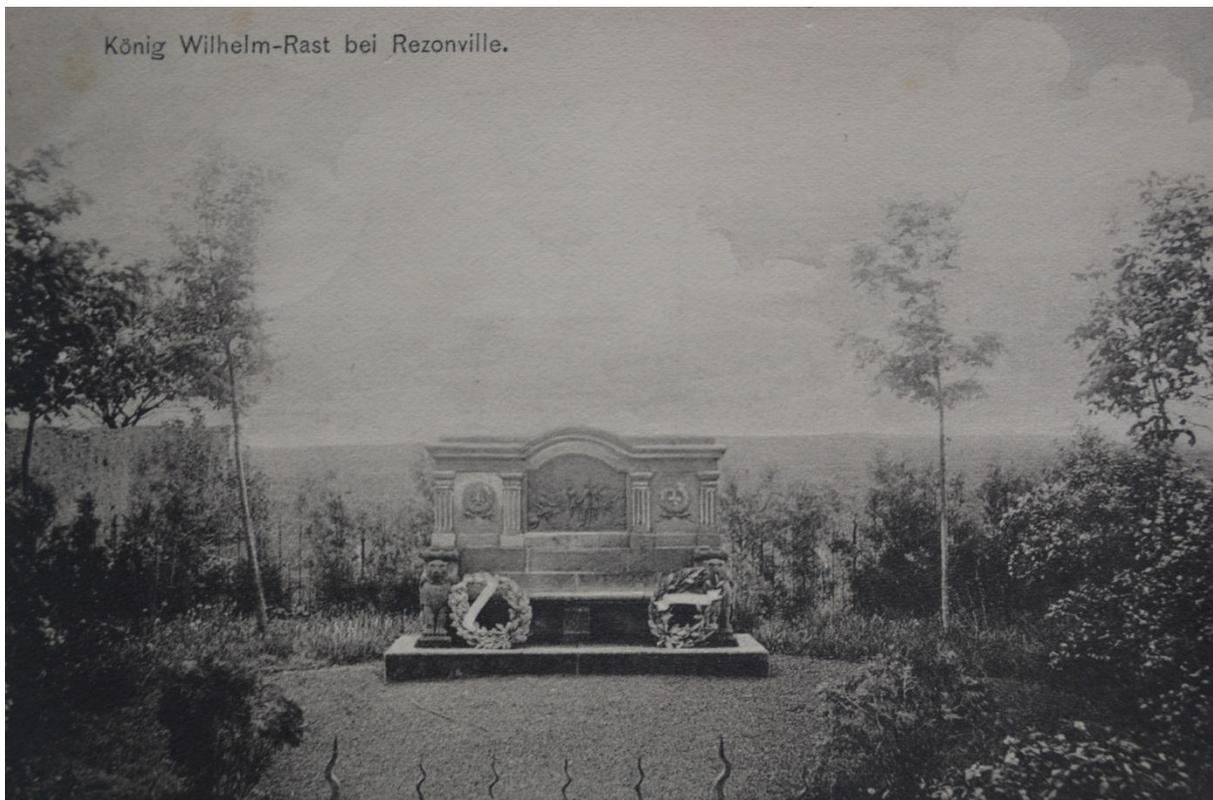


Figure 4.38 Franco-Prussian War memorial commemorating the spot where Kaiser Wilhelm rested, Rezonville, (circa 1899) France (Postcard collection of the author).

Following the annexation of Alsace and Lorraine, the new German Empire undertook a programme of rapid Germanification that crossed all spectrums of social and political life (Hamman 2009). An ambitious programme of monumental construction was undertaken

and statues were erected throughout the towns and cities of the annexed provinces. Many sought to venerate the commanders of the new German Empire. These included a monumental bench built in the village of Rezonville, just outside the city of Metz (Figure 4.38). This bench marked the spot where Kaiser Wilhelm, on passing through the village, had rested on a ladder supported by a dead horse; a large bronze plaque on the monument depicted the scene (Figure 4.39).



Figure 4.39 Scene of Kaiser Wilhelm resting on a ladder from the back of the monumental bench (Postcard collection of the author).

Memorials to 1870-1871 played a crucial role in the symbolic appropriation of the region and a way in which the German government could literally embed itself within the former French landscape. Bodies of the war dead have long been recognised as important nationalist tools in which 'ownership of the land is conferred by the burial of the dead in it, and through them the physical landscape is transmuted into a national one' (Grant, 2005:

510). This was problematic in the context of the Franco-Prussian War (see 4.3.3) as for the first time, through Article 16 of the Treaty of Frankfurt, each side had agreed to reciprocally respect the dead buried within their territories, and both French and German remains were located in Alsace and Lorraine. What was more, as a result of the brutal nature of the conflict, these were often indistinguishable and buried in communal graves. Consequently, the monuments took on an added significance and dozens of regimental memorials, heavily imbued with nationalist symbolism, were constructed throughout the former battlefields.

In the countryside just outside Vionville a large monumental memorial was constructed to the German infantry units that had fought in the region. This symbolically depicts the German victory as a lion victoriously trampling the French flag (Figure 4.40). Although not all were so triumphalist in their iconography many prominently displayed the symbols of the German Empire in order to make it clear that this was now German territory.
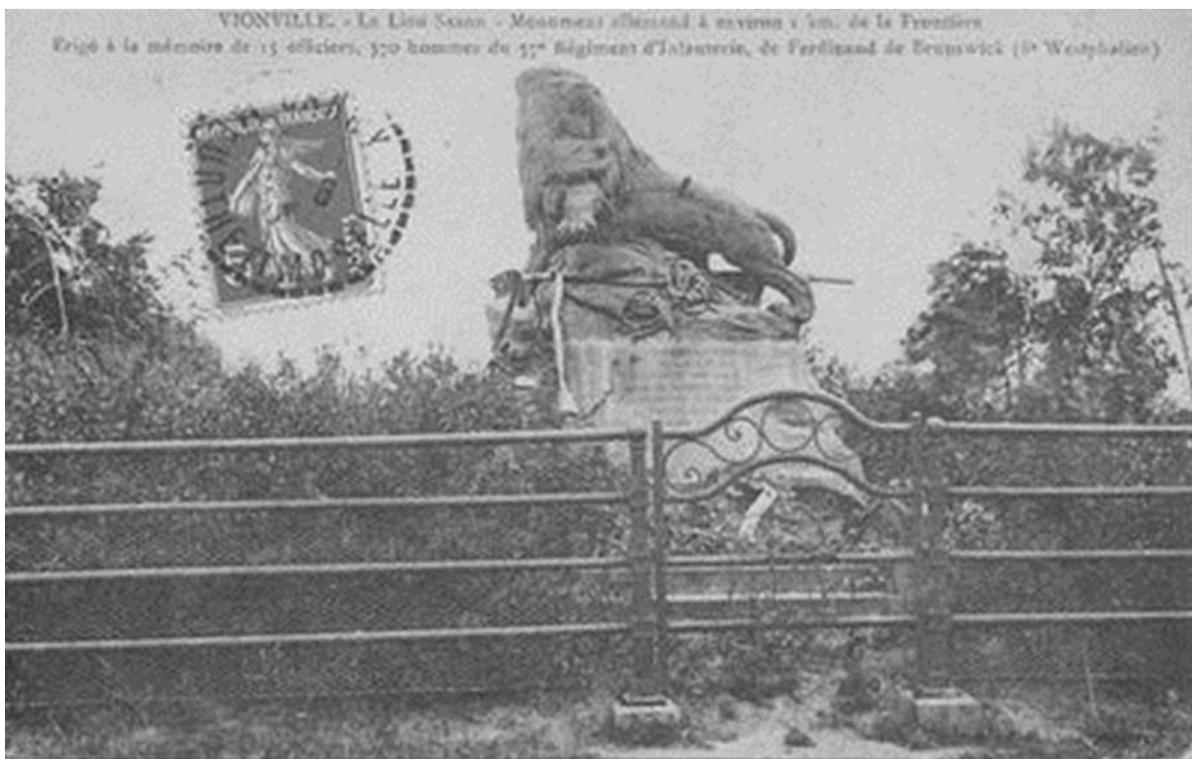


Figure 4.40 German memorial, (circa 1900) Vionville, France (at the time part of the regions annexed by Germany) (Postcard collection of the author).

The memorial to 5th Division Prussian Infantry near the village of Gorze, for example, consists of a monumental pile of stones at the top of which is a huge bronze eagle, its wings outstretched as if it had just landed on its prey (Figure 4.41). Such memorials would have been understood as representing not only the dead from the conflict but the German victory and their subsequent control of the region, making these monuments particularly difficult for those French citizens that had chosen to stay in the region following the annexation. Memorials such as these demonstrate the reflexivity of the memorialisation process, representing a desire to commemorate the common soldier whilst maintaining the context of the victory. This results in another form of transitional monument in which the commemoration of the common soldier is used to legitimise a very triumphal form of monument.



Figure 4.41 Franco-Prussian War memorial to the 5th Division Prussian Infantry (circa 1900), near Rezonville, France (image available MemorialGenWeb http://www.memorial-genweb.org/~cpa/com.php?insee=57578&dpt=57&comm=Rezonville).

**4.3.6 Reflexivity of memorials: memorialisation of earlier conflicts**

Once the tradition of memorialisation had become established as a legitimate form of monument, made sacred by its association with the dead, it was then available for other purposes. Structures commemorating much earlier events and especially earlier victories began to appear, particularly in a French context in those areas that had experienced defeat. The memorial, for example, in the village of Cassel in eastern France was erected on the 21st July 1873 to commemorate events from the Roman period through to the Bataille du val de Cassel (Figure 4.42). Coming so soon after the French defeat in the Franco-Prussian War it could be suggested that the memorial serves to divert from the defeat by focusing on earlier, more glorious, moments in French history.



Figure 4.42 Memorial to historic events, (1873) Cassel, France. (Photograph by the author, 2012).

Expansion of the memorial process, and its resultant new forms of memorialisation, increased processes of memorialisation of earlier conflicts as the memorial tradition developed. Events from the French past became increasingly important in areas appropriated by Germany following the Franco-Prussian War. In the annexed village of Gorze, for example, a memorial plaque was erected in memory of 187 officers and soldiers from la Grande Armée who died whilst in hospital at Gorze in 1813 and 1814 during the Napoleonic wars (Figure 4.43 to 4.44). The construction of a memorial plaque commemorating French victims of the Napoleonic War makes the connection that this area was historically French. The use of a war memorial to establish this demonstrates the understanding that the right to commemorate those who have been killed during war was somehow sacred, and therefore could not be viewed as a political act.
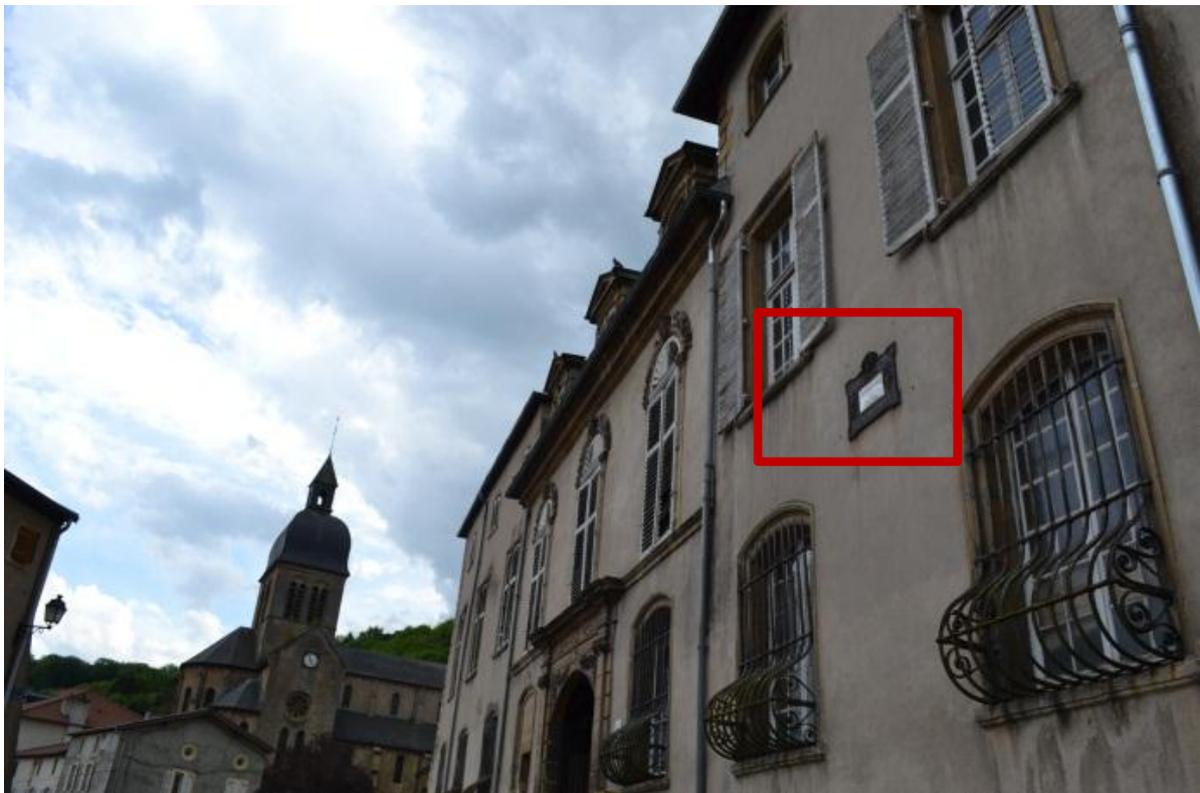


Figure 4.43 Napoleonic War Memorial erected by the Souvenir Français (est 1887) Place du Chateau, Gorze, France (annexed by Germany) (Photograph by the author, 2011).

Figure 4.44 Napoleonic War Memorial erected by the Souvenir Français (circa 1887) Place du Chateau, Gorze, France (annexed by Germany) (Photograph by the author, 2011).

**4.3.7 Reflexivity of memorialisation in the lead up to the First World War**

The practice of commemorating much earlier conflicts increased in France in the build-up to the First World War. In the lead up to the conflict the fortuitous 700$^{th}$ anniversary of the Battle of Bouvines was exploited to create a patriotic fervour and to place the war in the broader context of an imagined cohesive French history. The Battle of Bouvines itself had taken place on the 27$^{th}$ July 1214 between France and the alliance of the Holy Roman Empire, England, Flanders and Boulogne. The decisive French victory had effectively ended the Angevin-Flanders War and was viewed by many as the birth of the French nation. At the town of Bouvines a huge patriotic celebration was organised to mark the anniversary of the battle that had taken place seven centuries before (Figure 4.45).

Figure 4.45 Commemoration of the 700th anniversary of the Battle of Bouvines in 1914 (image available: http://www.bouvines2014.fr/commune-bouvines-php/le-700e-anniversaire-en-1914/).

This patriotic display framed the conflict in terms of chivalry and heroic militarism, providing the ideal atmosphere in which to recruit troops for the new conflict. Secondly, it assured the hundreds of French men that came to the celebration that France had been in this situation before and had succeeded in overcoming adversity despite unfavourable odds. It also served a third purpose; not only did it ensure that people knew what they were fighting for, but it assured men that, should the worse happen, they too could take their place in French history and would be guaranteed this form of commemoration for many years to come.

The climax of the pageantry and parades was the laying of a foundation stone for a memorial that was completed one day before the outbreak of the First World War (Figure 4.46). The construction of the Bouvine memorial at this time can be viewed within the same context as that at Cassel (Figure 4.42) in that the perceived permanence of the memorial's form offered stability at a time of unrest. The solid and tangible manifestation of a heroic and cohesive French history offered reassurance that the nation would continue.

Figure 4.46 Bataille de Bouvines Memorial, Bouvines (Nord) Colone, (1914) (Postcard collection of the author).

The Bouvine memorial, which would soon take its place amongst hundreds of other war memorials erected in every town and village throughout France following the conflict, would serve to cement the First World War within its broader national and historical contexts. This form of memorialisation is obviously very different from that of conflicts within living memory. It reflects a memorialisation process more closely related to triumphal forms erected to pre-1870 conflicts and demonstrates the reflexivity of the memorialisation process; the availability of new forms of memorial and the new categories of event and individual it was deemed appropriate to memorialise did not cease the construction of earlier forms of monument.

### 4.3.8 Reconciliatory memorials in the lead up to the First World War

The erection of the Bouvines memorial demonstrates the role that memorials can play many years after the events they commemorate. Fifty years after the end of the Napoleonic War, a column was constructed to French prisoners of War who died whilst at Norman Cross prisoner of war camp (Figure 4.47). In the build-up to the First World War this memorial was designed to reinforce Anglo-French relations forged through the Entente Cordial. At the close of the 19th Century the relationship between the two countries was far from hospitable. Tensions had risen during the Second Boer War, which was reported negatively in the French Press, particularly the British use of scorched earth policies and the internment of civilian women and children. Anger at hearing of French celebrations over British military failures had led to suggestions that war should be conducted through a putative Channel tunnel (Morgan 2002). Relations were further strained by the Fashoda Incident (Kumar 2006), and despite reconciliation through the Entente Cordial, relations between the two nations remained tense. Consequently, memorialisation of the French dead on British soil facilitated the creation of a platform in which the former enemies could come together and demonstrate that they were no longer hostile.

Throughout the Napoleonic War, Peterborough had been the site of Norman Cross, the first purpose built prisoner of war camp. During the camp's existence from 1796 to 1814 over 1,770 prisoners had died within its walls.[40] No memorial was constructed to the prisoners at the time, and the camp was largely dismantled after its closure. The memorial of 1914 was erected by the Entente Cordial Society, to provide a lasting memorial to those that had died at the camp (Figure 4.47).

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[40] For an overview of the camp and its archaeological significance see Mytum, H. and N. Hall (2013).

Figure 4.47 Norman Cross Memorial, (1914) , near Peterborough, Cambridgeshire, United Kingdom. (Image available: https://sites.google.com/site/friendsofnormancross/home).

Events at Norman Cross provided the ideal 'safe' memories to commemorate; although the death toll was high the majority of the prisoners had died not at the hands of the British but as a result of disease. At the unveiling ceremony, which was also attended by French diplomats, Lord Weardale expressed a desire that the monument be considered as:

'… a sign that there was no animosity because one time they were at war with the great Republic of France. They hoped that the monument would remain an imperishable record of that new era which they hoped had opened upon the world and in which French and English would be side by side in the world of

civilisation and that never again would their hands be lifted up against one

another' (The Peterborough and Hunts Standard, August 1, 1914)

Although the memorial served to commemorate those that had died at Norman Cross, little

mention was made of these men and it is clear that to viewers at the time of its unveiling it

signified the newly formed alliance between France and the UK. Consequently, whilst joint

memorials erected by former belligerents may be considered a relatively new phenomenon

these too have historical precedents, and it is clear by the time that the First World War was

declared the war memorial process had already gone through many stages of transition and

was understood to have multiple meanings.


## 4.4 Conclusion

Through the use of memorial examples from throughout the UK, USA and France this

chapter has demonstrated that the war memorialisation process began many years before

the First World War. The practice of commemorating all those that had died as a result of

conflict did not emerge fully fledged in the middle of the $19^{th}$ century. Instead, a gradual

transition takes place from memorials that commemorate only high military officials and the

battles themselves to those that include both the common soldier and civilian casualties.

These early examples were necessary primarily as a consequence of defeat and

controversial conflict memories that rendered traditional triumphal forms inappropriate.

Early memorialisation within the period O-P=1870-1914 develops as attitudes towards the

common soldier change to give greater consideration to both his physical remains and his

memory. Consequently, many early memorials evolve through a close relationship with the

bodies of the dead, particularly in the immediate aftermath of the conflict when the burial of those killed is particularly urgent (CT<25years). Those memorials not associated with human remains were often created in a funerary context where this symbolic connection can be made. The absence of a war memorial tradition on which to draw resulted in the use of both funerary and monumental traditions throughout the development of early memorialisation.

After the initial phase of memorialisation that followed both the American Civil War and the Franco-Prussian War, a second wave of construction occurred, one which can be viewed as a reaction both to the time that has passed from the conflict (CT) and to the developments that have taken place within the war memorial tradition (O-P). The types of memorial constructed during this phase were very different from those constructed in the immediate aftermath of the conflicts, and they focus on the memory of the conflict itself rather than that of the individual soldiers. Yet, these new forms of memorialisation, exemplified by memorials such as that at Sedan (Figure 4.33) were heavily reliant upon examples that had come before. Memorials constructed in the immediate aftermath of the conflict created a tradition that was centred on mourning and the memory of individual soldiers. This legitimised later practices by framing the memorial tradition within the context of mourning as opposed to triumphalism and national politics. As result monuments which were in fact highly pollicised were legitimated through their sacred connection with the bodies of the dead.

Yet, in all three study areas, as these understandings of the war memorial tradition developed they came to be applied not only to the most recent conflicts, but retrospectively to commemorate much earlier wars. These types of memorial where used for a variety of

different purposes, from marking of territory (Gorze, Figure 4.44), the creation of patriotic fervour (Bouvines, Figure 4.46), to reconciliation (Norman Cross, Figure 4.47). Yet all these forms were only possible because of the foundations that had been laid through earlier memorial processes linking war memorialisation to the sacrifice of the common soldier.

Multiple similarities exist between the early developments of memorialisation in each of the study areas. Yet, one clear difference exits between those memorials constructed following the American Civil War and those constructed in the UK and France. The significance of the Civil War within the American national narrative was recognised even as the conflict was taking place. As a result, a very unique form of memorialisation developed, one which sought to record the narratives of the individual battles as closely as possible. This was particularly pertinent for Northern regiments, but also applied to a lesser extent to those from the South. Consequently, memorials situated on US battlefields are highly descriptive as each regiment or battalion sought to record their role during the conflict in the way that they wanted it to be remembered.

The unique understandings of the war memorial as a form of object in its own right that developed through the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century clearly paved the way for those which were to be constructed following the First and Second World Wars. The war memorialisation process expanded to encompass many different kinds of conflict experience. Not only were precedents set for the commemoration of the lower ranks, but also for civilian casualties whose deaths resulted from both direct (Bazeilles, Figure 4.26) and indirect (Dunkerque, Figure 4.28) results of the fighting. It is also clear that the commemoration of conflicts was not limited to the immediate post-war period. Instead memorialisation continued as time extended from the conflict and memories passed from

autobiographical into historical, necessitating new forms of mnemonic response to keep the memory of that conflict alive. These new responses demonstrate the importance of taking into consideration the time that has passed from the conflict which was being commemorated (CT). In the following chapter memorialisation that takes place following the First World War will be considered within a three timescale (O-P,CT,MT) framework, alongside the continued engagement with memorials discussed within this chapter.

# 5    POST-FIRST WORLD WAR MEMORIALISATION PROCESSES: O-P = 1914-1939

## 5.1 Introduction

This chapter examines memorial processes that took place following the First World War until the outbreak of the Second World War (O-P=1914-1939). In addition to the effect of the conflict itself, it will continue to consider both the impact of earlier memorialisation processes and the development of the memorial tradition itself. The chapter will address the ways in which the First World War affected engagement with existing memorials and also the continued commemoration of earlier conflicts (Figure 5.1).
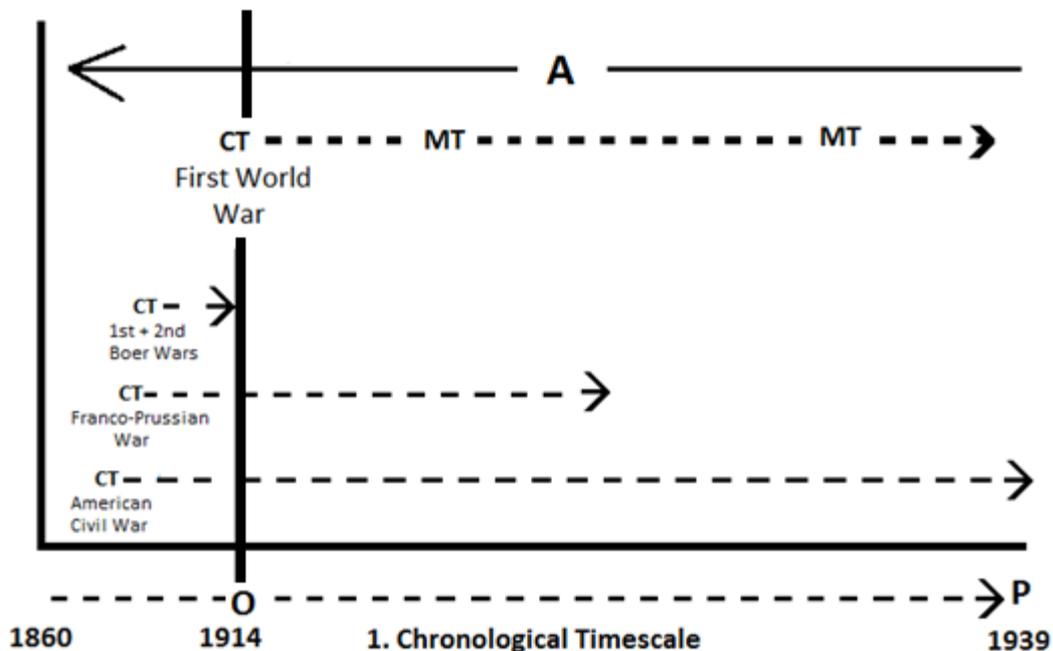


Figure 5.1 Three parallel timescales relating to the understanding of a war memorial at any given point in time:
**O-P:**    1914-1939 Chronological timescale
**CT:**     Time passed from conflict
**MT:**     Time passed from memorial construction
**A:**      Processes of engagement with existing memorials

***O-P = War memorial tradition 1914-1939***

Within the time period discussed in this chapter the war memorial tradition is necessarily more developed than that of the previous chapter. Consequently new forms draw more heavily from existing war memorial types rather than traditional or funerary forms. But developments within the tradition itself, which result in more democratic and loss orientated memorials, do no prevent a return to earlier forms of mnemonic response. Such responses will be discussed in 5.2.7.

***CT = Time passed from conflict***

As time passes from the First World War mnemonic responses will develop and consequently memorials constructed immediately after the conflict will differ from those constructed by the next generation. Part one of this chapter will examine immediate memorial responses to this conflict (5.2). This will begin with a consideration of the continued symbolic importance of the names of those that had lost their lives (5.2.2). Sections 5.2.3 and 5.2.4 will consider the immediate memorial responses to the conflict, specifically temporary processes of memorialisation which are often omitted from studies of First Word War memorials (see Connelly 2002 for an exception). Section 5.2.5 will examine attempts to create personal links with public forms of commemoration. The reflexivity of the memorial process will be once again addressed through sections 5.2.6-5.2.8, and the engagement with existing memorials (A) will be considered in 5.2.9. This section will be concluded by an examination of the developments the memorial tradition and its resultant new forms of memorialisation (5.2.10).

Part two of this chapter will examine a second phase of memorial construction that took place in the build-up to the Second World War (5.3). Sections 5.3.2 and 5.3.3 examine continued First World War memorialisation in France in the build up to the Second World War. This is followed by a discussion of the different forms of continuing memorialisation processes relating to the American Civil War (5.3.4-5.3.6). Despite coming many decades later, many of these memorial processes correspond directly to those which took place during the 19th century, and parallels will be drawn throughout this chapter.

*MT = Time passed from memorial construction*

As discussed in the previous chapter, engagement with a memorial can continue for many years. This timescale, in relation to early memorials (such as Civil and Franco-Prussian examples), will necessarily exert a stronger influence than in the proceeding chapter since more time has passed. This issue is most pertinent in relation to Franco-Prussian memorials constructed in the border regions of France and Germany. Consequently, engagement with these memorials will be discussed in detail in section 5.2.9.

## 5.2 Initial post-war processes of memorialisation (CT < 25 years)

### 5.2.1 Introduction

The First World War is widely acknowledged as the great 'imaginative event' in twentieth century Europe (Fussell 1975, Hynes 1992, Todman 2005) and is often cited as the first example of widespread memorialisation. As a result, the study of memorials from the First World War has dominated the discipline (see 2.5). But, as demonstrated in Chapter 4, processes of memorialisation involving the common soldier began many decades before this conflict. Therefore, whilst the First World War resulted in memorial construction in almost every town and village in the UK and France, and also widely in the USA, this process was clearly not without precedent.

Despite the time that had passed between the conflicts, the processes of memorialisation which took place following the First World War closely followed those which took place in the USA following the Civil War and in France following the Franco-Prussian War. In the United States and in France the development of early war memorial forms following the Civil War and the Franco-Prussian War were intrinsically linked to the bodies of the dead and to the sites of the conflict itself. Similarly, during the First World War initial memorial reactions following the conflict were primarily concerned with grief and the practical concerns of dealing with the bodies of the dead. What differentiated the First World War from earlier wars was the unprecedented scale of the death toll which necessitated a much more structured approach to the commemoration of the dead (Ben-Amos 2000). Processes which were only in their infancy during the earlier conflicts, such as the naming of each

soldier and the dedication of individual graves, became much more widespread as the conflict provided increasing numbers of victims.

Despite official attempts to the contrary,[41] there was no unified commemorative response to the events of the First World War. Approaches to its commemoration and memorialisation were naturally dependent upon the distinct experiences and needs of those responsible for its creation. Archaeologist Sarah Tarlow suggests that commemoration following the First World War took place at three levels: the national, the local, and the personal (Tarlow 1997). Yet these responses should not be viewed in isolation as the national, the local, and the personal are intrinsically linked, and memorialisation that took place often involved the complex interaction of all three. It should not be assumed that all commemoration that took place on a national level was political and that which took place at a local level was concerned primarily with the emotional needs of the bereaved. The Cenotaph in Whitehall, London for example, began as a temporary monument to provide focus for a victory parade but was made permanent following calls from the public to perpetuate the memory of their loved ones (Greenberg 1989). For many, seeing a national memorial that commemorated the sacrifice of their loved ones clearly fulfilled a valuable emotive purpose. Conversely, many local memorials were highly politically charged as communities discussed exactly what they believed their memorial should represent.

Discussions surrounding memorials could be highly confrontational and the memorial committees themselves were rarely democratic (Koureas 2007). Some communities opted for more practical responses to commemorate the war dead from their town or village (Borg 1991:136-42). In the city of Peterborough in Cambridgeshire, for example, the memorial

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[41] In the UK, as early as 1915 the Civic Arts Association was created to promote good design in the memorialisation of the war (King 1998: 71).

took the form of a hospital 'in Remembrance of the men of Peterborough and District who laid down their lives; …in Gratitude for the sacrifice and service rendered by them, by the wounded, and by those who, happily, returned home safe' (True, Stephenson et al. 1928). Utilitarian memorials were not restricted to hospitals, and a wide variety of different forms were constructed. At the close of the conflict organised sports were considered appropriate entertainment for remembrance days (Goebel 2007: 217), and in Stourbridge, in the West Midlands, a memorial sports stadium was constructed in memory of the town's First World War dead. Yet this did not take the place of a purely commemorative memorial and a monumental memorial was also constructed in the centre of the town (Figure 6.41).



Figure 5.2 Stourbridge War Memorial Athletic Ground, (circa 1918) Stourbridge, West Midlands (Photograph by the author, 2012).

Parklands as memorials, where survivors could take in the fresh air, were particularly popular near urban centres. The memorial in the Staffordshire village of Kinver, close to the city of Birmingham, took the form of a large park with the names of the fallen from Kinver inscribed on a drinking fountain (Figure 5.3). Yet such examples are rare and only account for around 5% of the total number of memorials constructed (Furlong, Knight et al. 2002).



Figure 5.3 First World War memorial, in its parkland location (circa 1919) Kinver, Staffordshire. (Photograph by the author, 2012).

## 5.2.2 Names and Naming

That few towns and villages decided to commemorate their war dead through practical schemes, and that those that did chose also to incorporate lists of the dead (see Kinver and Stourbridge above), demonstrates that recording the names of those that had died was of

primary importance to bereaved communities. Such attitudes towards recording the dead necessarily affected expectations regarding the state response to the conflict, as Lacquer suggests within a British context:

'while British working men may not have been given a marked individual grave in their pre-war homeland and while the care of the bodies of the poor was something of a scandal, the state would have to do better by them if it sent them by the hundreds and thousands to die abroad' (Laqueur 1994: 160).

In the UK, the state responsibility over the bodies of the dead was compounded by the decision not to repatriate the remains. Losses, which far exceeded expectations at the beginning of the war, made the return of the physical remains both logistically very difficult and prohibitively expensive. As a result, the Commonwealth War Graves Commission[42] was created and tasked with providing and maintaining suitable overseas burial grounds (Gibson and Ward 1989, Longworth 2003). Processes of naming soldiers and burying them in individual plots, which had begun in the Franco-Prussian War (e.g. Figure 4.16) and the American Civil War (e.g. Figure 4.3),[43] became more fully developed. Although many bodies could not be identified, there are almost no Commonwealth Mass Graves (Laqueur 1994: 154). Where possible soldiers were given their own grave marker and those whose remains could not be retrieved or identified were listed on large national memorials.

Whilst the First World War did bring about the democratisation of the memorial tradition, in which all individuals were commemorated equally regardless of rank, this process clearly had its roots in much earlier practices (see 4.3.5). Whilst the Commonwealth War Graves headstones were uniform it should also not be forgotten that they did still include each

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[42] Originally the Imperial War Graves Commission.
[43] And also in the British Boer War Cemeteries, although outside the remit of this thesis.

individual's rank, and that his service number and rank came above his name (Figure 5.4). The greatest space on the tombstone was occupied by the regimental emblem, not a personal one, presenting each individual's role as a 'war hero' above his pre-war life. This was democratisation of military death, not an attempt to memorialise the fallen as their individual pre-war selves, many of whom had had no contact with the military prior to the war. Concessions to allow an epitaph by the family at the bottom of the stone were only made following extensive protests by the bereaved (Tarlow 1997: 111). Yet, this could only be carried out on receipt of a pay-per-letter fee (Laqueur 1994: 161). Poorer families or those that had lost more than one son were naturally disadvantaged, and as a result not every Commonwealth headstone includes a personal dedication. Consequently, even Commonwealth War Graves cannot be considered as truly democratic.



Figure 5.4 Common Wealth War Graves, Arras Cemetery, France (Photograph by the author, 2012)

The decision by the British government to bury the bodies of its soldiers where they fell has resulted in suggestions that the primary aim of memorials was to provide comfort for those who had lost loved ones, but had no grave side at which to mourn (Moriarty 1997: 126, Sherman 1998, Sherman 1999: 100, Connelly 2002: 44, Goebel 2007: 3). In France, however, it was left to each family to decide if they wanted their loved one brought back to their home town or to be buried on the battlefield with their comrades. Despite the return of many bodies, war memorials were still constructed in almost every town and village in France (Figure 5.5) (Prost 1992). Some towns and villages, such as these examples from Tanny and Bellicourt, chose a *poilus* figure for their memorial, but there are a complex range of memorial designs chosen (see Prost 1997: 309-317).



Figure 5.5 First World War Memorial, (circa 1918) Tanny, France (left) and First World War (circa 1918) Memorial, Bellicourt, France, both with standardised poilus figure (right). (Photographs by the author, 2012).

Memorial responses to the conflict differed from village to village, and *poilu's* range from pensive (Figure 5.5 left) to victorious (Figure 5.5 right). In the town of Sedan, that had struggled to shake off the stigma from the Franco-Prussian War and had once again been occupied during the First World War, the soldier is in a stance of desperation (Figure 5.6), his left arm reaching out, his right clutching his rifle, and his knees sinking into the mud.



Figure 5.6 First World War memorial (1924), Sedan, France (Photograph by the author, 2011). For historic postcard of the memorials see Figure 3.3.

In the United States a similar policy of voluntary repatriation was followed, and whilst the bodies of fallen soldiers could be returned to the US at their family's request, allowing the bodies to remain where they had fallen was strongly encouraged. It has been suggested that the establishment of overseas war cemeteries were designed 'to evoke a common national cause rather than mourn the death of young soldiers' (Robin 1995: 55). Despite government

efforts to the contrary almost 70% of families opted to have the bodies of their loved ones returned to them (Piehler 1994: 173). Yet, as in France, this did not prevent memorials being constructed in almost every town from which the soldiers came, typically in the form of the mass produced 'Doughboy' memorial.[44] The construction of a shared community level memorial clearly had a function beyond that of surrogate grave for the individual bereaved. By individually naming the deceased it provided a communal focus for grief, and identified not only the dead but also the bereaved that were in need of support. The central location of many memorials also resulted in them becoming prominent signifiers to those outside of the community of the sacrifices that individuals within that community had made.

The USA had already experienced an unprecedented level of memorial construction following the Civil War. Consequently by the outbreak of the First World War assumptions were already established regarding government accountability and the necessity of providing adequately for those who had died as a result of government policy (Faust 2006: 996). Initial commemoration of this conflict was very different from that carried out in Europe. America entered the First World War notoriously late in the conflict and did not declare war on Germany until April 1917. This late entrance meant that the USA was spared the enormous casualty lists of the other combatants (Piehler 1994: 169). Whilst First World War memorials were constructed in many towns and villages across the United States, these were very often of secondary importance to the existing Civil War memorials. Nowhere is this more apparent than that at the iconic battlefield town of Gettysburg. Here, amidst the hundreds of Civil War memorials, only one memorial plaque commemorates those from Adam's County who lost their lives in the First World War (Figure 5.7).

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[44] This form can itself be viewed as a development of the earlier mass produced 'standing sentinel' memorials of the post-Civil War era.

Figure 5.7 First World War Memorial (1920), Gettysburg, P.A. United States. (Photograph by the author, 2012).

### 5.2.3 Temporary Memorialisation: Local Level

As discussed in Chapter 4, a more inclusive form of memorialisation had developed throughout the latter half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. This memorialisation gave greater precedence to both the bodies and the memory of the common soldier and resulted in the expectation that all of those killed as a result of conflict should be memorialised regardless of their rank or station. Consequently, attempts to commemorate those involved in the First World War began whilst the conflict was still in progress. Early commemoration of the conflict in Britain began in many instances with the creation of shrines. Whilst this grass roots level creation of temporary memorials as a response to traumatic events is often perceived as a contemporary phenomenon (see for example Grider 2001, Doss 2002, Santino 2004) it has a

very long history (Connelly 2002). These shrines usually took the form of small plaques listing the names of those who had enlisted, and incorporated space for votive candles and floral offerings (Figure 5.8). These objects offered a sacred space in which to think of those involved in the conflict whilst remaining within an often very secular setting (Figure 5.8 left), and replacing the physical presence of the individual with the symbolic presence of his name. These shrines therefore offered an opportunity for those who had loved ones abroad to offer a prayer for their safety whilst also demonstrating to the wider community the contribution that each household was making to the war effort. The ritual of visiting the shrine to offer dedication and prayers became an important part of the memorialisation process. This had the added effect of constantly reminding those who were yet to enlist of the sacrifices others were already making.
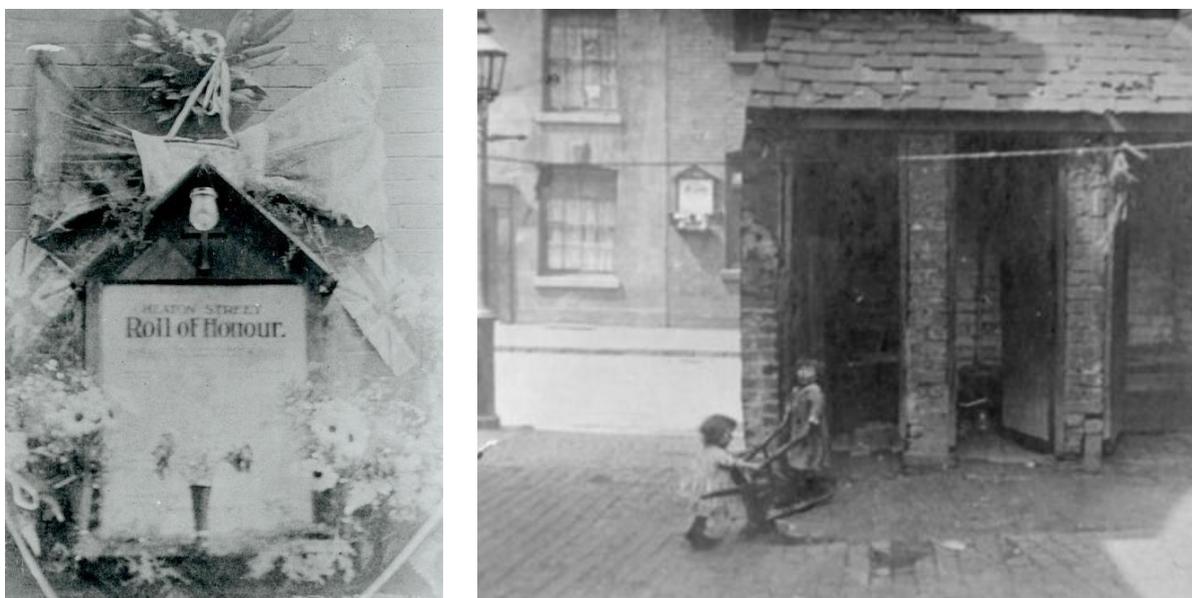


Figure 5.8 Street shrine from Heaton Street, Birmingham (left) and street shrine from Arthur Street, Small Heath located next to the communal lavatories (right) (Image courtesy of Carl Chinn private collection).

Figure 5.9 Barrow-upon-Soar Street Shrine Dedication 1917 (Image available http://www.barrowuponsoarwarmemorial.co.uk/page12.htm).

As the war progressed many shrines began to incorporate casualty lists, and eventually formed the basis for the war memorials which followed. In the village of Barrow-on-Soar, memorial processes began with the unveiling of a street shrine holding the Roll-of-Honour (Figure 5.9). Unveiled in 1917, this object suggests a necessity for a focus for the community to come together and offer mutual support. Although the shrine has religious iconography it is not located inside the church. Instead it occupies a space on the corner of the church wall, suggesting that visibility was favoured above a religious location.

Conflicting views exist regarding the role of religion during the First World War. Whilst some propose that many became disillusioned with the Church (Cannadine 1981: 219), others disagree, suggesting that the church in fact played a vital role for community cohesion and support during the conflict (Wilkinson 1978: 292-311). When it came to constructing a lasting monument to the war dead from the village of Barrow-upon-Soar, the religious iconography was continued. Like the shrine, the memorial was located in a very visible place (Figure 5.10). Consequently, temporary forms of memorialisation did not negate the need for a more permanent form of memorial once the conflict had ended, and the names listed on the shrines often formed the basis of more permanent memorials.

Figure 5.10 Barrow-upon-Soar war memorial, (1921) provided a permanent memorial to individuals listed on the temporary memorial (Photograph by the author, 2014).

Occasionally, temporary shrines influenced the form of the permanent memorials more directly. In the village of St. Albans the memorials take the form of ten stone plaques listing the war dead from each street (Figure 5.11). Here each memorial clearly has its origins in the small temporary street shrines. By commemorating individuals on the street in which they lived, each memorial served to reunite the names of the dead with his pre-war self, emphasising how they lived and not how they died. Such examples provide stark contrasts to the 'war hero' dedication of Commonwealth War Graves in France. What emerges from the three study areas is a process of memorialisation that is very fluid, and one which is adapted to meet the needs of each community. Regardless of whether or not these shrines were secular or sacred in nature, both types placed primary importance on the naming of those who were fighting and eventually on those who had been killed.

Figure 5.11 First World War Memorial Sopwell Lane St Albans (1920-21). One of ten memorials erected in St Albans Abbely Parish which commemorates the dead of individual streets. (Image courtesy of John Carman).

Like the shrines constructed during the conflict, temporary structures erected throughout the UK directly after the conflict in towns and villages gave an immediate focus for mourning, fulfilling the needs of the bereaved (Figure 5.12). They also suggest that the initial purpose of the memorial was to facilitate the creation of communities, providing a focus where the bereaved could gather collectively, rather than individually, to perpetuate the memory of the dead. The practice of erecting temporary shrines demonstrates how quickly the war memorial form was incorporated into commemorative regimes. The Church was no longer the sole focus of commemorative ceremonies, but instead it was felt necessary to construct a highly visible tangible structure in a public setting, echoing those forms that had been created on a national level.

Figure 5.12 Clithero Temporary Cenotaph, ca 1919 (Image available: http://www.clitheroecentre.co.uk/Old_Clitheroe/imagepages/image251.html).

### 5.2.4 Early National Memorialisation

Following the same pattern as local scale commemorations, many initial commemorative activities carried out at a national level also centred on the construction of temporary memorial forms. National commemorations in all three study areas were required to negotiate between patriotic celebration and respect for those who had experienced loss as a result of the conflict. These difficulties are often expressed in the discussions surrounding the planning of these events. Many felt that if too much time was left before any form of commemoration was held this might be interpreted as a lack of respect for those who had fought. In the UK plans for commemoration of the Versailles Peace Conference, for example, came under pressure from the king for this reason and 'it was agreed to simplify the programme, and bring it forward so that the celebrations might come as soon as

possible after the treaty was actually signed' (Cannadine 1981: 220). Viewed in this context, the construction of temporary memorials can be seen to provide an immediate focus for the commemoration of the conflict before more permanent plans had been put in place. In the USA, which had been affected by the conflict much less than Europe, many post war commemorations took a triumphal form through which they hoped to distract from the divisions caused by the decision to enter the war (Piehler 1995: 94). In Washington D.C., large scale commemorations took place in the years following the conflict. In 1921, the city was transformed through the construction of temporary monumental structures which formed the centre of commemorations (Figure 5.13 & Figure 5.14).



Figure 5.13 Temporary cenotaph 'the jewelled arch' Washington, D.C. USA 1921 .[45]

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[45]    D.C. Washington, World War I. Arch of Jewels. November 17th 1921.   Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division. J251654  Original photograph by Malarkey.(Copy by the author, 2012)
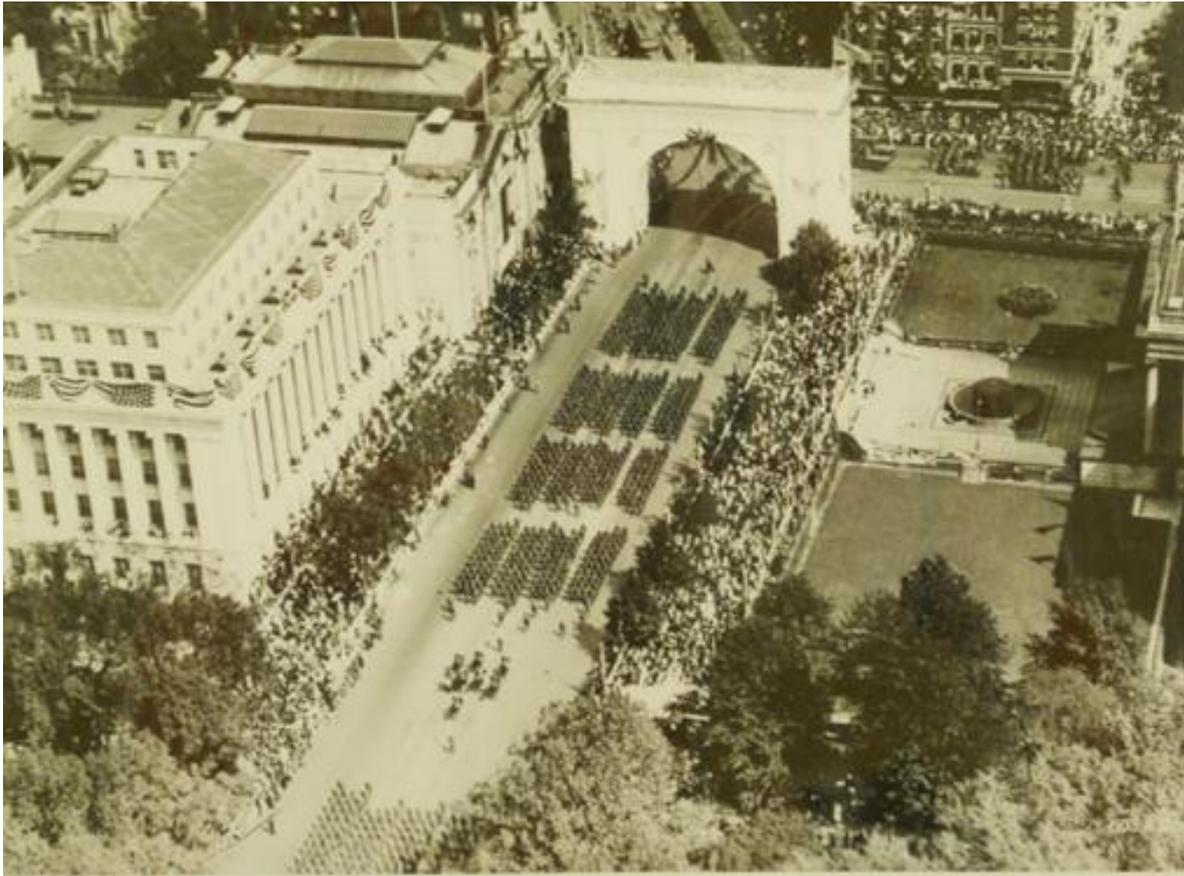
Figure 5.14 Aerial view of temporary Pershing Victory Arch, Washington D.C. USA 1921.[46]

First World War commemorations such as these played an important role in the continued symbolic unification of the country. Although American participation in the conflict had been far from popular amongst the American public, the Allied Victory provided the opportunity to cement cohesive national narratives begun by the Spanish American War (1898). In Washington D.C. the temporary cenotaph created to commemorate the conflict echoed the form of the Washington monument, consisting of two monumental obelisks (Figure 5.13). Yet unlike the cenotaph and catafalque style monuments created in France and the UK, the memorial was embellished with lights to create an elaborate 'jewelled arch.' Through the use of the familiar iconography of the Washington monument, First World War commemorations were placed firmly in the American tradition. Yet, borrowing from the

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[46] Aerial view of Pershing Victory Arch. Duplicate in lot 12013 or lot 11800. Geographical File-Washington. D.C. Monument and Memorials- Pershing Victory Arch {PA Avenue & 15 Street NW] (Copy by the author 2012).

European tradition a large victory arch was also constructed through which the troops paraded (Figure 5.14). The commemoration of the First World War provided the first large scale opportunity to commemorate the actions of the US as a united nation.

Similarly, in France initial First World War commemorations served to celebrate a reunited France that had been restored after the annexation of Alsace and Lorraine almost fifty years before. In Paris temporary monuments were incorporated into the victory parade on 14th July (Figure 5.15). Commemorations took place in order to reconstruct the national French narrative after it had been detached by the defeat of 1870. As a result, commemorations took place not on the anniversary of the Armistice but instead on Bastille Day. This linked the victory of the First World War directly to earlier triumphal moments and the route through the Arc de Triomphe echoed the Prussian victory parade following the Franco-Prussian War which took place on the Champs Elysee and wiped out the earlier defeat.



Figure 5.15 Victory parade through the Arc de Triomphe depicting temporary cenotaph (bottom right), Paris, France 14th July 1919 (Postcard collection of the author).

## 5.2.5 Personal Links to Public Memorials

Temporary memorial structures clearly played an important role both during and after the First World War, not just on a local and national level, but also for the individual bereaved. In the United Kingdom personal shrines were built in the homes of many bereaved families, and often centred around official national responses to the conflict such as the official 'scrolls of honour' and the 'dead man's penny' issued to the relatives of each deceased soldier (Dunne 2012). This engagement between national and personal commemoration demonstrates the complex relationship between private mourning and national narratives.

This relationship forms a dialectic in which national narratives are brought into the private sphere and personal narratives are made public through their engagement with external memorials. These practices are not mutually exclusive and individuals engage with multiple memorial forms in many ways. For those who had experienced grief as result of the First World War the relationship between private grief and public commemoration was central. Public commemoration provided the opportunity to make sense of the loss by situating the individual death within a wider national narrative.

Yet many felt the need to engage with this national commemoration on a more personal level. Following the First World War many bereaved individuals, from the UK, USA, and from within France itself, took part in organised visits to the Somme Battlefields to view the memorials and graves of loved ones. For many, simply viewing the grave or name of a loved one was not satisfactory. It was felt necessary that a connection should be established between national level commemorations and the individual casualty. One observer of the unveiling of the 51st (Highland) Division War Memorial at Beaumont-Hamel, Somme, describes the way in which the memorials on the battlefields 'are more than monuments,

they are real places of pilgrimage' (Robertson c.1924: 14). He described the actions of grieving parents who brought with them a sapling from their home and a box of soil in order that their son should 'have a bit of the home ground about him' (Robertson c.1924: 14).[47] This suggests that for some having a grave abroad and the name listed on a local memorial, or a small personal shrine at home, was not sufficient to fulfil their emotive needs. Rather, it was felt necessary to establish a permanent connection between the grave in France and their son's home, demonstrating the interaction between commemoration on a national and personal level (Gough 2004).



Figure 5.16 First World War Memorial listing the names of the dead, (circa 1918) Comines, France. (Photograph by the author, 2012).

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[47] For full text see Appendix 5

Even smaller scale local memorials did not necessarily fulfil the needs of the bereaved, who often sought a more personal type of commemoration than a name on a communal monument. In the village of Comines in North-Eastern France, the memorial was constructed in the local church yard and listed the names of the local war dead (Figure 5.16). Yet, despite the presence of this memorial many individuals still felt compelled to erect an individual memorial within the boundaries of the obelisk (Figure 5.17) in the same manner that plaques would be left on private graves (see for example Mytum 2004: 70). These individual memorials correspond to the names of those listed on the memorial itself, suggesting perhaps that simply the name of the deceased was not always sufficient to fulfil the emotional needs of the bereaved. Often the plaques contain an image of the dead man as well as personal references omitted from the memorial itself (Figure 5.18).
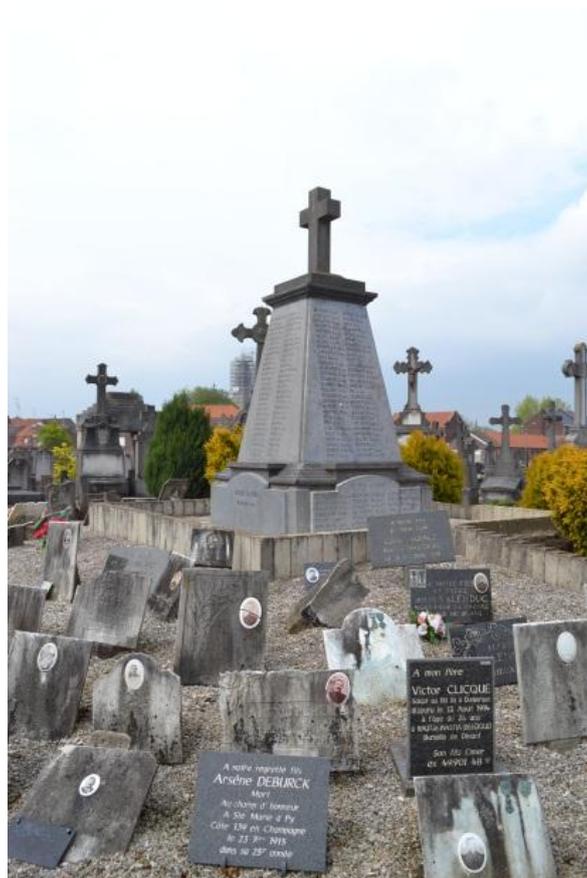


Figure 5.17 First World War Memorial surrounded by individual memorial plaques, Comines, France (Photograph by the author, 2012).

Figure 5.18 Individual plaques First World War memorial, Comines, France. (Photograph by the author, 2012).

One plaque reads for example, 'A mon fiancé aimé Léon Dautricourt mort à Reims Le 24 Octobre 1918.'[48] This attempt to connect the deceased with his pre-war life gives a more personal image of the man that had been lost. Positioning the personal monument within the context of the local memorial also suggests a lack of distinction between individual and collective remembering. Léon Dautricourt also has his name listed on the Reims memorial, located close to where he was killed. Neither this memorial, nor the local churchyard memorial, negated the need for his fiancé to create a personal memento. Yet this personal memorial was not located within the private sphere, but was constructed in a very public location.[49]

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[48] To my much loved fiancé Léon Dautricourt died at Reims 24th October 1918.
[49] Although a more private memorial could also have been created

In addition to the embellishment of the memory of the deceased with details not included on the memorial, the plaques also provide a tangible reminder of the perpetuation of the memory of that individual by family members and loved ones. If war memorials stripped individuals of their pre-war identity, and subsumed them into a militaristic national narrative, then plaques such as these can be viewed as attempts at both returning this identity, and demonstrating that they were being remembered by their loved ones. This signifies an ownership of the death; the name represents not just one of many deaths but an individual father/ son. One plaque from bereaved parents reads, 'a notre regretted fils Arsène Dedurk mort au champ d'honneur A Ste Marie à Py Côte 139 en Champagne le 23 7bre 1915 dans sa 25$^e$ année.'' [50] Another, from one individual's son reads 'A mon pére Victor Clique soldat au 110 Rl à Dunkerque disparu le 13 Aaut 1914 à l' âge de 26 ans à Haut-le-Wastia (Belgique) Bataille de Dinant, Son fils Omer.'[51] This suggests that his son, who was presumably a young child at the time of his father's death, had returned to the memorial to leave a personal lasting memorial and demonstrating that tangible engagement with a memorial can continue for many years after its construction (MT).

As Tarlow suggests 'war deaths could not be treated as though they were normal kinds of death; the dead were not just any dead … new responses were demanded' (Tarlow 1997: 111). This has as much resonance on a personal level as it does on a national level. As a result traditional, more transient, offerings left by loved ones at gravesites such as flowers and paper cards were no longer always considered sufficient and a more permanent assurance was needed to signify that the memory of the dead was not only being

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[50] With regrets to our son Arsène Deburk died in Battle at St Marie à Py in Champagne on 23rd July 1915 in his 25th year

[51] To my father Victor Clique soldier of 110 Rl Dunkerqune Deburk e, disappeared 13th August 1914 aged 26 in Haut-le-Wastia (Belgium) Battle of Dinant, from his son Omer.

remembered by the community but also by family and friends. Rosenzweig and Thelen in their research to determine what and how individuals relate to the past found that respondents avoided national narratives and instead viewed the past in highly personal terms (Rosenzweig and Thelen 1998). As a result, it is likely that those who had suffered bereavement as a result of nationally significant events such as the First World War experienced both the inability to understand these national narratives as separate from their individual loss, but also a desire to understand their own loss within the framework of wider national narratives. This allowed individuals to make sense of their loss and their bereavement within the context of other bereavements, and gain comfort from the knowledge that theirs was not a unique experience, as demonstrated by the clustering of individual memorials around the community memorial.

### 5.2.6 Personal links to memorials many years after the conflict

The plaque left to Victor Clique by his son over twenty five years after his death demonstrates that the importance of memorial sites to those who have experienced personal loss rarely diminishes over time. For those that had lost relatives during the war, seeing their name on a memorial played an important part of reconnecting with their past, particularly for those whose relatives have no known graveside at which to mourn. For such individuals, the practice of being in the place of the death and viewing the name on a memorial facilitates an experiential connection with lost loved ones. The pain that could be caused by the realisation that the name of a loved one had been omitted or incorrectly inscribed is evidenced by the multiple petitions to the commissions at the battlefield of

Gettysburg. H.M. Devereaux, for example, wrote to the War department on 16<sup>th</sup> September, 1929, following a visit to the former battlefield:

'My brother C. W. Devereau was Captain of Co. K, 145 Regt. Penn. Volunteers enlisted at Erie Penn. He was killed at Spottsylvania in battle. His name is on the soldier's monument at Gettysburg (by some error) as Lietenant C.W. Deveraeux instead of Capt. Can it be corrected?' (Gettysburg Box 20, Folder 13)



Figure 5.19 Pennsylvania State Memorial (1910), Gettysburg, P.A., United States (Photograph by the author, 2012).

Omissions or mistakes on public war memorials can clearly continue to cause distress to their relatives for many years after the conflict itself. Even if that individual had not died during the battle or conflict in question, that they should be appropriately recorded as having served continued to be of importance. During a visit to Gettysburg in 1933 a

daughter of a soldier serving there almost 60 years before expressed her disappointment that her father's name, William D. Mc, Cloughan, was not listed correctly on the Pennsylvania Monument and, 'the plate that is on the monument it reads Mc.Cloughan' (Figure 5.19).[52]

The importance that the name of a relative should not be forgotten within the public sphere is not necessitated by autobiographical memory of the individual being commemorated, nor is continued private commemoration of that individual considered adequate. Mrs Annette Ferry Macdonough[53] also complained that her grandfather's name had been omitted from the Pennsylvania memorial (Figure 5.19) despite the fact he did not die at Gettysburg, but instead passed away over 40 years later in the National Home for Disabled Volunteer Soldiers and was buried in the home cemetery. Similarly, the granddaughter of another Gettysburg veteran was equally dismayed that his name had been incorrectly spelt on the Pennsylvania State Memorial at Gettysburg and that this had not been rectified by the Military Park Commission (Figure 5.19).

> 'Gentlemen: Some years ago I called attention of the Commission to the fact that on the Pennsylvania Military Monument, the name of my Grandfather, was incorrectly inscribed. Company C., 118th Corn Exchange Regiment, on the Monument bears the name 'Wm. J. Hellon,' whereas the proper name should be Wm. T. Hillen. …Visiting Gettysburg yesterday after several years, I found that no correction has as yet been made and I would like to ask that the proper parties be asked that the name be correctly inscribed'[54]

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[52] For full letter see Appendix 6
[53] For full letter see Appendix 7
[54] The name on the memorial was eventually changed but at the cost of the Grandraughter who bore the expense 'under protest as I think that the same should be borne by the War Department or State of Pennsylvania, or whoever was responsible originally' (Gettysburg War Memorial Files Box 20 Folder 13).

The importance of an individual name being inscribed correctly even if that individual had not died at Gettysburg further suggests the primarily historical role of memorialisation in the United States, demonstrating that the practice was not exclusively associated with mourning but with the marking of place and the presence of an individual on the battlefield.

## 5.2.7 Reflexivity of memorials: French memorials referencing earlier conflicts

During the commemoration of the First World War the practice of using earlier conflicts to contextualise the war continued (see 4.3.6 & 4.3.7 for earlier reflexive practices). Whilst this occurred in all three study areas, it is within France that these links are found most strongly. This is perhaps not surprising, given that this was where the majority of the conflict had been fought and that many in France viewed the First World War as a continuation of the earlier Franco-Prussian War. Not only were the commemorative forms often directly related to those from previous conflicts, but the war itself was viewed and sought to be remembered within this wider temporal narrative.

In the build-up to the conflict, the 700th anniversary of the Battle of Bouvines had been utilised to foster patriotic feeling as France prepared for war (4.3.7). At the close of the First World War further attempts were made in France to put the conflict within a wider historical narrative. The Tomb of the Unknown Soldier was deliberately placed under France's most famous war memorial, the Arc de Triomphe, honouring French victories in the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars. And, at a local level, anniversaries of historical conflicts were incorporated into memorials to once again frame the war within its wider national narratives. During the war, the narrative of the Battle of Bouvines was utilised in the commemoration of the First World War dead at the town of Bouvines. The memorial to the

Battle of Bouvines had been completed one day before the outbreak of the hostilities (Figure 4.46). During the conflict this memorial was appropriated by the civilians of Bouvines and the names of the dead were inscribed on a plaque that was attached to the memorial to 1214 (Figure 5.20). The use of the memorial in this way not only situates these deaths within their broader historical significance but, like the temporary street shrines and cenotaphs (Figure 5.8 & Figure 5.13), it demonstrates a desire for an immediate public commemorative response (see 2.2.2).



Figure 5.20 Battle of Bouvines Memorial during the First World War, with plaque listing casualties (circa 1915), Bouvines (Nord) Colone**,** (Image available: http://monumentsmorts.univ-lille3.fr/monument/133/bouvines-place/)

During the war, French battles were paralleled with Bouvines and other historical counterparts (Price 2005: 186). The Battle of the Marne, 5<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> September 1914, was seen as the direct historical descendent of the Battle at Bouvines. Historical accounts of the battle, such as Louis Madelin's 1917 publication 'The Victory of the Marne: immediate results, historical consequences,' like the commemorations that took place before the conflict, framed the Marne within French history, as yet another example of French resilience in the face of the enemy. Madelin suggests:

> 'France will realize more especially that thanks to her victory, at a moment when everything seemed lost or at least compromised, she has reconquered, owning the mysterious quality power of her amazing vitality, (her prestige for an instant only dimmed) the right to a long life fortune and glory. After retracing the circumstances and the different phases of the great battle of September 1914 and showing the consequences of our victory, I shall, with the readers consent, compare it with the momentous battles of Bouvines, Orélean, Denain, and Valmy, for the Battle of the Marne was also one of those memorable events which saved France from mortal peril (Madelin 1917: 5-6).

This referencing of the earlier 'nation building' battle establishes the Marne solidly within the French National narrative; it is a French Victory and not an allied victory. The book was published whilst the war was still being waged and consequently fulfilled a valuable function in maintaining morale. Madelin went on to ensure readers that, 'France is never as great as in the hour when she seems at her lowest ebb. Our enemies must admit that to-day.

Nothing would have been easier than to have realised this in September 1914- it would have suffced had they read five or six pages of French History' (Madelin 1917: 60).

This message of historical invincibility was reiterated by the memorial built to commemorate the Marne at Bouvines which parallels the Battle of Bouvines with the later conflict (Carman and Carman 2006: 194). It dates the war 1214-1914, once again perpetuating the message that those fighting in 1914 were part of a much wider historical narrative (Figure 5.21). The memorial contains an inscription from author and critic Paul Bourget that the Battle of the Marne was the Battle of Bouvines renewed 700 years after.



Figure 5.21 War Memorial 1214-1914, (1934) St Peter's Church, Bouvines, France (Photograph courtesy of John Carman).

The incorporation of nation building narratives into a First World War memorial in this way demonstrates the broad and reflexive nature of the memorialisation process. At Bouvines, the names of the war dead were situated directly within the French historical narratives first through their temporary positioning on the Battle of Bouvines Memorial (Figure 5.20) and finally on the 1214-1914 monument that served as the town's war memorial (Figure 5.21). This use of national context on a local memorial to the dead demonstrates both how the two narratives can become combined through the memorials form, and the ways in which developments that had taken place regarding the memorialisation of the common soldier did not halt more traditional nationalist responses.

The unprecedented death toll of the First World War is largely believed to have resulted in a memorial practice which centred on the loss of human life rather than the significance of the conflict on a national level. Despite this, new forms of memorial did not put an end to existing memorial types and the victory monument was not completely obsolete. This was particularly relevant to those areas that had been annexed for the previous forty years Commemorations that took place in allied counties after the war often took traditional victory parade format (5.2.4.). Yet it was not only on a national level that such narratives were utilised. In those eastern areas that had been annexed by Germany following the Franco-Prussian War, and had experienced first-hand the devastation of both that conflict and the First World War, memorials drew more heavily upon old *revanchist* narratives and were keen to demonstrate the German defeat. The most striking example of this is the memorial to the First World War dead in Metz. Here, a large monumental memorial was constructed adjacent to the German military barracks and framed by the Porte Serpenoise. This memorial did not focus on republican ideals, instead it was purely triumphalist in

nature (Figure 5.22). The monument featured a dead eagle, symbolising the German defeat and bore the inscription:

'A la gloire des armées de la Republic, aux champions du droit at de la liberté, la Ville de Metz et la Lorraine en souvenir de leur deliverance. -27 octobre 1870 – 10 novembre 1918'[55]



Figure 5.22 Original French First World War Memorial (1924), Metz (Postcard collection of the author).

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[55] To the glory of the armies of the Republic, the champions of law and liberty, the city of Metz and Lorraine in memory of their deliverance.- October 27, 1870 – November 10, 1918

Not only does this demonstrate continued anti-Germanic feeling and a revival of *revanchist* attitudes but also shows a definite attempt at continuity in the collective memory of the conflicts. By setting the dates of the conflict as 1870-1918 the defeat of 1871 is effectively eliminated, and the narrative of this region can be read as a continuous struggle against German oppression rather than that of defeat. First World War memorials, like their Franco-Prussian predecessors, were continuing to be used in a conscious effort to recast the memory of the conflict.

Similarly for those areas that had experienced the battles of the Franco-Prussian War but had not been annexed, the humiliating memory of the defeat had not gone away. It had, in fact, been perpetuated through attempts by the Third Republic to use these areas as a scapegoat, distancing the new government from the disastrous battles (Varley 2008: 84).

In Bazeilles, which had been almost completely destroyed during the battle of 1870 (Figure 4.10), clear links were made between the Franco-Prussian War and the First World War. The First World War monument erected in the centre of the village is addressed (Figure 5.23):

> 'aux vengeurs de 1870 et a ses enfants morts pour la France la ville de Bazeilles reconnaissante'[56]

Continuity is established by suggesting that those fighting were avenging those killed in the Franco-Prussian War. That those previously killed should need to be avenged serves to undermine the legitimacy of the German victory and further strengthens the French victim narrative expressed in many of the later Franco-Prussian War memorials (see for example Figure 4.33).

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[56] To the avengers of 1870 and their children who died for France the town of Bazeilles is grateful

Figure 5.23 First World War memorial dedicated to the avengers of 1870, Bazeilles France. (Photograph by the author, 2012).

At Sedan continuity between the First World War and the 1870-71 conflict was also demonstrated using the memorial form. Following the end of the conflict, the 1870 ossuary site was once again chosen for the burial of the war dead. It was not felt necessary to modify the memorial in any way to mark its new function as a monument to both the First World and Franco-Prussian wars (Figure 5.24). This implies that the two conflicts were considered to be linked and that the implicit understanding of this meant that no explanation needed to be provided. There was no need to provide a separate memorial to the dead of the First World War since this conflict was part of the same narrative as that of 1870.

Figure 5.24 1870 Ossuary at Sedan, surrounded by First World War Graves. Cimetière St, Charles, Sedan, France. (Photograph by the author, 2011).

**5.2.8 UK engagement with earlier memorialisation**

In the UK, nineteenth century colonial wars provided little comparison with the fighting experienced from 1914, and the First World War was not framed within an Imperial context. Consequently there are no examples of First World War commemoration taking place within the context of earlier conflicts. Instead a reflexive form of monument building occurs in which earlier conflicts are commemorated on First World War memorials as a result of the growing practice of memorialisation (Figure 5.25 & Figure 5.26). Yet the practice of memorial construction was already in place by the time of the Boer War and many towns had already commemorated their war dead (4.2.5). This, combined with much lower casualty rates in the Boer War, results in few examples of this practice.
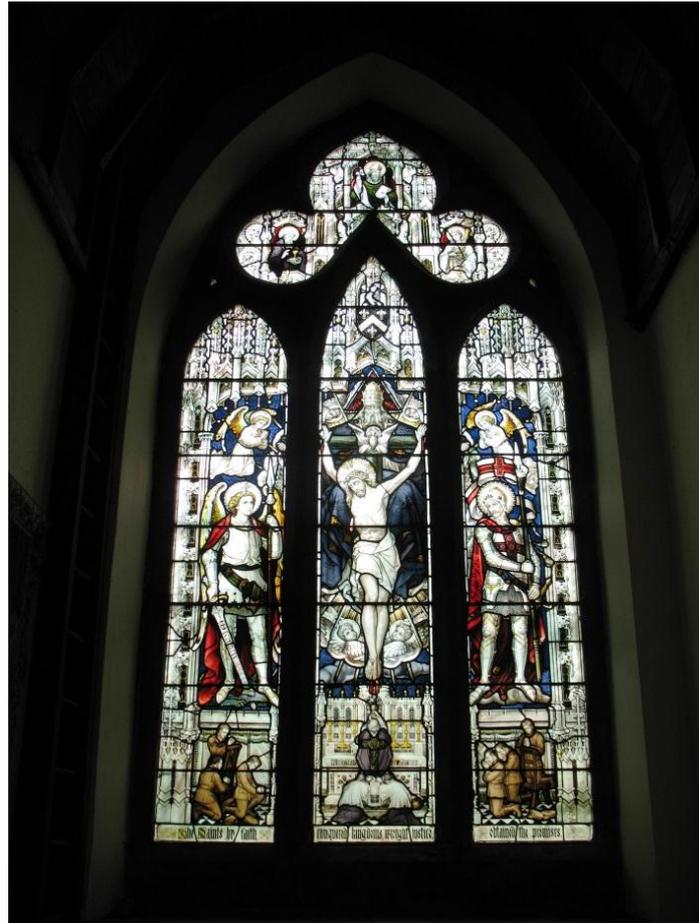
Figure 5.25 First World War Memorial Window which includes earlier casualties from the Boer War St Mary's Roman Catholic Church, Brewood, Staffordshire (Photograph courtesy of Paul Collins).



Figure 5.26 First World War Memorial Plaque which includes earlier casualties from the Boer War St Mary's Roman Catholic Church, Brewood, Staffordshire (Photograph courtesy of Paul Collins).

Examples that do exist, such as those (Figure 5.25 & Figure 5.26) from the Roman Catholic Church in the village of Brewood, Staffordshire, demonstrate processes of memorialisation that are created not by external events but by the memorialisation of other conflicts. Both memorials were erected to commemorate members of the Catholic congregation that had died during the First World War. The war memorial plaque, erected on the wall of the church, lists the names of the First World War dead but also includes those from the South African War (Figure 5.26). In this example, the memorialisation of the later conflict served to highlight the lack of memorial to those that had died over a decade earlier, demonstrating that the memorialisation process itself can provide the stimulus for further, often retrospective, memorials.

Memorials such as those at Brewood indicate that the progression of the memorial tradition did not take place in a wholly linear way, in response to the most recent conflict. Instead, the development was at times retrospective, as new responses resulted in a desire to commemorate past casualties in the same manner. Yet, as these processes developed and new forms of memorialisation became available, existing processes were not entirely replaced. As demonstrated through examples in France (for example figure 5.22) more traditional forms of memorial response can be applied alongside the new forms.

In the UK, the development of the memorialisation processes and the democratisation of memorials by the Commonwealth War Graves Commission in particular, did not stop earlier forms of commemoration from taking place. While attempts were made to unify headstones and monuments erected on a national level by the Commission, this did not deter individuals and communities from returning to earlier 19th century styles of memorialisation in order to express their individual grief. Those who could afford to do so

often commissioned elaborate memorials for their loved ones to be placed in local churches. Many adopted a neo-Classial style, common for internal memorials through the 19th century (Mytum 2004: 57), such as the example from St Augustine of Hippo Church in Edgbaston (Figure 5.27). Others, in keeping with dominant narratives that connected soldiers to knights of the Middle Ages (Goebel 2007), chose medieval imagery, such as this example, also from St Augustine of Hippo (Figure 5.28).



Figure 5.27 George Frederick Cottrell and Harold William Cottrell, First World War Memorial. St Augustine of Hippo Church, Edgbaston, United Kingdom. (Photograph by the author, 2009).

Figure 5.28 Lieutenant James Gordon Keay, First World War Memorial, St Augustine of Hippo Church, Edgbaston, United Kingdom. (Photograph by the author, 2009).

Memorials such as these can be found in churches throughout the United Kingdom. They demonstrate very clearly the ways in which the development of new types of memorial process, did not replace those which were already in place. These examples demonstrate that memorialisation could still be dictated by familial wealth, just as the PtE A Goatham memorial in Bregar (Figure 4.13) had done over three decades earlier. Wealthy families did not stop the practice of erecting their own monuments to lost loved ones just because they were also being commemorated in other ways through the construction of memorials within the parish. In this way it was possible for individuals to be commemorated in multiple contexts.

**5.2.9 Re-use, re-appropriation and the treatment of existing war memorials**

The development and evolution of the memorial tradition throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> century had resulted in increasing familiarity with the war memorials as a category of object. Understandings of the sacred nature of memorials were demonstrated not only in the construction of new structures, but were also reflected in the treatment of existing memorials. This process is most clearly demonstrated in France regarding German monuments constructed in the annexed French territories following the Franco-Prussian War. As part of the symbolic appropriation of the region the newly formed German Empire had constructed multiple memorials throughout the annexed provinces (4.4.5), literally embedding themselves within the former French landscape.

The reintegration of these regions following their return to France in 1918 was predictably problematic. As historian Laird Boswell suggests 'squaring the myth of a patriotic Alsace-Lorraine faithfully waiting for deliverance with the reality of a German speaking province that had benefited, in ways large and small, from close to fifty years of German rule proved impossible' (Boswell 2000:129). In a context of purge trials and suspicion surrounding those French citizens that had chosen to stay in the provinces, the destruction of tangible symbols of German dominance became an important way to express French nationalist sentiment and demonstrate loyalty.

The new French government was eager to reinstate French loyalty in these areas as quickly as possible and 'accommodation was not the order of the day; instead integrating the province within France meant denying its Germanic characteristics, its regional and cultural identity' (Boswell 2000: 130). The problem of what to do with such monuments following

the re-integration was one which was common across Alsace-Lorraine. Whilst the treatment of memorials in this region can be seen as a response to a distinct set of social and political circumstances they clearly demonstrate changing attitudes towards processes of memorialisation as the tradition developed (O-P). Those monuments which were purely triumphalist in nature or commemorated commanders of the then newly formed German Empire were promptly torn down, and their images used as propaganda (Figure 5.31). In Rezonville, the memorial dedicated to Kaiser Wilhelm's presence on the battlefield (Figure 4.38) was reduced until only the feet of the two phoenixes at its base remained (Figure 5.29).



Figure 5.29 Kaiser Wilhelm memorial bench Franco-Prussian War, Rezonville, France. (For original see Figure 4.38.(Photograph by the author, 2012).

The lion memorial at Vionville (Figure 4.40) was also destroyed until only the base remained. In its place a French memorial was constructed to the 'Officiers Et Soldats Francais Tombes Sur le Champ de Bataille de Vionville le 16 Aout 1870' (Figure 5.30). This symbolic appropriation of the German memorial played an important role in the reintegration of the region. The presence of the earlier memorial could have been erased through the complete destruction of the monument. That the base was re-appropriated and used to create a new French memorial resulted in a memorial that had multiple meanings available to viewers at the time. The new memorial not only signified the French dead from the Battle of Vionville but also the French victory in the First World War and its subsequent retrieval of the provinces of Alsace and Lorraine. The use of the German base, which continues to carry the signs of destruction, played a key role in the meaning of the new French memorial.



Figure 5.30 French memorial, built onto German base Vionville (for original see Figure 4.40, photograph by the author, 2012).

Figure 5.31 French postcards depicting the destruction of the equestrian statue of Kaiser Wilhelm, 18 November, 1918, Metz, France (Postcard collection of the author).

This appropriation of German memorials was carried out across the newly returned provinces. Following the annexation, the German Empire had constructed a large equestrian statue of Kaiser Wilhelm in the newly acquired city of Metz. This statue played a key role in the symbolic appropriation of the town by the German Empire. When the city was returned to France in 1918 the statue was no longer understood to represent just the Kaiser Wilhelm but took on new meaning as a symbol of German despotism and control of the area. As a result the statue was felled shortly after the First World War, and postcards produced that depicted the triumphant citizens of Metz aside the toppled statue (Figure 5.31).

Figure 5.32 Temporary statue of a French poilu erected on the base of the former Kaiser Wilhelm statue. (Postcard collection of the author).

In the immediate aftermath of its removal a temporary monumental statue depicting an ordinary French *poilu* was erected on the empty pedestal of the existing statue (Figure 5.32). This clearly signifies that the French Republican values represented by the common soldier have replaced the German Imperialist ones represented by Kaiser Wilhelm; a message reinforced by the *poilu* statue crushing a German helmet under his boot. The use of the *poilu* in this triumphal way is clearly very different from the use of the common soldier as a symbol of mourning, further demonstrating that new forms of memorial that focused on grief did not put an end to the more traditional triumphalist ones.
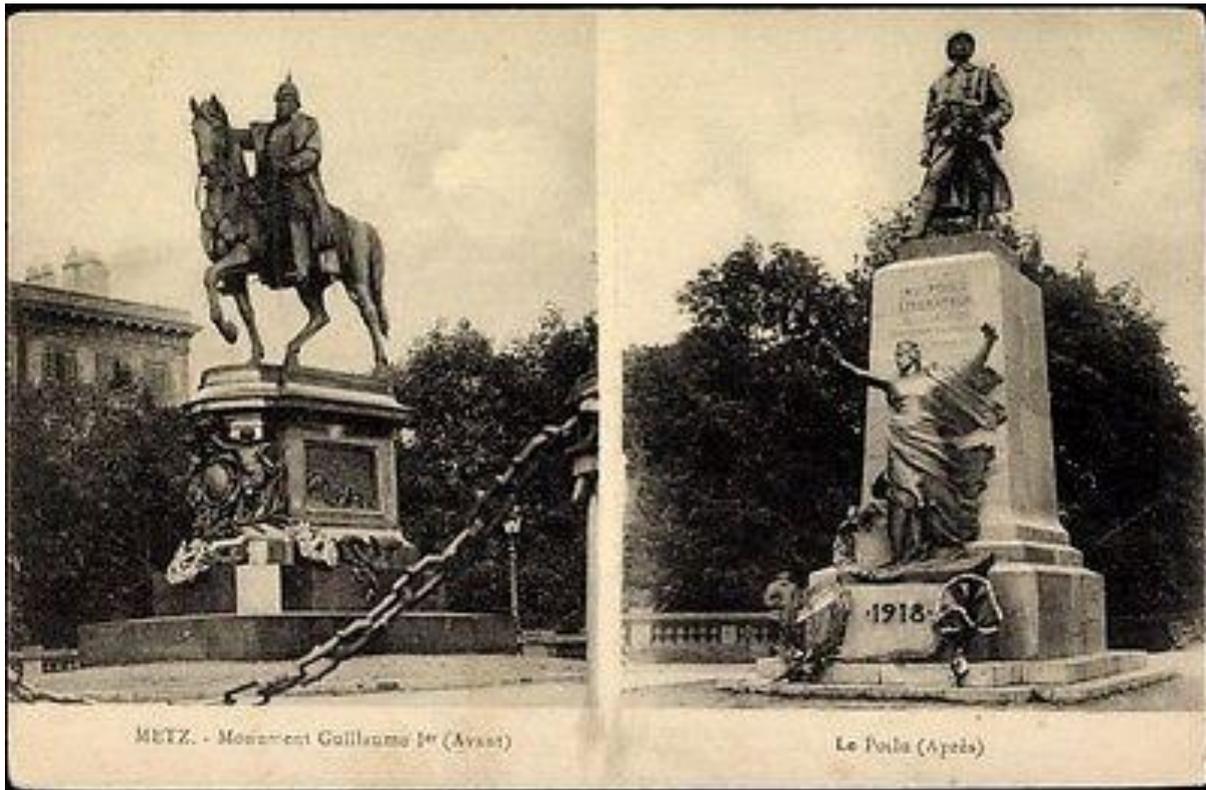
Figure 5.33 Postcard depicting the original statue of Kaiser Wilhelm on the left and the First World War memorial erected in its place on the right (Postcard collection of the author).

The provisional statue (Figure 5.32) was eventually removed and the pedestal destroyed. Yet the re-appropriation of the memorial space did not end with this act, and the location was chosen for Metz's First World War memorial. This understanding of the new memorial was based upon the assumption that viewers would remember what has stood in its place. For those who were unable to read the signs, and understand the significance of the location, postcards depicted the before (Wilhelm) and after (poilu) (Figure 5.33).[57]

Whilst many memorials such as the monumental statue to Kaiser Wilhelm were destroyed following the return of the annexed provinces to France, clear distinctions were made between those monuments that glorified the German Empire and those which were associated with the common soldier. When asked what to do regarding the numerous

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[57] This statue was once again destroyed by the Germans in 1940

German memorials that littered the region, the Minister of the Interior suggested that it would be appropriate to eliminate reminders of the occupation that might be offensive to French sentiments. Yet, he made clear that a distinction must be made between memorials that were purely monumental and those which marked graves (Troyansky 1987: 137). As a result, memorials close to burial sites were allowed to remain, although in many cases they were 'neutralised.' In an attempt to remove the power of these monuments as national symbols, whilst preserving their function as war memorials, all nationalist iconography was eradicated (Figure 5.36).

Memorials throughout eastern France had their German eagles chipped off, Prussian soldiers torn down, and German insignia removed. For example, in the battlefield surrounding Rezonville, just outside Metz, three memorials had their bronze eagles removed and one had its statue of two German soldiers destroyed (Figure 5.34-5-35). However, the memorials themselves were allowed to remain and, given their current state of preservation, were presumably well maintained. This suggests that war memorials were considered differently from other forms of monument and occupied a space somewhere between that of national monument and grave.

Such practices of engagement with memorials, many years after their construction, clearly demonstrate the benefit in taking a much broader approach to the study of war memorials. As time passes from the construction of a monument (MT) new forms of engagement take place in response to changing social and political circumstance. To focus only on the period of construction can result in only a partial understanding of the monument.
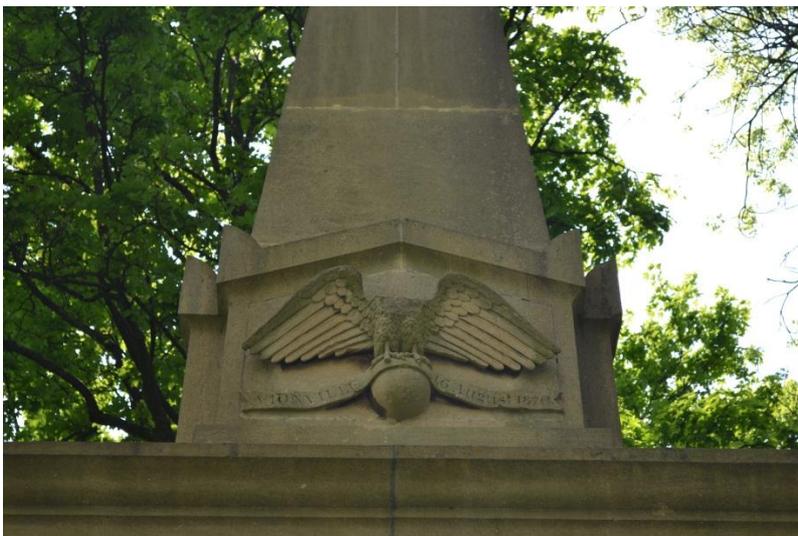
Figure 5.34 (Above) German Franco-Prussian War memorial near Vionville with German symbolism defaced (Below) Detail of beheaded German eagle (Photographs by the author, 2012).

Figure 5.35 German Franco-Prussian War memorial in its original condition (left) and in its present (2012) (right), Rezonville, France. (Photograph by the author, 2012).
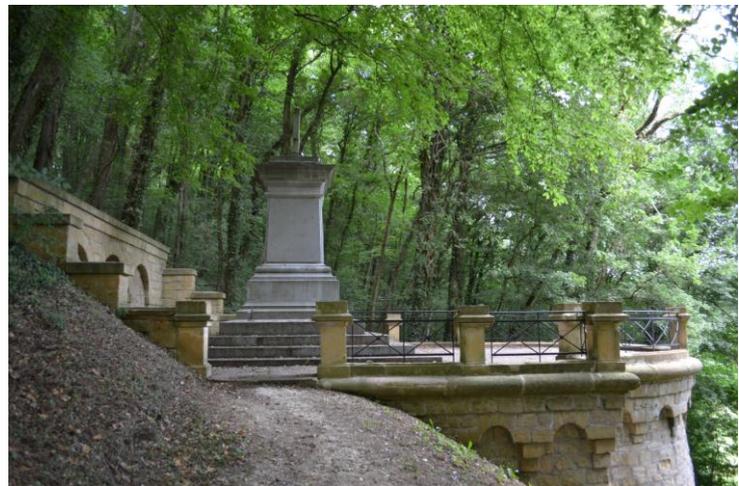


Figure 5.36 German Franco-Prussian War memorial original condition (left) and in its present condition (2011) (right), Gravelotte, France. (Photograph by the author, 2011).



Figure 5.37 German Franco- Prussian War memorial in its original condition (left) and in its present condition (2012) (right), Vionville, France. (Photograph by the author, 2012).

### 5.2.9.1 Heldenfriedhof Monument Sedan

Following the First World War it was not only the annexed provinces that were left with tangible reminders of German rule. During the German occupation of the eastern regions memorials had also been constructed to the First World War dead. In the city of Sedan, occupied from 1914 until 1918, a memorial was built by German forces in the town's Cimetière St. Charles to commemorate their own war dead (Figure 5.38). In the cemetery, existing French graves were disinterred to make way for the remains of German soldiers and a monumental memorial constructed in the centre. This monument took the form of a concrete colonnade, which equalled the French monument in scale and bore the inscription:

'Kämpfend für Kaiser und Reich, nahm Gott uns die irdische Sonne; Jetzt, vom Irdischen frei, strahlt uns sein ewiges Licht. Heilig die Stätte, die ihr durch blutige Opfer gew Eiht habt! Dreimal Heilig für uns durch das Opfer des Danks'[58]

Similarly, in the French town of Comines a German war cemetery was established adjacent to the existing French cemetery and a large memorial constructed at its centre (Figure 5.39). The memorial, consisting of a monumental shrine, is inscribed with the biblical phrase:

Nie mand hat grössere liebe den die das er sein leben lässet füre seine freunde[59]

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[58]'We fought for the Kaiser and the Fatherland and for God who made the sun on earth. Now that we are freed of earthly things, His eternal light shines on us. This place is sacred and sprinkled with blood, three times he may be blessed by the sacrifice of thanksgiving'

[59] 'No man has greater love than he who lays down his life for his friend.'

Figure 5.38 'Heldenfriedhof' monument , German First World War Memorial circa 1915, Cimetière Saint Charles, Sedan, France (Postcard collection of the author).



Figure 5.39 German First World War Memorial, Cimetière Nord, Comines, France. (Photograph by the author, 2012).

Figure 5.40 Heldenfriedhof' monument , German First World War Memorial, 2012 Cimetière Saint Charles, Sedan, France (Photograph by the author, 2012).

When the towns were returned to French governance in 1918 both structures were allowed to remain (Figure 5.39 & Figure 5.40). Multiple suggestions could be made for this practice: perhaps given the instability of the area,  inhabitants were reluctant to destroy the monument out of fear of reprisals should the area be occupied once again; or, in response to the German destruction of French monuments, locals wanted to present a more civilised nature; or it was distinct regional character of the area, which had many cemeteries jointly commemorating French and German victims of the Franco-Prussian War (see Figure 4.5-Figure 4.7) that deemed it appropriate to have both monuments. It is likely that the reason behind the continued existence of the monument is a combination of all these factors, all of which demonstrate a change in attitude towards memorialisation and a distinction between memorials national memorials and those which represent common soldiers.

**5.2.10 Developments in the Understanding of the Memorial Form: War Memorials within the 'destroyed' villages**

It is clear that multiple developments had been made within the memorial tradition by the close of the First World War. This had affected understandings of both who was deemed appropriate to commemorate, and the form that this commemoration should take. New forms of memorial developed which drew on these pre-existing understandings in order to convey their meaning. During the First World War several French villages along the Verdun Front experienced destruction on such a large scale that they were not rebuilt after the conflict. Instead they were left as a permanent memorial to the devastation caused by the war (Figure 5.41).
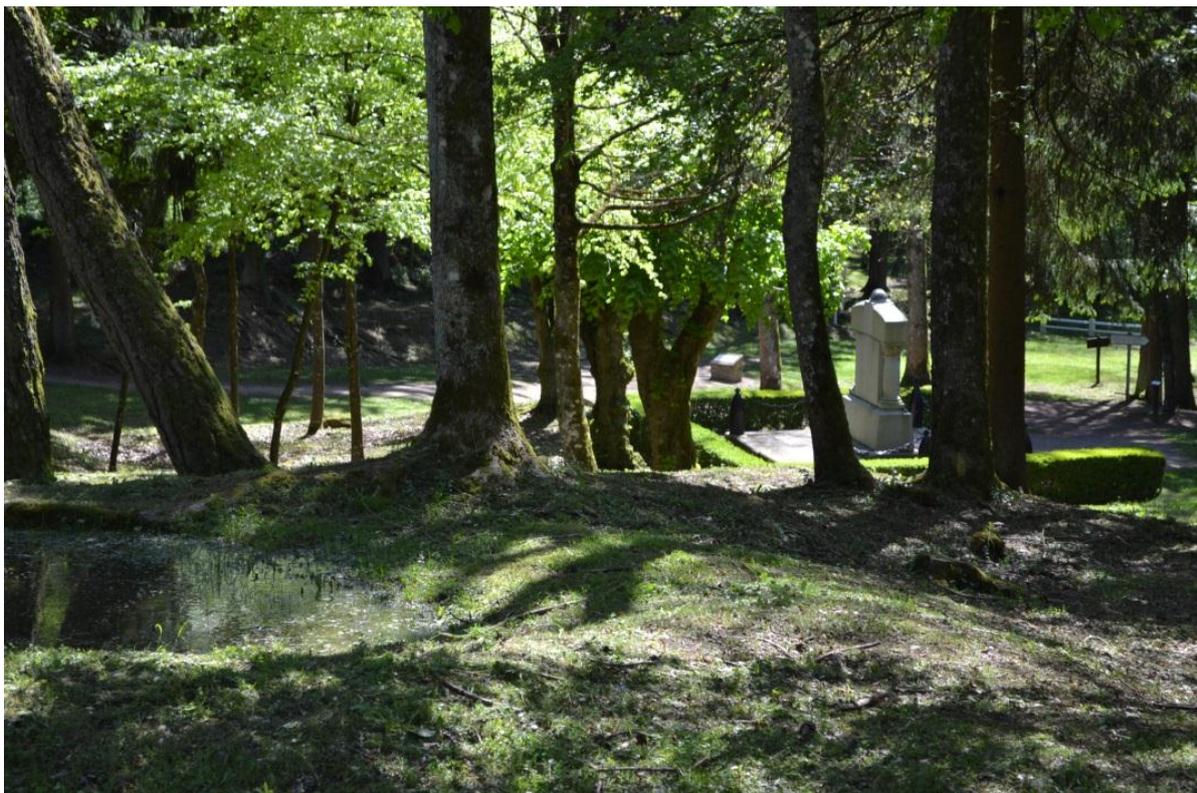


Figure 5.41 The destroyed village of Fleury devant Douaumont preserved as a memorial to the conflict. (Photograph by the author, 2012).
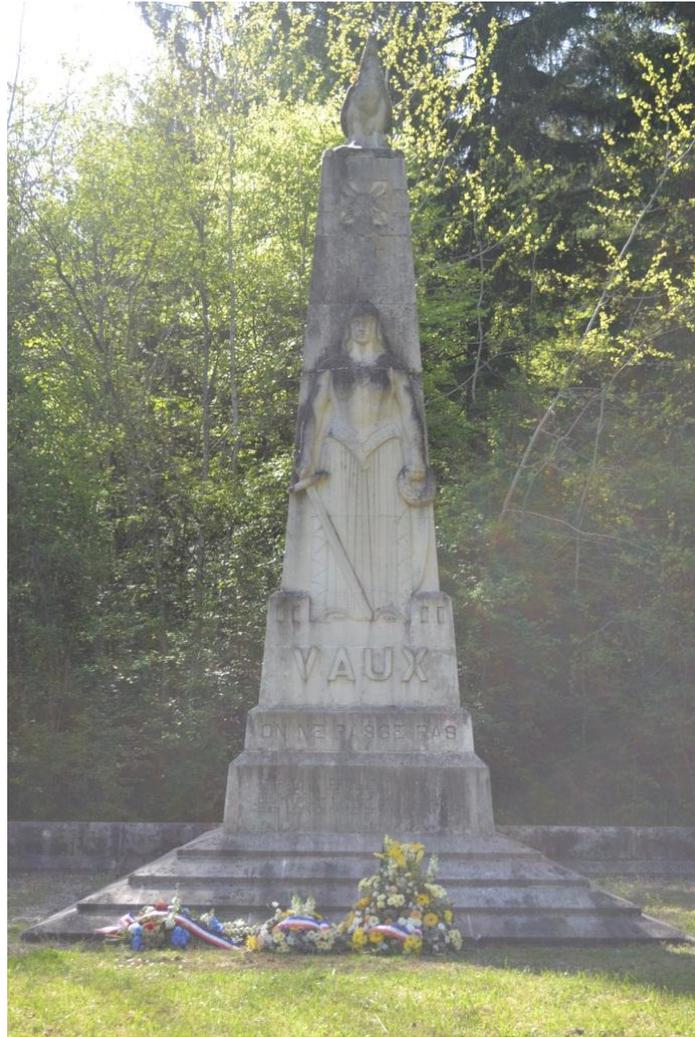
Figure 5.42 First World War memorial in the destroyed village of Vaux (1924),Vaux France. (Photograph by the author, 2012).

Whilst this concept is not unique to the First World War[60], what is distinct is the construction of war memorials within the ruins of the deserted villages (Figure 5.42 & Figure 5.43). These memorials are not commemorating the space as the site of battle, or commemorating those that had died in that location, as many earlier memorials did, but instead are commemorating the space as a former place, that of the pre-war village. In the absence of recognisable buildings and features that would define the space as a former village it is the war memorial that acts as a code and allows the space to be read. This

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[60] Following the Franco-Prussian War it was suggested that the town of Bazeilles be preserved as a record of Prussian Barbarity (Figure 4.10).

suggests not only an important connection between the memory of the deceased and the locality from which they came, but also that the understanding of the war memorial form had developed to such an extent that the physical remains of the dead were no longer required to make a space sacred. The memory of those from the village who lost their lives is, through the construction of the memorial, intrinsically linked to the loss of the village itself. It is not only a loss of life that is being commemorated through the construction of memorials in this particular location, but the loss of a way of life, a pre-war existence that could not be returned.



Figure 5.43 First World War memorial in the destroyed village of Fleury (circa 1920) near Douaumont, France. (Photograph by the author, 2012).

## 5.3 Second phase processes of memorialisation (CT >25 years)

### 5.3.1 Introduction

Following the First World War memorial processes developed quickly as a result of traditions that had already been put in place in the preceding decades. As has been demonstrated (5.2.7), these developments were not linear and new processes did not prevent the use of more traditional responses (Figure 5.27 & Figure 5.28). There was no universal response to the conflict and not all memorials focussed on loss (Figure 5.22). During the interwar period changing political circumstances necessitated new mnemonic responses to the First World War.

This section examines the memorialisation of the First World War that takes place in the years directly before the Second World War. It also examines continuing processes of commemoration relating to previous conflicts. Widespread memorialisation of the First World War did not put an end to that of earlier conflicts, particularly within a US context where the effects of the conflict had been felt much less acutely than in Europe. These developments in continued commemoration of both the First World War and earlier conflicts demonstrate the necessity of taking into account multiple timescales within the development of war memorialisation, and in this context particularly the time that has passed from the conflict itself (CT).

**5.3.2 Development of conflict narratives: Metz's First World War Memorial**

The build up to the Second World War rendered some First World War memorials inappropriate within the context of changing political circumstances. Responses that were victorious and overtly triumphal began to take on new meanings as the likeliness of a second conflict with Germany increased. In Metz the original response to the conflict, a *revanche* driven monument depicting a crushed German eagle at its base (Figure 5.22), grew increasingly inappropriate as tensions with Germany grew.

As a result, and only ten years after the construction of the initial First World War memorial, a second memorial was built, only metres from the original (Figure 5.44). This war memorial was of a completely different nature. Rather than focusing on the destruction of German forces (symbolised by the fallen eagle in the original monument), it instead shows scenes of the liberation. The memorial's high relief panels depict two uniformed liberators standing either side of a grieving family. The large central sculpture depicts a mother cradling the body of her son. The body is naked making it impossible to distinguish if he is French or German. This is in stark contrast to the earlier triumphal memorial with marching soldiers in French uniform and the fallen German eagle which made explicitly clear who was worthy of commemoration and who was not. The inscription on the new memorial 'Aux enfants de Metz morts victimes de la guerre' makes no distinction between the 'children of Metz' who fought on the French side and those who fought on the German. With the mother cradling the naked body of her son in her arms the monument become a pieta (Becker 2010).

Figure 5.44 French First World War Memorial constructed next to the original (1935), Metz France (Image available: http://www.memorialgenweb.org/~cpa/com.php?insee=57463&dpt=57&comm=Metz).

Sacrifices made by the common soldier becomes a universal sacrifice in which all victims of war are worthy of commemoration, not just those that fought on the victorious side. This indicates a shift in the way that memorials were used to shape collective memory. Uncertainty before the Second World War deemed it more appropriate to depict the true human cost of war, rather than the French victory.

This exemplifies the importance of examining the full biography of an object and taking into account the time that has passed from the conflict that is being commemorated (CT), demonstrating the dramatic changes that can occur in memorial form and function in response to changing political circumstances. Memorials constructed in the same location, to the same events, can differ dramatically as a result of these changing circumstances. Equally, it illustrates the importance of a holistic approach to memorials in a particular

location, as the later memorial can only be fully understood by taking into consideration the earlier monument.

### 5.3.3 Reflexivity of memorial process in the lead up to the Second World War: Guynemer's memorial

Whilst some towns responded to growing international tension in the pre-Second World War period with more universal commemoration, others returned to a nationalist response, attempting to once again raise the patriotic spirits of its citizens. In Dunkerque this patriotism took the form of the commemoration of the First World War pilot Guyemer.
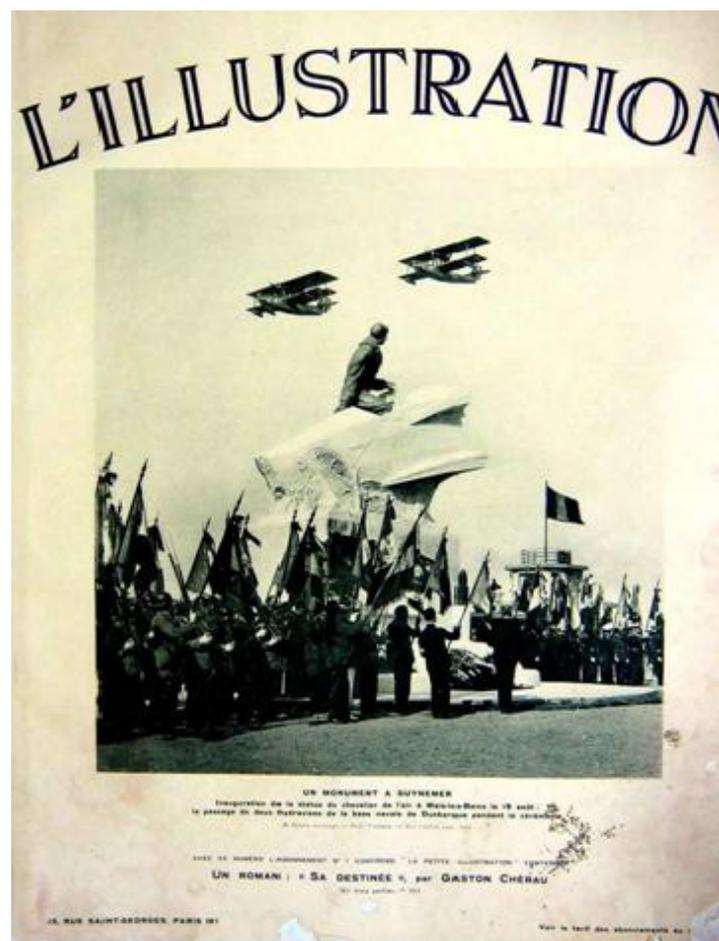


Figure 5.45 The temporary Guynemer monument (1934), Dunkerque on the front cover of the L'Illustation newspaper, August 1934. (Newspaper cover, collection of the author).

Figure 5.46 Completed Memorial to Guynemer, (1938) Dunkerque, France, (Postcard collection of the author).

Georges Guynemer (1894-1917) had been highly commemorated for his role in the French air force and had gone missing in action on 11 September 1917, resulting in 'universal grief' (Bordeaux, Guynemer et al. 1918). Yet a memorial to this national hero was not constructed until many years after the conflict. The original temporary memorial was only dedicated in 1934 in the build-up to the Second World War (Figure 5.45).

The construction of a memorial to Guynemer suggests a need to celebrate national figures and to provide inspiration for a new generation of fighters. This is supported by the memorial's completion in 1938, despite the fact that France was on the verge of yet another war with Germany (Figure 5.46). Coming so far after the conflict itself, when the deeds of Guynemer were beginning to fade from living memory, the memorial can be seen to have a very different purpose to a similar memorial constructed in the immediate aftermath of the

conflict. This form of war memorial, in which the primary motivation is to foster national pride, should, as a result, be viewed in the same context as that of commemorations and memorial construction to remember the Battle of Bouvines in the lead up to the First World War (4.3.7).

**5.3.4 Continued memorialisation of the Civil War in the United States**

Whilst memorial processes in 1930s Europe were dominated by the commemoration of the First World War, in the US the intervening years had done little to halt the steady production of memorials to the Civil War. Throughout the 1930s there was a wave of monumental construction, particularly on the former battlefields.

At Manassas the Bartow memorial, which had been almost completely destroyed by souvenir hunters (Figure 4.25), was replaced by a second memorial (Figure 5.47). The memorial was erected on the 75$^{th}$ anniversary of the battle by the United Daughters of the Confederacy. Despite the time that had passed since his death, the construction of a memorial to General Bartow indicates that his commemoration was still considered relevant to individuals in the 1930s.

Figure 5.47 Memorial to Francis Stebbings Bartow (1936), Manassas, V.A. (Photograph by the author, 2012).

## 5.3.5 Reflexivity of memorialisation; memorials to marginalised groups

As time passes from the war, dominant narratives emerge regarding the way that the conflict will be remembered. The greater the time that has passed from the conflict (the greater the value of CT) the greater the opportunity for reinterpretation of narratives associated with the conflict. Frequently, exclusions emerge as groups or individuals recognise that their particular contribution to the conflict has not been acknowledged within this narrative. Whilst the construction of a memorial many years later to incorporate those who have been excluded might be considered a contemporary phenomenon, this memorialisation process is linked not to chronological date, but to the time that has passed from the conflict. As a result it was possible for a memorial to be built almost 60 years after

the end of the American Civil War which commemorated the role of women in the conflict (Figure 5.48). Women had played a vital role in the remembrance of the Civil War, particularly through the formation of memorial societies (see for example: Janney 2008). But this process had involved women working to keep alive the memory of men, and the active role of women, and the contributions they had made to the conflict, had been neglected. In 1924 a monument was erected in Washington D.C. which commemorated those who had served as nurses on the battlefields of the war. This memorial marks a very rare early example of a monument depicting women in a non-allegorical form.



Figure 5.48 Nuns of the Battlefield Monument' Washington D.C. Photograph of the unveiling Hirst Milhollen (1924) (Image available: LoC GEOGRAPHICAL FILE- Washington D.C)

## 5.3.6 Reconciliatory memorials in the lead up to the Second World War

Monuments such as the Norman Cross memorial constructed in 1914 (Figure 4.47) demonstrated that reconciliatory memorials are not a contemporary phenomenon. This process is not linked to the chronological period of the construction, but rather the time that has passed from the conflict (CT). The reconciliation of former belligerents was imperative for Northern and Southern states following the Civil War. Participation in conflicts as a unified nation, in both the Spanish American War and the First World War, offered the opportunity for such unification and for the creation of shared conflict narratives.



Figure 5.49 Eternal Light Peace Memorial, (1938), Gettysburg, Pennsylvania. United States. (Photograph by the author, 2012).

Yet, as section 5.3.4 has demonstrated, the commemoration and memorialisation of these conflicts did not end the continued commemoration of the American Civil War. In 1938, the Eternal Light Peace memorial in Gettysburg was created by both Confederate and Union States to commemorate the battle at Gettysburg, but more importantly to commemorate the reconciliation that had subsequently taken place between the two sides (Figure 5.49).

Despite the original plan for a joint memorial being coined as early as 1909, when the memorial was first proposed by the Pennsylvania commission planning the Gettysburg 50th anniversary, it was not until the 75th anniversary of the battle that the memorial was finally realised. The memorial is reconciliatory in that it jointly commemorates both Union and Confederate troops. However, its presence can also be seen to perpetuate the myth that the battle and the Civil War were fought only amongst white soldiers. Although America's role in the Second World War was far from certain at the time of the memorial's construction, it can be seen to fulfil a similar purpose to that of the Norman Cross memorial. By commemorating a joint American narrative the memorial can be seen to have a valuable role in the promotion of the nation at a time of global political unrest.


## 5.4 Conclusion

The First World War resulted in war memorialisation on an unprecedented scale in Europe. But the memorialisation that took place should be viewed within the context of memorial processes that had begun many decades before (see Chapter 4). Rather than inspiring an entirely new form of commemoration, the conflict in fact provided the opportunity to put into practice memorial traditions that had been developing over the preceding decades.

What emerges following the First World War is a complex interaction between processes of memorialisation that take place on personal, local and national levels. No one form of memorialisation was considered to be an entirely appropriate response in its own right. Instead individuals engaged with memorialisation on a variety of different levels depending upon their specific needs, resulting in both offerings of personal narratives at national and local memorials (Figure 5.17) and the incorporation of national narratives into private shrines. Practices such as these illustrate the difficulty in attempting to separate national and personal narratives from the memorialisation that directly follows a conflict.

The development of the war memorial process does not develop in a wholly linear way as the tradition develops from O-P (see Figure 1.4). Instead developments that take place within the tradition result in retrospective commemoration of much earlier conflicts. This can occur either because the message of the earlier conflict is still felt to be pertinent within the contemporary context (for example in Bouvines, 5.2.7), or because through the process of memorialising current conflicts it is realised that earlier casualties were not memorialised in this way (for example in Brewood 5.2.8).

Whilst the conflict heralded the democratisation of memorialisation through the provision of individual burial plots for the common soldier, this process did not put an end to earlier forms of commemoration and reflexivity in the types of memorial being constructed continued in the post-war period. Elaborate individual memorials were still constructed in local churches throughout the UK and France by wealthy families (for example in Edgbaston 5.2.8) and triumphalist narratives still had a place in commemorative practice, particularly in the areas of eastern France (for example in Metz, 5.2.7).

# 6    POST-SECOND WORLD WAR MEMORIALISATION: O-P = 1939- 2014

## 6.1 Introduction

This chapter examines the processes of memorialisation that took place from the period 1939 until 2014 (Figure 6.1). Within this period all three study areas were not only heavily involved in the Second World War (France and UK: 1939- 1945, USA: 1941-1945) but, in the decades that followed, they each went on to become involved in multiple smaller conflicts.[61]
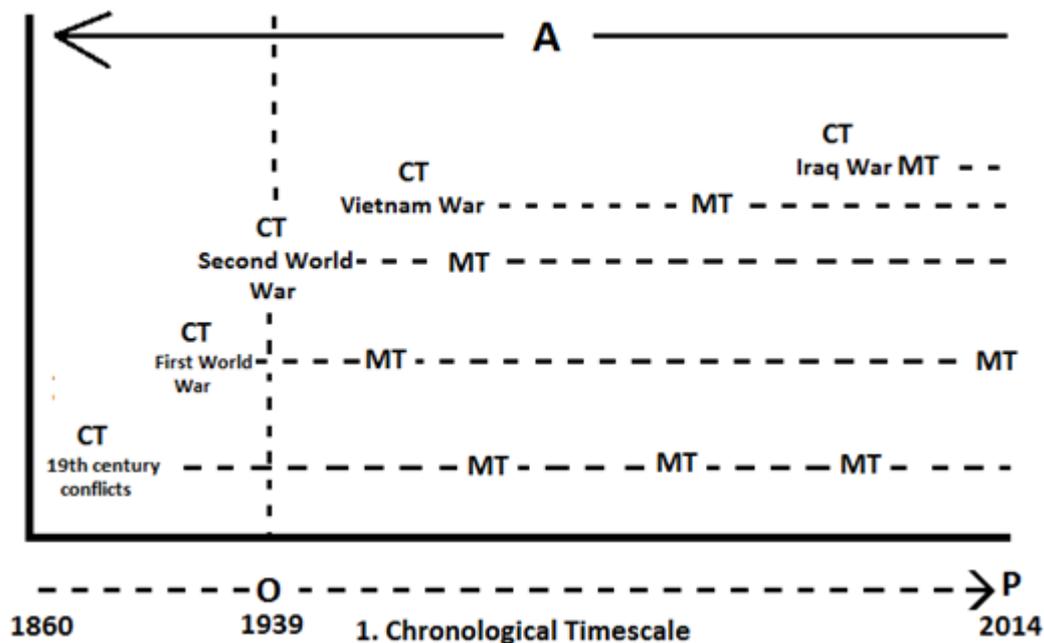


Figure 6.1 Three parallel timescales relating to the understanding of a war memorial at any given point in time:
**O-P:**    1939 –2014 Chronological timescale
**CT:**    Time passed from conflict
**MT:**    Time passed from memorial construction
**A:**    Processes of engagement with existing memorials

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[61] In the USA the decades following the Second World War were dominated by the Korean War (1950-1953) and the unpopular Vietnam War (1955-1975). The UK was involved in the Aden Emergency ( 1963-1967), the short Falklands War (1982) and France continued its colonial wars with the First Indochina War (1946-1954) and the Algerian War (1954-1962).

***O-P = War memorial tradition 1939-2014***

By the time period discussed within this chapter the war memorial tradition had become well established. Consequently it exerted a much stronger influence on the types of memorial constructed than in previous chapters. New memorials constructed during this period, such as the Vietnam Veterans Memorial (Figure 7.4) and the Japanese American Memorial to Patriotism (Figure 1.1), are able to draw meaning from broader understandings of what constitute a memorial form.

***CT = Time passed from conflict***

The first part of this chapter (6.2) will examine the construction of new memorials throughout the period, beginning with immediate commemorative responses to the Second World War (6.2.1). Yet, memorialisation of this conflict was limited in comparison to the continued construction of memorials to earlier conflicts. Consequently, this section will explore continued memorial construction in detail, examining memorials to events that have previously been memorialised (6.2.2) and to those that have not (6.2.3). Finally, the first section will end with an examination of reconciliatory memorialisation processes (6.2.4).

The second part of this chapter (6.3) examines the second phase of Second World War memorialisation which takes place within the context of growing commemoration of experiences from earlier conflicts (6.3.1-6.3.3).

*MT = Time passed from memorial construction*

The timescale MT will exert more influence within the time period discussed in this chapter as, in some cases, over 100 years has passed since the memorial was first constructed. In response to this, the chapter gives more focus to continuing engagement with existing memorial structures, (see A on Figure 6.1), and in particular when MT> 50 years. This section will explore the variety of different ways that individuals engage with memorials (6.3.4), and the resultant new meanings that can be attributed to them (6.3.5). Section 6.3.6 will examine issues of relocation and finally 6.3.7 will explore the practice of presenting memorials as an object of heritage

## 6.2 Post Second-World War processes of memorial construction

Processes of post-Second World War memorialisation have received comparatively less academic attention in relation to their First World War counterparts. Despite this, there are a number of successful case studies of post-1945 memorial construction relating to recent conflicts including, for example, Britt Baillie's examination of memorials in Vukovar (Baillie 2013) and Rachel Ibreck's study of survivor contributions to Rwandan genocide memorials (Ibreck 2010). European discourse relating to this period has been dominated by monuments relating to the Holocaust (Cooke 2000, Carrier 2005, Buntman 2008). Many Holocaust memorial studies, most notably those of James Young, have demonstrated the ways in which memorials can play a crucial role in overcoming continuing trauma (Young 1993, Young 1994). In America, post-1945 memorial scholarship has been dominated by the memory of Vietnam, and most notably by studies of the Vietnam Veterans Memorial,

Washington, D.C. (see for example Foss 1986, Blair, Jappeson et al. 1991, Ochsner 1997, Dubois 2002, Watkins, Cole et al. 2010, Fitzpatrick 2011). Studies of post-Second World War memorials have, like those of earlier periods, been primarily case-study orientated and have not situated this memorial construction within the broader context of continuing memorialisation, nor have they explored engagement with existing memorial forms (see Young 1989 for an exception).

**6.2.1 Second World War memorials (CT < 25 years)**

Lack of academic attention to post-Second World War commemoration, in comparison to that of the First World War, has resulted primarily from a perceived absence of commemoration following this conflict. Within British and French contexts much Second World War memorialisation involved an addition to the existing First World War Memorial. Frequently, this took the form of a plaque listing the names of the later casualties attached to, or adjacent to, the existing structure. In Codsall, Staffordshire, for example, plaques listing Second World War deaths were added to the existing First World War memorial garden gates, and a small plaque added beneath the WWI dedication to signal the garden's new purpose as a memorial to both conflicts (Figure 6.2). In the nearby village of Kinver, the names of Second World War casualties were carved directly onto the First World War obelisk (Figure 6.3). Similarly in France, new lists of names were either carved directly onto existing memorials, as for example at Douzy (Figure 6.4), or onto a separate plaque placed with the memorial, as at Bazeilles (Figure 6.5).

Figure 6.2 First World War Memorial, Codsall, Staffordshire, United Kingdom. with addition of Second World War memorial plaques. (Photograph by the author, 2012).



Figure 6.3 First World War Memorial, Kinver Staffordshire, United Kingdom with Second World War names added to the obelisk, (Photograph by the author, 2012).

Figure 6.4 First World War Memorial Douzy, France, (left), with detail of addition of Second World War casualties to base (right). (Photograph by the author, 2012).



Figure 6.5 First World War Memorial with addition of Second World War memorial plaques. Bazeilles, France. (Photograph by the author, 2011).

It has been suggested that the widespread decisions not to construct new memorials to the Second World War demonstrates apathy towards memorial construction and a preference for post-war reconstruction and for utilitarian memorials, placing the needs of the living above the memorialisation of the dead. Such arguments, whilst valid, ignore the many discussions that took place following the First World War regarding the most appropriate form of commemoration. During the post-First World War period many individuals had advocated practical memorials for example schools and cottage hospitals (Borg 1991: 136-142), with many towns and villages opting for these schemes (5.2).

Such approaches also fail to take into account the development of the memorial tradition itself. This use of existing memorials to commemorate the Second World War demonstrates the specific way in which the conflict, its combatants, and the memorial practice itself, was viewed within European cultural traditions. Historically civilian memorials had favoured joint commemoration, and the addition of names to a singular familial gravestone as subsequent individuals died (Mytum 2002). In addition, as previous chapters (4-5) have demonstrated, within the European memorial custom the practice of jointly commemorating conflicts, or of deliberately linking conflicts through their memorials, had already been established. Unlike in an American context, memorials were not always conflict-specific, but instead linked to their locality. That existing memorials should be reused following the Second World War can, as a result, be seen as a consistent development of the memorialisation process, in which memorials are viewed as representing the soldier and the universal qualities that they are believed to characterise, rather than the conflict in which he fought.

In France, in the areas that had experienced three major conflicts first-hand in less than 80 years, war memorials drew heavily on these themes of universality. The village of Sablon

near Metz, for example, centred their memorial on the 'Augusta Victoria,' a reproduction of a Gallo-Roman statue found during excavations in 1881. The memorial was constructed on the site of the old cemetery of the church of Sablon and St Bernard School (Figure 6.6) and opened in July 31, 1948 in the presence of General de Gaulle.Whilst it is possible to interpret the use of the 'Augusta Victoria' statue as a return to a 'triumphal' form of monument, the headless victory and bare wall behind are far from triumphal. The memorial's inscription 'Le Sablon A ses morts victims des guerres'[62] does not reference a specific conflict and the link between the inscription and the statue signifies that the memorial represents all those who have died in conflict since the beginnings of the town. The re-use of the Roman sculpture indicates a more neutral form of commemoration, one which is less temporally grounded. This signals a new kind of memorialisation, one which is not event specific but which portrays war as a universal human experience.



Figure 6.6 French War Memorial, Sablon, (1948) near Metz, France. (Photograph by the author, 2012).

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[62] For the war dead of Sablon

Figure 6.7 War Memorial (circa 1940) following the German invasion, Metz, France. (Image available: http://www.memorialgenweb.org/~cpa/com.php?insee=57463&dpt=57&comm=Metz).

Similarly, within the city of Metz itself, the main memorial demonstrates a move towards this universal message. The original French memorial (Figure 5.44) had been appropriated by German forces during the Second World War occupation of the town. This appropriation included the removal of figures of French soldiers and the addition of a German inscription (Figure 6.7). That this memorial was retained by the occupying forces, whilst the adjacent more triumphal memorial (Figure 5.22) was destroyed, illustrates the universal appeal of this monument. When the town was returned to French control following the Second World War, rather than re-appropriate the memorial and dedicate it once again to French forces, it was instead stripped of reliefs, and only the central Pieta part of the memorial was kept (Figure 6.8). The inscription 'aux morts de la guerre' signifies that the memorial is for all those lost through war and is not representative of any particular conflict or side.

Figure 6.8 War Memorial in its present form, Metz, France (Photograph by the author, 2012).

## 6.2.2 Reflexivity continued memorialisation of earlier conflicts

During the 1950s, 60s and 70s there was a general decline in commemorative activities and in the active remembrance of past conflicts, particularly in the UK. Adrian Gregory writing in 1994 about Remembrance Sunday suggested that 'since 1946 [Remembrance Sunday] has never had the emotive power that Armistice Day displayed between the wars [and], it has become increasingly remote as a ritual for the general population' (Gregory 1994: 222). Ceremonies became less frequently attended and many memorials fell into disrepair. In Birmingham during the 1960s the First World War memorial plaque in the floor of St Paul's church was covered over with carpet and in St Chad's the memorial shrine was removed to the basement (Login 2009). Whilst some memorials were periodically re-appropriated to add the names of casualties from later conflicts, often this addition did not take place until much later (6.3.4.3).

Figure.6.9 First World War Memorial in its present position following retrieval from the basement and restoration St Chads, Birmingham, UK (Photograph by the author, 2010).

Yet, from the 1980s onwards each of the study areas experienced increased processes of war memorialisation, and in Birmingham during the 2000's both the St Chad's and St Paul's memorials were reinstated (Figure.6.9). This increased interest in commemoration resulted in a wave of reflexive memorial construction to commemorate individuals, groups and events from often quite distant conflicts. Whilst this process is linked to a more general increased interest in conflict (Moriarty 1999), it also came about during a period of greater memorial construction relating to all forms of trauma. From the 1980s onwards a new wave of memorial construction took place in relation to all trauma, a practice that has become so prolific, particularly within American culture that it has been termed by some scholars as 'memorial mania' (Doss 2010).

The following sections (6.2.2.1-3) will examine the continued construction of memorials to much earlier conflicts throughout the period 1980- 2014. Firstly the construction of a new memorial following the destruction of the original will be discussed in relation to the monument to Georges Guynemer (see 5.3.3) which was destroyed in 1941 (6.2.2.1). The construction of memorials when the original location for the existing memorial is no longer considered to be appropriate will be discussed using the example of the First World War memorial in Kinver (6.2.2.2). Perceptions that the original form and location of the memorial is inappropriate will be discussed in relation to the First World War memorial in Peterborough (6.2.2.3).

### 6.2.2.1 Destruction of the original memorial: the Georges Guynemer memorial, Dunkerque

The deliberate destruction of memorials has a long history, and can play an important role in the symbolic destruction of the ideas that the memorial is believed to represent (see 5.2.9). The memorial to First World War pilot Georges Guynemer was constructed on the eve of the Second World War to instil national pride in the local population (5.3.3). The memorial itself consisted of a large stone representation of the pilot's legendary biplane topped by a larger than life bronze depiction of Guynemer himself (Figure 5.46). The memorial had been standing on the shorefront at Dunkerque for less than two years before the town was invaded by German forces. The symbolic value of the memorial for the French, a local hero made famous by his many victories against German pilots, also made the monument an important target for the invading German forces.

Figure 6.10 German soldiers at the Guynemer memorial, Dunkerque (1941). (Image available: http://www.aerosteles.net/fiche.php?code=malo-guynemer).

In this photograph, taken May 1941 (Figure 6.10), German forces can be seen posing in front of the memorial. Shortly after the photograph was taken the monument was deliberately destroyed. The re-appropriation and subsequent destruction of the memorial by German forces signified once again the defeat of the French 'hero' and the values that he represented; this time the defeat of his memory rather than his physical person. This symbolic capture and defeat of the memorial became an important part of the German occupation of the area.

Figure 6.11 Guynemer Memorial, outside the Musée de la Bataille de Dunkerque et de l'opération Dynamo (1989), Dunkerque, France (Photograph by the author, 2012).

Yet, despite the complete destruction of the stone monument, parts of the bronze figure remained intact. The bust of Guymener was kept during the war and subsequently displayed in the Musée des Beaux-Arts Dunkerque.[63] In 1989 a new memorial was built to the aviator outside the Musée de la Bataille de Dunkerque et de l'opération Dynamo (Figure 6.11). This monument, although stylistically very different from the original, contains a fragment of the bronze figure of Guynemer which stood aloft the 1930s memorial. As a result of this inclusion the new memorial stands not only as a monument to Guynemer himself but also to the original memorial. No attempt has been made to disguise the destruction of the bronze figure for its incorporation into the later memorial. Instead the severed bust of Guyenmer is displayed with its jagged edge and rust marks as if it had just been ripped from the original memorial (Figure 6.12).

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[63] Sophie Warlop Direction des musées de Dunkerque, *email correspondence 25/04/2014*

Figure 6.12 Fragment of original Guynemer Memorial incorporated into the 1989 monument, Dunkerque, France.



Figure 6.13 Guynemer memorial, 1989 outside the Musée de la Bataille de Dunkerque et de l'opération Dynamo (left). Detail of the Guynemer memorial 1989, depicting the original memorial (right). Dunkerque, France. (Photograph by the author, 2012).

The monument also includes an engraving not only of Guynemer and his plane but of the original memorial; making the connection between the two monuments explicit (Figure 6.13). Consequently the new memorial draws its meaning not only from Guynemener himself, but from his earlier monument. This process can be paralleled with those of earlier memorials, for example the First World War memorial in Metz, in which postcards were produced to remind the viewer exactly what was there before, encouraging those viewing the memorial to make the connection with the earlier monument and its destruction (Figure 5.33). The memorial marks not only the death of Guynemer at the hands of the German forces in 1917 but also his symbolic destruction through the desecration of the monument in 1941. Yet, this secondary layer of meaning can only be understood by those who have memory of, or knowledge of, the original memorial to Guynemer, and whilst images of the original memorial are located within the adjacent musée de la Bataille de Dunkerque et de l'opération Dynamo no reference is made to its incorporation into the later monument.

### *6.2.2.2 Inappropriate location of the original memorial*

Whilst the new Georges Guynemer memorial resulted primarily from the demolition of the original monument, continued memorial construction is not always preceded by such destruction. As previous examples have demonstrated (5.3.2) new memorials can be constructed, often in very close proximity to the original, if the original memorial is felt to no longer fulfil the needs of those it was intended to serve. As James Mayo describes, 'although war memorials may be preserved, the society around them changes and so does its interpretations of history and these changes may alter the perceived meaning of war

memorials' (Mayo 1988a:73). Equally, as time passes from the conflict being commemorated, populations in the locality surrounding the memorials can evolve. For example, as demographics change or as the space around the memorial develops, new memorials can be constructed that are considered to be more appropriate responses to the conflict and to contemporary populations. Such construction can give clear indications regarding the memorial's perceived function and audience.



Figure 6.14 New First World War Memorial, located in the centre of the village (*circa* 2010) Kinver, Staffordshire (Photograph by the author, 2012).

In the Staffordshire village of Kinver the original First World War memorial was constructed at the top of a hill of parkland that had been gifted to the village to be part of the memorial (Figure 5.3). Despite the presence of this memorial a new monument was constructed almost 100 years after the events it commemorates. This new structure was constructed in the centre of the village (Figure 6.14) due to concerns that elderly veterans would not be able to reach the original memorial (Paul Colins pers. comm. 10/05/2012).

The two monuments, although inscribed with the same sets of names, are stylistically very different. The new memorial, unlike the original, prominently displays a Christian cross on the front of the obelisk (Figure 6.14). This differs significantly from the original memorial which had no religious iconography and also functioned as a water fountain for individuals visiting the park (Figure 5.3 & Figure 6.15). This use of iconography securely locates the memorial within the discourse of Christian sacrifice, indicating that the memory of this conflict is understood to be Christian, and in this instance excludes other religions from this memory.

In addition to this iconographic shift, the inscription of the memorial was also changed significantly. The original memorial was inscribed 'In memory of the men of // Kinver who gave their lives // in the Great War 1914-1919', but on the new monument this was replaced with 'For our tomorrow// they gave their today // we will remember them.' This change can be viewed as a result of the time that has passed since the First World War (CT>90 years) which prevents autobiographical knowledge of any of the individuals listed on the memorial. It also demonstrates belief amongst those constructing the memorial, that individuals have a responsibility to remember the events commemorated by the memorial.

The construction of a new memorial in the centre of the village has a twofold significance. Firstly, it indicates that the memorial has, or is believed to have more significance for the older generation, necessitating a move to a more accessible location. This suggests assumptions on behalf of the Memorial Panel that individuals are increasingly less prepared to travel specifically to take part in the remembrance services at the memorial. Secondly, it indicates that within the context of active remembrance and the continued ritual of remembrance ceremonies, that the authenticity of the memorial for the service is of secondary importance to the needs of those taking part. Reluctance to relocate the original memorial (see 6.3.5) suggests that the authenticity of that monument in its intended location was considered of primary importance.

Despite this desire to preserve the original monument, the construction of a secondary memorial does have implications for the existing structure. Remembrance ceremonies currently take place at both locations, but as more individuals become familiar with the village centre memorial it is possible for this practice to be discontinued and remembrance ceremonies to take place only at the new monument. Consequently, the original memorial is in danger of becoming 'orphaned heritage', in which 'ownership and location are separated' (Price 2005). Younger generations will have no memory of the ceremonies which took place at the memorial on the hill. Once the original memorial is disconnected from its original commemorative purpose it is at risk of losing is significance as an object of remembrance (Login 2009).

Figure 6.15 War Memorial Kinver, Staffordshire. Original First World War Memorial with addition of gates to commemorate the centenary 1914-2014 (Photograph by the author, 2014).

Attempts to renew the significance of the original memorial have been undertaken through the addition of new gates commemorating the centenary of the First World War (Figure 6.15). This addition illustrates changing attitudes towards the way that war is remembered. The gates date the centenary as the beginning of the conflict 1914-2014, rather than its end in 1918; suggesting a desire to remember the entire conflict experience from its beginning, rather than commemorating the end of the conflict. It also privileges the role of the memorial as a First World War memorial above that of its later function as a Second World War memorial (Figure 6.3); despite the fact that the 60th anniversary of the end of the Second World War will take place in 2015.

Clearly attitudes towards the conflict have changed significantly in the century that has passed between the construction of the original memorial and the second monument. This

example demonstrates the importance not only of taking a wider temporal perspective in order to study the whole biography of a memorial, but also of taking into account the relationships between monuments. A full understanding of the later monument (Figure 6.14) can only be reached through an examination of its relationship with the original memorial (Figure 6.15). The process of memorialisation concerning the second monument began with dwindling attendance at the original ceremonies and can only be fully understood by an examination of their relationship.

### 6.2.2.3 Inappropriate form of the original memorial

Kinver's memorials demonstrate that decisions surrounding the most appropriate form and location of a memorial can continue for many years after the conflict. The construction of a second memorial in Kinver was driven by a changing population, primarily an aging population, which deemed the original memorial location unsuitable.

In the Cambridgeshire city of Peterborough the war memorial was similarly affected by changes in demographic. The original post-First World War memorial comprised a memorial hospital to serve the both the city and its surrounding villages (see 5.2), resulting in a lack of a monumental structure on which to commemorate Second World War casualties. Despite this, a campaign for a monumental memorial did not begin until the 1980s, and the new memorial was not unveiled until 1986. In the years following the First World War this would have been less important as many would have autobiographical memories of the deceased and could pay their respects at church, institutional memorials or at private shrines within the home. Equally, following the Second World War localised memorials could fulfil the

needs of the bereaved.  As the years passed, a decrease in autobiographical memory

necessitated a monument where the community could gather and commemorate loss in

conflict more generally. Consequently when autobiographical memory for the second

conflict began to fade, campaigns began for a more general memorial.
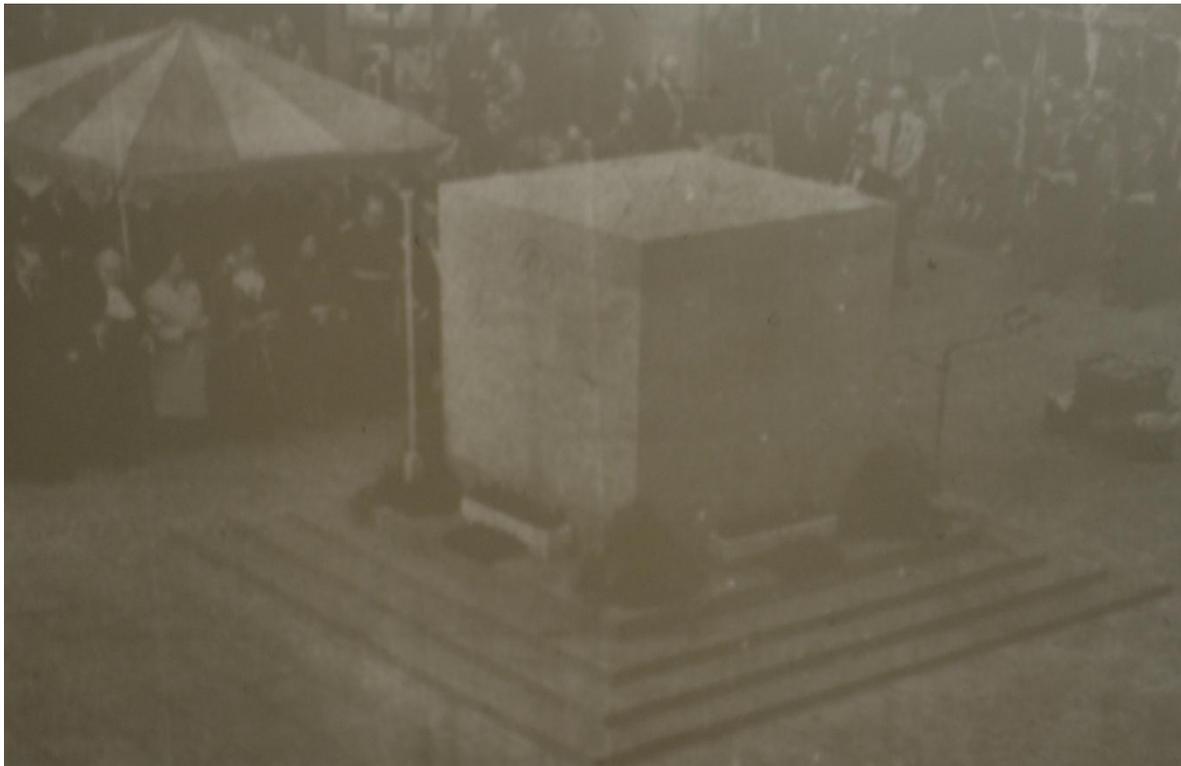


Figure 6.16 'Sugar Cube' War Memorial, unveiling 1986, Bridge Street Peterborough (Image Peterborough Evening Telegraph).

The memorial itself comprised a limestone cube and, like that at Sablon, contained no

names but instead commemorated everybody (Figure 6.16). Echoing these sentiments

Sydney Martin, Vice Chairman of the memorial committee, described the unveiling as 'a

moving occasion, worth waiting for' and the memorial itself as 'a tribute to all who gave

their lives in past conflicts- and it belongs to the whole of Peterborough' (Unknown(a)

1986). Despite these sentiments and the long campaign for its construction, dislike for the

cube monument began almost instantly and the monument was soon derided as being little

more than a 'sugar cube' (Kingswood 1999). A campaign for a new memorial began almost immediately.

Dr Brian Mawhinney, responsible for instigating the new memorial, described the attitude to the cube memorial in the local newspaper:

> 'There has been a widespread feeling all over the city that the present memorial is inappropriate in commemorating those who gave their lives in past wars to safeguard our liberty. Now the city can look forward to having a new memorial of which it can be proud, to mark the 50th anniversary of the end of the Second World War' (Rousewell 1994)

Not only was the 'sugar cube' design heavily criticised, but Dr Mawhinne, in another newspaper interview the following year, commented that 'the existing site is unacceptable because of vandalism and the lack of dignity, for which it has been criticised' (Rousewell 1995). Once again discussions began regarding the form and location that Peterborough's war memorial should take.

During these discussions plans for the memorial changed multiple times and in September 1994 the Peterborough Evening Telegraph reported that, 'the original plan for the design of the [new] memorial has also altered, following consultations with veterans. Popular opinion resulted in the idea of an obelisk being rejected' (Rousewell 1994). Eventually a design and location was agreed upon and a memorial to commemorate Peterborough's war casualties was constructed in the Cathedral grounds and dedicated on Remembrance Sunday 1995 (Figure 6.17). The Evening Telegraph reported that the new memorial would

'…please all those who have never thought much of the present one since it was put up in Bridge Street in 1986. That will be de-dedicated on Saturday and then covered up until demolition and removal. With its traditional form of a 15ft column topped by a cross, the new one will have a much wider appeal than the present square block outside Woolworth's' (Colton 1995)

Peterborough's new memorial, like that at Kinver, drew on Christian iconography in contrast to the neutrality of the previous monument. Despite this there appeared at the time a belief that both its form and location would give it a much more universal appeal than the cube monument.



Figure 6.17 War Memorial (1995) in Cathedral grounds, Peterborough, Cambridgeshire, United Kingdom. (Photograph by the author, 2012).

Less than twenty years after the construction of the cathedral ground memorial (the third attempt at memorialisation in the city since the First World War) criticism once again began to grow for the monument. Despite hailing its universal appeal at the time of its unveiling, changing demographics within the city subsequently deemed inappropriate the memorial's Christian location and iconography. Consequently, a new war memorial committee was formed and the decision was taken to construct a monument in the very centre of the town; even though a town centre location had previously being described as 'undignified.'



Figure 6.18 First World War Memorial, Pearl Insurance, Peterborough. (Photograph of image exhibited at the unveiling of the memorial, taken by the author, 25th June 2012).

Multiple proposals were made for the design of the new memorial. These included many abstract monuments and also suggestions that an existing memorial, originally commissioned for a Peterborough firm, be re-appropriated (Figure 6.18). An abstract design was provisionally chosen for the memorial, yet this was subsequently rejected after complaints that a modern design could not reflect the dignified purpose of the monument.[64] The avoidance of iconography that might connect the memorial to a specific group was intended to make the memorial as inclusive as possible (Figure 6.19). It is described as 'an obelisk based on the national Armed Forces Memorial in Staffordshire' (Truslove 2012).



Figure 6.19 New War Memorial on the high street (2012), Peterborough, Cambridgeshire, United Kingdom (Photograph by the author, 2012).

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[64] Echoing sentiments expressed during the creation of the Vietnam Veterans Memorial in Washington, D.C.

Like many memorial processes the design and fund raising process was not without controversy, demonstrating that temporal distance from the events being commemorated in no way lessens emotional responses to memorialisation. Of particular contention was the way in which funds were raised for the new monument. The original First World War memorial hospital had, in the intervening decades, fallen out of use and was to be sold. One Peterborough resident commented:

'I understand the Memorial Hospital is to be demolished and the site sold off for commercial use, so why do the council need today's population to contribute for a new memorial where there is the money raised from the sale of the site which was built with voluntary contribution in the 1920s?' (Matson 2011)

This suggests an opinion that council bodies are profiting from the original donation of the memorial and as a result residents should not have to pay again for the new memorial. Yet, the act of collecting money for the new memorial was an important part of the memorial process which served to increase its relevance amongst the current population by instilling a sense of ownership. This ownership was increased through the distribution of certificates to those that had contributed (Figure 6.20), which reinforced the message that the memorial belonged to the new population and not to the past.

Figure 6.20 Peterborough War Memorial Fund, donors certificate. (Photograph by the author, 2012).

The treatment of memorials in this way makes very clear the current perceptions of those organising the memorial. The value of the memorial in facilitating active remembrance amongst current populations is more important than the use of the original memorial. The construction of the new memorial was utilised to facilitate the perpetuation of the memory of the conflicts it commemorated amongst the younger generation in Peterborough. Local schools were heavily involved in the memorialisation process (Cllr Iren Walsh pers. comm. 22/06/2012), and school children were invited to participate in the unveiling ceremony (Figure 6.21).

The Peterborough Memorial Hospital had stood unquestioned as the town's only central war memorial for over sixty years following the First World War. Yet, between 1986 and

2012 three different memorials were constructed. These monuments attest that the temporal distance from a conflict (CT), and the resultant lack of autobiographical memories of the events and individuals being commemorated, does not lessen the complexity of the memorial process. The biographies of the three monuments (MT), like the memorials at Kinver (6.2.2.2) are intrinsically linked to one another, demonstrating not only the importance of examining the relationships between different memorials, but also of taking into account the entire lifespan of the object. The biography of the obelisk memorial begins, not with the planning process of this monument, but with the dissatisfaction with the earlier 'sugar cube' monument, since it is this that instigates the memorial process.



Figure 6.21 Peterborough memorial dedication ceremony, 25th June, 2012. (Photograph by the author, 2012).

**6.2.3 Reflexivity of memorials: memorials to marginalised groups**


The two previous examples have demonstrated the continuation of memorial processes many years after the conflicts they commemorate. In both Kinver and Peterborough, it was not a lack of memorialisation that guided the processes, but a lack of memorisation that was considered relevant to the contemporary population. This section further examines the continued memorialisation that occurs when existing memorials are deemed unsuitable for present populations. The examples discussed below explore processes of memorialisation that are carried out by groups who believe their conflict experience has been excluded from dominant conflict narratives.

Recent attempts at a more inclusive approach to American and European history have resulted in greater emphasis on traumatic pasts which are perceived to have been marginalised or excluded, particularly in relation to conflicts. Increasingly, groups who believe that their conflict experiences have been marginalised or suppressed have spoken out against this exclusion and have chosen to exert their claim on past conflict narratives through processes of war memorialisation.[65]

These issues are discussed in relation to memorials constructed from 1980 in the USA (6.2.3.1) and the UK (6.2.3.2). Developments in the war memorial tradition will be demonstrated through an examination of memorialisation carried out by groups who believed that their conflict experiences had been marginalised within existing conflict

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[65] Whilst the examples discussed below relate to trauma experienced within the context of the USA, memorialisation also takes place relating to experiences outside of these areas, for example the memorial to 'comfort women' constructed in Palisades Park, New Jersey and the Holodomor memorial currently under construction in Washington D.C. Despite the geographical distance from the sites of the original trauma, such memorials remain politically sensitive. The small 'comfort women' memorial for example, became the centre of debate between the US and Japanese government after Japanese officials requested that it be removed.

narratives. It will examine the ways in which these groups utilised developments that had taken place within the memorial tradition to both incorporate their experience into the wider narrative and to provide a tangible reminder of an experience that is unique to each particular group.

### 6.2.3.1 Memorials to 'marginalised groups in Washington D.C.

Such memorialisation can be contextualised within the broader developments in historiography. These developments have included greater account of the ways in which the retelling of past events has involved the silencing of certain actions and actors. Michel-Rolph Trouillot (Trouillot 1995) for example, examines the ways in which certain events and individuals become silenced within the historical narrative. He successfully demonstrates that it is not an absence of facts that result in this silencing but the appropriation of narratives by various interest groups. Of particular relevance here are his explorations of the ways in which, at certain times, 'collectivities experience the need to impose a test of credibility on certain events and narratives because it matters to them whether these events are true or false, whether these stories are fact or fiction' (Trouillot 1995: 11). As the memorial tradition has become well established it has become instrumental in this process. No longer is a biased, insular view of the past, as dictated by a single dominant group, perceived as either appropriate or acceptable.

Increasingly, communities with a 'stake in what is remembered, debate, challenge and contest which version of the past will be remembered' (Gallicchio 2007: 5). Research has suggested that such marginalised groups are becoming ever more proficient at using the

memory of past events to 'challenge their own subordination' (Hoelscher and Alderman 2004: 349). The construction of memorials has been intrinsic to this process. These moves towards more inclusive memorialisation processes echo more holistic attitudes towards historical, archaeological, and heritage approaches to the past. This is illustrated, for example, by the Dynamics of Inclusion in Public Archaeology workshop held 17th- 18th September, 2010 at the African Burial Ground National Monument in New York City. This workshop brought together both academic and non-academic professionals to explore public participation in archaeological projects at both the planning and execution stages. It challenged assumptions about the inherent value of the past and called on professionals to 'accept that their interests in material culture, history and the making of place are no more or less valid than, nor even radically distinct from, those in other communities' (Matthews 2011: 483). Whilst heritage professionals have in the past been accused of the trivialization or appropriation of the concerns of minority scholars, activists and communities (Epperson 2004: 101), archaeology increasingly adopts a more inclusive approach both to the types of history being investigated, and also to the archaeological process itself. This is demonstrated, for example, by Echo-Hawk's discussion of the integration of oral records and the archaeological record in scholarship relating to American Indians (Echo-Hawk 2000). Communities and descendants are increasingly involved in the planning of archaeological projects and have had significant input into their research designs, resulting in greater contributions towards the writing of their own histories (Shackel 2013: 386).

This section argues that the process of memorialising past traumas experienced during conflict has a dual purpose; not only does it commemorate the event itself but it also serves as a method of defining and reinforcing each group in the present. Through this process

groups can begin to overcome internal division that, in some cases, originate with the original traumatic conflict experience. Yet, the traumas experienced by these groups are multifaceted, and although originating in conflict are often compounded by the trauma of subordination and exclusion from dominant commemorative practice.

In in last two decades in Washington D.C. multiple memorials have been constructed which seek to address this marginalisation. These include the African American Civil War Memorial, the American Indian Memorial Initiative, and the Women in Military Service for America Memorial.[66] The African American Civil War Memorial, unveiled in 1997 on the corner of Vermont Avenue, commemorates the service of over 200,000 African American soldiers and sailors who fought for Union forces during the Civil War (Figure 6.22). The American Indian Veterans Memorial Initiative originally began as a campaign to include a figure of an American Indian soldier on the Vietnam Veterans Memorial sculpture. As the campaign progressed it became clear that this would not be possible, and subsequently the proposal evolved into a separate memorial to incorporate the entire experience of American Indians in the US military, beginning with the Revolutionary Wars. The Women in Military Service for American Memorial, unveiled on the 18th October 1997 at the entrance to Arlington Cemetery, also commemorates the contributions of all women in the military from the Revolutionary Wars through to the present.

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[66] And also the Japanese American Memorial to Patriotism during World War II discussed 6.3.2.below also 1.1

Figure 6.22 The African American Civil War Memorial, (1997), Washington, D.C. (Photograph courtesy of Hari Jones, 2012).

Each of the memorials came about during the late 1980s and 1990s during a period of increased awareness of the exclusion of certain groups from the commemoration of conflicts within American history. In particular, attempts at more inclusive memorialisation surrounding the Vietnam Veterans Memorial served to further highlight the exclusion of other groups. The memorial's abstract design, listing all the names of the dead in chronological order, was intended to signify all American deaths during the conflict. But the memorial was highly controversial, predominantly because it challenged pre-existing understandings of the form a memorial should take (monumental, upright, above ground) and instead was formed of a shallow receding wall (resulting in the memorial becoming

known simple as 'the Wall'). Many believed that this representation presented the conflict as a shameful episode, and lamented the lack of traditional iconography associated with the war memorial form (Foss 1986).



Figure 6.23 The Three Servicemen statue, Vietnam Veterans Memorial, (1982) (left). Vietnam Women's Memorial, (1993), Washington, D.C, (right) (Photograph by the author, 2012).

Despite assertions that the memorial should represent everyone, eventually concessions were made and figurative elements were added. Intentions to make these figures as representative as possible resulted in the inclusion of non-white American figures in the Vietnam Veterans Memorial Three Servicemen statue, and the addition of a sculpture to commemorate the contribution of women to the conflict (Figure 6.23).

Such attempts at inclusivity had a dual impact. Firstly, they raised questions regarding the contribution of different groups in other conflicts. Secondly, groups who did not feel represented by the memorial questioned their exclusion and began to demand their own

memorial responses. Each group felt that they had a very specific conflict experience that was worthy of commemoration and of representation on the Mall. Rothberg, in his examination of the memory of the Holocaust, questions what happens when different histories confront each other in the public sphere in this way and asks 'does the remembrance of one history erase others from view?' (Rothberg 2009: 2). Rothberg suggests that, in fact, this does not happen and that memory should not be seen as *competitive* but as *multidirectional* in that growing consciousness of the experience of one group can help to articulate discussions regarding other groups (Rothberg 2009: 3).

Whilst the remembrance of one history does not necessarily erase others from view, the memorialisation of one particular group does serve to make the omission of the tangible representation of other groups more visible. And it is this increased awareness of the continuing exclusion that acts as a catalyst for the memorialisation of an individual group. For example, Robert Holden, director of the National Congress of American Indians, commented on the lack of American Indian representation on the Mall with reference to existing depictions of varied groups, specifically the Vietnam Veterans Memorials statue (Figure 6.23). Whilst discussing the campaign for the American Indian Veterans memorial, he argued that 'while the Three Servicemen Statue at the Vietnam Veterans Memorial represents Caucasian, African American and Hispanic service members, it excludes Native Americans, and does not fully depict their contributions' (Boyle 2013). Thus, the omission of American Indians from the Mall had been made more visible by the inclusion of other marginalised groups.

Similarly General Vaught, describing the beginnings of the memorialisation process for the Women in Military Service memorial (Figure 6.24), also cites the publicity campaign surrounding the Vietnam Veterans Memorial. This campaign had resulted not only in the

above addition of a figurative group representing male combatants but also a simultaneous campaign to commemorate the services and contribution of women in Vietnam. Vaught describes the process as follows;

> 'And it came about by some people in, some women who'd served primarily in WWII in northern Ohio, who decided, and this was during the, all the publicity about the Vietnam memorial and there was a lot of publicity. We weren't thanked, they weren't treated right and all that. So these women began to think about that'[67]



Figure 6.24 Women in Military Service for America Memorial, (1992), Arlington Cemetery, Washington, D.C. (Photograph by the author, 2012).

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[67] General Vaught in an interview with the author 25th October 2012. For full interview transcript see Appendix 8

Such concerns demonstrate the complex interactions between external factors and the influence of the memorial tradition itself. Whilst greater awareness of the contributions of varied groups provided the context for memorialisation, it was the processes of memorialisation that, once begun, provided inspiration for further memorials to other groups. Yet, memorial processes were not only concerned with addressing a lack of commemoration of past events with the aim of promoting the contribution of a particular group within the wider public; what was perceived to be more damaging was the effect that this continued to have on the group itself. The perception that the negative representation of a group in the past can affect perceptions of that group in a negative way in the present, particularly amongst members of the group itself, is a strong motivation behind increasing memorial construction. Hari Jones from the African American Civil War Museum describes the concern over the impact that the lack of understanding of the African American contribution to the Civil War was having on the contemporary African American community:

> 'I was a marine officer at the Naval academy in the mid-90s and I was really concerned about the lack of understanding of our history as it pertained to the Civil War and the contributions of these Americans and I thought this was doing damage to us in the contemporary, we don't really understand ourselves. To me history is about understanding oneself and for me to do whatever it takes to get them excited about seeking understanding, about seeing the light, if you will, so I think that's very important I think that's how we deal with situations today, like when people talk about race relations' (Hari Jones, pers. comm. 19/11/2012)[68]

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[68] Hari Jones in an interview with the author 19th November 2012. For full interview transcript see Appendix 9

Jones believed a lack of understanding regarding the active part that African Americans played in their own emancipation was having a detrimental effect on this group in the present, and added, 'I didn't suffer from a lack of self-esteem which I found most of my African American peers did and they did not know this narrative' (Hari Jones, pers. comm. 19/11/2012).[69] In Jones' opinion, the lack of understanding of active contributions in the past can be seen to contribute towards a lack of self-esteem in the present. Highly visible memorials such as the African American Civil War memorial help to promote a new understanding of that group's past amongst members of the group itself. In this example, it was important that the group be portrayed as participants in their own history, actively fighting the institution of slavery instead of passively observing.

Arguments for the construction of other memorials followed a similar narrative. The Women in Military Service for America Memorial (Figure 6.24) was motivated by the belief that the lack of representation of women in existing memorials and commemoration had resulted in current women in the military feeling that their contribution was not valued. The primary instigator of the memorial, Honourable Mary-Rose Oaker, representative from the State of Ohio and member of Congress argued that that:

> '...since the American Revolution women have served with distinction and honour.[...] Yet, when you look at the memorials in this town and throughout the country, very seldom if ever do you see a women portrayed as having served her country in the Armed Forces. [...] the fact is this is a way of showing that women have meant an awful lot to preserve the freedom of this country by their great service to this country' (Mart-Rose Oaker 1986)[70]

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[69] Hari Jones in an interview with the author 19th November 2012. For full interview transcript see Appendix 9
[70] Mary-Rose Oaker October 17, 1986 Congressional Record- House H11278

It was clear that those campaigning for the memorial wanted women to be represented as having played an active role in the history of the United States, rather than merely passively observing it. This was felt especially important in order to counteract existing representations of each group that presented them as either victims or uninvolved observers (see for example Doss 2010: 342). Consequently it is clear that memorial processes could play a crucial role in the definition of self-image for such groups. Memorialisation many years after the events being commemorated demonstrates the complex interaction between external stimuli and the memorial process itself. The interaction between O-P and CT is crucial for this point; developments in the memorial tradition deemed the experiences of different interest groups appropriate for commemoration and the time that has passed from the conflict had facilitated the development of a conflict narrative from which certain groups believed they were excluded.

### 6.2.3.2 Memorials to 'marginalised' groups: the UK National Memorial Arboretum.

The memorialisation of marginalised or excluded groups is not restricted to an American context. Further examples of commemorative practice many years after the events, instigated by a perceived lack of previous commemoration, can also be found in the UK. This section focuses on examples from the UK National Memorial Arboretum (NMA). In these examples the perceived exclusion was not considered to have a negative impact on the lives of those engaging in processes of memorialisation, but the individuals still felt incredibly strongly about the memorial process. The UK's National Memorial Arboretum has formed a focus for British commemorative practice since its creation in 1997. Covering a 150 acre site and centred on the armed forces memorial to all post-1945 casualties, the arboretum

provides a space where those who wish to do so can construct public memorials to specific individuals, events or groups. Whilst the site was not restricted to military memorials the overwhelming majority are dedicated to the consequences of military engagements.

The initiation of memorial construction was, in many cases, caused by engagement with existing memorials and not the events themselves. The Children of the Far East Prisoners of War (COFEPOW) Memorial typifies this process. The memorial was instigated by Mrs Carol Cooper who was originally motivated by the discovery of her father's Prisoner Of War diary. Yet, it was her perception that the Far Eastern Prisoners of War were not receiving the recognition they deserved within the narrative of the Second World War that motivated her to act. It was not until after interaction with other memorials at the National Memorial Arboretum that the decision was taken to build a memorial (Cooper 2014). Whilst a personal memento triggered the process, it was the perception that FEPOW had been omitted from the dominant Second World War narrative, and the memorial tradition itself, that led to the creation of the monument.

Many of those campaigning for memorials at the arboretum felt that the contribution of a particular regiment to a campaign had been forgotten, and was not adequately covered by existing war memorials. When asked if veterans from the Far Eastern campaigns had been forgotten within the narrative of the Second World War, a representative of Burma Star Memorial, Glynis Longhurst, replied:

> 'Yes I think it has made our association, because they felt that cohesive association, because we're tri-service so we've got everybody basically. All services and the merchant navy so we're not an army or an air association, we have everybody. I think the fact that they did feel that has helped us stay together as a cohesive group

and having the arboretum is the thing that actually now is a focal point. Because yes there are other memorials around the country and there is the Cenotaph but they're not related to a particular association whereas this one is. It is for those people who belong to that, or know about it, it's obviously going to matter to them. That's why it's important to our Birmingham branch because it's on their doorstep. And it's important that it will continue' (Glynis Longhurst 06/06/2011).[71]

This highlights a growing perception within the memorialisation process that if a group is not specifically referenced within an existing memorial that this group has not been appropriately memorialised.



Figure 6.25 The Railway Industry Memorial, UK National Memorial Arboretum (2012), Alrewas, Staffordshire. (Photograph by the author, 2012).

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[71] Glynis Longhurst in an interview with the author 6th June 2011. For full interview transcript see Appendix 10

The National Memorial Arboretum demonstrates a move towards memorialisation and commemoration as an activity in which all can participate regardless of whether or not they themselves have a connection to the individuals or events being memorialised. It also indicates a growing preference for collective memorialisation in a memorial context and not a context that is relevant to the events commemorated. Many individuals and groups are choosing to have their memorials within a commemorative setting at the arboretum, where they can be viewed by everyone, rather than within a context that has a stronger relation to the group itself. Sam Reed, responsible for instigating the Railway Industry Memorial at the arboretum (Figure 6.25) describes the process of finding a location for the memorial as follows:

> 'when I started reading about the Arboretum at Alwreas and that was inspired by I forget the gentleman's name [David Childs], following his visit to Arlington and I can understand where he was coming from and yeah that did influence my view that the railway memorial should be there from my visit to Arlington … we had considered like the railway museum at York, you know we could have got permission to, we never even attempted to, no I've always thought that the arboretum was the most appropriate place, yeah. So we're delighted absolutely delighted.' (Sam Reed 07/03/2012)[72]

This suggests that, in this case, a commemorative context was deemed more appropriate than one related more specifically to the railway and those being memorialised. This contextualisation of memorials within a national framework demonstrates developments that have taken place within the process of memorialisation. What was previously

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[72] Sam Reed 7th March 2012 For full interview transcript see Appendix 11

understood as a local commemoration, the construction of memorials in a school or work place for example, is now considered important to be seen on a national level. Perceptions that there is no appropriate national commemoration frequently drive memorial construction processes, despite that in the UK the only nationally endorsed war memorial was the cenotaph and in the US there were no national war memorials until the Vietnam Veterans Memorial. This trend demonstrates a shift in perception of memorials towards a belief that the state has a duty to not only provide adequately for the remains of the dead but to also provide memorials at a national level.

**6.2.4 Towards a common memory**

As time passes from the conflict, resolution between the former enemies and recognition of victims, particularly civilian, regardless of side often allows forms of reconciliatory memorial not possible in the immediate aftermath of the conflict. This section examines two examples, the Battle of Fromelles memorial, France and the proposed Commonwealth War Memorial, Dover. Despite very different forms and purposes these memorials are similar in their inclusive approach to the events and individuals they commemorate.

***6.2.4.1 Commonwealth War Memorial Dover***

Attempts at inclusivity in the memorial process have clearly impacted on the form of contemporary memorials. Many now seek to commemorate all those who have suffered as a result of past conflicts. Proposals have been submitted for the creation of a National War Memorial to be created on the cliff tops of Dover (Figure 6.26).

Figure 6.26 The proposed design for the National War Memorial, Dover. (Image available: http://www.nationalwarmemorial.co.uk/the_plan.php ).

The memorial will commemorate and list the names of 'the 1.7 million servicemen and women, merchant navy personnel and civilians who died in the service of this country' (Foley 2012). When questioned regarding the motivations behind the memorial its instigator and designer John Pegg cited the reason behind the memorial as a concern that the memory of Commonwealth involvement in the conflicts was being lost and overwritten by US narratives. He cited in particular the simplification of the Second World War to the point that it has 'almost been 'cartoonised' as Nazi against Jew' (Pegg pers. comm. 26/06/2012).[73] He expressed the belief that the active pursuit of commemoration by the US was having a detrimental effect on the memory of the conflict by not giving an accurate and inclusive image of the combatants involved.

The memorial is, as a result, intended to include the names of all those killed in conflicts since the First World War (as listed on the Commonwealth War Graves register). The memorial committee states, 'those listed on the memorial will have a FAMILY LINK to more than 75% of the UK's population, making the site personally and specifically relevant to 45 million residents of the British Isles' (Foley 2012 emphasis in original) The desire that everyone from these conflicts should be commemorated together indicates a change in

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[73]John Pegg 26th June 2012 For full interview transcript see Appendix 12

attitude towards holistic memorialisation. The 'vision' for the memorial states that: 'although countless small memorials exist throughout the Commonwealth, there is no single permanent and visible representation recording the losses sustained in the two largest conflicts of the twentieth century' (Foley 2012).

This demonstrates a change in attitude towards memorialisation in which representation on a national level, as opposed to a personal and local level is considered of primary importance. This development, like that of the Vietnam Veterans Memorial in Washington D.C. and the National Memorial Arboretum in Staffordshire, seeks to situate personal grief within its wider national context, drawing on the assumption that full recognition of past sacrifice can only be achieved through the large scale monumental and national representation of that sacrifice.

### 6.2.4.2 Battle of Fromelles

Processes of memorialisation that take place over five decades (CT>50 years) after the conflict they commemorate will necessarily be affected by social and political changes relating to former belligerents. This in turn will result in changing attitudes towards the memorials associated with the conflict. In particular, the reconciliation of former enemies presents problems both in terms of existing memorials constructed by each group and the construction of new memorials to that conflict. Memorials which commemorate both sides together are rare and are only possible when enough time has passed from the events themselves as demonstrated by the Eternal Light Peace Memorial in Gettysburg, (Figure 5.49). Additionally, as time passes some memorials become more inclusive in their

approach. Kidd and Murdoch for example, discuss the memorial to the fallen students of the First World War in Magdalen College, Oxford. This memorial was erected after the First World War 'listing only *British* names. In 1994 a single plaque was added nearby commemorating the German poet Ernst Stadler, who had been at the college; this was dedicated at a service on 30 October 1994, the eightieth anniversary of Stadler's death at Ypres (Kidd and Murdoch 2004: 5)**.**

The Battle of Fromelles took place in in July 1916, and represents one of greatest single losses of life for Australian forces with over 7000 men killed in the 24 hour period of the battle. Despite this, a memorial to the battle was not constructed until over 80 years after the event in 1998 (Figure 6.27).



Figure 6.27 Australian Battle of Fromelles Memorial (1998), Fromelles France. (Photograph by the author, 2012).

The memorial commemorates specifically the Australian forces that took part in in the battle and the high death toll. But this commemoration is not restricted to these forces, and the extensive monument also commemorates the actions of German soldiers in permitting the retrieval of the wounded. The memorial includes a plaque, placed below the sculpture, which serves to highlight favourably the qualities of their enemy. The inscription contains a quote from Sergeant Simon Fraser of the 57th Battalion Australian Imperial Force taken directly after the battle '…for the next three days we did great work in getting in the wounded from the front and I must say (the Germans) treated us very fairly … we must have brought in over 250 men by our company alone' (Figure 6.28). This acknowledgement of favourable enemy actions, although expressed at the time of the conflict, rarely makes its way into the memorial form. Its presence demonstrates a shift in the way the conflict is perceived.



Figure 6.28 Australian Memorial to the Battle of Fromelles, Somme, France. (Photograph by the author, 2012).

The time that has passed from the conflict (CT) and the subsequent reconciliation between former belligerents has allowed the conflict to be reframed in terms of the universal suffering of the common solider, regardless of the side for which they fought. This desire to present the human nature of conflict, a message made more pronounced through the memorial's sculpture of a soldier carrying his wounded comrade (Figure 6.27), represents a reframing of the conflict narrative through the memory of the common solider. This presentation follows the same process as that used to reframe the narratives of both the Franco-Prussian War and the American Civil War (4.3.2), despite the purposes necessitating this shift being very different, demonstrating the malleability of the memorial form. Both the Fromelles memorial and those from Charlottesville (Figure 4.31) and Sedan (Figure 4.33) demonstrate the influence that the time passed from the conflict commemorated (CT) can have on the forms of memorial constructed. These forms would not have been possible in the immediate aftermath of the event (CT<25 years) as they are all responses to developments within the narrative that are not available directly after a conflict.

Both the Dover and Fromelles memorials are interesting for their inclusivity, which is only made possible by the way in which the memorial transects times scales O-P and CT. Developments that have taken place in the memorial tradition (O-P) facilitate a much more inclusive approach allowing, for example, the actions of German soldier to be presented alongside Australian forces. Equally, the time that has passed from the conflict commemorated (CT) allows for a reconciliatory form of memorialisation that would not have been possible in the immediate aftermath of the conflict.

## 6.3 Second phase processes of memorialisation (CT >25 years)

### 6.3.1 Introduction

The second phase of Second World War memorialisation occurred during a period of significant change within the memorial tradition. Despite decades of localised memorial responses, throughout the 1990s and 2000s growing calls were made for more inclusive, national level commemoration (6.2.3, 6.2.4). This resulted in a wave of national level memorial construction such as the Monument to the Women of World War II, Whitehall, London (2005) and the National World War II Memorial, Washington, D.C. (Doss 2008). This section begins with an examination of continued Second World War commemoration within this context, firstly with the Japanese American Memorial to Patriotism during World War II (6.3.2) and secondly with the Bomber Command Memorial (6.3.3). The section then examines contemporary engagement with existing memorials from all periods discussed within this thesis. Beginning with an examination of personal links to 'historic' memorials (6.3.4), this section explores recent phenomena concerning the treatment of memorials, the relocation of historic memorials (6.3.5), the attribution of new meanings to memorials (6.3.6) and the presentation of memorials at objects of heritage (6.3.7).

### 6.3.2 Japanese American Memorial to Patriotism during World War II, Washington, D.C.

The Japanese American Memorial simultaneously commemorates both the over 800 Japanese soldiers killed during World War II, and also the forcible removal and internment of approximately 120,000 Japanese Americans, two-thirds of whom were full American

citizens (Figure 6.29 see also 1.1). The memorial should be contextualised within growing memorialisation for groups who feel their conflict experience have been marginalised from dominant narratives (6.2.3). Consequently, the memorial makes available to the wider public a tangible record of the Japanese American experience.  This publicising role, like that of other memorials to marginalised groups, was secondary to its role in facilitating discussion within the group itself and  in overcoming internal group tensions resulting from the original traumatic experience.
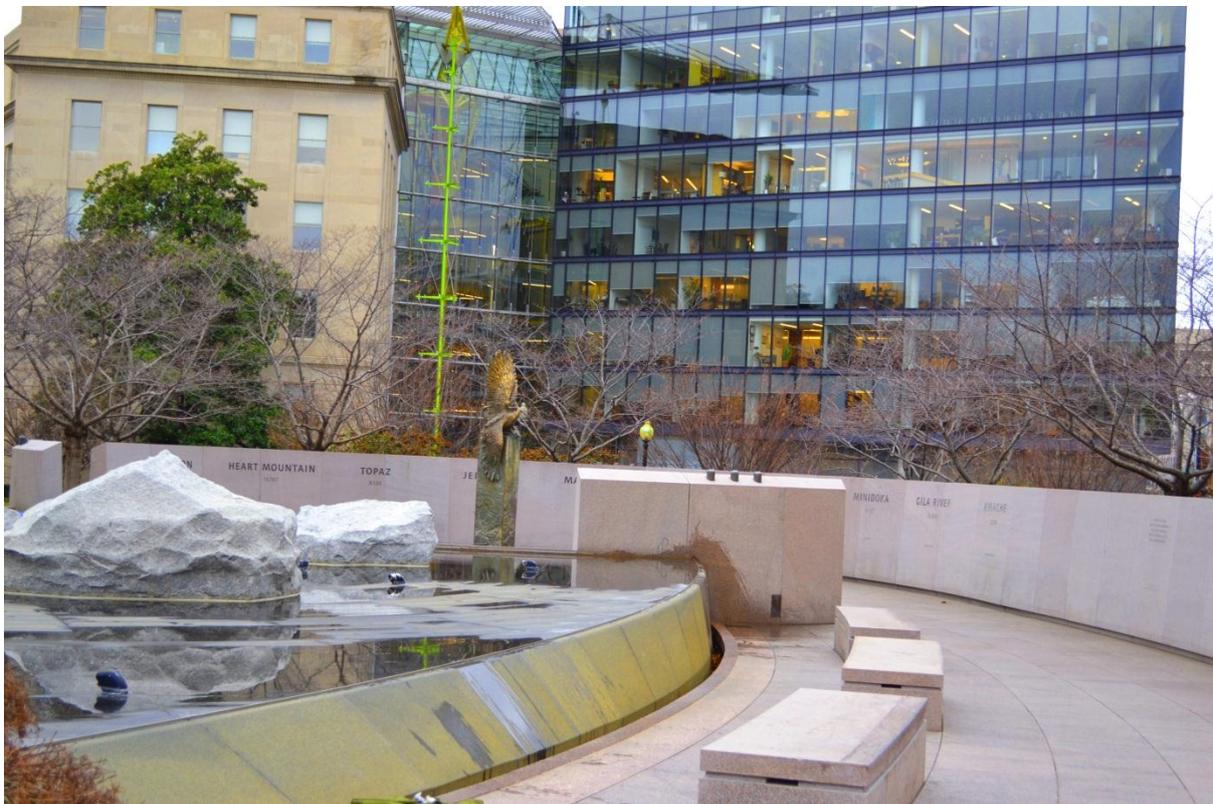


Figure 6.29 Japanese American Memorial to Patriotism during World War II (2000), Washington, D.C. (Photograph by the author, 2012).

Such tensions resulted from the duality of the conflict experience in which many actively fought for the dominant group, whilst simultaneously being persecuted by that same group. Divisions within the Japanese community grew during the Second World War as individuals were forced to choose between compliance and active opposition to the internment

regime. Through the processes of commemorating Japanese American Patriotism, these tensions resurfaced as committee members discussed exactly whose history should be presented on the memorial. Many within the Memorial Panel called for greater salience to be given to acts of resistance carried out by Japanese American citizens against the internment process, including the many citizens who resisted the draft and were imprisoned as a consequence. Tensions became consolidated around the inclusion of one quote praising America from Governor Mike Masaoka, and the controversy surrounding his inclusion came to symbolize the entire debate.

Masaoka had served the wartime Japanese American Citizens League (JACL), acting as its Executive Secretary. He left the institution in 1943 when he volunteered for the army. After the War, Masaoka returned to the JACL as its Washington lobbyist and is usually admired for his work supporting legislation that removed features in laws that discriminated against the Japanese in America. Yet, some members of the Japanese American community drew attention to the fact that no such consensus concerning his leadership in the JACL existed during World War II (Sogi and Kuwayama 2001). He was highly criticised by some members of the community for encouraging compliance with the government's requests for internment in order to demonstrate loyalty to the American government. The controversy of his actions was something which was recognised by Masaoka himself, and despite being part of the original memorial committee he resigned upon realising that his presence would continue to cause disunity within the group. Despite this, following his death in 1991 the decision was taken by some members of the memorial committee to include his name and a quote relating to the internment on the memorial.

As discussions surrounding Masaoka's inclusion developed, previously suppressed internal

tensions grew regarding both the appropriate response to the interment during the war

and, most importantly, how its legacy should be remembered. Many members of the

Memorial Panel voiced protests regarding his inclusion on the memorial in any form.

Debates became so intense that a group calling itself the Japanese American Voice

established a website and invited dissidents to sign a petition protesting his inclusion, which

was submitted to the National Park Service with some one thousand signatures (Sogi and

Kuwayama 2001). Despite this Masaoka was retained in the memorial design and his quote

was inscribed upon the finished memorial (Figure 6.30).
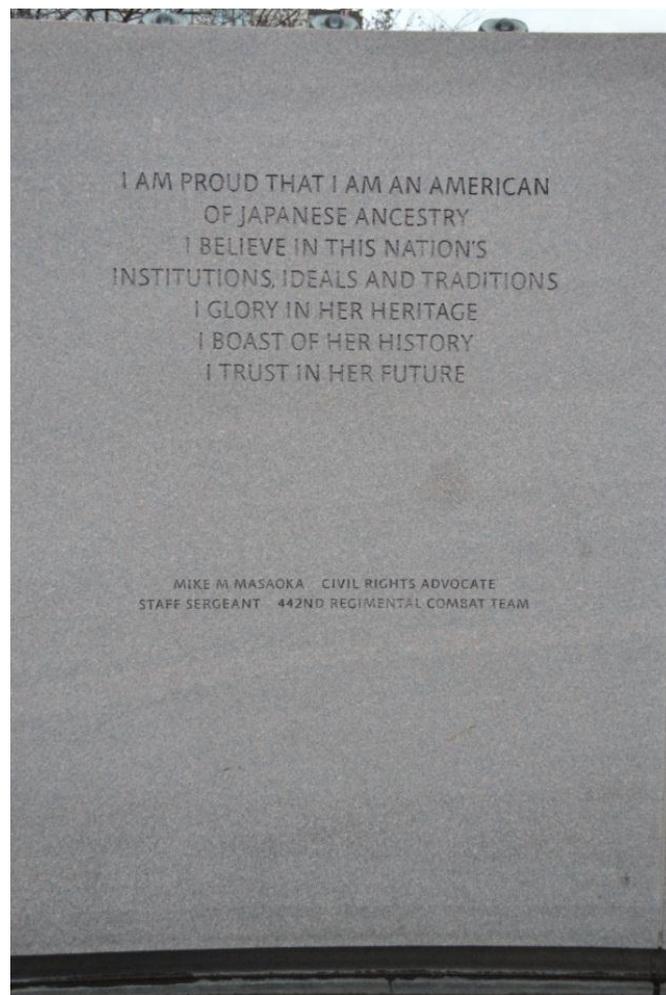


Figure 6.30 Mike Masaoka quote on the Japanese American Memorial to Patriotism during World War II. (Photograph by the author, 2012).

Consequently, in November 2000, as the memorial was being dedicated, two members of the memorial board published and distributed a booklet titled 'Japanese Americans Disunited' which they hoped would be 'an alternative voice—one silenced by those who now control the content of the memorial—so that the scope of our understanding, the legacy of our forebears, and the lessons of our past will be articulated in full not only to future generations of Japanese Americans, but to Americans of all backgrounds' (Sogi and Kuwayama 2001). It is clear that those involved in the memorial process viewed the control of the memorial as control of the historic narrative of the Japanese American experience, and that to certain members of the community the memorial became a symbol of the internal divisions within the group.

As a result of these divisions, the memorial continued to undergo many revisions within the community after it had been unveiled. Unlike memorials constructed at the place where the trauma was experienced, this memorial could not rely upon the indexical nature of the site itself in order to be understood (Violi 2012 : 39), and consequently new representations had to be found (see also 1.1). The trauma of internment was symbolised by two cranes entwined in barbed wire (Figure 6.31). Although the physical design of this element did not itself change throughout the memorialisation process, it was continually reinterpreted by members of the community as the discussions regarding the internment progressed. Initially, those within the Japanese American community viewed the cranes not only as symbolic of the interment itself, but also if its legacy. The memorial committee described the cranes as 'emerging from a pedestal, wings reaching high in to the sky for freedom as they seek release from entangling barbed wire. The action symbolises the Japanese American experience of freeing themselves from a deeply painful time' (NJAMF 2001: 141).

Figure 6.31 Crane sculpture by Nina Akamu. The Japanese American Memorial to Patriotism during World War II, Washington, D.C. (Photograph by the author, 2012).

As discussions regarding the memorial continued, the crane sculpture was reinterpreted amongst the context of growing discontent within the community itself. Following the unveiling, when it became clear that deep internal divisions still existed, the cranes were instead described as 'nestled side-by-side with their free wings pressed against each other, symbolizing *both* individual effort *and* communal support, emphasizing interdependency' (NJAMF 2013 author's emphasis). This suggests the importance of the Japanese American community working together as a coherent unit if it is to fight such injustices as internment, and emphasising the need for mutual support.

Similarly, the inclusion of five large rocks within the reflecting pool was originally intended to symbolise the five islands of Japan, providing a direct link to the home country within the American urban landscape (Franklin Odo pers. comm. 14/10/2014).[74] As the memorial evolved, these symbols were reinterpreted to represent the five generations of Japanese who had lived in the United States at the time of the memorial's construction.[75] Instead of providing a tangible symbol of Japanese ancestry, this part of the memorial now demonstrates the ways in which those of Japanese heritage have remained loyal to America and have literally become embedded within the American nation. Such discussions suggest that the primary importance of these memorials is their part in defining the role of that group within the community itself; not in promoting recognition of that particular group within the wider community. Reinterpretations such as these demonstrate the importance of moving beyond the memorial at the point of its construction and examining the full biography of the memorial (MT). A memorial's meaning is in no way static and it continues to be appropriated and re-appropriated with new meanings depending upon the circumstances in which it is being viewed. Yet, this reinterpretation is not always highly visible. In the example of the Japanese American Memorial, reinterpretation took place solely within the Memorial Panel, remaining invisible to those outside of that distinct community.

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[74] Franklin Odo, member of the Japanese American Memorial to Patriotism during World War II Memorial Panel, in discussion with the author, October 14, 2012.
[75] Franklin Odo, in discussion with the author, October 14, 2012.

### 6.3.3 Bomber Command Memorial

Tensions surrounding the Japanese American Memorial were largely internalised, allowing the memorial to present a united form to those outside of the community. But not all marginalised groups can be so easily subsumed within a broader national narrative, and the memorial process remains problematic despite the many years that have passed since the event being commemorated (CT>50 years).

Figure 6.32 Bomber Command Memorial, (2012). Green Park Piccadilly (Image available: http://www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/2012/jun/24/bomber-command-memorial-london-review).

The £6 million Bomber Command memorial came about amid a storm of controversy (Figure 6.32). Questions were raised regarding the suitability of such a memorial in contemporary society, the most pertinent issue being the appropriateness of memorialising an event which also resulted in the deliberate deaths of hundreds of thousands of civilians. The carpet bombing of civilian centres during the Second World War was at the time, and

remains, highly controversial. As one journalist chose to report, had these civilians been gunned down by infantry it would amount to 'the greatest ever atrocity by the British military' (Moore 2012). In 1992 the unveiling of the memorial to commemorate the Commander-in-Chief of Bomber Command, Arthur Harris, had been interrupted by protesters, and his memorial continued to attract vandalism to the extent that in the first few months of its existence it had to be placed under 24 hour surveillance  (Victor 1992) (Figure 6.33).
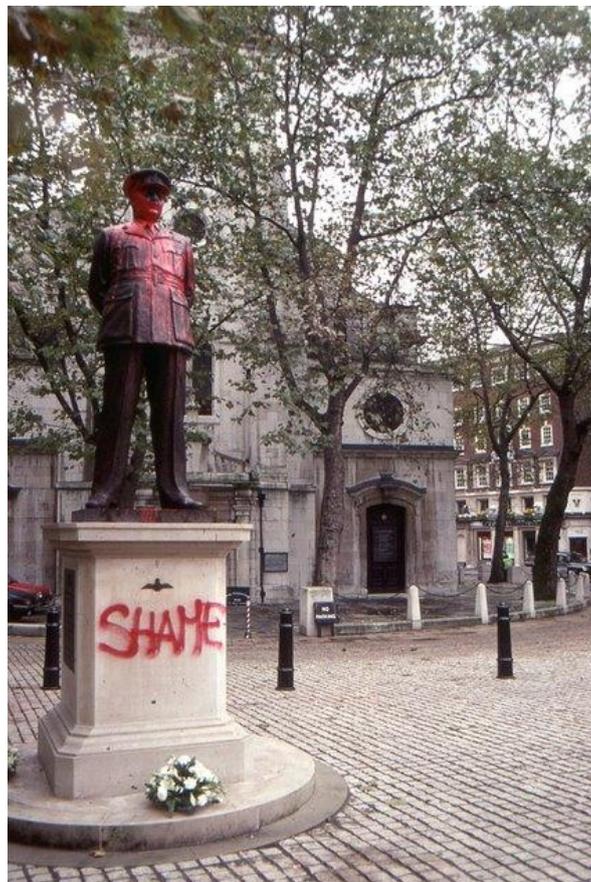


Figure 6.33 Vandalised 'Bomber Harris' Memorial, London, UK. (Image available: http://www.geograph.org.uk/photo/3333572).

Many believed it to be inappropriate that the individual responsible for instigating the bombings had been recognised, whilst those responsible for carrying out his orders had not

(Hitchens 2012 ). It was felt that those who had been required to carry out the bombing raids had been unfairly stigmatised by the consequences of the raids, and had not been afforded the recognition they deserved. As a result, the campaign for the Bomber Command memorial was regarded by many as a campaign to remember 'forgotten heroes' (Rayner and Lom 2008). The memorial was officially sanctioned only when a concession was made to the victims of the bombing raids and it was agreed that the memorial would recognise all victims through the inclusion of the inscription 'We remember those of all countries who died in 39-45.'  Through its focus on the bravery of the pilots, in an attempt to avoid the moral implications of their actions, this monument provides a direct parallel to the memorial processes that were carried out during second phases Civil War memorialisation (4.3.2).


**6.3.4 Continued engagement with a memorial (MT> 50 years)**


Moving away from continued memorial construction, this section instead focuses on continued engagement with existing structures. Drawing on examples from all time periods within this thesis it explores the many different ways individuals engage with memorials during the period 1939-2014. The construction of any memorial following a conflict not only facilitates the perpetuation of the memory of the dead, but it also provides the opportunity for the manipulation and transformation of the memory of that conflict. At the time of a memorial's construction it is likely that high numbers of individuals viewing the memorial would have been able to interpret it based on their understanding of the distinct signs contained within its structure. But many years after the construction of the memorial (MT)

the number of individuals with the knowledge available to read these signs diminishes. As tourism scholar Caroline Winter suggests, 'the problem is not that the memories have disappeared, because some people can still read the signs, but for many, access to their meaning has been forgotten' (Winter, C 2009, 613). As a result, individuals viewing the memorials will create new meanings for the monuments based upon their own experiences and understandings of the past. Maurice Halbwachs, in his seminal work on collective memory, proposes that 'our conceptions of the past are affected by the mental images we employ to solve present problems so that collective memory is essentially a reconstruction of the past in the light of the present' (Halbwachs 1992 [1925]: 34). Consequently, those viewing a memorial in the present will interpret the memorial very differently from individuals at the time of its construction, as their interpretation will be based upon contemporary experiences, which necessarily differ significantly from those of the past.

This use of memorials in contemporary society should be contextualised within changing attitudes towards the past and new ways in which individuals receive information about the past in particular the desire for more personalised and experiential engagement with the past (see 1.1). Landsberg suggests that it is possible to take on memories that are not in fact our own through interaction with certain media (see Landsberg 2004). When engaging with historic memorials individuals are unlikely to have autobiographical memories of the events that they commemorate and as a result will draw upon a whole range of other experiences in order to interpret the memorial.

### *6.3.4.1 Visits to memorials*

The time that has passed since a conflict necessarily changes the forms of engagement available to individuals viewing a memorial. Few alive today have any autobiographical memories of those who fought in 19th century and early 20th century conflicts, and particularly not of those who were killed in these conflicts. Yet, this does not prevent individuals from seeking out both the graves of ancestors killed in conflict and memorials listing their names (see also 5.2.5). Specifically in relation to the First World War dead this involves visiting graves and memorials constructed on the former battlefields of France and Belgium.

Battlefield tours to the Somme have been taking place since they were first organised by Thomas Cook in 1919 (Lloyd 1998). Despite the years that have passed since this conflict, visits to these sites are not diminishing in popularity. This process must in part be contextualised within growing trends in thanatourism more generally (Foley & Lennon 1996; Seaton 1996; Sharpley 2009), and battlefield and memorial tourism more specifically (Dunkley 2011; Gatewood and Cameron 2004; Winter, C. 2009). Whilst war related sites form the largest category of tourist attraction both in the UK and in America (Smith 1998), establishing the motivations for such visits is very difficult. Particularly problematic is the distinction between visitors who would be considered tourists and those who would more appropriately be described as pilgrims (Winter, C 2009; 615).

Increasing numbers of individuals carry out genealogical research that culminates in the visit to the grave of a distant family member or to a memorial which lists their name. These individuals can perhaps more accurately be described as pilgrims, as they are seemingly

seeking to establish a genuine connection with a 'lost' past and locate themselves personally within a wider national narrative (see also 6.2.4.1). Yet, such visits are not necessitated by the presence of a lost relative. Ria Dunkley, for example, in her study of visitor motivations at the battlefields and memorials of the Somme, indicates that the memorials can have much more general appeal. Describing one lady's visit to the memorial at Thiepval, Dunkley explains that, 'her need to remember both World Wars appears to be entangled with nostalgic feelings about these eras as times when there were high levels of social unity' (Dunkley, Morgan et al. 2011: 863). For some individuals engagement with an historic memorial clearly has a meaning beyond trying to reconnect with an individual past and should be viewed as an attempt to reconnect with perceptions of a past society.

The processes whereby individuals engage with the monuments and memorials demonstrate further implications for their understanding. Despite the lack of living memory relating to the individuals commemorated, many are not content to passively observe the monuments dedicated to them. Instead, they seek an active form of engagement and to provide a symbol that their particular relative has not been forgotten. This often involves taking a rubbing of the headstone or the name on a memorial. Yet, this engagement is often a two way process and it is not just taking a part of the memorial away which becomes important. Visitors who make the journey/ pilgrimage to the grave or memorial of a long lost loved one often desire to leave a memento or a symbol that the individual commemorated has not been forgotten despite the years that have passed.

Mementoes of visits can be found throughout the battlefield cemeteries and memorials of the former battlefields of the Somme. For example, at the Commonwealth War Graves Cemetery at Arras, a poppy cross was left at the memorial in 2012 (Figure 6.34). The cross

was left by relatives of an individual memorialised at the site and is dedicated, 'For Uncle Phil, whom we never met, but loved and honoured, especially on this day he died 95 years ago.' Despite having never met the individual they felt an emotional connection and the desire not only to travel to France to visit his grave but to leave a tangible symbol of their visit. Such practices echo the personal connections made through the addition of plaques surrounding war memorials or placing soil around a grave by those who had living memory of the deceased (5.2.5). These suggest a need not only to establish a link with the events on a personal level but also to leave a visible sign to other visitors that that particular individual has not been forgotten. Such practices indicate the repetitive nature of memorialisation, which, although evolving as the memorial tradition develops from O to P, can also be cyclical as new generations seek to engage with existing memorials in a more personal way.



Figure 6.34 Poppy cross left at Commonwealth War Graves Cemetery in Arras, France. (Photograph by the author, 2012).

Similarly, many individuals chose to leave photographs or biographic information relating to the deceased at their graveside or memorials (Figure 6.35). This equally serves to remind other viewers that each name and headstone represents an individual. This addition of photographs many years after the event is perhaps even more important many years after the event as it is unlikely that anyone viewing the memorial would have autobiographical memories of the individual being commemorated. Leaving photographs and other information at the site of memorials also fulfils a secondary purpose in drawing attention to that particular individual, privileging their memory above others on the memorial or in the cemetery.



Figure 6.35 Photographs left at Commonwealth War Graves in Arras Cemetery, France. (Photograph by the author, 2012).

### 6.3.4.2 The names of the dead

In a European context, increased visitation to the former battlefields has in part been caused by anticipation of the centenary of the First World and its high media coverage. This has not only increased levels of engagement with battlefield memorials and graves but also with local war memorials. Many individuals have undertaken research to provide more information on the lives of those listed on the local memorial (see 2.4). This research can result in the discovery of names of individuals from the community who have died as a result of conflict but whose names have been omitted from the war memorial. Such realisations can lead to campaigns to add the names of those that are missing to the structure. This process is based upon assumptions regarding the purpose and use of memorials at the time of their construction. It suggests a belief that individuals would have wanted the names of family members included on the local memorial and, as a result, such exclusions must be a mistake. Frequently however omissions result from deliberate decisions taken at the time of the memorial's construction.

The exclusion of the name of a particular solider can be potentially problematic if it is believed to have been carried out as a result of attitudes held at the time of construction which are no longer felt to be appropriate. In 2000, the villagers of Shoreham in Kent voted to decide if the name of a disgraced First World War soldier should be inscribed on its war memorial (Birkett 2000). The soldier in question, private Highgate, aged nineteen, became the first soldier of the First World War to be shot for desertion, after he was found hiding in a shed far from the front line in France (Birkett 2000). The vote, which resulted in the continued omission of the name, followed a period of fierce debate amongst villagers,

demonstrating that memorials can still play an active role within communities long after the community responsible for their construction has passed away. Rather than serving the needs of those who have experienced the period of conflict commemorated, they are being used to shape how that particular community is viewed in the present. In this example the community is taking an active role in what is remembered, which has an effect on the way in which this community is perceived both in the present and in the future. If it is social groups who determine what is memorable (Burke 1989: 98, Halbwachs 1992 [1925]) then by choosing to add or remove a soldier's name from an existing war memorial that community is consciously manipulating the collective memory of that group.
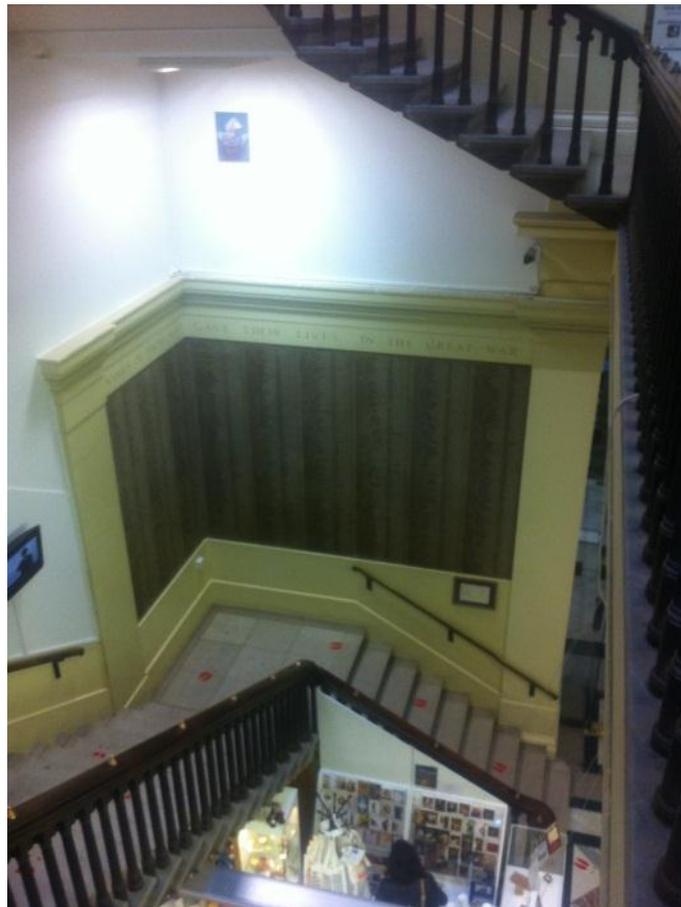


Figure 6.36 First World War memorial plaques, Preston Museum and Art Gallery, Preston, UK (Photograph by the author 2013).

Often, however, names of individuals killed were not included for far less politically charged reasons, and in some cases names were omitted at the deliberate request of family members who preferred to keep their grief private. "In Preston, Lancashire the names of the dead from the First World War were not listed on the memorial itself (Figure 6.38) but on plaques inside of the museum and art gallery (Figure 6.36).

Increased attention to the memorial, created by the commemoration of the centenary, resulted in many families coming forward to petition for the missing names of their family members to be added to the memorial panel (John Garlington pers. comm. 23/11/2013). Such additions would impact the integrity of the plaques as historic objects. Many individuals believed that the names of their loved ones had been mistakenly omitted from the memorial panels as a result of clerical errors following the war. But the process of selecting names for the memorial was not carried out based on official records of those from the town that had served, but instead was a result of requests from the individual families. Missing names were a consequence of bereaved families not wishing their relatives to be included on the memorial (John Garlington pers. comm. 23/11/2013).

Petitions from contemporary relatives demonstrate a preconception regarding the ways that memorials were used in the past. It assumes that representation on a public memorial was universally supported by all bereaved relatives, and, as a result, any omissions must be a mistake. When viewed from a contemporary context of widespread public commemoration the decision by relatives following the First World War not to have the name of their loved one listed on a memorial appears inappropriate. As discussed above (6.2.4), contemporary trends in memorial practice favour more universal forms of commemoration. And yet in a post-war context, when individuals could be commemorated

in a much more personal way, in the home or in smaller parochial memorials in the place of worship or of work, inclusion on a large scale town memorial may not have been deemed appropriate or necessary by the bereaved. Continued requests from contemporary relatives resulted in the issue of an announcement in local newspapers explaining the memorial process and asking for the wishes of bereaved relatives from the past to be respected (John Garlington pers. comm. 23/11/2013).

Adding names to historic memorials is not limited to the remembrance of those from the conflict being commemorated. The relevance of memorials to contemporary populations can also be continued through the practice of adding new names as a result of subsequent conflicts. In the UK and France, the addition of names of contemporary dead to existing memorial structures should also be viewed within the longstanding tradition of this process, which began following the Second World War (6.2.1). Whilst US memorials are almost exclusively conflict-specific, within a European context war memorials should be viewed as a having a much stronger connection to locality and the community to which they belong, rather than to the conflict they commemorate.

The practice of adding new names to a memorial is often initiated by relatives of the deceased, echoing processes which took place at the time of the memorial's construction. Mrs Young, from Hazlemere, Buckinghamshire for example, wished to have the name of her son engraved on the local village war memorial after he was killed in Afghanistan in 2006. Despite problems relating to the ownership of the memorial, the name of Mrs Young's son was added in 2010 (Figure 6.37). By adding the names of contemporary dead to existing memorials those experiencing loss are making explicit links of continuity between conflicts fought today and those in the past, anchoring their loss to the perceived collective loss

experienced following the First and Second World War. The inclusion of the names of those who have died in current conflicts adds an element of temporality to otherwise static monuments, changing the way the memorial is viewed in the present. An object which had the potential to be viewed solely in terms of the past and could easily be considered an object of heritage is given a contemporary relevance within the local community.



Figure 6.37 Hazlemere First World War Memorial, and Mrs Young with next to the engraving of her sons name. (Image availalble: Farr 2010).

The addition of names of contemporary casualties also has further significance, owing to the meanings associated with this particular form of monument. Implicit meanings of a war memorial have developed over time and they are understood not only to represent loss of life but also bravery and heroism associated with this loss of life. As a result, memorials are no longer reliant upon the names of the 'heroes' inscribed upon them to the make the

object sacred, instead the use of the memorial form itself now serves to sanctify the names. The names and the memorial have therefore become mutually reliant upon one another. When a name is added to the exiting historic memorial that name becomes sacred through its association with other names on the memorial and equally the memorial becomes imbued with a new relevance.

### 6.3.4.3 New ways of engaging with memorials

Clearly the desire to engage with war memorials continues for many years after their construction. The time that has passed has facilitated new forms of engagement that would not have been available when the memorial was first constructed. Increasingly, attempts are made to counteract the generalisation of a memorial's meaning and provide a meaningful connection to the memorial in the present. There are two ways that this can be achieved; firstly, through attempts to give the memorial new meanings that are relevant to contemporary society, and secondly by attempting to recreate the original meaning of the memorial.

Increasingly, the understandings of sacrifice and community that are associated with a memorial are utilised to engage with it in a way that gives new meaning. Purcell (2003), for example, in her discussion of Krzysztof Wodiczko's 1998 public art project at the Bunker Hill Monument in Charlestown, describes the utilisation of the generic understandings of the memorial in order to re-appropriate the memorial for contemporary agendas. This project sought to highlight awareness of contemporary death through gang violence within the city through the projection of interviews with bereaved relatives onto the memorial. When the memorial was originally constructed at the beginning of the 19th century the monument

committee had originally intended to inscribe names and dates of those killed on the memorial. These plans were abandoned as it was felt that this would diminish the memorial's role as a symbol for universal sacrifice. Yet, in order to make the memorial meaningful in the present Wodiccko 'transformed the monument through the use of light and the women's voices to make it a symbol of *both* personal and universal heroism and loss' (Purcell 2003: 71), suggesting a desire to reconnect with such monuments and to imbue them with personal narratives that are relevant to contemporary populations.



Figure 6.38 First World War Memorial, Preston, UK. Light installation by Andy McKeown on Preston Cenotaph, specially commissioned by the Preston Remembers project with the support of the Arts Council 23rd November 2013 (Photograph by the author, 2013).

Whilst Wodicczko's project utilised contemporary technologies in order to appropriate the memorial for commentary agendas, increasingly such media are used to facilitate engagement with the memorial in a way that promotes its perceived original function. In Preston, in response to petitions to add names (see 6.3.4.2), a new form of engagement was sought to allow contemporary relatives to connect with the memorial, whilst protecting the integrity of both the monument and plaques as historic objects. This involved projecting a scrolling list of the names of the dead onto the monument and playing readings of material taken from the archives relating to those that had been killed (Figure 6.38). On the evening of the event relatives of the deceased, like those at the time of its unveiling, gathered around the memorial. Many waited to take photographs of the memorial with the name of their relative illuminated upon it. In the absence of an available name from which to take a rubbing, the photograph takes on symbolic significance.

To further reinforce the connection between the monument and the deceased, photographs of the individuals were projected onto the reverse of the memorial (Figure 6.39). This emotive effect was strengthened through a recording of individual messages sent to the memorial committee by relatives at the time of the memorials design. This immersive practice allowed viewers not only to see images from the past and hear the voices from the post-war bereaved, but the use of the memorial itself allowed individuals to connect with the past spatially through the use of the place that would have been occupied by relatives at the time. In the absence of autobiographical memories of the dead amongst the viewers, this form of engagement sought to reconnect the memorial with its original purpose. This practice demonstrates the desire amongst contemporary individuals for an immersive, experiential understanding of the past, rather than one primarily based on observation.

Figure 6.39 First World War Memorial, Preston, UK. Reverse illuminated with images of the deceased. Light installation by Andy McKeown on Preston Cenotaph, specially commissioned by the Preston Remembers project with the support of the Arts Council 23rd November 2013 (Photograph by the author, 2013).

## 6.3.5 New meanings for memorials

As Krzysztof Wodiczko's 1998 public art project at the Bunker Hill Monument demonstrated (6.3.4.3), engagement with historic memorials can be used in a way that transforms their meaning in order to satisfy distinct contemporary agendas whilst not affecting their physical integrity. This section explores two such transformations from within a British context; firstly the use of the cenotaph to protest against the exclusion of homosexual soldiers from the military (6.3.5.1) and secondly the use of war memorials to signify community more generally (6.3.5.2).

### 6.3.5.1 Memorials as protest

Whilst the symbolic engagement with the Preston memorial (6.3.4.3) sought to reconnect the memorial with those it was originally intended to signify, other forms of engagement can be used in order to highlight perceived exclusions from a memorial. In the UK, for example, the instigation of Queer Remembrance Day sought to engage with one particular memorial, the cenotaph, in order to challenge what its organisers perceived as the exclusion of homosexual soldiers from the memory of the object.[76] This event, which began in 1997, was instigated by the Lesbian, Gay Bisexual and Transgender Rights group OutRage!. It involved following the Remembrance Sunday parade to the cenotaph in Whitehall and laying pink wreaths at the base.

Peter Tatchell of OutRage! Described the event as 'appropriating a sacred symbol of national consciousness' and 'occupying – both physically and spiritually – a place of national identity and significance. Projecting onto the geographic space of the Cenotaph and onto the emotional space of commemoration of the war dead, a subversive queer message'

Through this deliberate act of re-appropriation OutRage! intended to challenge four things

1) Macho militarism and military homophobia

2) The ban on lesbians and gay men serving in the armed forces (now lifted)

3) Historical revisionism to include gay men and lesbians, particularly, although not exclusively, towards a more inclusive attitude to holocaust victims.

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[76] This action has clear parallels with that of French Feminist group Mouvement de Liberation des Femmes, who, in 1970, laid a wreath at the Arc de Triomphe in memory of 'the wife' of the unknown solider; highlighting what they believed to be the exclusion of the female experience (Hughes, A, et al.eds 2002: 204).

4) The Royal British Legion's refusal to acknowledge the contribution of queers to fight against Nazism, and its condemnation of queer remembrance ceremonies as 'insulting', 'offensive' and 'distasteful'

The British Legion, however, denied homophobia; their assistant secretary Retired Lieutenant Colonel Bobby Hanscomb commented in the Guardian (Sat 13th Nov 1999) 'I don't think it's right to make a political point at a ceremony to mark the deaths of 1.7 million people.' To members of the Royal British Legion the monument is still very much about remembrance of those who have died and not primarily 'a place of national identity and significance' as it was described by Tatchall, giving clear evidence of the continuing differential perceptions of memorials many years after their construction.

Hanscomb of the Royal British Legion went on to comment 'We have never excluded anyone from the service as it is a national event representing everybody. 'OutRage! in disagreement commented that:

> 'by celebrating Queer Remembrance Day at the cenotaph we are performing an act of subversive political symbolism in a hallowed space of national importance that had previously been forbidden to queers. The claiming of a state memorial and ritual for a queer agenda challenges invisibility and censorship, promoting public awareness and debate about a marginalised element of queer history and suffering'

This highlights important issues of memorialisation involving who is being remembered and who is being forgotten. Memorials are always selective in who they memorialise. Whilst the Royal British Legion believes the memorial to be inclusive, individuals from Outrage! believe the monument to be exclusive of the memory of homosexual soldiers.

### 6.3.5.2 Memorials signifying community

As time passes from the construction of a memorial, it can come to be understood not only to signify the conflict that it commemorates but also the community responsible for their construction; representing the community coming together during a very difficult time (Dunkley, Morgan et al. 2011). Such transformations of meanings are demonstrated when contemporary events necessitate a similar collective response. For example, following the 2010 shootings in Cumbria, the residents chose not a local Church but the village war memorial as the location of their remembrance service (Figure 6.40). Here the memorial is used as a signifier of the village community and their values. At the time of the remembrance ceremony it is these values that are given primacy over the memorial's original purpose of commemorating those from the local community who had died in the First World War.



Figure 6.40 Memorial service held in the village of Egremont on 9th June 2010 following the murder of 12 local residents (Image available: http://www.theguardian.com/uk/2010/jun/09/cumbria-shootings-memorial-services).

### 6.3.6 Relocation of memorials

Attempts to reconnect with memorials on a personal level can take many different forms, including the construction of new objects that are believed to be more relevant to local populations (see 6.2.1.2 and 6.2.1.3). Such construction can be viewed as a response to changes in the memorial's surroundings which are deemed incompatible with its perceived sacred nature. When continued construction is considered neither possible nor desirable, the relocation of an existing memorial may be proposed. Relocating a memorial, particularly one which is considered to be historic, has a number of important implications. Firstly, the location of memorials was deliberately chosen by past communities, often following lengthy discussion, and as a result was often considered to have special significance. Secondly, the time that has passed since a memorial's construction (MT) can give each monument value as an object of heritage in its own right. As Mytum, in his study of war memorials on the Isle of Man, suggests 'the very social value of the monuments may mean that they are often treated only as artefacts of today, and not parts of a heritage that require expert management' (Mytum 2013).

The removal of the memorial to a new location can be seen to demonstrate that the needs of current populations should take precedence over the needs of those in the past and over its heritage value. It also implies that it is the object itself that is of primary importance and not the context within its landscape setting. Although the removal of a memorial from, for example, a busy traffic island to a nearby park may help to prolong the memorial's use as an object of active remembrance by facilitating remembrance ceremonies around its base, it may have a detrimental effect on the structural integrity of the memorial as an historic object.

Figure 6.41 Stourbridge First World War Memorial (1923) in its current location in Mary Stevens Park (Photograph by the author, 2012).

Despite this, many local memorials have been relocated, even though the relocation of a historic memorial can have obvious implications for its conservation. In the town of Stourbridge, the First World War memorial was originally located within a traffic island in the centre of the town. Such locations for memorials were common following the First World War as it was believed by many at the time that visiting a memorial would become a viable pasttime. Thus it was recommended that memorials be made as accessible as possible, particularly to the growing numbers of motorists. Yet, many were anxious that a

busy and congested location was not appropriate for a war memorial, and that such an environment would encroach on the sacredness of the memorial space. Concerns that its location was no longer suitable for remembrance ceremonies resulted in the memorial's removal to a nearby park in the 1960s (Paul Colins pers. comm. 10/05/2012) (Figure 6.41). Such relocation of memorials many years after their construction raises issues concerning both the preconceptions relating to the use of memorials, and their importance not only as objects of remembrance but also as historical objects.

### 6.3.6.1 Relocating 'orphaned' memorials

It is not only a desire to continue using a memorial for remembrance purposed that can result in relocation. As discussed above (5.2.9.1) changing political circumstance can result in memorials for which no one wants to claim ownership. Once the connection between a memorial and those individuals who find it most relevant has been broken the memorial can lose its symbolic significance and become 'orphaned' (see Price 2005).[77] Yet, there is a category of memorials that are not orphaned as a result of changing political circumstances, but from the destruction of the place that they once occupied. This is particularly common amongst memorials that relate to a particular business or institution. The demolition of places of work and place of worship has resulted in memorials that are literally homeless in that the place that they once drew meaning from and were connected with no longer exists.

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[77] Similarly within civilian memorials, when gravestones 'are no longer social active the potential to be located and re-erected at a later date' (Mytum 2003/2004: 115).

Figure 6.42 'orphaned' monuments, National Memorial Arboretum, London and Lancashire Insurance Company First World War Memorial (left), Phoenix Staff First World War Memorial (right) Alwreas, Staffordshire, United Kingdom(Photograph by the author, 2011).

Many memorials are relocated as a result of the destruction of the buildings that one housed them. Whilst efforts are often made to relocate memorials in a setting which will have some relevance to their original context (see Login 2009: 34-43) increasingly in the UK memorials are relocated to centralised memorial locations such as the National Memorial Arboretum (Figure 6.42 & Figure 6.43). This practice further demonstrates the move towards more universal forms of remembrance, favouring a national context above a local one. But, as previous work has demonstrated (Login 2009), those memorials that lose their spatial connection to their original location are much less likely to be found relevant. Whilst relocation at the NMA might be seen to encourage their use for remembrance purposes, it serves to sever the connection with the group for whom they hold the most relevance.

Figure 6.43 orphaned' memorial plaques at the National Memorial Arboretum. Alrewas, Staffordshire, United Kingdom. (Photograph by the author, 2011).

### 6.3.6.2 Relocating battlefield memorials

The transfer of memorials following the closure of an institution can clearly be challenging, as it breaks the connection with those with whom the object was originally intended to signify. The relocation of former battlefield memorials can be potentially even more problematic, as these objects often draw their meaning from a specific sense of place. Their physical location, marking the spot of a grave or fatal wounding, is often intrinsic to their understanding. Yet, as demonstrated in previous chapters (Figure 4.11), the removal of battlefield markers following a conflict is not a new practice. Within a European context war memorials were regularly removed from their battlefield location and consolidated to an appropriate space. Post-conflict reconstruction of battlefield landscapes can result in discussion concerning battlefield memorials, and a negotiation between preserving the

memorial in situ, where its meaning is drawn from the location but where the physical integrity of the memorial itself may become under threat, and removing the memorial to preserve it but destroying its original context.

Following the First World War many individual battlefield memorials were removed following the conflict, particularly those which marked individual graves. After the consolidation of graves into communal cemeteries by the Commonwealth War Graves Commission, temporary grave markers were often brought back to the UK. These were regularly displayed with the local parish church of the deceased individual. Rather than marking the location of each individual's death the memorial has a new purpose providing a tangible link between the individual's home life and the place of their death. Thus, in absence of the body and a graveside at which to mourn, the provision of a memorial closely linked to the body of the deceased provided the closest alternative.

As time passes from the death of the individual, those with memories of the individual also pass away and, as a consequence, a memorial's role as an object of remembrance specifically for that person diminishes. Many years after its construction a memorial can take on new meanings as an object of heritage in its own right. This new value given to the memorial can affect the treatment of the object and the decisions relating to its relocation. The battlefield memorial to LT Wright, for example, was originally located on the Somme battlefield, close to the spot where he was killed. Many years after the memorial was constructed it was removed and relocated inside the Ulster Memorial Tower (Figure 6.44).

Figure 6.44 Battlefield Memorial in the Ulster Memorial Tower. 'In loving memory of LT. Wright Killed near this spot never forgottin [sic]' (Photograph by the author, 2012).



Figure 6.45 Photographs of memorial in its original location and of LT. Wright placed next to the memorial.(Photograph by the author, 2012).

When the memorial was relocated to the memorial tower it was also felt necessary to include a photograph of the individual represented by the memorial, suggesting a need to give a personal context to the memorial stone (Figure 6.45). Yet, further to this a photograph of the original location of the memorial was also included next to the stone, suggesting that the monument is now important as an object in its own right (Figure 6.45). In this context the timescale MT is crucial to the memorial's understanding since it allowed for a transformation of meaning to occur. The object now has a dual value resulting not only from the individual it represents, but the biography of the memorial itself.

### 6.3.7 Memorials as heritage

It is clear that when engaging with historic memorials (MT> 50 years) a duality can arise between an object's remembrance value and its heritage value. The active remembrance value relies on understandings of the object as a signifier of the events it was originally built to commemorate. But the time that has passed from its construction can give the memorial value as an object of heritage that has gained new meanings and undergone multiple transformations throughout its history. The deliberate presentation of a memorial as an object of heritage can be problematic, particularly if it results in a physical transformation of the memorial or its surroundings. Memorials have different meanings to different people and the addition of secular objects to what some individuals still consider to be a sacred space can be considered inappropriate. This section considers the presentation of war memorials as cultural heritage. Firstly, the use of Franco-Prussian memorials in eastern France will be examined within the context of new heritage trails in the region.

### 6.3.7.1 Heritage trails in eastern France

As previous chapters have demonstrated, north-eastern France is littered with war memorial sites. Dating from the Franco-Prussian War these memorials are the legacy of first-hand involvement in three major conflicts since 1870. Their original construction offered the opportunity for the manipulation and transformation of the memory of the conflicts they commemorated. Yet, the meaning of these memorials has changed over time as they have been reinterpreted and re-appropriated, often resulting in their deliberate defacement or destruction. These memorial sites now form part of a major tourist industry in the region, and the presentation of the tangible memorial as a heritage object necessarily has implications for its intangible remembrance value. Within this region the selective presentation and interpretation of these memorial sites has limited their understanding to a singular narrative, perpetuating the role of the memorial as an object of remembrance rather than emphasizing the multiple meanings they now carry as objects of heritage.

Today, the former Franco-Prussian battlefields of eastern France form major tourist attractions, and their memorials are promoted as part of the rich cultural heritage of the region. New heritage trails and museums encourage both French and international visitors to engage with the history of the area through its memorials. Yet, it is a very specific history that is portrayed.

The war memorials in eastern France have clearly gone through multiple transformations since their construction, and it is these transformations that make them such fascinating objects. Whilst the objects themselves have little intrinsic or artistic value, what makes them part of a shared heritage, as John Carman argues 'is that they represent the intangible qualities we value' (Carman 2009: 49). As a result, the preservation and presentation of

memorials as heritage must in part be contextualised within rising global awareness of the importance of intangible cultural heritage. UNESCO invented the concept of intangible heritage in 2003 in order to take account of those aspects of a society's heritage which were smaller in scale, or centred on practice, and in response to criticisms that heritage criteria privileged large scale monumental structures (UNESCO 2003).

Yet, within contemporary society, war memorials have experienced another transformation of meaning. In a 'western European context the memorial stands not only for the memory of past conflict but also for the memory of the age of that conflict' (Carman 2009: 52). Increasingly within Europe there have been calls to give greater significance to those sites which represent a joint European heritage, reflecting broader discourses in which individuals are 'becoming more and more conscious of the unity of human values and regard ancient monuments as a common heritage' (Vecco 2010: 322). Daniel Levy and Natan Sznaider argue, for example, that we are seeing an increasing move towards cosmopolitan memory as opposed to exclusively national memories (Levy and Sznaider 2002). Recently there have been moves to add 'European Heritage Labels' to sites which are believed to have contributed significantly to a European identity. MEPs endorsing 'European Heritage Labels' argued that 'places of remembrance clearly have their place in European history, not only as memorials to those who lost their lives but also as places where visitors can reflect on how and why Europe has successfully avoided major conflicts for more than 65 years' (EurActiv 2010). Whilst four labels have already been successfully implemented, the suggestion that war memorials should be included within these sites has proved problematic with some critics suggesting it amounted to the ownership of memory (European Commission 2013).

Today, the commemoration of the War of 1870 is currently undergoing a renewal as part of a major tourist drive in the region. In Gravellotte, originally part of the annexed territories, a new museum has been created which 'recounts the 1870 war, its causes and consequences to help tourists discover the battlefields and its many monuments' (Moselle 2013). Tourist boards around the region have added 1870 tours to their list of attractions. In Sedan, tourists are invited to follow in the footsteps of General Margueritte, and his ill-fated Chasseurs d'Afrique (Sedan 2013). As a result, and to facilitate these trails, many of the memorials in the region have had information boards added to them (Figure 6.46).



Figure 6.46 Memorial to General Margueritte in the Sedanese region of France. This memorial now forms part of a heritage memorial trail which documents the progression of the Battle of Sedan, 1870. (Photograph by the author, 2012).

Not only does adding an information board in this way disrupt the visual impact of the monument, disturbing the space that some believe to have been sanctified by the memorial and the ritual activity associated with it (Edkins 2003: 64), but it makes assumptions about the way in which that object is used. The addition of a secular object, such as an information board in such close proximity to the memorial can be interpreted as the assumption that the space of this memorial is no longer considered sacred. In addition, if Barabara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett is correct and 'heritage itself is a mode of cultural production that gives the endangered and outmoded a second life as an exhibition of itself' (Kirchenblatt-Gimblett 2004: 56), then the addition of information boards to a memorial can be interpreted as the assumption that that object is no longer actively used for the remembrance of the events it commemorates. Adding such signs to any object for heritage consumption necessarily imposes a particular and often singular meaning onto that object, and the creation of heritage trails around Sedan and Metz has limited the understanding of these memorials. Information boards do not present the memorials as objects of heritage with their own story to tell. Instead, they present the memorials with a singular narrative; one which echoes the narrative that the memorials were originally intended to portray.

In the town of Sedan the heritage board at the tourist information perpetuates the narrative that the town was unfairly scapegoated (Figure 6.47). It reads 'Honour was saved thanks to the heroism of units such as the marine troops at Bazeilles and the Cavalry of General Marguerite at Floing. The capitulation of Napoleon III and the 'Debácle' of Zola unjustly causes a kind of malediction to fall on the people of Sedan and which they still find difficult to exorcise.'

Figure 6.47 Information board outside the tourist information centre in Sedan, which describes the town in terms of its unfair victimhood (Photograph by the author, 2012).

Similarly, far from emphasising the universal qualities of the conflict an information board at the memorial to the Chasseurs d'Afrique the Prussian and Bavarian artillery are described as massacring 'with impunity our magnificent regiment of African Chasseur, Hussars and Cuirassiers.' And at the crox Margueritte the episode is repeated as one of courage and honour in which French forces pledge to fight to the last man (Figure 6.46). These information boards merely preserve the myths that the memorials themselves were intended to create, and engage with neither the multiple understandings at the time of their construction nor the wider significance of these events within the history of the region.

Figure 6.48 German memorial near the village of Floing, with interpretation board. (Photograph by the author, 2012).[78]

Rather than presenting any of the wider narratives or the role of the Franco-Prussian War in bringing forth the German Empire, and incorporating it into a wider European memory, the information boards present a purely French narrative. A board next to a German memorial close to that of Margueritte perpetuates the French myth of heroism despite unconquerable odds (Figure 6.48). It reads, 'erected by the veterans of the 94th Regiment of Infantry of Weimar led by the 'Grande Duke of Saxe,' who … fired at random at the western side of the French cavalry while the Division Margueritte was charging.' Despite the intervening years

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[78] 'At the end of August, after a disastrous campaign by "l'Armée du Rhin", Marshal Mac Mahon formed in an emergency an army of 12, 000 men, who disposed of 400 canon, against the armies of the Prince of Prussia and of Saxe who possessed the double…Honour was saved thanks to the heroism of units such as the marine troops at Bazeilles and the cavalry of General Marguerite at Floing. The capitulation of Napoleon III and the "Débâcle" of Zola unjustly caused a kind of malediction to fall in the people of Sedan, and which they still find difficult to exorcise… The 1914-1918 war on the contrary helped the inhabitants of Sedan to forget the injustice of history, because at the end of August 1914, our regiments stood their ground at Sedan and at Noyers and only withdrew by order of General Joffre.'

the information boards merely perpetuate the message that the memorials were originally intended to signify.

Memorials in the areas annexed by Germany have also been incorporated within a tourist trail, but similarly they make no attempt at incorporating the memorials and their stories into the wider history of the region. At the eagle memorial outside Vionville (Figure 5.35) the information provided is purely descriptive, reading:

> '…the monument of the 5th division of Prussian infantry was originally topped by a bronze eagle. Symbols of Prussia and of strength, eagles and lions are frequently used in public sculpture by the two nations. The eagle surmounting the monument was probably one of the most impressive.'

No reference is made to why the eagle was subsequently removed from the memorial and no attempt is made to incorporate the memorial into a wider historical narrative. But, perhaps more conspicuous, are those memorials which have not been provided with information boards. At the former German lion memorial near Vionville, no mention is made of the history of the monument. It has no information board to tell of its former life, despite the very obvious visual signs of its alteration on the monuments itself (Figure 5.30).

At Rezonville, the remains of Kaiser Wilhelm's bench have been carefully preserved. They are located within their own grassy area and shielded by a low hedge (Figure 6.49). This suggests that the object is given some value. Yet, no signs mark the location of the bench, it is completely shielded from the road, and there is no interpretation board despite the presence of other monuments on the monument trail nearby (Figure 6.50). This raises many questions concerning the presentation of the memorial and the memory that it represents.

Is the hedge protecting the memorial or is it shielding it from view? What is being shielded, is it the presence of the German memorial, or its destruction by the French that is potentially being hidden? Due to its present condition any explanation of this memorial would necessitate an engagement with wider narratives. If so, such conscious attempts at omitting the narrative of French destruction can be viewed within Connerton's framework of forgetting as 'forgetting that is constitutive in the formation of a new identity.' Memories of the French demolition of German memorials serve no purpose in the current tourist trail and consequently it is beneficial that they be forgotten (Connerton 2008: 62-63). Memorials in this region are presented only from the point of view at the time of construction and the unsuitability of this memorial, which is quite obviously not in its original state and cannot present a singular narrative, has resulted in its omission from the heritage trail



Figure 6.49 The Memorial to Kaiser Wilhelm in its current state, Rezonville, France (Photograph by the author, 2012).

Figure 6.50 The memorial as it is presented hidden behind a low hedge, Rezonville, France (Photograph by the author, 2012).

### 6.3.7.2 Deliberate lack of engagement; attempts at forgetting

The heritage memorial trail in Alsace and Lorraine demonstrated the problems posed by certain categories of monument. Memorials that mark the presence of events that are incompatible with the current use of the location can be especially problematic, particularly in areas which are now used for tourist purposes. In the town of Sedan, for example, the heritage of the Franco-Prussian War is privileged above that of its later history.

Whilst information boards describe the battles which took place to defend the town during the First World War, they do not document events which took place during the German occupation of the town. Through the positioning of information boards relating to the First World War in the surrounding towns and villages the memory of this conflict is marginalised

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and kept away from the town itself. Yet, the town was heavily affected during the occupation of the region. During this period the fort at Sedan was transformed into a prison camp for resisters and political prisoners, and many executions were carried out on the site resulting in the deaths of thousands of individuals. Yet within the town and within the fort itself the memory of the First World War prison camp and the executions which took place within its walls has been effectively marginalised through the preference of the fort's earlier history. A memorial has been erected, but this is in a very obscure location, not easily accessible to visitors (Figure 6.51), demonstrating a clear desire to keep this part of the fort's history from visitors. Perhaps it is felt necessary not to deter visitors from the luxury hotel created in the fort by drawing attention to the more recent atrocities which took place within its walls.



Figure 6.51 Memorial plaque in remembrance of those who were imprisoned and died at the fort during the First World War (Photograph by the author, 2012).

Equally, the presence of the German memorial constructed within the cemetery of the town has been marginalised from the heritage of the area. Heritage that is 'orphaned' in this way is particularly vulnerable to destruction or deterioration as a result of lack of preservation. As Price argues

> 'where there is no local, regional or national connection with material that is nevertheless accorded heritage value by a foreign population or government, then there is a disjunction. This is a separation between those who would normally wish to enact codes of behaviour, policy structures and legislation by reason of ownership of heritage. And those who are legitimately able to by reason of ownership of location' (Price 2005: 181-182)



Figure 6.52 Heldenfriedhof First World War Memorial, Cimetière Saint Charles, Sedan, France. (Photograph by the author, 2012).

Figure 6.53 Heldenfriedhof First World War Memorial, interior (left) and exterior (right), illustrating level of decay. Cimetière Saint Charles, Sedan, France. (Photograph by the author, 2012).

The German memorial in the cemetery at Sedan is a particularly pertinent example of this dilemma. The memorial originally functioned as the centrepiece to a German military cemetery created during the First World War occupation (5.2.9.1). Whilst plans were begun for the removal of the cemetery in the 1920s, this was not carried out until 1954, when a First and Second World War cemetery was created for German casualties at the nearby commune of Noyers-Pont-Maugis. Despite the removal of the bodies of the German dead, and the return of the site to its original function as a public cemetery, the monument itself was allowed to remain (Figure 6.52).

The lack of ownership of the memorial has resulted in it falling into severe disrepair (Figure 6.52 & Figure 6.53). In 2013 a French newspaper asked its readers to vote if the monument

should be destroyed. Of the 158 respondents 85% believed that the monument should be allowed to remain. [79] One respondent argued that the monument was on French soil but is witness to a common history and its destruction would amount to selective remembering.[80] Like the campaign for European Heritage labels, such attitudes indicate a shift towards a more universal attitude toward the past and, as a result, to memorials from past conflicts. This example illustrates clearly the tensions that can exist between memorialisation practices. Whilst those creating information boards for the memorial sites desired to present French narratives, there are clearly individuals that believe memorials should be preserved for the universal qualities they represent.

## 6.4 Conclusion

This chapter has explored the full spectrum of memorial processes that have taken place following the Second World War; both those relating to memorial construction and to continued engagement with memorials.

Through its examination of all forms of memorialisation it has sought to demonstrate that new conflicts can do little to halt the construction of memorials to those that came before. As the time passed from the conflict (CT) increases, new forms of memorial emerge in response to developments that have taken place in the conflict narrative. Reflexive memorialisation takes place as groups and events that are perceived to have been excluded

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[79] Source: http://debats.terrafemina.com/societe/784-sedan-le-monuments-aux-morts-allemands-doit-il-etre-detruit

[80] le monument se trouve sur le sol français et il est le témoin d'une histoire commune, qui serait plutôt à valoriser qu'à oublier, ou alors on veut faire comme trop souvent de la mémoire 'sélective.'

from the dominant conflict narrative are represented through the memorial processes. Memorials, such as that to African American contributions to the Civil War (Figure 6.22) and to the contribution of women in military service (Figure 6.24), would not have been possible at the time of the earliest conflicts they commemorate as the contribution of neither group was considered appropriate for memorialisation during the late 19th century. As a result, both memorials are strongly influenced by the chronological developments that have taken place within the war memorial tradition (O-P).

Developments that have taken place within the period O-P= 1939-2014 have been twofold and it can be argued that a dual process of memorialisation is taking place, one which appears to be dichotomic but which is, in fact, mutually beneficial. Firstly, the breaking down of the conflict narrative has occurred in order that specific contributions of individuals and groups can be recognised. This has resulted in a wave of memorial construction that seeks to commemorate the individual specificity of certain conflict experiences. Secondly, a more holistic approach to commemoration has developed, one which acknowledges the universal experience of those fighting and seeks to be as inclusive as possible. But this universal commemoration erases individual contributions. By subsuming all contributions into a broader narrative of collective effort and suffering, individual responses are silenced. This erasure of the specificity of certain conflict experiences highlights the need for individual memorials which pay homage to this specific experience. This in turn highlights the broader impact of the conflict on very diverse groups, many of whom are perceived to have been omitted from existing memorials, and so highlights the need for more inclusive memorials. As a result, a cyclical memorial process occurs in which the two forms can be seen as both the cause and the response as they continue to engage with each other.

Both the time that has passed from the conflict commemorated (CT) and that from the construction of the memorial (MT) affects the types of engagement that individuals will have with that memorial. This chapter has explored contemporary perceptions of, and engagement with, existing war memorials. Through an examination of this engagement it has challenged arguments that war memorials have a 'shelf-life' (Winter and Sivan 1999: 16; Winter 2006: 140), and demonstrated that memorials can continue to be found relevant and meaningful to individuals, even if they themselves have no memory of the events being commemorated.

Many individuals seek a personal connection with a memorial, particularly those which represent their ancestors, even though they themselves have no autobiographical memories of the individuals and events commemorated. The practice of establishing a connection with a memorial, through leaving photographs and mementos, can be viewed as a repetition of processes carried out by bereaved individuals following the conflict (5.2.5), and perpetuated by descendants throughout the history of the memorial (5.2.6). Yet, the time that has passed from the construction of the memorial has both necessitated and facilitated new forms of engagement with existing memorial structures. New technologies have allowed types of engagement that can overcome this lack of autobiographical memory and to reconnect memorials with the individuals listed on them.

Many of the ways in which individuals choose to engage with memorials are influenced by preconceptions relating to the ways that the object was used in the past. Such preconceptions have a strong influence on what is considered to be the appropriate use of memorials. Many contemporary engagement projects, such as that at Preston (6.3.4.3), seek to re-connect the monument with the individuals it was originally built to signify. This

imposes a singular narrative onto the monument, framing it only as a memorial to First World War casualties. Yet, it is not just the symbolic understanding of memorials that is affected by these beliefs, but the physical object of the memorial can become compromised. Relocations of war memorials can occur when changes to the landscape are believed to compromise its original purpose. Such relocations take place because the memorial is still considered to be relevant to contemporary populations. This removal of memorial structures not only has implications for the memorial as an historic object, as it can potentially be damaging to the structure, but it also removes the memorial from its intended context.  As a result access to the memorial can take precedence over its structural integrity.

Memorials that are no longer considered to be relevant to present population can undergo further transformations of meaning, in which they become monuments not only to the events they commemorate, but to the time of their construction. Such transformations can result in the presentation of memorials as objects of heritage, representing the history of particular events, rather than actively used objects of remembrance. The presentation of memorials as heritage, available for tourist consumption, is necessarily very problematic when it involves memorials that are deemed inappropriate for this purpose. Memorials that commemorate events that are perceived to be unfitting in the context of current site use can be particularly problematic.

# 7 DISCUSSION

## 7.1 Introduction

Neither the memory phenomenon, nor the quest to understand this modern preoccupation shows any signs of abating (see for example Macdonald 2013: 1-5). Yet the war memorial as an 'object of memory' remains conspicuously absent from many studies. When Ken Inglis considered the lack of academic attention to war memorials over two decades ago, he suggested that their omission stemmed from 'the modern tendency to separate the artistic from the civic' or that perhaps 'modern war memorials are too familiar for us to see them as History' (Inglis 1992: 5, see also 2.3). The tendency to separate memorials according to form, with preference given to large scale monumental or artistic examples, and the sheer number and familiarity of examples available, has prohibited their study as a coherent group. It can be argued that it is the preoccupation with only those memorials constructed in the period directly after the conflict that has hindered their full academic engagement. Pierre Nora, for example, in his renowned study of 'lieux de memoire' dedicates only a single chapter to 'monuments to the dead' (Prost in Nora 1992). Within this chapter Prost approaches memorials only as 'realms of memory' in the classic sense, viewing them as objects with which individuals have lost an organic relationship, and which as a consequence are not active components of a continuing collective memory (Prost 1992: 307-330). Despite asserting that since their construction, 'citizens have subsequently used memorials in a variety of ways' and that the 'ceremonies that have unfolded around the

monuments have invested them with significance they did not originally possess,' no attention is given to this ongoing significance (Prost 1992: 317).

Yet, Prost's study is noteworthy in its thematic approach to all memorials constructed in France following the First World War. Taking this broader approach Prost is able to elucidate the trends in memorialisation as a whole rather than the specific contexts of individual examples. Holistic studies have demonstrated the benefits of examining the entire memorial tradition as opposed to taking each memorial on a case by case basis. Erica Doss, working within an American context, examines the use of all forms of memorial using both conflict and non-conflict based examples (2.10). Through this inclusive approach Doss is able to successfully demonstrate five key themes that emerge regarding the purpose of memorials: grief, fear, gratitude, shame, and anger (Doss 2010). These themes relate to the motivations and uses of memorials regardless of the date of their construction or the physical form that they take. This thematic, as opposed to formulaic, approach facilitates a more rounded understanding of the use of memorials. This thesis has sought to elucidate such themes through a more structured approach, in order to construct a framework to understand memorials of all periods, and from all geographical areas.

Whilst the structure of this thesis has been necessarily chronological, in response to the lack of existing chronological studies of war memorialisation, this chapter examines the tradition of memorialisation as a whole, pulling out the key themes which occur regardless of historical date or geographical context. This chapter will be divided into two parts. Part one will discuss the holistic approach taken within this thesis, and define the new theoretical framework in which the study of war memorials should be conceptualised (7.2). It will discuss the importance of taking into account multiple timescales when seeking to understand a memorial, and examine the implications of this approach for the wider study

of war memorials. Part two will examine some of the key themes that emerge from this longitudinal approach (7.3). These will include: the different types of memorial and their uses (7.3.1); issues of naming and not naming (7.3.2); and engagement with memorials after they have been constructed on both a political and individual level (7.3.3.1).

## 7.2 Part One: Holistic approach: an examination of war memorial processes

### 7.2.1 Examination of the longitudinal approach

This thesis has proposed re-examining understandings of the war memorial form by conceptualising these understandings within three parallel timescales: the chronological development of the memorial tradition itself (O-P); the time that has passed from the conflict being commemorated (CT); and the timescale within the biography of the memorial itself (MT). Only by addressing each of these timescales, and conceptualising a memorial as transect of each timescale can a full understanding of a war memorial at any given time be reached (Figure 7.1) (see also 1.2 Figure 1.5). That is not to suggest that each time scale exerts its influence equally at any given time, but that they will each have an influence on the type of memorial constructed, the type of individual or event commemorated, and crucially on the ways in which individuals will engage with the physical object.
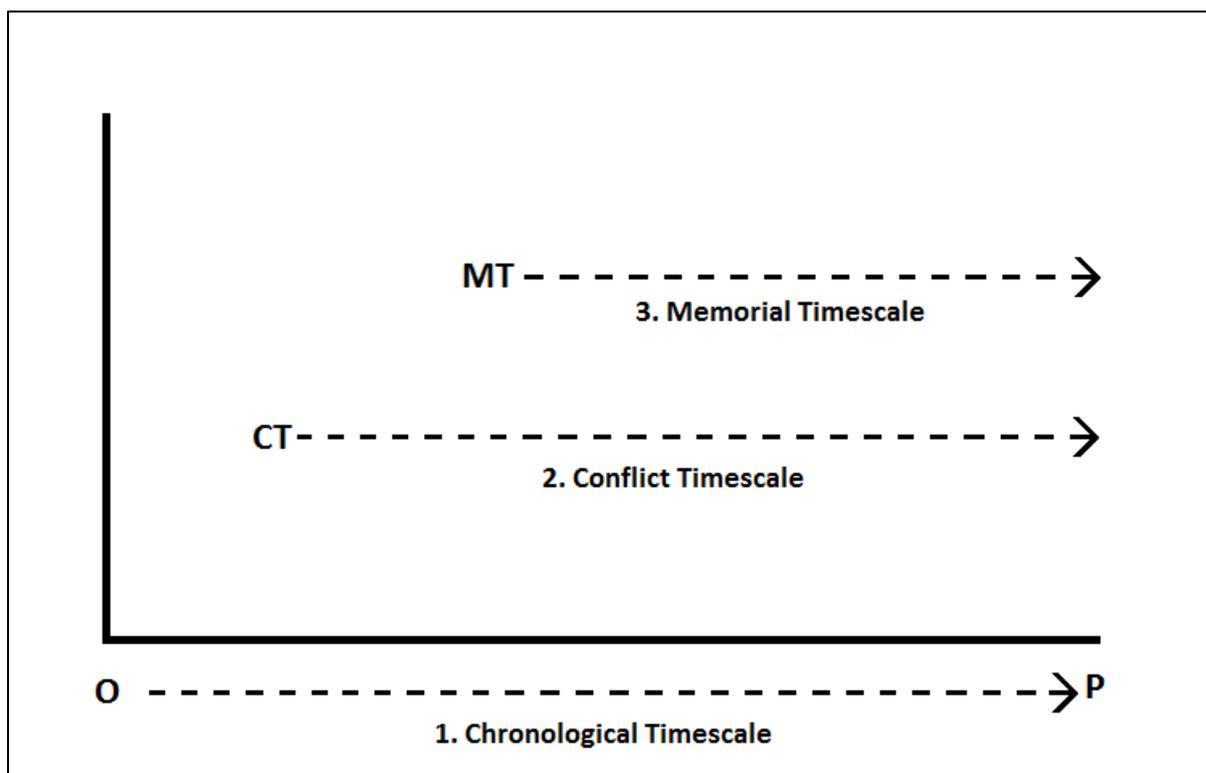
Figure 7.1 The three parallel timescales relating to the understanding of a war memorial at any given point in time:

**O-P:** 1860 – 2014 Chronological timescale
**CT:** Time passed from conflict
**MT**: Time passed from memorial construction

The first timescale, the chronological passage of time within the memorial tradition itself, has been the most underdeveloped within the study of war memorials. Many scholars have been reticent to engage with memorialisation which occurs prior to the First World War, particularly within a European context (for an exception see Varley 2008). Yet, war memorialisation does form a distinct tradition in its own right, and within the context of the UK, France and the USA this tradition relates to the period of 1860 to 2014 (O-P). The tradition has developed since its beginnings in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, but memorial construction has not always been in response to the most recent conflict. As the centenary of the First World War is currently demonstrating, war memorials can continue to be constructed to conflicts many years after the events they commemorate, and they are in no

way limited to the period directly after the conflict. As a result, the time that has passed between the conflict being commemorated and the construction of the memorial also exerts an influence on the types of memorial being constructed (CT). A memorial constructed in the immediate aftermath of a conflict will necessarily be very different from that constructed over a century later, and a recognition of this timescale is vital for the full understanding of a memorial. Finally, the biography of the object itself also forms a crucial timescale in which to frame engagement with the object (MT). Engagement with a historic memorial many years after its construction will necessarily be very different from that undertaken by the creators of the memorial, some of whom may have first-hand experience of the events that it commemorates.

To fully understand a memorial all three timescales must be taken into consideration. The use of a memorial at any given point in time can be conceptualised as the transect of these three timescales. By adopting this approach, two separate, although related, mnemonic processes can be examined. Firstly, the processes of construction of new war memorials to commemorate a particular individual, group or event. The use of a longitudinal approach facilitates the study of this process both at the time of the conflict itself, and also that which takes place many years afterwards. Secondly, the continued use of, and engagement with, existing memorials following their construction. This includes physical engagement in which the fabric of the memorial is deliberately altered, such as the addition of names from other conflicts (6.2.1, 6.3.4.3) or the deliberate transformation of the object (5.2.9). But it can also include the symbolic engagement with an object in which its meaning is changed through ritual actions that do not result in a change to its form (6.3.5.1). These processes of constructing new memorials and engaging with existing memorial forms occur parallel to one another as new conflicts take place or as historic conflicts are actively reinterpreted,

provoking new mnemonic responses. Only by taking a holistic approach to the study of the memorial, and considering each of the three interconnecting timescales, can all processes of engagement be considered equally important. The following sections (7.2.1.1-7.2.1.3) will now examine each of these timescales in turn within the context of examples referenced within this thesis.

**7.2.1.1 Time frame 1 O-P: the chronological development of the war memorial tradition 1860-2014**

The chronological development of the war memorial as a form of object in its own right has thus far received very little consideration within academia. While much attention has been paid to the socio-political contexts surrounding memorial construction, and its influence on both purpose and form, less attention has be given to understandings of the memorial tradition itself and its effect on the kinds of memorial constructed following a conflict. As this thesis has demonstrated (Chapter 4), a distinct war memorial tradition can be seen to develop within the UK, France and the USA from the middle of the 19th century onwards. That is not to suggest that memorials commemorating conflict did not exist up until this point, as the many early examples of memorials attest (see for example Borg 1991, Carman and Carman 2005, Carman and Carman 2006, Chaniotis 2012, Cooley 2012, Low 2012). Yet, it can be argued that within the context of the UK, France and the USA, the middle to the end of the 19th century marks a turning point in which memorialisation becomes *both* democratised *and* expected. It is this expectation that all those who fall victim of conflict,

regardless of rank or station, should be afforded a tangible and permanent marker of their sacrifice, which drives later memorial practice. As this practice itself develops, memorials in turn become influenced by the types of structure that have come before. Thus, if a full understanding of memorial process is to be reached, greater saliency must be given to the effect of the war memorial tradition itself on later forms of memorial construction.

This development of memorial processes from triumphal to more inclusive in nature took place in three crucial areas: firstly, regarding who it is appropriate to memorialise, secondly, regarding the location of the memorial, and thirdly regarding the form that the memorial can take. As the construction of memorials that included all casualties from a battle became more prevalent, this form of monument came to be expected not just on the battlefield but in the towns and villages from which these soldiers originated. Certain forms of memorial became possible only because of the understandings that had developed through interaction with earlier examples. The point at which memorialisation takes place in relation to this chronological development of the memorial tradition will necessarily affect the type of memorial constructed.

Figure 7.2 demonstrates the effect of the memorial tradition on three conflicts (CT1, CT2, and CT3). Here, the memorial practice which develops from 1860 until 2014 is again represented by the horizontal axis O to P. The ways in which a particular conflict (CT) will be commemorated with the construction of a memorial (MT) will depend upon when in the chronological development (O-P) that CT and MT fall (points $x_1$, $x_2$ and $x_3$). Thus, the memorial constructed at $x_3$ will be influenced by the types of memorials that have been constructed previously ($x_1$ and $x_2$).
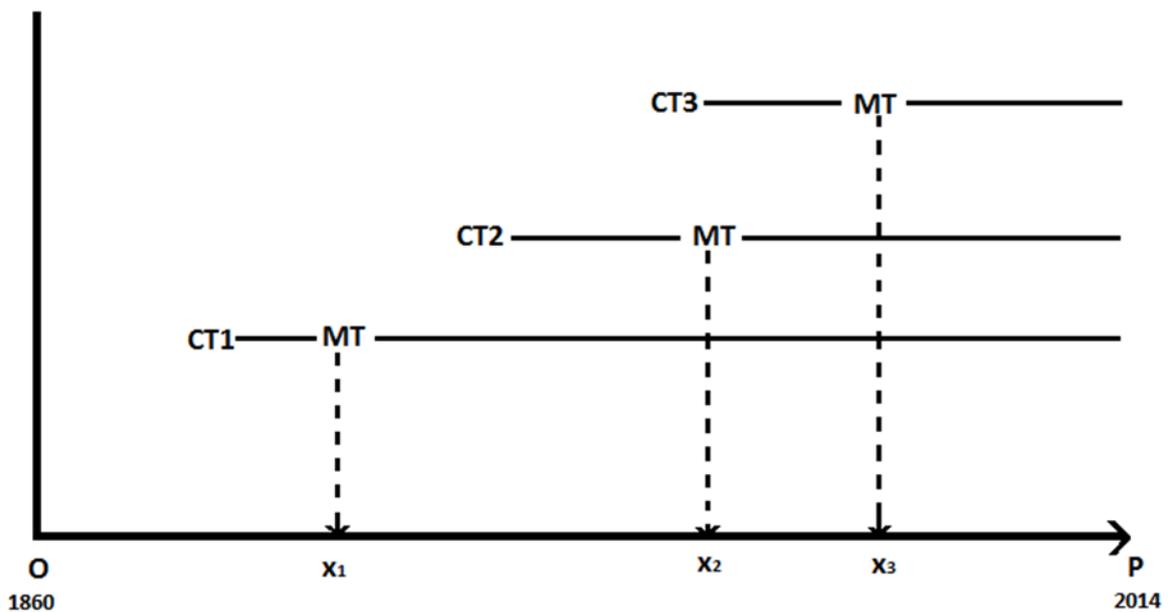
Figure 7.2 The chronological development of the war memorial tradition:
**O-P:** 1860 – 2014 Chronological timescale/ memorial tradition
**CT:** Time passed from conflict
**MT:** Time passed from memorial construction
$x_1$ : Point during the memorial tradition in which the memorial is constructed.

During the early stages of development many memorial forms became established through their association with the physical remains of the dead. Following the Franco-Prussian War, for example, the decree that the bodies of the dead from both sides should be respected resulted not only in their proper disposal, but also in the construction of tangible markers associated with these bodies (Varley 2002: 326). Over time an understanding developed that these monuments were sacred even if not in physical proximity to these bodies, but that they were symbolically associated with the 'sacred' remains of those who had lost their lives through conflict. This understanding allowed the memorial form to be utilised and manipulated in order to recast the memory of the conflict in a way which was beneficial to those responsible for its construction. It was this understanding that memorials had a grave-like purpose that legitimised the continued construction of French memorials on territories

annexed by Germany following the Franco-Prussian War, and facilitated later monumental memorials which sought to recast the defeat by focusing on the bravery of the soldiers who took part (Figure 7.3 left).



Figure 7.3 Detail of Franco-Prussian War Memorial, Sedan, France (left). Confederate War Memorial, Charlottesville Virginia (right) (Photographs by the author, 2012).

Similarly, memorials were utilised throughout the Confederate states in order to celebrate the bravery of Confederate men, without engaging in the cause for which they fought (Figure 7.3 right). This was only possible because of developments in memorialisation that had taken place in the years directly after the conflict which resulted in memorials being no longer viewed only as monuments to victory and success. Memorials were understood to represent the sacrifice and suffering of individual men and women, regardless of the side for

which they fought, and as a result they became sanctified through their association with the bodies of the dead. This is not to suggest that they were always sanctified, just as graves can also be desecrated; this status however afforded them a certain level of protection based upon the understanding of their symbolic significance. By viewing the objects in this way, contextualising them within the memorial tradition, and not their socio-political context, allows for a comparative approach to be taken. Comparisons can be made between memorials to different conflicts but which are constructed at the same point within the memorial tradition, such as the Franco Prussian memorial at Sedan (Figure 7.3 left) and the Confederate memorial at Charlottesville (Figure 7.3 right).

As the memorial tradition evolves, understandings develop not only regarding who it is appropriate to commemorate, and the symbolic meanings of the memorials, but also in the forms that they can take. Certain signs become understood as denoting a memorial: the dates of conflict, lists of names, images of soldiers. Over time the juxtaposition of these signs with an unexpected form can be used to give a message that is clearly understood (1.1). This is most visibly demonstrated in the development of the anti-monument or counter-monument. This form of commemoration is reliant upon the understandings that have developed regarding the appropriate form for a commemorative structure.

Whilst the counter-monument as memorial has been most fully explored in relation to Holocaust memorials (Young 1993: 27-48), this form is still highly relevant within the context of this thesis. The Vietnam Veterans Memorial (the Wall) in Washington D.C., for example, is successful because of its subversion of the expected memorial form (Figure 7.4). Despite initial unpopularity due to its lack of traditional memorial iconography, which resulted in the addition of figurative elements (see 6.2.3.1), it is the Wall itself that has proved the most enduring legacy of the conflict. As Anderson points out, 'in academic discourse, nearly every

critic emphasizes how the low, black, abstract walls violate the genre of heroic monumentality' (Abramson 1996: 684). This memorial is reliant upon its manipulation and subversion of understandings of the traditional memorial form (that have developed through the memorial tradition O-P) in order to make itself understood, and is a memorial 'that could not have been achieved in another time or place' (report of the Vietnam Veterans Memorial Design Competition RVVMF/ 66 quoted in Abramson 1996).



Figure 7.4 Vietnam Veterans Memorial (1982), Maya Lin Washington, D.C. United States (Photograph by the author, 2012).

During the period 1860 to 2014 significant developments took place within the war memorial tradition. The types of memorial constructed, and those it was deemed appropriate to commemorate, changed dramatically. Whilst the tradition is far from the only factor that has an effect on these issues, it is clear that it does have a strong influence on the types of structures that are considered appropriate. That is not to suggest that an examination of memorials should take place devoid of social and political context, but merely that greater saliency should be given to the memorial process itself. Expectations to commemorate and to memorialise are often strongly influenced by that which has come before, and new memorials often rely upon the understanding attached to existing practice in order to make them understood.

Memorial construction surrounding the Vietnam Veterans Memorial demonstrates the self-perpetuating nature of the memorial tradition. In this example the addition of figurative elements representing Caucasian, African American, and Hispanic soldiers, and subsequently female veterans, inspired a wide range of memorials to other conflicts, including the Women in Military Service to America Memorial and the American Indian Veterans Memorial Initiative. As the memorial tradition evolved to become more inclusive, it is the presence of the monuments themselves, in addition to the events they commemorate, that are driving further memorialisation processes. Therefore, an approach is needed which takes into consideration these factors and moves beyond the socio-political context of the events commemorated, and the memorial's construction.

**7.2.1.2 Time frame 2 CT: the time that has passed from the conflict itself**

As section 7.2.1.1 has demonstrated, developments within the memorial tradition itself (O-P), and the stage within this tradition a memorial constructed, can exert an important influence on the object, both on the form that it will take and upon the ways it will be perceived. But within this tradition, the temporal relationship between the conflict being commemorated (CT) and the construction of a memorial (MT) will also greatly affect the type of memorial produced (Figure 7.5).
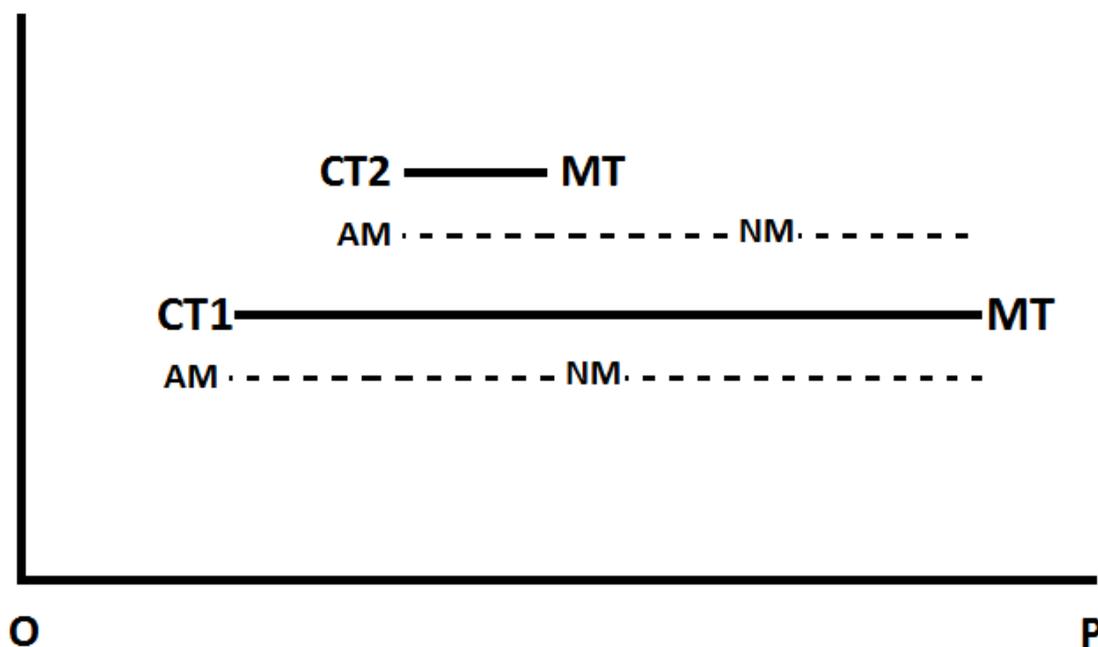


Figure 7.5 Diagram illustrating the importance of the time that has passed from the conflict itself:
**O-P:** 1860 – 2014 Chronological timescale
**CT:** Time passed from conflict
**MT:** Time passed from memorial construction
**AM:** Period of autobiographical memory
**NM:** Period of non-autobiographical memory

The time that has passed from the conflict itself will affect the types of memory with which individuals approach a memorial. If the time period between the conflict and its memorialisation (CT- MT) is relatively short, then there will be a higher number of individuals available with autobiographical memories of those events (AM) (Figure 7.5). If the period CT to MT covers a longer time period, for example a memorial commemorating the 50 year anniversary of a conflict, then the numbers of individuals available with autobiographical memories of the events and individuals commemorated will be significantly lower as the memory of the conflict is passing into a period of non-autobiographical memory (NM). The types of memory in relation to the conflict commemorated will necessarily effect an individual's engagement with the memorial to that event.

Halbwachs' in his seminal study of collective memory (1992 [1925]) distinguished among four categories of memory, autobiographical memory, historical memory, history, and collective memory (defined in Olick and Robbins 1998: 111). Autobiographical memory, in relation to the construction of memorials, relates to the period of time in which individuals have lived experiences of the conflict or individuals being commemorated by the memorial. This not only includes those who have actual combat experience, or have themselves lost someone as a result of the conflict, but everyone that has lived through the period of conflict. During this period of autobiographical memory it is highly likely that memorialisation (both use of existing memorials and continued construction) will take place since the events and individuals commemorated are part of the lived past.

 After any war, there begins immediately a period of memory decline as those with autobiographical memory pass away and are replaced by those born after the conflict. As Mona Siegal writes in her study of French memory of the First World War and its treatment

in the classroom 'the transition of the First World War from memory to history did not await the death of the last war veteran, it began with the birth of the first child after the armistice' (Siegel 2002: 772). Although the transition and distinction between 'memory' and 'history' is problematic, a return to Halbwachs' categorisation is perhaps useful for conceptualising the types of memory with which individuals approach a memorial.

### *Continued processes of memorialisation after autobiographical memory CT>AM*

Once the period of autobiographical memory has passed, the memory of the conflict will begin to fall into one of the remaining categories: historical memory, history or collective memory. As the examples within this thesis have demonstrated there are no restrictions on the amount of time that can pass between a conflict and the creation of the memorial. But the construction of a new memorial can only take place under a distinct set of circumstances. By taking a longitudinal approach to memorialisation, themes begin to emerge regarding the construction of memorials many years after the events being commemorated.

Critically, continued memorialisation can only take place if the events being commemorated are still considered relevant to a contemporary population. If the events are perceived to be part of history, then memorialisation will not take place as the events serve no purpose within a contemporary context. Consequently for construction or continued engagement with existing memorials to take place memory of the events must either be collective or historical; the events from the past are still considered important for the collective memory

of a certain group and form an important part of their identity, or they form an important part of historical memory that has been made relevant by contemporary events.

### *Collective Memory*

If a conflict is still considered to play an important role in the collective memory of contemporary populations then new memorials can continue to be constructed to this conflict. Within a British context, for example, the memory of the First World War still forms an important part of the identity of many individuals. Consequently, new memorials to the conflict, such as that at Kinver, continue to be used and constructed (Figure 7.6.) whereas those to events such as the Boer Wars do not.

When the period between the conflict (CT) and the construction of the memorial (MT) amounts to decades, it is possible for memorials to be constructed that would not have been found appropriate during the immediate aftermath. This can include both the commemoration of groups who would not have previously been considered eligible for memorialisation such as the creation of the Cenotaph in Whitehall for the Women of the Second World War, or the memorialisation of Civil War African American soldiers and sailors in Washington D.C (Figure 7.6). The temporal distance between the conflict and the creation of the memorial, whilst facilitating different memorial forms and kinds of engagement with the memory of the conflict, does not necessarily lessen the emotive response to the memorial. The passionate campaigns which surrounded both the Women of the Second World War memorial and the African American Civil War Memorial demonstrate the strong responses that can occur.

This level of engagement with the memorial process is only possible when the meanings drawn from the conflict narrative itself are still felt to have relevance and a valuable purpose in the present. By approaching the memorial process in this way it is possible to compare the Kinver First World War Memorial and the Washington, D.C. African American Civil War memorial. Both monuments result from the memory of a conflict that is still considered important to contemporary society, and both memorials are necessitated by a lack of appropriate existing memorial.



Figure 7.6 War Memorial, Kinver, Staffordshire. New First World War Memorial, located in the centre of the village (left) (Photograph by the author, 2012). The African American Civil War Memorial, 1997, Washington, D.C. (right)(Photograph courtesy of Hari Jones, 2012).

*Historical Memory*

Processes of memorialisation may continue to take place even if the memory of the conflict is not considered part of the active collective memory but instead takes the form of historical memory. Olick and Robbins argue that historical memory can either be 'organic' or 'dead' that, 'we can celebrate even what we did not directly experience, keeping the past alive for us, or it can be alive only in historical record, so called grave-yards of knowledge' (Olick and Robbins 1998: 111). It is likely that events forming organic historical memories may still be engaged with through processes of memorialisation, particularly on major anniversaries of these events (for example the Trafalgar Day celebrations that took place in the UK in 2005).



Figure 7.7 Battle of Bouvines Memorial 1914, Bouvines, France (Nord) Colone.(left) Norman Cross Memorial, 1914 near Peterborough, Cambridgeshire, United Kingdom (middle) Napoleonic Memorial (circa 1887) Gorze, France (right).

Further to this it is possible that events previously considered 'dead' maybe subsequently 'revived' if they are believed to have a valuable purpose in the present. In France, for example, the memory of Bouvines was revived in the context of the First World War. The memorial erected in Bouvines in 1914 was not designed to honour the memory of the individual men who lost their lives 700 years earlier (Figure 7.7), but instead it was a response to the need to foster French national pride in the build up to the First World War. By taking this approach to memorialisation it is possible to compare memorials from across different time periods and different geographical areas. For example the Bouvines memorial, Norman Cross, and the Napoleonic Memorial at Gorze, are all part of the same memorial process since all revive historical memories through the memorialisation process in order to employ them for a distinct contemporary purpose (Figure 7.7). Whilst the events commemorated by these memorials form important historical memories, it is unlikely that individuals will feel a direct connection to the conflict on a daily basis. Consequently, it is unlikely that either memorial will be actively engaged with on occasions other than the major anniversaries, unless contemporary socio-political events necessitate a re-appropriation of the memorial, or the memorial itself becomes damaged or under threat (see 7.2.1.3 below).

Conceptualising memorials in this way also creates a methodology in which the memorials themselves become important tools for understanding the socio-political circumstances at the time of their construction. A memorial to the American Revolution constructed in the 1870s, for example, could indicate that social divisions still existed from the Civil War, creating a need to commemorate a shared past.

To conclude, continued memorialisation will occur past the period of autobiographical memory if the events being commemorated form part of the active collective memory of a group, or if it is part of a historical memory that can fulfil a valuable purpose in the present. Further to this, if continued memorial *construction* is to take place then there must also be an appropriate set of circumstances to facilitate this process.

Crucially there must be a lack of an *appropriate* existing memorial for the continued commemoration of that conflict. This can be further broken down into two broad categories of memorialisation:

A) Memorials constructed to commemorate individuals or events that have previously been memorialised in another form.

B) Memorials constructed to commemorate individuals or events that are perceived to have not been memorialised in another form.

In the case of category A, memorialisation can arise from one of three circumstances;

1) The original memorial has been wholly or partly destroyed.

For example      Bartow Memorial - original column was destroyed by individuals using the memorial for remembrance but wanting a souvenir (Figure 4.25 and Figure 5.47).

Guynemer- original was destroyed by German forces and part of the symbolic appropriation of Dunkerque (Figure 5.46 and Figure 6.11)

2) The location of the original memorial is no longer considered appropriate for contemporary use.

> For example  Kinver- location not appropriate for perceived core audience of the memorial (Figure 5.3 and Figure 6.14)
>
> Frommelles - memorials located in Australia but not on battlefield (Figure 6.27)
>
> Peterborough - Christian location no longer considered appropriate for present population (Figure 6.17 and Figure 6.19)

3) The form of the original memorial is no longer considered wholly appropriate for contemporary use

> For example  Peterborough Memorial- Christian iconography is considered unsuitable (Figure 6.17 and Figure 6.19)
>
> Peace Light Memorial Gettysburg- original memorials appropriate but lack of shared experience (Figure 5.49)
>
> Norman Cross Memorial, Peterborough- individuals memorialised but not in reconciliatory way (Figure 4.47)

In the case of category B, memorialisation can occur because:

1) Events are remembered and included in the dominant narrative but memorialisation was not the norm at the time of these events.

For example        Cassel Memorial, commemorates events from a period when memorialisation was not common, including the Battle of Cassel 1677 (Figure 4.42)

Bouvines Memorial, commemorates the Battle of Bouvines in 1214  (Figure 4.46)

2) The events are perceived to have been omitted from the narrative of the conflict

For example        Railway Industry Memorial – perception that the contribution of the railways and railway workers during conflicts had not been fully appreciated (Figure 6.25)

3) The conflict experiences of particular individuals are perceived to have been omitted from the dominant conflict narrative, and as a result, omitted from existing memorials

For example        Nuns of the Battlefield Memorial (Figure 5.48)

African American Civil War Memorial (Figure 6.22)

Bomber Command Memorial (Figure 6.32)

These omitted conflict experiences can relate to either the lack of recognition of the victimisation of a particular group during conflict, or the active participation and contribution of a particular group.

By taking a broader temporal approach it is possible to define the distinctive circumstances that result in processes of memorial construction. Such an approach is important as it facilitates comparisons across different geographical areas and throughout different periods in time.

**7.2.1.3 Time frame 3 MT: The biography of the memorial**

The third and final timeframe concerns the biography of the object itself. By widening the time period considered within the biography of the object all processes related to the memorial can be examined (Figure 7.8). To fully understand a memorial its biography should be viewed as beginning when the decision is taken to construct a memorial (IT), not when the memorial itself is complete. In doing so those memorial designs which did not make it to the final memorial can be considered as important in the process of memorialisation as those which were chosen.
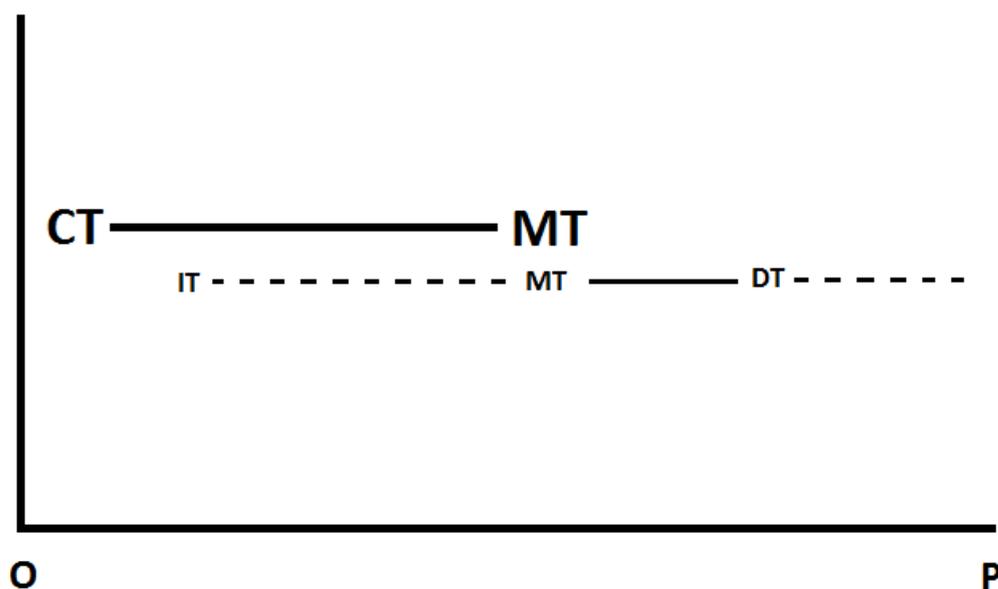


Figure 7.8 The biography of a memorial:
**CT:**     Time passed from conflict
**MT:**     Time passed from memorial construction
**IT:**      Idea to construct a memorial is first conceived
**DT:**     Destruction of the memorial

By adopting this approach the biography of some memorials is marked by the conflict itself (CT) and consequently begins many years before the memorial itself is constructed (MT) (see 1.1 and 6.4.1 on the discussion of the Japanese American Memorial). In such cases the period CT to MT would cover the period of discussion regarding the form of memorial which is considered appropriate, and would also take into account those forms of monument which were rejected as part of this process. Whilst the lack of physical preservation of such records prohibits this for every memorial, those examples which do exist have demonstrated the benefit of this approach (see for example Gough and Morgan 2004). In order to fully understand a memorial (MT) the period of time which passes from IT to MT should be viewed as a time of process; in which the memory of the conflict is openly discussed and debated by those responsible for the memorial.

The Vietnam Veterans Memorial represents one of the most complete records of the memorial processes which took place before the memorial was constructed. The existence of those memorial designs which were rejected gives a telling insight into the forms of memorial considered inappropriate for this controversial conflict. The entries that were rejected offer a telling insight into the message that those responsible for the memorial wanted to present. One rejected entry, for example, proposes to use the Vietnam monument to frame the Washington Monument and intersect it with dark clouds (Figure 7.9). Through this juxtaposition the Vietnam War literally casts a dark cloud over the American ideals represented by the Washington monument. Yet this proposal was rejected in favour of a memorial which did not interact with the existing monuments in such an overt way. By taking this broader approach the existing Vietnam Veterans Memorial can be understood not only as the distinct message that it represents but also because of the messages that it does not portray.
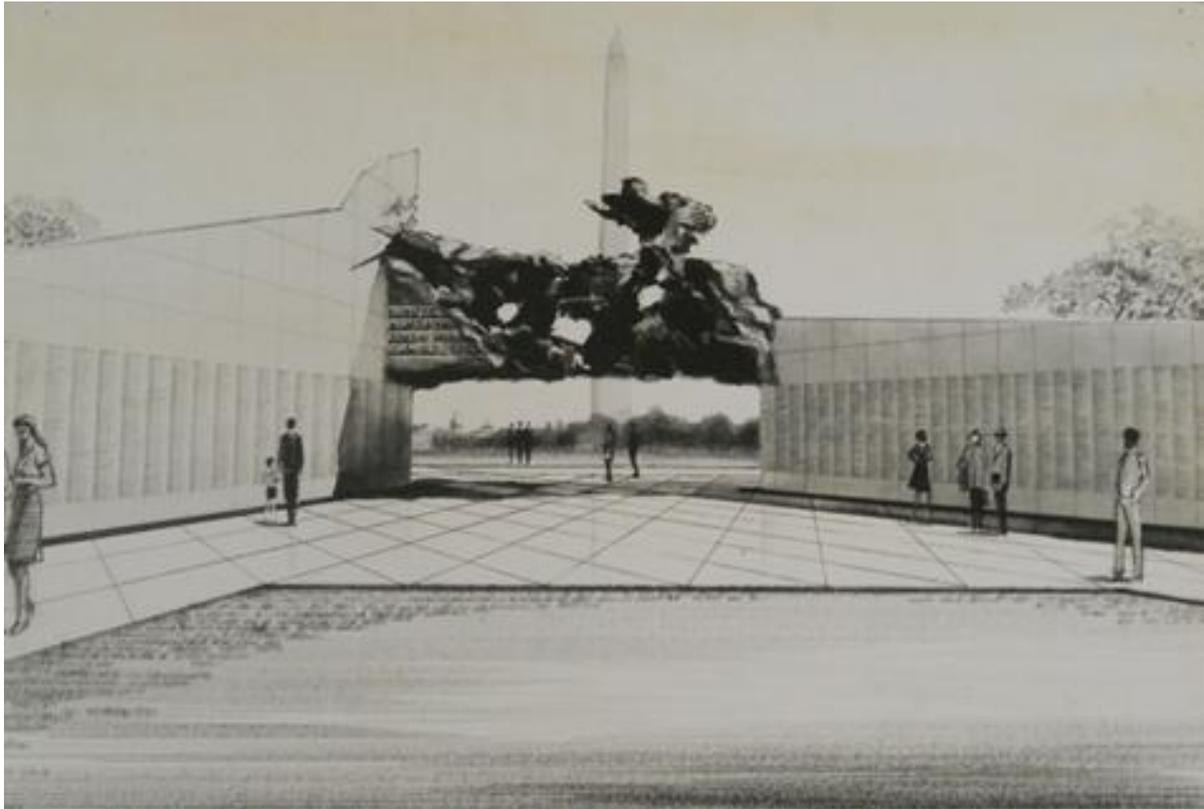
Figure 7.9 Entrant to the Vietnam Veterans Memorials competition[81]

The biography of some memorials can ultimately involve their destruction (DT) (Figure 7.8), either as a result of accidental damage or a deliberate act in an attempt to erase the memory of the events commemorated (for example Kaiser Wilhelm's bench at Rezonville, Figure 5.29). The biography of a memorial does not end with this destruction but when the memory of the object having ever inhabited the space has completely disappeared. Knowledge of the memorial's presence can continue to imbue a space with a distinct meaning and sense of place long after the memorial itself has disappeared. Horst Hoheisel's monument to murdered Jews in Kassel, Germany, for example successfully engages the memory of the Jewish fountain that once stood in the space through the creation of its subterranean subverted form (Young 1993: 43-48). Residual knowledge of lost memorials

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[81] The Vietnam Veterans Memorial Design Competition. Entrant 343. Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division. Surrogate of Slide number: LC-VV05-2581 (Photograph by the author, 2012)

can have implications on the use of the space and can potentially prove problematic for subsequent uses of the space. In Hungary, for example, a monument to 1956 is located in Felvonulási Square on the spot where a statue of Lenin and a giant cross once stood. György argues that:

> 'rather than acting *with* what he calls the 'spirit of place' to enhance traces that could act as spurs to recollection, the monument takes an abstract and predominantly 'literary narrative' form that fails to engage with its own location and activate public memory in a more emplaced and meaningful fashion' (Macdonald 2013 on György 2008).

As a result, the current monument is unsuccessful as it resists engagement with the earlier structure.

The symbolic power of a destroyed memorial can also be retained in the remnants of its physical form. The surviving bust of Guynemer (6.2.2.1), retained its significance as a symbol of the pilot, but also took on new meanings as a symbol of German barbarity when it was incorporated into a new monument (Figure 6.11). Even the hugely unpopular 'sugar cube' memorial, erected to commemorate Peterborough War dead, continued to be valued long after its demolition. The memorial was destroyed in 1995 following the construction of a new monument in the grounds of the Cathedral (6.2.2.3). Complaints were made as it was being knocked down as it was discovered that the memorial was not solid but actually filled with rubble (Morse 1996). Over ten years after this controversy the memorial once again made local headlines as the surviving stones were discovered on a patch of land beside the Peterborough Edith Cavell Hospital. Under the headline 'Anger at abandoned memorial'; Royal British Legion representative George Bennett commented 'I'm gobsmacked. The

memorial was supposed to be rebuilt at a new site. We're hoping we can salvage part of the memorial, but we really don't know. It's disgusting' (Unknown(b) 2007). Thus even a memorial that was criticised for being undignified retained its symbolic significance as an object of memory for many years after its destruction[82].

To fully understand the 'sugar cube' it must be contextualised with other memorials in the city that were constructed before and after it. The structure was only necessary because the existing memorial hospital did not form an appropriate focus for remembrance. This process of reliance is not temporally bounded and applies to memorials of all periods. In France, the biography of the pieta monument to First World War casualties in Metz begins when the existing structures begins to be considered inappropriate (Figure 7.10). Similarly the obelisk to the First and Second World War dead in the village of Kinver begins its biography with the decreased use of the existing monument (Figure 7.11).



Figure 7.10 First World War Memorials, Metz, France (left) original memorial, (right) second memorial.

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[82] The memorial stones are currently displayed in a Courtyard at the City Hospital

Figure 7.11 Original First World War memorial in parkland location (left). Second First World War memorial in village location (right), Kinver, Staffordshire, UK.

The examples discussed above all refer to engagement with memorials commemorating events that are still part of active collective memory (Vietnam, WWI, WWII). Each memorial is consequently part of an active ritual process in which they are used for annual remembrance ceremonies. Memorials commemorating events that are considered part of historical memory are less likely to be continually used for such ritual activity. Engagement in these examples will take place for one of three reasons:

1) The structural integrity of the memorial becomes under threat

2) The memorial is re-appropriated for a contemporary purpose

3) A major anniversary of the event is reached

The memorial to Norman Cross, Peterborough, for example, was unused for many years until 1990 when its bronze eagle was stolen. This theft began a process of continued re-engagement with the monument resulting in the relocation of the memorial and the replacement of the eagle in 2005 (Figure 7.12). Yet, through the rededication of the column which included Napoleonic era re-enactors, the object was transformed into a memorial commemorating only these events, a meaning that it had never actually held.

Figure 7.12 Norman Cross Memorial in its original location 1914 (left) Norman Cross Memorial rededication at its new site in 2005 (right) (images available https://sites.google.com/site/friendsofnormancross/home).

Therefore meanings of such memorials are not fixed and an individual memorial can be continually transformed through different forms of engagement. The obelisk at Bouvines for example transformed the memory of the battle from 'dead' historical memory to 'organic' historical memory through its appropriation as a nation building narrative at the beginning of the First World War. The use of this structure as a memorial to First World War casualties through the addition of a plaque again transformed the monument into an object of collective memory (Figure 7.13). The use of the obelisk in 2014 through the laying of a wreath to commemorate the 800 year anniversary of the battle appropriates the monument as a memorial to 1214; a meaning which it had actually never had.

Figure 7.13 Battle of Bouvines Memorial following its construction 1914 (left) Battle of Bouvines Memorial appropriated as a First World War Memorial for the town during the conflict (right) Bouvines (Nord) Colone, France.

## 7.2.2 Implications of the holistic approach

### 7.2.2.1 Challenging the assumption that memorialisation begins after the First World War

Whilst many are willing to accept that during the late 19<sup>th</sup> century changes took place regarding perceptions of the common soldier by the wider public, few engage with the effects that this had on the memorialisation processes. Ken Inglis, for example, suggests that the Civil War for America and the South African War of 1899-1902 for the United Kingdom mark transition points in which 'the dead are identified as both soldiers and citizens, as

belonging to counties as well as regiments' (Inglis 1992: 7). Prost, when describing the memorials that were constructed following the Franco-Prussian War suggests 'only some of the departments erected monuments' and that these monuments 'expressed the views of that segment of the public that nursed wishes of revenge' (Prost 1992: 308). Yet, as Varley has successfully demonstrated in her far reaching study on the memorials to this conflict, not all monuments expressed this *revanchist* sentiment (Varley 2008). By examining the changes that took place and taking a wider temporal perspective, which examines the entire tradition of war memorialisation, it is possible to challenge the longstanding assumption that memorialisation involving the common soldier originated from the First World War.

In the United States memorialisation began on a large scale following the Civil War and the process of memorialising this conflict was still ongoing at the time of the First World War. Even within a European context, the adoption of a wider temporal approach demonstrates that memorialisation in the UK and France began many decades before the First World War. That the First World War triggered a process of memorial construction on an unprecedented scale is undeniable, as the sheer number of memorials from this period attests (see for example Furlong, Knight et al. 2002). But a focus only on the memorialisation that took place during this period is to simplify a complex process which took many years to develop and which continues in the present. The memorialisation which took place on a grand scale following the First World War was only possible because the mechanisms for widespread memorialisation were already in place. In the preceding decades, war memorials that commemorated the contributions of the common soldier had been constructed throughout Europe and North America. The First World War itself did not provide the trigger for the development of memorialisation, but rather it provided the opportunity for practices of memorialisation which had already developed throughout the preceding decades to be put

into place. War memorialisation following this conflict should not be seen as an unprecedented response to loss of life but rather as putting into practice a process which had already evolved, and an expectation to memorialise that had already developed.

Only by rejecting the assumption that memorialisation resulted from a mass out pouring of grief following the First World War, can a more critical approach be taken towards the development of war memorialisation as a practice in its own right. Through examination of memorialisation that takes place before the First World War it is possible to demonstrate that a transitional process occurs in which memorials pass from selective and triumphal to democratic. Yet, this development of memorialisation is not a simple linear process and there are many examples of what might be considered earlier forms of memorialisation following 20th century conflicts. Following the First World War, for example, many wealthy families chose to commission individual memorials to lost family members in their local churches in addition to their names being included on collective memorials (5.2.8). Equally, in France following the First World War, particularly in the annexed provinces, there are examples of memorials that would be considered triumphalist in nature and more readily associated with early 19th century conflicts (5.2.7). Thus whilst the memorial tradition does develop over time as new forms of memorialisation and commemoration evolve, this does not prevent a return to earlier practices

## 7.2.2.2 Challenging assumption that memorials are only important to those with autobiographical memories of the events they commemorate


This thesis has not only broadened the temporal spectrum in which memorials in the form that we are familiar with today begin to develop, but by taking a biographic approach to the memorials it is possible to chart the differing types of engagement with memorials over time. Existing literature has predominantly focused on the period leading up to the construction of a memorial at the time of the conflict being commemorated. Jay Winter, for example, describes the remembrance of the war dead as 'a quixotic act,' an act which is destined to fade away as 'all memorials have a 'shelf-life,' a bounded period of time in which there meaning relates to the concerns of a particular group of people who created them or who use or appropriate them as ceremonial or reflective sites of memory' (Winter 2006). This over emphasis on 'the particular group who created them' has resulted in assumptions that memorials only have significance for this group, denying a whole range of engagement which takes place many years after the memorial has been constructed. War memorials, if viewed as 'realms of memory' as defined by Kritzman in his introduction to the volume as opposed to Prost's approach, can be seen as 'polyreferential entit[ies] that can draw on a multiplicity of cultural myths that are appropriated for different ideological or political purposes' (Kritzman 1992: x). The time that has passed from a conflict frees the narrative of the memorial so that it is no longer intrinsically bound to the individuals it is designed to memorialise and so the memorial becomes available for new purposes. These purposes may be very different from those for which the memorial was originally intended, but this does not make them any less significant.

Studies that have examined the continuing use of memorials many years after their creation have demonstrated the many transformations in meaning that can take place as social and political contexts change and memorials are appropriated with new meanings (see for example Stephens 2012). Even memorials whose meanings appear timeless and fixed are actively reinterpreted as time passes from their construction. The Cenotaph in Whitehall, London provides a primary example of this phenomenon. Its original design was praised for its universal appeal, and its non-denominational form and context was belived to represent all those who had suffered as a result of the First World War. Yet as time passed from its construction it began to be interpreted within a contemporary context that viewed it as more and more exclusive. This resulted in 1997 in the appropriation of the monument for 'Queer Remembrance Day' by those who felt that the monument and its accompanying ceremonies did not represent homosexual members of the armed forces (6.3.5.1). Moreover, in 2005 a second cenotaph monument dedicated to the Women of World War II, by those who felt that whilst the commemoration of the contribution of non-combat women was necessary it was not appropriate for this to take place at the Cenotaph.

**7.2.2.3 Overcoming the dichotomy between political and person approaches**

This thesis has demonstrated the complex nature of war memorials, and their simultaneous use for different purposes by varied interest groups. In doing so it challenges the political/ personal dichotomy which exists within the discipline. Memorial scholarship has often emphasised the political motivations behind the construction of war memorials, as epitomised by publications such as Ashplant, Dawson and Roper's 'The Politics or War Memorial and Commemoration' (2000) and James Mayo's 'War Memorials as Political

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Memory' (1988), an approach which naturally favours large scale and monumental examples. This political 'top down' approach was criticised for its lack of attention to the genuine feelings of grief and mourning expressed following a conflict. Sarah Tarlow in her study of First World War memorials warns that 'explanatory schemes which privilege the negotiation of power relationships fail to account for motivated action at the individual level and undervalue the complexity of human emotional experience' (Tarlow 1997: 105). But attempts to understand war memorials as a psychological response often focused on small scale and private monuments (Winter 2006: 135-153). Yet, as Moriarty (1997) demonstrates, such an approach establishes a false dichotomy, suggesting that no emotional role can be fulfilled by large scale monumental memorials and that smaller local memorials cannot be political. By examining all memorials together, regardless of scale or form, this thesis demonstrates that such a distinction does not exist.

## 7.3 Part Two: Themes emerging from the longitudinal approach

This section seeks to apply the holistic approach discussed in part one and to highlight the reoccurring themes which take place throughout the period of study, irrespective of chronological date. Firstly, it addresses the multifaceted nature of memorials, examining the many forms that memorials take and the many purposes with which they are constructed. Secondly, it examines the issue of naming on a memorial: who it is felt appropriate to be named and who is not named, and in particular the issue of adding names many years after its construction. Through an examination of these emergent themes this section seeks to

demonstrate that memorialisation is a reflexive *process*, rather than an event which is only dependent upon specific socio-political circumstances, and by viewing memorials as part of an ongoing process comparisons can be made within this process, regardless of geographical or temporal context.

### 7.3.1 Types of monument and their uses

All war memorials, through their existence as tangible objects, aid the remembrance of a particular individual, group, or event, and stake a claim to a particular conflict narrative. Through the selection of a specific individual, group, or event to commemorate, each memorial ultimately excludes and therefore promotes the forgetting of others. To some extent memorials depend upon this exclusivity for their success and their longevity, as individuals must feel that a particular memorial is relevant to them in order to actively sustain the object. Yet the motivations behind memorials are far more complex than simply to commemorate those who have died, as the examples described in the body of this thesis have demonstrated. Memorials result from a variety of different motivations and are created for many different purposes and used in many different ways. These uses are not static but change as both the memorial and the events it commemorates are actively reinterpreted within a contemporary context.

**7.3.1.1 Memorials to defeat**

As previously discussed, many early war memorials served to commemorate the event of the battle itself, and in particular victory in that battle. Yet the memorial form that we now recognise, that is a commemoration of all those who died, was not always a result of victorious actions. During the First World War period many memorials were constructed in the UK and in France when the outcome of the conflict was far from certain (Prost 1992: 309), and the many memorials erected by the defeated French following the Franco-Prussian War, or the South following the American Civil War, are obviously far from being considered victory monuments. These examples of memorialisation came about not despite the defeat, but because of it and, lack of heroic narratives on which to draw. In the absence of triumphant narratives and faced with overwhelming casualty rates, the dead are appropriated and become symbols of sacrifice, diverting attention away from the defeatist narratives of the conflict. In fact, this focus on the bodies of the dead becomes even more important for those who had experienced defeat. A lack of triumphalist narratives results in the development of a new form of memorialisation. This is particularly true of the French following the Franco-Prussian War and of the South following the American Civil War when a focus on the sacrifices and bravery of the common soldier was crucial to the legacy of the conflict. Episodes of bravery shown by these men become the important outcome of the conflict. No longer is victory in battle portrayed as the primary aim, but instead battle is displayed as an arena in which the nation can prove its worth. For example, the use of images of the heroic episodes at Bazeille and the Charge of the Chasseurs Afrique at Floing on the Franco-Prussian War memorial at Sedan serve to divert attention away from the

disastrous battle of Sedan through their focus on individual acts of bravery (Figure 4.34). Monuments such as this represent recognition of the role that memorials can play in shaping the memory of the conflict when the well-established victory monument is not applicable.

Through the presentation of soldiers fighting despite the inevitable defeat, this act becomes more significant than that of winning. It is presented as more noble to fight when you know you will lose than to fight hoping for victory. Consequently, memorials develop which seek to highlight the unifying nature of conflict; they demonstrate that there are no winners or losers but that participants suffer regardless of which side they fought. Through this appropriation of the gallantry and sacrifice of the common soldier, the cause for which they fought becomes irrelevant. This allows, for example, the commemoration of Confederate soldiers to continue, even after their association with the continuation of slavery had been firmly established.

### 7.3.1.2 Memorials that mark the location of an historical event

One of the earliest forms of object in the chronological development of the memorial tradition are those that mark the position of a significant historical event, such as the death of a prominent individual or the position of a particular regiment (Figure 7.14). These memorials served to guide pilgrims and tourists to the location in which a renowned event took place. As time passes from their construction, the memorials themselves become a focus of tourist interest as much as the location that it serves to mark.

Figure 7.14 Position marker on the Battlefield of Manassas (Position 7th C.A. Regt Captured Pickett'S Battery July 21 1861) (Photograph by the author, 2012).

Through their positioning on a significant spot a relationship is formed between the memorial and the site. The memorial draws its initial significance through its position in a sacred spot, for example where an infamous charge took place, (for example the Charge of the Chasseurs Afrique) or when an important individual was mortally wounded (for example Bartow at the Battle of Manassas, Figure 4.24 ). The same memorial would not have this significance should it be placed in another location unrelated to the site.

As time passes from the battle itself, the site retains its significance through the memorials constructed on it. As autobiographical knowledge of the conflict is lost and veterans can no longer be called upon to guide visitors, the memorials marking the position of events gain significance. The heated discussions which took place amongst veterans regarding the location of certain events, and by relation their associated memorial's position in the years

directly after the conflict, highlights the early recognition of the importance of the sites themselves for the memory of the conflict. Once a site has been established as a site of memory through the construction of a memorial it is incredibly difficult for the perception of this site to be changed.

### 7.3.1.3 Memorials that unite

As the memorial tradition has developed, and their form has become more widely understood, memorials have become available for new purposes that would not have been possible in the early development of the tradition. It might be imagined that memorials which commemorate casualties from both sides would not be possible in the immediate aftermath of the conflict when the sense of emotional loss would be too great to allow reconciliation, nor in the early stages of memorial development when war memorials were still strongly associated with the nation. Yet there are examples which demonstrate that the unifying role of memorials was, in certain contexts, understood very early on in the tradition. In eastern France following the Franco-Prussian War, for example, some communities chose to commemorate all citizens who had died in the conflict together, regardless of which side they fought (Figure 7.15). This kind of commemoration was possible in those areas of France that had a distinct regional identity that was less tied to notions of nationalism. The commemoration of its citizens in this way fulfilled a valuable purpose, creating a platform in which all living members of the community would be brought together and united through their loss. In this way the commemoration of the dead served to heal the divides amongst the living populations.

Figure 7.15 French and German Franco-Prussian War memorial located opposite each other Cimetière du Faubourg, Mouzon France. (Photograph by the author, 2012).

However, unifying memorials are rarley possible in the immediate aftermaths of a conflict and many only came about once the initial traumatic impact of the conflict had subsided. I would argue that unifying memorials can take two forms, memorials which seek to commemorate all victims together in order to demonstrate culpability in past events, and memorials which bring together former belligerents. Memorials which seek to commemorate 'enemy' victims alongside the dead of those responsible for the memorial are rare, and often only result from calls from the victim group for recognition. The Bomber Command Memorial in London, for example, was originally intended only to commemorate those airmen who had lost their lives as a result of British bombing campaigns (6.3.3). Pressure from Germany surrounding the appropriateness of commemorating men whose actions resulted in the deaths of large numbers of civilian casualties forced a revision in the

monument, and it was subsequently dedicated to all victims of the raids. Although dialogue between the two former belligerents was in this example limited, the memorial process can form the basis of a discussion which serves to bring together former enemies and to aid in the process of reconciliation.

The Norman Cross memorial, for example, although commemorating victims of the Napoleonic War, was intended as a symbol of Anglo-French friendship; the Napoleonic casualties featured very minimally in the original ceremony (4.3.8). The act of British and French representatives coming together to jointly commemorate French victims of the British prisoner of war camp served as a cathartic act, burying past animosities and strengthening their alliance on the eve of the First World War.

Such reconciliatory practices, commemorating all victims or acknowledging enemy victims, although they may superficially appear quite inclusive, can be equally selective in the memory they present. The Peace Light Memorial constructed in 1938 on the former battlefield of Gettysburg stood as much as a memorial to the subsequent reconciliation that took place following the American Civil War as it did for the battle itself (Figure 5.49). Yet the reconciliation presented only through white Union and Confederate forces deliberately frames the war within the context of white American history, and excludes African American troops, necessitating further memorial expression such as the African American Civil War Memorial (Figure 6.22).

### 7.3.1.4 Memorials that make a geographical claim

Memorials can be constructed to make a geographical claim on a certain area based upon events that happened there in the past. Whilst these forms of memorial can occur at any stage in the tradition of memorialisation, they are reliant upon the understanding that they are representative of the nation, but also that they symbolise the common solider and as a result are beyond political reproach. These are also necessarily memorials which draw their significance from their particular location. These are more prevalent in areas which have seen shifting international boundaries and within this study are relevant to memorials constructed in the eastern area of France, particularly those areas annexed by Germany following the Franco-Prussian War. In this region, French memorials constructed within the newly acquired German territory gave a clear signal that this area was once French (counteracted by large numbers of German memorials). Yet the commemoration of distant conflicts within this region gave a clear message that this area was historically French, for example, the plaque erected by the Souvenir Français following the Franco-Prussian War in the newly annexed town of Gorze (Figure 7.16). The memorial successfully designates the site as that of a French military hospital, signifying the location as historically French and undermining the German control of the region at the time of the memorial's creation. The motto of the Souvenir Français 'Honneur, Patrie'[83] engraved on the top of the memorial plaque serves to reinforce this message.

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[83] 'Honour, Country'

Figure 7.16 Napoleonic War Memorial erected by the Souvenir Français on the site of a hospital used by the French military during the Napoleonic War (Photograph by the author, 2012).

### 7.3.1.5 Memorials to marginalised individuals/groups

The selective nature of memorials necessarily results in the exclusion of certain groups and individuals. As time passes from the event some groups may feel that they are being deliberately written out of the conflict narrative. These groups may choose to erect their own memorials in order to counteract this exclusion. Examples of this form of memorial include the Women in Service for America Memorial and the African American Civil War Memorial. It might be imagined that such memorials are a recent phenomenon and dependent upon the chronological developments that have taken place within the memorial

tradition. Yet in fact it is the time that has passed from the conflict itself which is important in the development of this form of memorial. This type of memorial process is only possible after enough time has passed from the conflict itself for the development of an historic narrative relating to the conflict. As a result the 'Nuns of the Battlefield Civil War Memorial', unveiled in 1924 and which sought to highlight the role of women in the Civil War (Figure 7.17), should be viewed as the same process as the Japanese American memorial to patriotism during WWII unveiled in 2000, as both seek to highlight the experiences of groups that had previously been marginalised from the memory of the conflict, and both were only possible because of the time that had passed (50 years) from the events they commemorate (CT).



Figure 7.17 'Nuns of the Battlefield Monument' Washington D.C. Photograph of the unveiling Hirst Milhollen 1926.[84]

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[84] Nuns of the Battlefield. Underwood 7 Underwood. Geograhical File. Library pf Congress, Prints & Photographs Division (Copy by the author, 2012)

Although memorials which commemorate previously marginalised or un-commemorated groups take many different forms, perhaps two core types of memorial can be defined. Firstly, those which seek to demonstrate the contribution of a particular individual or group to a conflict or event. Secondly, those memorials which seek to establish a particular group or individual as a victim. As the Japanese American Memorial to Patriotism has demonstrated (1.1, 6.3.2), tensions created by these two, potentially dichotomatic, experiences can persist for many years after the events themselves.

## 7.3.1.6 The Suitability of the memorial form

Processes of memorialisation can be utilised to overcome the tension involving the ways that past experiences are remembered. The construction of a memorial is ideal for debating the shared history of these groups as they create a suitable platform for discussion within each group, and allow negotiations to take place regarding the divisions created during past conflicts. The construction of a memorial facilitates the resolution of these divisions through the provision of images and symbolism that allow for multiple interpretations of the same element. James Young, for example, describes the ways in which the multiple interpretations available for the Los Angeles Holocaust Memorial were used to overcome divisions within the local community (Young 1993: 303). The last two decades have seen increasing awareness of the divergent ways in which the past can be understood. There has been a greater understanding that the meaning of historical images is neither universal nor intrinsic, but that it 'changes as audiences actively reinterpret what they see or hear by placing it in alternative contexts derived from their diverse social backgrounds' (Glassberg

1996: 10). It is therefore no longer expected that each visitor to a site of memory should have the same experience or that a singular narrative should be presented at the site itself. As Edward Linenthal observed, 'museum exhibits, memorials and historic sites are increasingly vibrant arenas for debates over issues of national identity,' no longer is the past thought of as 'a store house of facts, as a fixed resource, with a single message to be retrieved by the historian' (Linenthal 2001: xi). Instead it is anticipated that memorials and museums should have multiple interpretations, and allowances are made for this, making the memorial the ideal form to introduce a new group into a wider historical narrative since it has the potential to negotiate between the marginalised group and the wider community.

The war memorial form is particularly suitable for this aim, owing to the meanings associated with this particular form of monument. Implicit meanings of a war memorial have developed over time, and as a result memorials are no longer reliant upon the names of the 'heroes' inscribed upon them to the make the object sacred, but that the use of the memorial form itself now serves to sanctify the names. The names and the memorial have therefore become mutually reliant upon one another. When a new memorial is constructed the names become sacrosanct through their physical presence on the memorial. Thus by creating a tangible reminder of their wartime experience and situating their narrative within the war memorial form, previously excluded groups such as Asian Americans, African Americans, and American Indians can be seen to be producing an easily recognisable and legitimate form of monument in order to incorporate its particular past within the wider national narrative. As Savage discusses in relation to Civil War memorials, 'public monuments exercise[d] a curious power to erase their own political origins and become sacrosanct' (Savage 1997:7). Arguably the most salient example of this is provided by the

Vietnam Veterans Memorial, Washington D.C. This memorial proved highly controversial during the planning stages but since its construction it has become one of the most visited memorials in the United States. This process is particularly relevant to the memorialisation of groups who are considered marginalised and have historically not had a comfortable relationship with the dominant group. The construction of these memorials presents the opportunity to incorporate alternative perceptions of the past within the historical narrative, and in particular to the narrative that is presented through existing memorials.

### 7.3.1.7 Memorials to promote or create tourism

The tourist value of memorials was recognised very early in their development. Following the battle of Gettysburg, for example, it was established that individuals would want to visit the site of this iconic battle. Many early memorials at this site can, as a result, be seen as a response to this early battlefield tourism (Weeks 2009). Yet this type of memorial construction is reliant upon the site of the memorial. Individuals want to visit the site of historic events, and memorials marking the spot where these events took place facilitate this visitation. It is the location that is of intrinsic importance, not the memorial.

Yet there is a second type of tourist engagement with memorials, one that is only possible when enough time has passed for a memorial to have acquired an intrinsic heritage value beyond its remembrance purpose. This form of engagement is problematic as the presentation of a memorial as a heritage object necessarily has implications for the intangible qualities that the memorial represents as an object of remembrance, and it can result in a singular interpretation of the object (6.3.7).

### 7.3.2 Naming/ not naming- adding names

Issue of naming has become intrinsic to the understanding of memorials. The distinguishing

characteristic of a contemporary war memorial is the democratic list of all those who fought

regardless of rank or station. It has been suggested that the name is important because of

its capacity to represent the whole life of an individual, not just a single moment. Maya Lin

reflecting on her design for the Vietnam Veterans Memorial in Washington D.C,

commented:

> The use of names was a way to bring back everything someone could remember
>
> about a person … the ability of a name to bring back every single memory you have
>
> of that person is far more comprehensive than a still photograph, which captures a
>
> specific moment in time or a single event or a generalized image that may or may
>
> not be moving for all who have connections to that time' Maya Lin *Boundaries*-
>
> quoted in Tritle 2012: 163

Yet this understanding of the monument necessitates personal, autobiographical memories

of the individuals to whom the name relates.

### 7.3.2.1 Petitions to add names after many years

The decision not to record the death of a loved one in a public way was obviously personal

to each family, but it is possible to speculate that for those who had lost loved ones and

who knew that they would never forget that person that perhaps the sight of that name on

a local war memorial was viewed as an unnecessary trauma, or perhaps for those who disagreed with the conflict that they felt no need to associate with it. Additionally, as demonstrated by the many disagreements and political rivalries acted out throughout the memorial process, perhaps it was a disagreement with the memorial committee itself that the resulted in a refusal to allow a family member's name to be included on its lists.

As the memorial tradition has progressed and the recording of names has become expected, many are more willing to attribute the omission of a name to clerical error than to a conscious decision on the part of a relative. This has resulted in the contemporary practice of petitioning to have the name of a long lost relative added to the local memorial. Yet the perceived damage that this would cause to what has now become in many cases an historic object in its own right often results in heated discussions between those who wish to care for the fabric of the memorial and those who want to see the name of their loved one added. In Preston, this resulted in the council issuing a statement in which they described the process through which the names were originally listed highlighting the fact that those names not listed were a result of a deliberate decision made by the family at the time. Such processes demonstrate that in no way should temporal distance from the conflict itself be viewed as a measure of emotive response to the object.

Figure 7.18 First World War Memorial Plaques, Preston Museum (left) Light Show projecting names onto the Preston War Memorial 23rd November 2013 (right). (Photographs by the author, 2013).

### 7.3.3.1 Individual engagement with memorials

Practices which demonstrate individual engagement with war memorials determine two important factors for the study of memorialisation. Firstly, that the expression of individual grief is not restricted to the private sphere. Secondly, that an emotive response is not necessitated by autobiographical memories of the individual being commemorated. It is clear that for those who have lost family members in conflict, a war memorial can have a special significance. Often relatives of the deceased choose to demonstrate this personal link through the deposition of photographs or other objects relating to the individual at the site of the memorial. These votive offerings serve to demonstrate that the memorial represents a real life lost and that the memory of that life is being conserved by those close

to him or her. Yet by taking a wider temporal approach it can be demonstrated that this process is in no way limited to those with autobiographical memories of the individuals being commemorated. The practice of dedicating personal memorial plaques around the First World War memorial in Comines, and the photograph of a Canadian soldier left at his grave in Arras, can be viewed as part of the same process (Figure 7.19); both seek to demonstrate that the name represents an individual loss and that the memory of that individual is being remembered.



Figure 7.19 First World War Memorial surrounded by individual memorial plaques, Comines, France, (left) Photographs left at Commonwealth War Graves in Arras Cemetery, France (right).

# 8    CONCLUSION

## 8.1 Introduction

This research has examined the development of the memorialisation of common soldiers from its beginnings in the mid-19th century through to 2014 in the UK, France and the USA.

What has emerged is a complex and multifaceted tradition in which memorials have more than one function and can mean many different things to many different people. By reducing memorials to a product only of the distinct social and political circumstances of the events or individuals they commemorate prevents their full understanding. The wide temporal scope and comparative approach adopted by this thesis has resulted in three interconnected contributions to the field of war memorial studies.

Firstly, it has demonstrated that war memorialisation can be viewed as a distinct tradition in its own right and provided a history of their development when currently none exists. Rather than viewing each memorial as a distinct product of its social and political context, this thesis has examined the war memorial as a type of object, one whose form can be seen to develop over time.

Secondly, it has provided a framework for understanding war memorials that is not based only upon the chronological date of construction, but instead conceptualises memorials within three parallel timescales; the chronological time within the war memorial tradition (O-P), the time that has passed from the conflict commemorated (CT) and the time that has passed from the construction of the memorial (MT).

Finally, by examining the same memorials at different points throughout their lifespan this thesis has demonstrated that engagement with memorials can continue for many years after construction. Despite suggestions that war memorials have a 'shelf-life' (Winter and Sivan 1999: 16; Winter 2006: 140), that they lose their meaning once those responsible for their construction have died or moved away, this thesis has demonstrated that memorials and their associated ceremonies do have relevance and meaning to individuals throughout their existence through to today. In some cases, their contemporary meaning can be greater than that at the time of their construction, but that this relevance and meaning has changed significantly over time.

Together these three contributions have provided a new way of examining war memorials, one which moves beyond their individual social and political contexts.

## 8.2 Research and Methodology

This thesis has taken a wholly inclusive approach to the memorial tradition and examines all forms of communal war memorials constructed from 1860 until the present in the UK, France and the USA. This includes both memorials constructed within this timeframe that commemorate much earlier conflicts, and those constructed within these geographical areas but which commemorate events that took place in other locations. This research has examined war memorialisation as a *process* not as an *event*. In doing so it had sought to understand memorials far beyond the time of their initial construction. As a result this thesis has examined both the process of memorial construction, *and* processes of continued engagement with memorials. All forms of engagement have been considered within the

thesis, including those which result in the damage or destruction of a memorial. Within Chapters 4, 5 and 6 processes of memorial construction and continued engagement are examined in chronological order of their occurrence. Chapter 7 examines the themes in both construction and engagement that occur regardless of time period or geographical location.

The broad longitudinal approach adopted by this thesis necessitated an integrated methodology in order to examine fully the broad range of memorial processes. The examination of memorials ranging from 1860 through to 2014 prevented a historical study of each individual memorial plaque and monument; instead an archaeological approach was adopted which viewed the memorial as a category of object which evolved over time. In doing so, this thesis has drawn out the broader themes within the war memorials tradition which would not have been possible had an entirely historical approach been taken.

Together Chapters 4 and 5 examined the development of war memorialisation from 1860 to 1939, a wherein methodology was employed which integrated both field research at the memorials themselves and selective archive research. The archive research has demonstrated both the possibilities for more in depth studies (as exemplified by the many existing memorial case studies), and the potential for situating these studies within a much broader framework of memorial processes. Using this approach it is possible to demonstrate that what may appear to be a unique response, grounded in the soci-political context of a particular group or geographical region, actually has many parallels with other memorials constructed in other areas and in other points in time. Within the chronological development of memorial processes there is also a cyclical process in which older forms of memorial response are reused and re-appropriated.

Within Chapter 6 interview data was integrated with that collected from the sites themselves and from archives. This allowed a much closer examination of the processes of memorialisation that take place by people that have no autobiographical experience of the events or individuals being commemorated. This has demonstrated that engagement with war memorials can continue for many years after the conflict itself, and is in no way restricted to those with autobiographical memories of the events and individuals being commemorated.

## 8.3 Main findings

The approach taken within this thesis was chronological, in response to the lack of existing studies that address the entire development of memorials commemorating the common solider. The choice of the UK, France, and the USA as study areas facilitated an examination of the development of memorialisation within countries that had been allied within the timeframe covered by this thesis. This allowed a more nuanced study and comparison of memorial development than if belligerent nations had been chosen.

By beginning its study of memorials in 1860 rather than following the First World War, this thesis has demonstrated that many of the themes which we associate with much later conflicts in fact have their beginnings in much earlier conflicts. Chapter 4 examined the development of memorialisation from 1860 until the outbreak of the First World War, and demonstrated that processes involving the individual burial of the deceased and attempts at recording every name following a conflict began many decades before 1914. This thesis has demonstrated that rather than triggering such processes the First World War, with its

increased casualty rates, in fact provided the opportunity to put into practice processes of memorialisation that had begun over four decades before.

By taking a comparative approach, this thesis has demonstrated that in the UK, France and the USA the memorialisation of the common soldier was driven by conflicts with narratives that were not easily incorporated into existing forms of triumphal and victory monuments. In France and the US South, defeat prevented any form of triumphal memorial and in the UK brutal episodes resulting in the deaths of women and children, and growing criticism on the home front, prevented victorious responses. The development of a form of memorialisation that preferenced the experience of the common solder offered the opportunity for the redemption of those that had experienced defeat.

In Chapter 5 the examination of memorialisation processes that took place following the First World War has demonstrated the extent to which these practices drew upon existing memorial forms. Discourses surrounding First World War memorialisation have framed them within the context of democratisation and universal grief. Yet the examples discussed demonstrate the broad range of memorial responses that were employed to commemorate the conflict, including those which drew on triumphal monumental forms. The provision of democratic memorialisation at a national level did not prevent highly individualised memorialisation on local and private scales. Neither did the conflict prevent the continuation of memorialisation processes relating to earlier conflicts. Particularly in the United States, which had been much less impacted by the First World War, processes of constructing and engaging with Civil War memorials continued throughout the conflict.

As the process of memorialisation has evolved over time, the range of individuals and events deemed appropriate for memorialisation has broadened. This had in part been a

reaction to the memorialisation process itself and is a self-perpetuating practice; as the memorialisation becomes more inclusive, those that have not been memorialised become more conspicuous in their absence and so more memorials are constructed, further highlighting the omission of other, un-memorialised groups.

Whilst the thesis has demonstrated that a distinct memorial tradition does exist and that this has developed over time, this has not had a detrimental impact on the understandings of individual memorials and their engagement. Detailed analysis of memorials has demonstrated the important role they can play for individuals and groups many years after the conflict commemorated. Examination of memorials constructed by those who consider their conflict experiences to be marginalised from dominant narratives has demonstrated the ability for the same monument to hold multiple understandings. Whilst those outside of the group may perceive the monument to be static and un-changing, it is continually reinterpreted and re-defined by the group itself and it is the transmission of this knowledge which allows members of the group to make these interpretations, defining who is a member of the group and who is outside. Thus memorials such as the African American Civil War Memorial, The Memorial to Japanese American Patriotism during World War II, and the proposed American Indian Veteran's Memorial, provide important public opportunities for group cohesion and definition which may not otherwise be possible.

Processes of memorialisation are ideal for debating the shared history of these groups as they create a suitable platform for discussion within each group, and allow negotiations to take place regarding the divisions created during past conflicts. The construction of a memorial facilitates the resolution of these divisions through the provision of images and symbolism that allow for multiple interpretations of the same element. The heated

discussions and passionate campaigns instigated by these groups demonstrate that in no way should temporal distance be considered as an indication of lower emotive responses to the events. The construction of a memorial therefore facilitates the creation of a platform in which to discuss these previously suppressed tensions.

The extended timescale examined within this thesis, which includes memorial processes up to 2014, has demonstrated both continuing memorial construction practices and the different ways in which individuals engage with memorials many years after their creation. Existing memorials, particularly those which are over 100 years old, are not understood in the same way as they were at the time of their construction. In particular, memorials that relate to pre-20th century conflicts are increasingly being incorporated into heritage trails which present them as objects representing the cultural heritage of the region. This process is particularly problematic as it makes the assumption that these monuments are no longer being used for active remembrance purposes.

## 8.4 Further research

The broad temporal and chronological areas covered within this thesis has resulted in the demonstration of clear themes within war memorialisation, though this has prevented an in depth study of many memorials included within this research. Throughout the study this thesis has highlighted many distinct processes of memorialisation which are worthy of further study in their own right.

In France memorial processes concerning Franco-Prussian War memorials which took place in the eastern regions in the post-First World War period require further study. Whilst there

have been studies of the memorialisation which took place following the Franco-Prussian War (Varley 2002, Varley 2008) and that which took place following the First World War (Prost 1992, Sherman 1998, Sherman 1999, Becker 2010), the treatment of existing Franco-Prussian War memorials following the French victory in 1918 has yet to be fully examined. Existing memorials went through dramatic symbolic and often physical transformations in response to the changing political circumstances, and this would benefit a closer historical study.

The underrepresentation of temporary and more ephemeral forms of memorial within the academic literature has also become apparent. Responses such as street shrines allow the immediate development of communities based on a common experience. Consequently they can be viewed as part of the same memorial process as modern online and social media memorials. The development of online communities provides a practical form of commemoration for those who are directly experiencing loss through conflict, facilitating contact with others experiencing the similar losses regardless of geographical location. The function of non-tangible or transitory responses to conflict has yet to be fully explored within the literature and would provide an interesting opportunity for further study.

## 8.5 Conclusion

The wider temporal approach adopted throughout this thesis has facilitated an examination of the development of war memorialisation as a distinct tradition in its own right. This thesis has demonstrated the complex and multifaceted nature of processes of memorialisation. Whilst each memorial can be viewed as a highly individualised response to the unique social

and political context surrounding its construction, it has been made clear that memorials are part of an ongoing tradition of memorialisation. It has proved that memorialisation is a process and not an event. Finally, this thesis has demonstrated that traditional approaches to the study of war memorials are unsuitable when applied to the continuing phenomenon of war memorialisation, particularly within contemporary society.

## APPENDIX 1:  QUESTIONNAIRES

To complement the field, archive and oral testimony research carried out for this thesis (3.5), extensive survey research was also conducted in order to access attitudes towards processes of war memorialisation within contemporary society in the UK and the USA.  The primary aim of these questionnaires was not to find out *if* individuals found memorials relevant, but *why* individuals found them relevant and the meanings they attached to them. As a result, only individuals who had a prior interest in or association with memorials were targeted. The in depth responses required for this qualitative approach necessitated the careful selection of respondents. Many of those targeted were already working within a volunteer position regarding memorials, and consequently they were inclined to commit free time to this subject area.  This allowed the completion of the questionnaire to be viewed as an extension of the volunteer role. The questionnaires aimed to further understand two interrelated processes: firstly engagement with existing war memorials which may commemorate events that no longer form part of each individual's autobiographical memory; secondly the process of building new memorials to current and historic conflicts when the individual involved may also have no autobiographical memory of the event being commemorated. In particular the questionnaires aimed to find the ways in which the treatment of memorials was informed by prior understandings of the ways in which memorials were used in the past.

 An initial trial of surveys was sent to volunteers at the Imperial War Museum War Memorial Archives (formerly the UK National Inventory of War Memorials). This was carried out to test the viability of the methodology and to access both the return rate and the kinds of responses that were to be expected. Paper copies of the questionnaire were included with

the Imperial War Museum newsletter and forms for renewal of membership to the War Memorial Archive. Sixty three responses were received, many of which gave in depth answers to each question. As a result the decision was taken to distribute paper copies of each survey when possible, and when this was not possible to send as attachments to an individually tailored email. Two other institutions were targeted, War Memorials Trust and the National Memorial Arboretum as both have high numbers of volunteers. War Memorials Officers, who have responsibility for all enquiries relating to memorials for their individual county, were also given questionnaires via an individually tailored email. In each case the individual was asked to specify which organisation they belonged to and why they had chosen to work with that particular organisation. War Memorial Officers, who were often allocated this position rather than choosing to take it on, were asked to outline the responsibilities within the role. Within the UK a total of 180 responses were received, allowing to a detailed insight into contemporary perceptions of war memorials to be created.

In the USA the response rate in relation to numbers of questionnaires distributed was considerably less. A number of institutions associated with memorials were targeted, or individuals who work with memorials. These included volunteers at the National Battlefield Parks and members of The Guild of Professional Tour Guides. However whilst response rates were low, 30 completed questionnaires were returned, allowing for a smaller comparative study to be carried out.

The following questions were asked in both U.S. and U.K surveys:

- Why did you decide to volunteer with the (institution)/ what are your duties as a War Memorial Officer?

- Do you think that it is important that war memorials continue to be maintained?

    a. No

    b. So that the war commemorated will never be forgotten

    c. To teach those who have no memory of the conflict

    d. For the families of those who fell

    e. As historic resource

    f. To enhance the city environment

    g. As tourist attractions

    h. As art historical objects

    i. Other (please specify)


- Do you think that memorials are relevant to people today given that most will have no connection to the events they are commemorating?

- Do you think it is important that these memorials are actively used for remembrance or is it acceptable that remembrance takes place only at contemporary memorials?

- Can memorials be important if they are used only as an historic resource and part of the historic environment?

- Many people would not know why memorials were erected or what specifically they commemorate. Do you think that this is importance or can they be used more generally to signify loss in conflict?

- Do you think it is important to make the original message of the memorial understood as far as possible, for example through the use of information boards?

- Do you think that war memorials can still be relevant if they have been removed from their original setting? Under what kind of circumstances do you feel it would be

appropriate to move a memorial? What kinds of new setting do you think would be appropriate for these memorials?

- Do you feel that alterations should be made to existing memorials to make them more suitable for contemporary morals, for example by adding the names of women or those 'shot at dawn.' Or should they be left unaltered, as a reflection of values held during the period of their construction?

- 10. Do you feel that it is appropriate to add the names of contemporary military dead to existing memorials or should these be restricted to the newly built memorials?

- Do you think it is appropriate to use war memorials as sites of political demonstration, for example against violence in Gaze (Hull 2009) or for the rights of homosexual soldiers (Whitehall 1998, 1999)?

- Do you think that efforts should be made to increase the awareness of, and interest in war memorials? If so what do you think should be done?

- Do you think that it is important to continue building new memorials to historical conflicts such as the First World War?

- Do you think it is appropriate that new memorials are being built which single out groups not previously memorialised, for example the Animals in War Memorial (Hyde Park 2004) and the Women at War Memorial (Whitehall 2005)?

- Do you think that monumental memorials are the most appropriate form of contemporary war memorial or would it be better to focus on more practical support for current military personnel?

Where possible, questions were phrased so that they might provoke a strong response. For example 'many people would not know why memorials were erected or what specifically they commemorate' was included before the question 'Do you think this is important or can they be used more generally to signify loss in conflict.' This provided the opportunity for respondents to disagree with the sentiment of the statement, should they feel strongly about the understanding of a memorial. In this way the level of emotive response provoked by a memorial can also be judged.

# APPENDIX 2: HISTORICAL BACKGROUND TO THE INITIAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE WAR MEMORIAL TRADITION

## Historical Background in France, the UK and the USA, 1860-1914

### Introduction

The latter half of the nineteenth and early twentieth century marked a period of great change in each of the three study areas. Despite their differing social and political experiences during this time the three countries have one shared experience, that of conflict. During the period from 1860 through to the beginning of the First World War each country experienced very different conflicts: in the United States a long and protracted Civil War (1861-1865),[85] in France a short but devastating defeat in the Franco-Prussian War (1870-1871), and the UK the last of its imperial wars with the Anglo-Zulu War (1879) and the First (1880-81) and Second (1899-1902) Boer Wars (Dupuy and Dupuy 1977). But, despite their differences, they can respectively be described as each country's first 'modern war' and importantly within this context, the first conflicts in which memorialisation to the common soldier is carried out on a large scale. This Appendix will briefly introduce the historical context for each of the study areas and then draw out common themes that are of direct relevance to the development of war memorialisation.

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[85] The US also engaged in a number of internal conflicts against native Americans throughout this period, including, the Dakota War (1862), Colorado War (1863-1865), Red River War (1874-1875), Great Sioux War (1876-1877) and Nez Perce War (1877), and also embarked on their first conflict as a unified nation the Spanish-American War (1898).

**United States of America**

The American Civil War has come to be considered as *the* defining moment in America's past, described by historian Robert Warren as 'for the American imagination, the great single event of [our] history' (1964: 3). When the war broke out in 1861 its outcome was far from set in stone and no one had predicted the nature of the conflict which lay ahead. The war was the first in American history to involve high numbers of volunteer forces and its battles were some of the bloodiest that had yet to be experienced. The Civil War remains to this day the most costly of all American conflicts in terms of American deaths, resulting in the loss of over 620, 000 men, more than both World Wars and the Korean War and Vietnam Wars combined (Vinovskis 1989, Faust 2001, Schivelbusch 2003: 37). The legacy of the conflict and its memory had a profound impact on American society, particularly in the fifty years following the war (Blight 2001). Although not the only cause of the Civil War, slavery was a fundamental factor in determining the outbreak and subsequent course of the conflict. The resulting emancipation has subsequently been described as 'the cataclysmic event and the central dilemma of the century' (Savage 1997: 3) and along with the obvious unity of the American Republic it provides the conflict's most important legacy.

**France**

Late 19th century France was dominated by a single, short lasting and yet devastating conflict: the Franco-Prussian War. When war broke out between France and Prussia in 1870, few in France believed that it would be anything other than a swift French victory.

Encouraged by unwavering confidence in French military ability and unfounded hopes of support from Italy and Austria-Hungary, the French government had hastily declared war on 15 July 1870 in opposition to Prussian efforts to place a Hohenzollern king on the Spanish throne (Fortescue 2000: 2). Yet less than a year after its outbreak the conflict had resulted not only in the consolidation of the newly formed German Empire, but the total destruction of the military power of Imperial France (Howard 1961: 2). The continuation of the conflict by the Third Republic, following the defeat and surrender of Napoleon III at Sedan on 2 September 1870, resulted in a defeat that represented not just that of the Second Empire but that of France (Varley 2008: 4). In addition, the peace terms that followed, the Treaty of Frankfurt, were not only humiliating[86], but also denied France almost 13 000 square kilometres of territory in Alsace-Lorraine and with it around 1.6 million former French citizens (Heffernan 2001: 27). Yet, significantly in the context of memorialisation, Article 16 of the Treaty made provision for the dead of the conflict and stated that French and German authorities reciprocally agreed to respect and maintain the tombs of soldier buried in their respective territories (Varley 2002: 326).

**United Kingdom**

Unlike France and the USA, no wars were fought within the United Kingdom during this period. British military history from the later-half of the 19th century is marked by a series of imperial wars fought in its colonial territories. Although there are examples of war memorials to earlier imperial conflicts, perhaps the most important of these in terms of

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[86] In order that the French maintain control of the city of Belfort Bismarck insisted that German troops enter Paris and conduct a victory parade along the Champs Élysée.

their memorialisation are the First and Second Boer Wars. These conflicts mark the first examples in which the British government was prepared to provide markers for the graves of the dead. Although some have commented that this was merely an afterthought (Laqueur 1994: 152), it does denote a change in attitude towards the way that the conflict was to be remembered, with the loss of life amongst the military becoming increasingly important.

**Themes of direct relevance to the development of war memorialisation**

*Attitudes to death: the rural cemetery movement*

In each of the study areas throughout the 18th and 19th centuries attitudes towards death and the commemoration of the dead underwent significant changes. During the 19th century memorialisation of the dead changed from predominantly an interior phenomenon to one which was exterior and consequently more visible (Mytum 2006). In particular, in the 19th century the Rural Cemetery Movement had revolutionised the ways in which individuals thought about memorialisation (Bender 1974, French 1974). In Europe this movement began in with Père Lachaise which, within a few years of its establishment in 1804, had become a major attraction for both French and international visitors (Kselman 1993: 171). In the United States this movement, and in particular the creation of Mount Auburn Cemetery, Massachusetts in 1831, heralded a change in prevailing attitudes about both death and burial. Mount Auburn was a new type of burial place designed not only to be a decent place of internment for the dead, but also to serve as a cultural institution for the living (French

1974: 38). Similarly within European culture the cemetery was becoming a place of moral enrichment. Any study of the development of the war memorial form must take into consideration this greater concern for the memory of the dead and the way that it could serve the living. Rural cemeteries were intended to serve as places that the living could visit for cultural enrichment and the construction of large numbers of monuments on the battlefields should be viewed within this context (Troyansky 1987).

European 19th century burial practice had an importance influence on the development of memorialisation process. The practice of commemorating multiple burials on a single family gravestone can be viewed as a precedent to the continued use of a single war memorial for subsequent conflicts. In particular, the practice of a later burial resulting in the simultaneous commemoration of earlier deaths also provides an historical precedent to reflexive practices of war memorialisation (Mytum 2002).

### *Modern warfare*

Despite their differences these conflicts shared one common factor in that they can all be described as each country's first experience of 'modern' warfare. The American Civil War heralded a new form of war not just in terms of the technologies and tactics employed (Hagerman 1992) but also that its battles were generally indecisive and the war dragged on for much longer than was initially anticipated (Smith 2007: xiv). Similarly, the advanced weaponry and urbanised nature of the Franco-Prussian War has resulted in it being viewed as the first technological war in a European context (Pick 1993). Whilst the Boer Wars may have been less technologically advanced they too can be viewed as a modern warfare in

terms of the use of trench warfare, and the involvement of civilian populations (Morgan 2002). This development of more effective military technologies not only dramatically increased the number of casualties but also intensely affected the manner of death. Following the battle of Gravelotte-St Privat when German troops came to into the village of Gravelotte following hours of heavy shelling they described the bodies of the French they found as 'fearfully torn and mutilated by the German shell; limbs and bodies were blown from thirty to fifty places apart, and the stones and sand were here and there covered with pools of blood' (Hönig quoted in Howard 1961:171). This is dramatically different from those killed during earlier conflicts.

### *Volunteers*

Each conflict also marked the first widespread use of volunteer forces and the involvement of civilian populations. At the outbreak of the American Civil War so many men had volunteered to fight that War Departments on both sides struggled to produce the quantities of provisions necessary for such a vast force. The First and Second Boer Wars formed an important precursor to the First World War in  their use of civilian recruits who often proved more useful than trained soldiers (Rotte and Schmidt 2003). Although France had not relied on volunteer forces, the Franco-Prussian War created high numbers of civilian casualties as the place of battle moved into the towns and cities. The death of ordinary citizens in battle produced a group of individuals who were deemed more worthy of respectful treatment than military forces in the earlier decades. Previously soldiers had been viewed as little better than common criminals, and as a result their commemoration had received no consideration (Mosse 1990).

*Media*

The effect of increased death tolls and greater use of civilian forces was amplified in each of the three study areas by increased coverage of the conflicts in the media. During the American Civil War increased use of photography resulted in widespread exposure to the, often grisly, aftermaths of battles. More advanced media technologies also increased the audiences for war correspondence which was reported both nationally and internationally. Such coverage was not always favourable, particularly for example during the Second Boer War when the British use of concentration camps against local populations was reported negatively in both the British and international press (Morgan 2002). Increased media coverage of the conflict directly influenced the development of memorialisation by giving greater visibility of the bodies of the dead who had previously only been reported statistically.

*Difficult memories*

Historically, war memorialisation had been grounded in triumphalism and the celebration of victory. But, importantly within the context of the development of memorialisation, the conflict experiences within each of the study areas were ill-suited to traditional forms of commemoration. In the American South any form of commemorative response was overshadowed by the ultimate defeat of the Confederacy. Even within the victorious North, triumphalism over states with which they had subsequently been united could hardly be considered an appropriate response. In addition, issues surrounding the emancipation, and in particular the active engagement of African American forces resulted in complexities within the memory and memorialisation of the conflict that were to continue in the following decades. During the initial memorialisation of the conflict, issues surrounding

slavery and the emancipation were conspicuously absent. The Civil War may have been the defining moment in American history but it was very clear that this was a white history which had no room for narratives of slavery.[87] This exclusion was to have a dramatic impact on the kinds of memorial constructed during later periods.

In France, defeat in the Franco-Prussian War brought about dramatic changes; not only did Napoleon III's defeat at Sedan bring about the end of the Second Empire, heralding the rise of the Third Republic, but the peace terms that followed imposed a high war indemnity and annexed large portions of French territory in Alsace and Lorraine. As a result, there were calls amongst some nationalists for immediate revenge and the reversal of territorial losses through a second conflict, a sentiment that popularly became known as *revanchism*.

The extent to which the wider population was actually affected by *revanchist* feeling is a matter of considerable debate (Carroll 1931: 187). In the years immediately following the conflict, attempts were made to keep the image of Alsace-Lorraine alive. On schoolroom maps Alsace-Lorraine was shaded purple, the colour of mourning (Boswell 2000: 131), and allegorical depictions of the lost provinces became incredibly popular.[88] Yet, such propaganda had little impact on genuine political policy and it is now widely agreed that Alsace-Lorraine were little more than after-thoughts in a *revanche* that was primarily concerned with redressing French humiliation in the colonial sphere (Schivelbusch 2003: 163). Despite *revanchism's* failure to form a genuine objective of France's foreign policy it

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[87] Although outside the remit for this thesis, it can be argued that this process also took place in South Africa following the First and Second Boer Wars. As Nasson argues, for decades after the conflict 'white and almost exclusively Afrikaner war commemoration and observance carried not a trace of acknowledgement of the experience and losses of the thousands of black people who were caught up in hostilities in one way or another' (Nasson 2000a:150).

[88] For example, the increasing popularity of the  in Alsace and France of caricatures of Jean-Jacques Waltz, commonly known as Hansi, which sought to undermine the legitimacy of the German rule and emphases ties between France and Alsace (Fischer 2010)

had at least become part of the symbolic, patriotic narrative, available to be revived as and when it was needed. Early French war memorial processes must, therefore, be contextualised within this climate of lingering resentment against the defeat and subsequent loss of territory. It could be assumed that monuments constructed following the Franco-Prussian war would be highly nationalistic in character and draw upon these *revanchist* themes, particularly given France's long history of triumphalist monumental construction (see Michalski 1998). Yet the combination of the humiliating defeat, and in the case of the eastern territories, rule by German authority, prevented the construction of traditional glorifying monument. This resulted in the development of a new form of monument, a war memorial which commemorated all loss of life in conflict not just that of great generals and leaders.

Whilst Britain had ultimately been victorious in its imperialist endeavours in the Anglo-Zulu and Second Boer War, this was not without a high cost. Britain had suffered a humiliating defeat at the Battle of Isandlwana during the Anglo-Zulu war, and the Second Boer War had been fraught with controversy. As historian Bill Nasson describes:

> '**London's colonial war effort was characterized by humiliating military reverses, an increasing financial burden and a rising moral fuss within domestic Liberal and other anti-war opinion over the rigour of is internment policy and other anti-guerrilla tactics which inflicted great suffering upon Boer civilians, especially women and children' (Nasson 2000: 111).**

By far the most controversial memory of the conflict had been the use of 'concentration camps' and their resultant high numbers of civilian casualties (Stanley 2006: 3). But, whilst the news of this had caused controversy amongst the British public at the time, it did little

to prevent the widespread celebration of subsequent victories. The aftermath of the Siege of Mafeking, for example, produced one of the largest outpourings of public commemoration yet to be seen (Krebs 1999). Consequently, the construction of memorials to the common soldier can be seen as an attempt at selective remembrance which negotiates between those events which were more difficult to reconcile with the commemorative spirit.

# APPENDIX 3: 17th MAINE MEMORIAL, GETTYSBURG

"THE 17TH MAINE FOUGHT HERE IN THE WHEATFIELD 2 1-2 HOURS, AND AT THIS POSITION FROM 4:10 TO 5:45 O'CLOCK P.M. JULY 2, 1863, ON JULY 3. AT TIME OF THE ENEMY'S ASSAULT IT REINFORCED THE CENTRE AND SURPORTED ARTILLERY <u>LOSS 132. KILLED OR MORTALLY WOUNDED 3 OFFICERS. 37 MEN. WOUNDED </u>5 OFFICERS 87 MEN. THIS REGIMENT OF VOLUNTEERS FROM WESTERN MAINE, , WAS MUSTERED INTO U.S. SERVICE AT PORTLAND AUGUST 18, 1862, FOR 3 YEARS, IT TOOK PART IN THE BATTLES OF FREDERICKSBURG, CHANCELLORSVILLE, GETTYSBURG, WAPPING HEIGHTS, AUBURN, KELLY'S FORD, LOCUST GROVE, MINE RUN, WIDERNESS, PO RIVER, SPOTTSYLVANIA, FREDERICKSBURG ROAD, NORTH ANNA, TOTOPPOTMY, COLD HARBOUR,

PETERSBURG, JERULASLEM ROAD, DEEP BOTTOM, PEEBLE'S FARM, FORT HELL, BOYDTON ROAD, SIEGE OF PETERSBURG, *HATCHER'S RUN, FALL OF PETERSBURG, DETONSVILLE, SAILOR'S CREEK, FARMVILLE, APOMATTOX. AGGREGATE ACTUAL STRENGTH IN SERVICE 91 OFFICERS, 1475 MEN. KILLED AND DIED OF WOUNDS, 12 OFFICERS 195 MEN. DIED OF DISEASE 4 OFFICERS, 128 MEN. DIED IN CONFEDERATE PRISONS, 31 MEN. WOUNDED NOT MORTALLY, 33 OFFICERS, 519 MEN. MISSING IN ACTION, FATE UNKNOWN, 35 MEN. TOTAL LOSSES 357. MUSTERED OUT JUNE 4,*

*Taken from  1865 Letter from the War Department Gettysburg National Park Commission (Oates Folder 2_7)*

## APPENDIX 4: LETTER FROM COLNEL OATES TO WILLIAM ROBBINS OF THE BATTLEFIELD COMMISSION, GETTYSBURG

Montgomery, Ala., Oct. 2, 1902.

Maj. William M. Robbins

My dear friend:

I have your letter of the 27th ult., and thank you for it, I must say however, that I am greatly surprised as the position taken by your colleagues of the commission in regard the erection of monuments or markers upon the battlefield. Requiring monuments to be put by Brigade thus marking the position of a regiment in the line of Brigades at the point where formed for beginning the attack, will simply prevent any from being erected to the Confederates. There never will be any appropriation by States to do that and the soldiers are as a rule too poor to do it and no individual who is able to do it will ever erect one in that way. I will not do it certainly. I acquiesced in the adverse decision not to allow markers where the right and left of my regiment rested, and proposed at my own expense to erect a simple inexpensive monument about where the center of my regiment stood at the most advanced spot, and where my brother and other officers were killed, and where I sustained nearly all my losses. I know that you would not object to this, but your associates on the Commission do so object, I intend to place the matter before Congress and will write it up in the newspapers for I consider it a great wrong on our side. They have not applied that rule to the Union soldiers as I have seen monuments erected all over the field to regiments and individuals on that side.

I do not make this as a threat and hope that they will not adhere to a rule of the kind but will be more liberal. I am not proposing a fights of any Kind but Maj., I consider such a

decision as that an insult both to our dead comrades and to the living, I and other Southerners voted to create the battlefield Commission, but never with a view to such a rule as that.

Again thanking you for your kindness and assuring you that I shall never visit Gettysburg if I am not allowed to erect a little simple monument to the memory of my comrades who died on that spot.

Your Comrade and Friend.

WM.C. OATES

The Bill to establish the Park and Park Comm. Would never have passed if I had known that it was susceptible to the construction now put upon it. Major, try to get them to change that ruling.

# APPENDIX 5: UNVEILING OF THE 51<sup>ST</sup> (HIGHLAND) DIVISION WAR MEMORIAL, BEAUMONT-HAMEL, SOMME

'Everyone who has seen much of the Somme battlefields, which contributed so much to the breaking of German arrogance, must be struck by the character of the memorials there. They all express the same touch of local patriotism, and if the greater patriotism of reverence and affection. They are never merely proud; and they are more than monuments. They are real places of pilgrimage, as to-day's gathering shows. There is many an only son lying here on the Somme, One who fought in the 51st Division will have the soil of his grave turned up a little to-day. His aged parents- simple folks from the North of Scotland, to whom continental travel is by no means a holiday- have bought over the best gift they can give him. The mother carried a sapling from Scotland, with the earth still about its roots, and the father has a biscuit box filled with soil from the little garden at home. "I want the boy to have a bit of the home ground about him," he says. When the ceremony is over, he will set out, with "mother," for the cemetery at Mailly-Maillet, a mile and a half away, with a simple sprig of heather. That is what the Beaumont-Hamel Memorial means to many a Scottish heart.' (memorial book describing the unveiling of the 51st (Highland) Division War Memorial at Beaumont-Hamel, Somme)

## APPENDIX 6: LETTER FROM MRS. M. PAXTON TO CAPTAIN W.L. GREY MAY

Letter:

May 20. 1933

Cap't. W.L. Grey

Gettysburg, Pa.

Dear Sir;-

In going over the battlefield a week ago, it was called to my attention that the name of my father on the Penna. Monument was not completed, and I have been thinking if it could not be so done the same as others on the monument.

My father's name was, William D. Mc, Cloughan, a private in Co. I. I51st Infantry, Penna.

On the plate that is on the monument it reads Mc.Cloughan. No given name or initials are there.

Will you please inform me what should be done or what method to pursue to have the name placed as the others are.

I will appreciate a reply for which please accept my sincere thanks.

Mrs. Elias M. Paxton

(Letter from Mrs. M. Paxton to Captain W.L. Grey May 1933)

In response to this request the name on the memorial was subsequently changed (Gettysburg Archives War Memorial Files Box 20, Folder 13).

## APPENDIX 7: LETTER FROM MRS ANNETTE FERRY MACDONOUGH TO THE GETTYSBURG SUPERINTENDENT

Letter:

East Grange, New Jersey

February 15, 1929

Superintendent, Battleground,

Gettysburg, Pa.

Dear Sir:-

A recent visit to the Battlefield of Gettysburg by friends, disclosed the fact that the name of my Grandfather, Captain, Edward W. Ferry, had been left off of the State of Pa.'s large monument. My Grandfather died at Danville, Ill., in the National Home for Disabled Volunteer Soldiers on January 12th, 1909 and is buried in the Home Cemetery. In a letter received from Mr.O.K. Marshall, Governor, Danville Branch, N.H.D.V.S., which I received on February 12, 1929 in answer to a letter I sent them, they gave me the following information:-

"Dear Madam:-

Am in receipt of your letter of the 6th, in reference to your Grandfather, Captain Edward W. Ferry. The records of this Branch of the National Home show that her was transferred from the Western Branch Nov. 28th, 1901, and died while here January 12th, 1909, being buried in the Home Cemetery.

According to the record of service of Home papers, your Grandfather served as follows:-

Enlisted April 18th, 1861 at Phila, Pa, as Q.M.Sergt., 19th Regt. Penna. Vol. Infy. Discharged August 9th, 1861, at Phila. As Q.M.Sergt.

Reenlisted Sept., 3$^{rd}$, 1861 ar Phila, Pa, as 1$^{ST}$ Lieut., at Phila., Co. E 90$^{th}$ Penna. Vol. Infy. Discharged Jan. 4$^{th}$, 1863 at White Oak, Va.

Reenlisted July 2$^{nd}$ 1863 as 1$^{st}$ Lieut., at Phila. Pa. Co. A, 52$^{nd}$ Penna. Vol. Infy. Discharged at Phila., Spet 3$^{rd}$, 1863.

Reenlisted June 14$^{th}$, 1864 as 1$^{st}$ Lieut., at Phila. Co. C. 186$^{th}$ Pa. Vol. Infy. Discharged at Phila. Pa., Auguest 18$^{th}$, 1865.

(Signed) O.K. Marshall, Governor

Danville Branch, N.H.D.V.S."

My Grandfather participated in the Survivors Association held there in 1890 when the Tree Monument, Eagle Monument and Boulder Monument were dedicated and a book of this event, which is now in my possession, was presented to my Grandfather by M.V.B.Davis and A.J. Sellers in January 1890. There is a picture of my Grandfather taken with a group of Survivors in front of the Tree Monument in this book.

Will you kindly let me know is this is sufficient information to enable you to add my Grandfather's name to the monument and if so, when you have added the name, will you kindly let me know.

Thanking you in advance,

Yours very truly,

Mrs Annette Ferry Macdonough

436 Main Street,

East Grange, N.J.

(Gettysburg Archives War Memorial Files Box 20, Folder 13)

## APPENDIX 8: GENERAL VAUGHT, WOMEN IN MILITARY SERVICE FOR AMERICA MEMORIAL

October 25th 2012 10:00

Author: Explains project and ask how memorial came about

Vaught: (1:00) This one came about for two reasons and I didn't have anything to do the how it, with that part of it, I'm the implementer. And it came about by some people in, some women who'd served primarily in WWII in northern Ohio, who decided, and this was during the, all the publicity about the Vietnam memorial and there was a lot of publicity. We weren't thanked, they weren't treat right and all that, So these women began to think about that so they collected money among themselves and did a monument. I've seen a picture of it and it's more like a gravestone, you know. It's just a small thing but it honoured the women who had served in the armed forces. That was in Ohio and they got the Congresswoman from Ohio from Toledo to come and speak. And so she was talking to them about why did you feel that you needed to do this, aren't you represented in all of the other memorials and they said no we're not. It's basically the memorials have been for the men. And she decided that when she got back to explore this further and of course found that basically that was true, and if you go around, in fact today if you go around Washington you don't find much of anything. But by Constitution Hall by the DAR there's a statue on the south side of that to nurses of the Civil War but that's, there just isn't much and that's true throughout the country so she decided to sponsor legislation to have a memorial built to honor the women. Simultaneously with this there was a small Veteran group that was meeting in Chicago and one of the officers of that was not a veteran, name was June Lynns

and she was very interested in veterans and in fact she later wrote a book about women

veterans and she in, they were just sitting having a drink or something and discussing things

and this little organization is one that it takes causes they were the, it was this little veteran

organization that sponsored the idea that there should be an international organization for

veterans and got that going, but they've done a number of things like that. So she convinced

them that they should take this on that there should be a women's war memorial, that's

what they were going to call it. Which wasn't a very good title because women historically

have not been in favour of war, that sort of said that there were. So it happens that she lives

here in the Washington area as did one of the other officers of that organization and there

may have been at least three of their officers who were from this area and so they heard

that Marie Rose Okarr who was the congress woman from Toledo Ohio was considering

legislation so they went and talked to her and asked if they could help, and she said well

they certainly could because if this was going to be a success (6:00) they'd have to get the

support of the department of defence, of veterans affairs and the big veteran organizations

and so they said they would work on that and they did very successfully and as a result it

took a couple of years but the legislation was finally passed in, they started in 1985, and in

1987 the legislation was passed and signed in to law by President Regan and what it, and it

named, and I've always been amused by this, and I tell you if I had anything to do with this is

wouldn't be as long as it is. 'Women in Military Service for America Memorial' It was named

by one of the men from that group and they had I guess many discussions over what the

name might be and that's what they settled on, and the Congress woman agreed and an

organization in those types of legislation has to be named if they're going to carry this out

and the foundation had been created for the purpose of carrying this out and the legislation

provided for building a memorial in Washington D.C or its environs meaning the whole area

to honor women. So that's how it got started it was the women in Ohio talking to Marie Rose Oakar I think and then this other organization, which is the American Veteran, I think it's the American Veterans Association and so they were the ones that really got it through they went to the services and there was a hearing in the, I was supposed to be the person speaking for the air force because I was a senior ranking woman in the air force at that time and happened that I was also chairing the NATO committee of women and the NATO armed forces and when I was supposed to do that was when we were having our big bi-annual meeting so I couldn't do it. And that would have been my involvement with it, but it turned out that they didn't have the hearing and all they did was submit their papers (9:00) of what they would have said if they'd been there. So I retired and came back to this area to live, because I'd lived here for ten years before my last assignment in Illinois. And General Lynns called and asked me to be on the board of directors and that was in December 1986 and they we started meeting, getting a board together and when they had created the foundation and got that authorized by the District of Columbia they had have had to have a board of directors so they had taken people from their veterans organizations with the intent (10:00) that when that whole project started that they would be replaced by military women. A couple of them stayed for a while, three of them I guess started two of them dropped out and then finally the third one dropped out. But in March of 1987 I was elected president at a meeting I didn't go to because I forgot about it so that's how it got started. It was rather interesting to me because generally speaking there was support for this, that the usual reaction you would get from people was 'it's about time' and I thought well this is really great we'll use this as the theme and as part of our advertising. Didn't work, we had to get rid of that early in the game, that didn't sell. Even though that's how people felt, it's about time (11:00), it didn't bring any money. So that's how it got started. So the and then

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one of the members of the board had served in England during WWII and she, as an enlisted person and she happened to visit parliament the day that they announced D-Day had taken place, when Winston Churchill came, and that's that. Anyway when I saw that this was really going to take somebody full time and I decided that if someone would, and that turned out to be one person Helen Jefferies the would agree to help me that I would quit the work I was doing and I work full time to get this done and so Helen and I took our address books and we mailed to all our friends and said they should donate for this great idea and they wrote back and indicated that they wanted to know where it was going to be before they got interested in supporting it. So I said we've got to get a site so we rode around with representatives with the National Park Service because they manage the available land for something like this and we looked at different sites and settled on the site where we are, our idea was that we wanted to get it on the tourist path so that people would come and visit is second that we would be able to build so that we would have a place to tell women's stories with exhibits and things like that.

(so that was in the planning at the start to have the museum?)

And third that if we could find a location that was relevant to women serving in the military that would be a big plus. I (14:00) I wasn't sure that we would be able to fulfil that. But, when we got the site there at the main gate at Arlington National Cemetery, there relevance, so we succeeded in all three of our goals. Then we wrote to our friends again, then they wanted to know what the memorial was going to look like. So I said well we're going to have to get a design, so them we set about doing that. Now we were encouraged by the Park Service to get you know four or five of the architectural firms here in the area to offer proposals and the Vietnam memorial had been so successful with an open competition

that I felt that I wanted to go that route. And that's what we did. Now they had about 200 submissions we had I think around 130. But we ended up with a very good design for the location. And then from then on the main issues were resolving some design issues but the big issue was getting the money, it always is getting the money. We go unanimous approval of the four commissions that we had to go through very easily. And within 6 weeks of picking the site we had unanimous approval of it. It was money and that took us ten years in total.

Author: How did you go about fundraising?

Vaught: Any way anybody proposed virtually. We did direct mail and we did, we went to veteran organizations I did a lot of speaking at military bases, veterans medical centres, I spoke at four of the major credit unions for a series of years. Almost anywhere I was invited I went and spoke

Author: It wasn't just women's groups that you approached?

Vaught: And then we went to the women veteran organizations to get women registered. Because that was a way of raising money. We tried to raffle a million dollar house and we lost about $100,000 on that but we became known it turned out to have been a very beneficial thing because of all the advertising. Everybody knew there was going to be a women's memorial. But we just, and we started selling things. And at that time, there wasn't anybody selling memorabilia for women so that turned out that sort of started that whole thing. Now there's several organizations, including the women's organizations that offer things for sale but we were the ones that entered that whole arena first. (18:00)

Author: Was it important that the memorial came from women, women designers, women involved throughout the process or were you just looking for mass appeal.

I was looking to get mass appeal. Actually, we were never involved with the group of women in Ohio who had built that monument, that just was there sole contribution was getting Marie Rose Okarr's attention the (19:00) veteran organization didn't, they didn't play a whole, they were such a small organization, and basically June Lynn was all, she was here in Washington, she was the secretary, treasurer and she was about the extent of that organization, it wasn't an organization that had a posts, chapters or anything like that. It was just a single, national, small national organization so they didn't contribute a whole lot to this. And I got a former chief (20:00) of the nurse corps of the three services with nurse corps and I got had a service representative from the other, all five service on the board of directors and they were spreading the word and we had great support from the department of defence in getting information out to people during our fundraising times. And we got some corporate support but most corporate support came because there was some woman within that company who got interested in it and promoted it. (21:00) .

Author: What kind of role do you see the memorial playing now it's up and been built?

Vaught: It, the memorial will never be done, it is a living memorial, because one of the features of it is the computer register. So as long as women are going into the various armed forces or various branches of the service there will be women to be registered. And it will be the mission of the foundation to keep collecting the history of women's service and putting that on display in exhibits, through film or whatever we go to. Now that all the magazines and newspapers are going to be on little pads and things. Who know what that will go through. And that will provide a place for people who have served can go and have

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an understanding of the history of women in the military. It's kind of interesting it had served to give women a sense of pride. That they previously hadn't felt in their service. After or during the Fifteenth anniversary celebrations we just had last weekend a woman came up to me and said  she wanted to thank me for what I had done, that the dedication of the memorial was the most important thing in her life. And then she decided maybe her wedding was also important, but that was how she rated it, having it here, seeing that recognition of what she did. Being registered in it was that important to her that she considered it, her first words were it was the most important thing that had happened in her life, the dedication of it was the most important thing that happened in her life. As it happened she was there for the dedication (24:00).

Author: So the primary audience for the memorial is people that have served?

Vaught: Have served or who have family members who have served. We have some sons and other family members who can to this 15th anniversary even though there is deceased they came in the sense of paying tribute to her and the same thing was true of the dedication. I remember receiving a letter from the wife of a man who's sister had served and she was no longer living and he had heard about the memorial and he started contributing to it. And so we came to the dedication and we sent out the invitations, to people who had donated his wife said well I suppose you're gonna decide you wanna go see this thing. And he said well I was sort of thinking about it. And so they came and as they were getting ready he was in t the table and he had a picture of his sister and he was getting this fixed to take with him and she said what are you doing that for and he said I want to see if I can find anybody that knew my sister. And she said that's crazy, you'll never find anybody who knew your sister. And they went to the, she had served in the army, and we

had reunions and we had service luncheons and they went to the army service luncheon and she said they hadn't hardly entered that space, a hanger at Anders Airforce base and he had this picture, a big picture and somebody came up and they had known her, served with her and there were five or six people that come up and they knew her. And she said in her letter to us I was wrong, it was right for him to come and it meant so much to him.

Cushman: enters- apologizes for being late

Author: What about younger people that visit the memorial, people that don't have any experience of the military- do you think it's important for them? (27:00)

Vaught: I think it's important to them from the standpoint of education. As I look at the e have three books that people who visit can write their comments in and it's interesting to see what young school age children write about and I think it helps them see that there's a role for women. Is what you would?

Cushman- well certainly but also I think there's so many of them have brother or sister or aunts or uncles who are, or have been deployed to Iraq or Afghanistan so there familiar with (28:00)

Vaught- or they see the movies

Cushman- Or they see the movies exactly, so it's not foreign to them by any means but I think it brings home to them and certainly that women are a major part of this fight and that they're warriors as well. Did speak general about Faces of the Fallen?

Vaught: No one of the other things that we've been able to provide for the Washington D.C. area and for the country is a place that has the space and the capability to exhibit, put

things on exhibit and particularly pictures and one of the women her in the Washington DC area, an artist as the war was really heating up and more and more people were being killed, thought it would be a good thing that we had over 1000 fatalities at this point, casualties and she got artists from around the country to agree to take pictures of these casualties, being who had been casualties and do 6x8

Cushman: 6x8 portraits

Vaught portraits, to paint those

Cushman: The first 1300 I think wasn't it general, of the first 1300 men and women who has lost their lives in the war

Vaught: And so we put those on display and it reached from end of the, of the, place to the other, they had five rows of pictures and we had some 600000 visit during the three months

Cushman: Three years

Vaught: Three years that that was on display

Cushman: We have a lot of people asking about it.

Vaught I decided it had to leave before, because there were people talking about it becoming a permanent thing and that wasn't our mission.

Cushman:" Have you visited the memorial?

Yes

So you know how that hemicycle runs and it was

Vaught: I'll show you a picture of it

Cushman: It was amazing, you know you just thought you saw the end of these picture and as you rounded that curve there were more and there were you know all these, these were our brothers and sisters they're contemporaries. People left things it was like going to a cemetery or something they left coins, pictures, notes. All kinds of different artefacts, children did the same it was just, it was amazing.

Vaught: I seem to have lost my picture that I've been carrying around for years.

Cushman: I have one general.

Vaught: Wait I may have found it (32:00) yeah.

So that was at the memorial for 3 years.

Vaught: Yes and that extended two, three hundred feet.

Cushman: Two hundred and twenty feet.

Vaught: And it's really interesting people would bring, I don't see any here, but they would bring pictures and put then there, pictures of that person or they would bring pictures of their children and put them there and they left coins, wrote notes we had all kind of things there.

Author: Did you keep all of them.

Cushman: Well the organization that put it together has curated it, saved it and as a matter of fact. It's funny you ask that Emma, just what two months ago it has returned to us for safekeeping. We don't know exactly what will happened with it.

Vaught: It's not our mission.

Cushman: Yeah it's not pertinent to the memorial. So erm but it is interesting that you ask that, I think that I don't know if you've talked about this?

Vaught: No.

Cushman: This is an amazing picture Emma It is a luncheon that we hosted when General Ann Dunwoody was promoted to four star, the first women in the world. This is General Dunwoody right here. And we invited all the general and flag officer women from you know from the beginning. So you see, regrettably the first one star was not able to attend but she's still living General Anna May Hays, the first two start General Jean Holme our first three starts here and here. Erm there are nurses, doctors? Preachers but that is an amazing picture an amazing piece of history for American, and actually for the world and certainly for women. You can see in the back here another special exhibited on the history of the WASP, Women Air force Service Pilots during World War II.  But I think that's, it's an example of the things that we do to tell the story of women's service. Pretty cool huh.

Emma: It's interesting that the memorial has the space and it's the stories that are important. Many of the examples I look at are just monuments.

Cushman: Correct. So the General calls it a living memorial, and it is, it is absolutely living.

Vaught: It can never be finished so long as women are serving it can never be finished.

Cushman: So here's another example General we don't need no women in binders, here they are (36:00).

Vaught- Cushman- discuss work Do you mind if we take just a little bit of a break, no long we've got a big project going on. If you could pardon us just for a moment we would greatly appreciate it.

Cushman: It's a fundraiser obviously but it's always about some aspect of womens service. And for our tenth anniversary we produced this (37:00) sort of a retrospect of what we've done, you know the various things we did at the memorial over the last ten years. That was our dedication, you've probably seen pictures of that. But so we have permanent exhibits erm and we had a very active outreach programme to children and it staffing and things of that sort we've sort of had to put it on the shelf for a while but be would bring them to the memorial and do all kinds of different things, projects of various kinds. We taught kids how to march we taught them about rhythm and how the military uses rhythm and jump rope and things like that. We've done scavenger hunts and things of that sought at the various exhibits and that was always a great thing. We taught them you know making flags and what they mean you know some of them are signal flags, some of the flags of your nation so that was always fun. We have a, we created a small women's specific publishing, called military women's press and we've done a handful of books, we've done one on WWII, the only one is existence ion what women did on what women did in the Korean War. And these various other pieces this is the little postcard book. This is sort of a scrap book sort of our dedication and various other books that we have produced, world history things of that sort. We've had a variety of theatre programmes. (39:00). This one a piece of my heart we've done a couple of times at the memorial and I just got one request to do it again next year for the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Vietnam War folks. Actually no it's the 20<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Vietnam Women's Memorial I don't know if you've seen that yet, and this is 'A Piece of my

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Heart.' It's a small theatrical piece about women who served in Vietnam it's a very powerful piece and erm 'Beyond glory was a thing we did with Stephen Lang where he portrayed I think there were five Medal of Honor recipients that he did. So a whole variety of different things, both films as well as theater in our small little theater. We have a very active oral history programme, We're you scheduled to meet with Robbie? If you want to you can.

Various art exhibits and this fellow is, these are 3D and they're made from, it's really fascinating, thousands of pieces of wood and as you pass across it so you can see the flag, the US flag and then the centre piece would be some whatever and then the far piece might be of something that relates to America and military women. And he happened to do the piece, if you happened to notice when you went into the foyer we had a big piece of art over the information desk, which is 3D as well, so it's the US flag the centre of it is the façade of the memorial and the outline of the United States and the very last side if that as you continue to move past it are the outlines of five service women and actually it's the replica of the stamp that we got the postal service to release the day we dedicated it. So various art exhibits and this one happened to do with the women POWs during WWII and artist in California, this is a piece, we actually have put this back up because it's an anniversary year for Korea (42:00). Are you familiar with baseball, American baseball. Well there's a fellow named Ted Williams who was a big deal during WWII and a lot of these guys were drafted and he was one who was drafted and so this a nurses, this nurse who, a navy nurse who was on one of the hospital ships in the Korean area and so this a picture of Ted Williams when he came aboard but she has a lot of other pieces as well as I said that's up now.

We've one a number of awards for design and things of that sort so we're very proud of that and as I've said we (43:00) we've had various special exhibits like the Faces of the Fallen and this one this was on African American women, so a variety, they're not we call anything that's not a permanent exhibit a special exhibit but they will focus on one particular thing. Anniversary programmes that we've had. We've has, we have an annual Memorial Day and Veterans Day observance at the memorial usually we do it outside. When we dedicated the memorial one of our programmes was a service of remembrance and we placed rose petals in the reflecting pool, in memory of you know so many service women that we've lost. We've built upon that, every Memorial Day we have that and then of course for the last, since 9/11 we've on Memorial Day we've been placing rose petals in the reflecting pool in memory of the women that we've lost. We did that again Saturday night at our 15th anniversary. We've lost 152 women, the most ever from the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq for a whole variety of reasons, some of them are IED's some are training, well not training but accidents and things of that sort but never the less it hurts all the same. I know that the UK has lost a number of women as well. So this woman in particular she was the bugler in our very first ceremony. She's retired since and she came, we convinced her to put her uniform on and bring her bugle and come on Saturday night, so she was, it's a pretty moving programme it's at night, everything's back lit, she stands up on the terrace and so when it's time for her to blow taps. Are you familiar with taps? It's what the military uses for things of that sort. They shine a spotlight on her and everybody's crying. So this is another guest exhibit so you can see this is some of the faces. I can't tell you how moving that is. Like I said the faces are so familiar, they're you peers so. And then we've had a variety of other, right after 9/11 we had a September 11 photo project of photos that were taken. We had some 5000 or something like that and that travelled and one of the stops was here another

exhibit we had was for quilts that were made as a result of 9/11 they were just spontaneously sent to the pentagon. The Pentagon didn't know what to do with them because you know security was so tight so they gave them to us and asked you know can you help us show this to the American people and so we did and they are literally quilts from around the world and it's interesting that people would come together. They didn't know what to do with themselves so they came together to make quilts (47:00) and I thought that was a pretty significant gesture, you know that they would reach out; you know that the Pentagon would reach out to us and you know.

Erm we've had one award of the Margaret, the Senator Margaret J Smith award and too major Major Jean Holme she was the first two star and she wrote a book called women in the military and unfinished revolution. If you're a historian on military women that had to be a cornerstone in your library and this was a Dr Perry, Dr Perry was secretary of defense when, no he wasn't he was after we dedicated but any rate Senator Margaret J Smith was(48:00) instrumental in, very instrumental, it seems kind of a weak word, in getting legislation passed in 1948 that gave women a permanent place in the military, there were flaws to it you know some things that were really quite discriminatory, but the bottom line was that we had a place to stay. So any way that was the, we've had various award.

(49:00)

Author: women's role in the military has changed quite a lot, initially women had more of a caring nurturing  role whereas no women can have a more active role, do you think it's possible to represent both aspects can this be overcome in the presentation of the memorial.

(50:00)

Vaught: Well I think it can, I think women will continue to be in both roles, but it's kind of interesting because as I read through er things that women who were nurses, and who served in WWII particularly, there was some of the same in Vietnam, that whole and you compare what they were doing back then in terms of taking care of the wounded to today, there's been such a change in the type of wounds they're taking care of the, the rapidity with which they deal with some of the wounds. And so there's just been such a, such a change in (51:00) medical profession and particularly in the treatment of wounded soldiers so I don't see that changing. I mean there's still going to be a role for nurses but it's not quite the same I don't think as it was back then.

Author: When I've looked at memorials to women, particularly more figurative ones one of the challenges is then how do you present the female form? As a nurse and active combatant?

Cushman: Do you mind if I add to that (52:00). We look at our job Emma as, as telling the story of women's service to the nation, identifying the contributions they made to the nation, and so certainly erm you can't leave that whole spectrum of service , there's a whole spectrum of service that is as important as every piece of it is as important because our military s a team and certainly we can look at it in one respect in that our legacy, our heritage is really from nurses, they're the one's who've stepped up and insisted (53:00) that they were going to be on the battlefield. And the general and I have spoken about this frequently, they've never been given the credit that they deserve, you know we've read stories about the women in WWII and you know certainly the women in Korea and the you

know the gargantuan task of caring for the wounded and dying was just as traumatic as you know on the battlefield itself.

Vaught: You know one of the things that I don't think is recognized to this day and it deserves recognition that is because of the age of the people who served both the soldier on the field and the nurse who was caring for him in the same age bracket to a similar degree and if you're in the nursing profession and if you're in the nursing profession in the civilian world you're going to be caring for a spectrum of ages from small children to the elderly. What these women were doing is they're taking care of people that are in the same age group that they are more often than not, and particularly in war time because it's going to be the younger nurses that are out there closest to the battlefield and it's going to be the younger soldiers that are out there suffering the injuries and being killed and that has a traumatic effect upon the nurses. It always has had and I think it always will

Cushman: But I think as we deal with you know as we meet with our constituents and tell their story you know. I think we're at least my impression is that we're all erm deeply indebted to each other. You can't have two Sergeant First Class medical profession or in the I don't know the ordinance profession and have the two of them together and they're both Sergeant First Classes and they both respect each other or in administration and a general who's a fighter or who was a fighter pilot they both have enormous respect for one another and what they bring to the fight. And I think we've all, certainly the army side of the force we've looked at this total force, you'll hear that everywhere and total force means our national guard, people who serve part time, so to speak, our reserve forces as well as our active duty forces and then the whole spectrum of jobs I've thought of that, never even thought of it being difficult to tell that story, maybe I'm being naïve. But I didn't, I've never

really thought of it as being a difficult thing. One of the centre pieces of our exhibit at the memorial on the global war on terror is of a medic, you know an army medic, a young woman and her story is. We tell the story of women in this conflict (60:00) through this woman, tragically she was killed by an IED but how she operated on the battlefield, her and her relationship with her family and friends it's all there. You know her emails home, pictures of other, of her buddies and I think that you know the people who see that, men and women spend a lot of time in that exhibit and have come to know the women who are serving today through this wonderful young woman named Jessica Ellis.

Author: Do you see the memorial having a role in promoting equality and contributing to contemporary women's issues or is it just about remembering those that served?

(58:00)

Vaught: Well I think that we do have a role in talking about these things, one of the things that's been interesting to me is how frequently when there's been some issue that we're the contact for the press and so we can exercise influence in that way. It you know during the period of time that they were considering changing and opening more fields in the combat field to women we did a number of interviews (59:00) here about that.

Cushman: It's an interesting question Emma, because I think we do project some influence into the decision makers, you know we are tangible, we're a place that people can come and see what women have done and where they can learn about this evolving role.

Vaught: There was a film produced (60:00) just recently about sexual assaults and I was one of the people interviewed and went to see it, the thing when it was presented to some members of Congress and one of the members who is the chair of the sub-committee on

the armed services committee and he said he wanted to talk to me further about this and he called and made arrangements and I went over and met with him and his staff members for probably half an hour or so to discuss some of these things. So we do have a, er participate sometime in the discussions of issues like this.

Cushman: We're called upon occasionally by members of Congress to provide information, statistical information and things of that sort, even anecdotal information that they can use in their testimony or you know whatever they are doing, so we do you know influence, maybe subtly but we do. But I said I think we're a tangible place, its pretty hard to discredit or disown any of the accomplishments of women when they're right there in this extraordinary facility

Author: Thank you ……

Vaught: One of the other aspects of the memorial which I didn't think to mention is it's proximity to the Pentagon. Its jut amazing how if you went back through the 15 years that we've been open, how frequently some agency or group in the department of defence makes arrangements to have some sort of a meeting here. Recently when they were discussing, of course this was a very logical place to have it, when they had members of Congress discussing the progress made in solving some of the problems of Arlington National Cemetery the committee came and met there in our facility to conduct this hearing and so we have all these meetings we have many meetings that take place and we have, one of the things we provide is a place for members for promotion ceremonies and retirement ceremonies and so we get a variety of people serving in the military or associated with the military as family members that have the opportunity to be at the memorial and see it and learn from it (64:00)

Cushman: When you get into the area of funding and things of that sort come back the general has some interesting stories about that. You may have a lot of great ideas but you know making it happen is entirely different. And none of the memorials here, and the general knows the laws better than I do but we can't federally fund these memorials any more so it's all private money.

Vaught: Well they still do fund them to a considerable degree. The Holocaust memorial and of course the WWII memorial was transferred to the National Park Service is now responsible for it however we are responsible for maintaining the education centre of ours because that was the only way we could get an education centre. So the Park Service doesn't have anything to do with the interior of the Education centre. And that kind of a different kind of arrangement.

Cushman: But we are a NPS site.

Vaught; But the, they maintain, the park service maintains the exterior and we have to abide by Park Service rules on the interior rules for example we're not supposed to put a restaurant or things like that, we're not supposed to serve food. We can't set up selling food, now for example if someone sets up a reception they can hire a caterer. The caterer can come and serve food but we're not allowed, we don't make or sell food as such. So it's kind of interesting sometimes.

Cushman: So we've had about two and a half million women who've served. And our effort of course if of course to tell the individual story of each of them as well.

Vaught: And we've had over 2 million people who have come from around the world to visit the memorial. Just the other day I was in the memorial and there were people from France

and just 2 days before that there was somebody from Russia, and so we do get people and the Norwegians were here because they were thinking about doing, and I don't know what they finally did, some sort of a memorial or museum for their service women and they sent their people over to visit our to get ideas.

Cushman: who was the Brigadier General from the UK?

Vaught: Oh, it starts with an A, I don't remember.

Cushman: One of the UKs Brigadiers, was she WWII.

Vaught yeah she was WWII she was a former, the director of the army women in the UK. I don't know whether that was probably later than WWII, it was probably about the same time that? Was the director which would have been in the 70s.

Cushman: She was the Director when I went in in 1973, General Bailey was the director.

Vaught: in the early 70s.

Cushman: but we have had some, we've had some Canadian women as well as the UK, any others? Norwegians as the General has said.

Vaught: Australian and I had the ones from, who spoke Spanish.

Cushman; From Peru weren't they.

Vaught: Could have been, someplace in South America.

Cushman: There's an organization the NATO women in the armed forces, the general was the chairperson of when she was on active duty many years ago and it's been interesting to watch the evolution of women in those services as well.

Vaught: And some of the countries sent men because they didn't have any women in their service . I think at the time the Germans had one

Cushman: Dr yeah?>

Vaught: Italy didn't have any. I think Spain ended up with three, something like that. But now virtually all these countries have got women in their services so it's expanding and in the UK they've opened up many fields for women on submarines

Cushman: We're just started to, we have a handful of officers that are serving on submarines right now and the plan is to start assigning enlisted women. But I think it was not necessarily a test but to get people accustomed to having women aboard the submarines. It's been a longstanding issue with our Navy.

**APPENDIX 9: HARI JONES AFRICAN AMERICAN CIVIL WAR MEMORIAL**
**AFRICAN AMERICAN CIVIL WAR MUSEUM**

18<sup>th</sup> November 2012 11:00

Jones: Okay the brief history on the memorial our parent organization if the African American Civil War Freedom foundation which was incorporated in 1992 under the leadership of Dr Frank Smith Junior. Who at the time was a Councilman for this ward, ward one. And as a civil rights worker in Mississippi in the 1960-s he had met a gentleman who was a descendent of an African American Soldier (1:00). This was actually the first time he had heard of African American Service in the Civil War there had been a very good job of making this story one of the best kept secrets in American history. So he was excited about this information but it would be years later as a ward one council man when they're talking about this community and what should be done in the revitalization of it. This community was once the most affluent African American communities in the country, its beginning however is as a camp for refugees during the Civil war, a contraband camp, camp Barker, established in 1862 (2:00). Well he decides that one of the best ways to help the revitalization of this community is to crest an attraction that will pull tourists from the Mall into the greater U-Street quarter, so there's that very practical aspect. Now let's revisit his learning about these soldiers. Since there was no national monument to these African American soldiers and since there was not a discussions of their, a serious discussion of their contributions he decided that he would try to build an African American Civil War memorial in 1998 July 18<sup>th</sup> 1998 the statue was dedicated, the Spirit of Freedom was sculpted by Ed Hamilton from Kentucky. Dr Smith and secretary of state, well then General Cole dedicated the memorial and we (3:00) actually had thousands of people here. Most important among

that group of people that came for the dedication were the decedents of these soldiers. And at that time in July of 1998 the wall that you see behind the statue was not put in place it was only the statue then within the year, on January 1 1999 you had the walls. And the wall of honor had the 209, 145 names of all the soldiers that were officially brought into the bureau of United States Colored troops which was a separate department that the US army established in the middle of the Civil War so that's how this gets built. So I'm going to address this issue of the importance of it (4:00) The, with the descendants, they do a lot of research and they have a sense of ownership of this memorial, it is their memorial, their great great grandfathers, my great great grandsfathers name is on the wall so there's this great sense of ownership that they feel for that memorial and statue. The 209, 145 names are African American soldiers, officers and European Americans and some non-soldiers, some NCO's who are in the United States colored troops but are actually of European descent not African descent so their names are on the wall. The number of African Americans of the 209, 145 would be just over 200.000 this would represent about 10% of the Northern Army during the Civil War. Now on our statue we have a sailor (5:00) yet we have no sailors names on our wall of honor. The US navy during the Civil War was integrated, making it difficult to identify men of African descent in the Navy. In fact when the statue was first designed there was no sailor on it. But descendants of sailors said well what about us? We were there? And there was a project at the time, going on at Howard University to identify as many African American sailors as possible and so the decision was made to include a sailor on the statue. We know from the department of Naval reports that approximately 25% of the Navy was comprised of African descent. So lets examine the numbers here., 10% of the northern army is comprised of African American soldiers, 25% of the northern Navy was comprised of African American sailors according to the US census

1860 African Americans made up 1% of the northern population yet 10% of the northern army, 25% of the northern Navy. Very clear overrepresentation and one would think with this clear over representation that the stories of these soldiers and sailors would have been an integral part of that master narrative of the Civil war [resented in our schools over the last 100 years. One would think that, but that's not true, this story has been again one of the best kept secrets in American history, intentionally suppressed early on in the 20<sup>th</sup>. Century. One of the best examples of the complete suppression of this story 1944 in movie theatres across this country you could have seen a film produced by the US government, the war department, entitled the Negro Soldier. On the advertisement poster for the film was the heavy weight champion of the world Joe Lewis, the film was directed by Frank Kapra, arguably the best director in Hollywood at the time and in the film they covered African American military service in this country from the Revolutionary War to the 1940s WWII. (7:00). They covered African American involvement in every war in the nation's history during that period except the Civil War there was no mention, there was no image of a single soldier or sailor. 10% of the northern army, 25% of the Navy 25 en of African descent had earned the highest honor bestowed on military personnel for acts of courage on the battlefield, the Medal of Honor. Yet not a single one of those American heroes were mentioned in a film about them produced by the US government, it was a completely suppressed story. So this begs the questions, why the complete suppression of this story in this 1944 film. Well the film reflected what was being taught in the finest institutions in this country. And what was being taught? That the American Negro had done little or nothing to free themselves. (8:00) Also what was being taught and still taught in schools across this country today is that on January 1 1863 president Abraham Lincoln simply freed the slaves with the emancipation proclamation, that is an oversimplification of what happened and to

teach young scholars that president Lincoln simply freed the slaves with the emancipation proclamation is to mislead young scholars into believing that African Americans did little or nothing to free themselves. Now this propaganda campaign to teach African American, to teach Americans, in fact to teach students across the globe that Americans of African descent did little or nothing to free themselves has been highly successful. So successful that well educated Americans when given a plethora of primary sources that show the contrary, they still will integrate in this concept that the slaves were freed by the emancipation proclamation. In fact in 41 states today you actually have a state holiday, legislation establishing that state holiday in those 41 states was written by African American and African American organization and African American legislators (9:00) they supported this legislation, African American community leaders and its called Juneteenth legislation. Establishing June 19$^{th}$ as a state holiday and again in 41 states because it is said in the legislation and in a Senate resolution from the US senate word of the emancipation proclamation did not get to Texas until June 19$^{th}$ 1865 and that's when the slaves in Texas found out they had been freed by the emancipation proclamation. Well that's a lie. And it gives one the impression that African Americans did nothing to free themselves, they waited until a European American General, General Gordon Granger shows up in Galvaston Texas and reads the legislation to them and they finally found out they were free

(10:00) This is amazing that that would actually be in law in 41 states when if you go to the Congressional records, just the Congressional records I'm talking about here in 1863 in the Blinkerd message to Congress he informs Congress through his secretary of war that the Union flag that the Union had had control of Franklin Texas from the beginning of the war and had never lost control, Franklin Texas is the middle of the state. Also informs Congress

that in Nov 1863 the southern tip of Texas had been captured by a an expedition led by General Daniel Banks, in General Bank's Texas expedition there were five African American regiments, so you have African American soldiers in Texas in 1863. Yet in 41 states today you have African American legislators, African American scholars have passed legislation, supported legislation stating that the word of the emancipation didn't get to Texas until June 19th 1865. This is an example of profound ignorance. This memorial has served to force a discussion on who these men were and where were they? So it's difficult for a descendent of one of these soldiers who tracks their ancestry and founds okay my soldier was in Texas in 1863 in Texas in 1864 this is not believable that he didn't say anything about the proclamation while in Texas. What they did a frontal lobotomy on him and no one knew about the proclamation. So this memorial forces a discussion of the primary sources, just in that context but also throughout in academia today in the American Academy this story is still not even close to being told accurately. And again it is this memorial that is forcing a more serious conversation because you get all these lay scholars involved with all the names, these lay scholars when they get a pension record the only thing they have is a primary source so you have to address this primary source. You just can't just say no African Americans were not in this battle. Well I've got a pension record where the US government has certified indeed he was in the battle because when he got wounded in the battle he got a pension for getting wounded in the battle and so in that way it's really changing the discussion. And for me there I love this job because I get to meet so many of these descendants who are doing this research that is always primary source research.

Author: And what do you think that people who wouldn't know about the things you've just described? What would they get from the memorial?

Jones: What I've heard from some of the people they just walk past and seen it is that it overwhelms them that there's so many that there's so many names on and the statue, the statue many people see them as people they know. These are real people so it brings, Ed Hamilton's work brings these people to life. A lot of people are moved by the back of the statue where you have the soldier with what appears to be his family. So standing as a liberator and then there are some who complain it's not big enough they always want Kilimanjaro. So there's that group.

Author; Do you think memorials like this can be relevant to issues today when perhaps there are still problems with race equality

Jones: Yes in fact, for me it's vital I kind of dropped out of what I'm going to call the main stream activities to address this because I thought it was so important. I was a marine officers at the Naval academy in the mid-90s and I was really concerned about the lack of understanding of our history as it pertained to the Civil War and the contributions of these Americans and I thought this was doing damage to us in the contemporary, we don't really understand ourselves. To me history is about understanding one self and for me to do whatever it takes to get them excited about seeking understanding about seeing the light if you will so I think that's very important I think that's how we deal with situations today, like when people talk about race relations. In my units in the Marine Corps I did not allow on my small teams I did not allow my men to refer to themselves as black or white you were Americans period and that was it and also I found that hurdle (17:00) in them coming together was this inability to understand each other, to understand how they've contributed and comments often like er 'but we freed you from slavery' this is a very common narrative in the North in fact Northern Americans of European descent in the

North are actually psychologically dependent on that narrative and they're actually some of the biggest opponents about telling the truth about the Civil War because this notion of them being the great emancipators and the poor Negro just needed them is really something that gives them great self-esteem. However at the same time it does not allow them to respect who they're dealing with. And in some ways I saw myself as a bit of a problem because I would find myself manipulating them because since they didn't know who they were dealing with and because I didn't suffer from a lack of self-esteem which I found most of my African American peers did and they did not know this narrative I would trick them and I didn't like that because these people were on my team and one of the things that used to concern me was if we're ever foreign deployed in a foreign country, and of course I am foreign deployed often and if we're there for a long time and they understand how to deal with these European Americans you could play stupid and you would be able to do a number of things much like the Taliban does in Afghanistan. Alls you have to do is play ignorant, you could go out with the green beret and play like you don't understand anything and every now and then shoot each other and then when you go out on an operation you wind up killing two of the Green berets and everybody thinks it's just your incompetence when really it was your intent (19:00) and that's easy to play Americans like that when you don't understand people, when you don't respect them, and I found that as being dangerous you know one of the things I would see in the Marine Corps you know my special units we were different but into larger fleet units I found that this notion of race and having this history and not knowing each other even though you're brothers, you're sisters is extremely dangerous. You know I used to say I wouldn't play football on a football team where my fellow players thought they were white, I went to university in Oklahoma, so I'm going to use the term sooners, they were white sooners and they were black sooners

no we're sooners period but yet in the military you had people thinking like that. And I thought that this was incredibly dysfunctional and I believed through my peers for which was at that time approaching two decades that this issue over the Civil War was the greatest misunderstanding and so that's why I thought I'd drop out in order to address the problem. And you know in the Marine Corps you can complain all you want (20:00) about a problem, but unless you address it you're just and I'm going to use a marine corps term here and using the definition of the word bitch which means to complain if you can bitch but if you bitch if you complain and you don't do anything about it then you're just a bitch. So yes so I think it's very relevant, it very important to understand who we are. The monument and I wasn't involved when it was built but the monument is very important because I find that it's the attention getter. It's like in military instruction the techniques of military instruction you need an attention getter out front, well this is the attention getter. And monuments can function that way some of course some lay dormant and people forget about them like the WWI for the District of Columbia on the Mall that people don't even know it's there it's invisible but this one at this time, maybe one day that would happen but I don't think so in my life time but I don't have much of that left. But now it's very important in that discussion and it came about at a good time because it's right before the 150th it came about right before the 150th anniversary of the Civil War so it becomes a centrepiece for discussion.

Author: issues about group identity and wider European American narrative, particularly with Native Americans

Jones: With Native Americans there is intense division among them, more than with Americans of African descent. One of the things with our memorial (23:00) and I often say this to people although it's called the African American Civil War memorial and museum I

will often refer to it simply as an American memorial to American freedom fighters because this is ultimately the story of American and I see it fitting into the many monuments in D.C. you know we've got John Alexander Logan just down the block and in fact Logan comments the African American soldiers. Logan would say the cry when Black union soldiers went into battle, remember Fort Pillow and that was a massacre of African American and European American soldiers at a place called Fort Pillow on April 12$^{th}$ 1864 and Logans says the cry with which our Union Black soldiers went into battle was remember Fort Pillow inspired them (24:00) to deeds of valor and struck with fear the hearts of the enemy on many a bloody field Fort Pillow was avenged. A few blocks from Logan and the memorial is there and he talks about it so we're fitting into this larger picture and this is a part of the monuments of Washington, this is not independent of them and it is more appropriate than the monument in Lincoln park which is not and a monument that actually fits into the story of all these generals around when you leave the Capital and you've got grant and you've got artillery, you've got cavalry, you've got infantry, you've got soldiers this is about the soldiers this isn't about the propaganda of Lincoln freeing the slaves, and when I say that some people interpret that as oh you don't like Lincoln(25:00) actually I hold him in very high esteem, I'm a military man I like good commanders.

Author: yes that's another thing I was looking at, memorials that perhaps aren't appropriate any more. How do you feel about memorials such as the one in Lincoln Park of the Confederate memorial in Arlington?

Jones: Well I think the one in Lincoln Park I use it to show the, how the propaganda, the images of the propaganda and is it appropriate to have it today, should we get rid of it. No' I think it's part of the landscape I think that we just need to make sure we tell the story and

explain. I'm more into explanation and to (26:00) me to get rid of it is censorship it's Fascist like activity and I'm not afraid of discussion but I think that we ought to talk about it. We ought to talk about why they were motivated to do this and what images are they trying to give us of how this came about ad who are these individuals and who are the modern day disciples in their scholarship of the individuals who built that memorial. And that often begins with those who defend the imagery so I like it because they tell on themselves by defending the imagery and so I like that and with Confederate memorials, my biggest concern with Confederate memorials I think that a lot of the memorials to the Confederacy across this country at the time that they were built my biggest concerns was the misappropriation of funds and I'll be candid with you one of my biggest concerns that I have in this country is how they used to steal my money. I use that term, that's exactly what happened the redistribution of funds. I remember one time, just kind of on the side-lines but I had an officer who's a major I was a captain at the time and he's telling me this story about how, he's using black, how blacks marines need to learn how to assimilate better and he gave me this example of assimilation that was his grandfather who had come from Sweden and settled in Minnesota had bought his own home and that and he's telling me this story and I listen to him and respond, yes I do think that many could learn from your grandfather on assimilation because look at you (28:00) Here you are a major in the marine corps and culturally you've assimilated you listen to Rock and Roll, you listed to Jazz you listen to Blues I bet you even listen to come of this Hip Hop a little bit too don't you. He says yeah yeah I kinda like it, I kinda like it I say you've assimilated one day I'm going to reach the point where I'm going to listen Hip Hop and Jazz Blues and Rock and Roll and I'll assimilate too. But how did his grandfather, when his grandfather bought his home, FHA loans if you're an African American and you're paying into the system you can't get an FHA loan. But an

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immigrant can come in who is of European descent and he can get and FHA loan, that's my money. That's a redistribution of funds that what happened in this country and a lot of these Confederate memorials I think they've taken my money and doing it and when I needed roads, I needed better schools (29:00). So yeah it annoys me, I don't like it, but it does annoy me that they spent the money like that but again I'm not into censorship and I think to take it down would be censorship. So I think that we ought to point out what they did and there ought to be a discussion on how these funds were misappropriated. So I think they're good points of discussion.

Author: Yes I agree that the Civil War seems to have been rewritten to be just about North and South and that the Confederacy seems to be portrayed in an almost nostalgic way. Is that something that you see as an issue?

Jones: I think it's a genuine issue. I think that erm I think that there had been an attempt, more than an attempt, there's been success in framing the Civil War as a war that had little or nothing to do with slavery and in this, and also in framing it as such a heritage piece that had little or nothing to do with treason (31:00). We forget that Robert E Lee had to be pardoned because he committed treason. We do forget that, these very important aspects of what it meant to be a Confederate officer and having been an officer in the US army and then to resign that commission to go and fight against that army, things get kind of lost in this romanticizing of the Confederacy.

Author: Yes there seems to be a lot of romanticizing of the action of the men without addressing what it was that they were fighting for. It seems concerning that the historical issues are still not being addressed

Jones: Yes that's the case. This is another reason why I dropped out to do this. I have a strategy for dealing with that. (32:00) My strategy for dealing with that is that we speak to them as this important American story of how the, in league with the Constitution of the United States you actually had a disenfranchised enslaved population that freed themselves and gained their rights as citizens in league with the Constitution of the United States, that's an American story. That's a patriotic story and it's a shame of anybody that wants to suppress it in the north or in the south. However I will say this, that though the Confederacy has this romanticizing feel for it and they do this actually they're the ones who will in the next twenty years, I will predict will embrace this story the most the biggest resistance will remain in the north, mostly in the north east in the Ivy League institutions. They have a very skilful propaganda campaign in fact in the complexity of the story they're actually worse. They're far worse, they are far worse what they do is they make gods of incompetent officers, they make gods of them, that's what the movie Glory did with Robert Gould Shaw and yet everyone who had ever read Shaws letters knows that this is complete poppycock. It's false, it's not even close to being true yet at the national archives when you look at the exhibit they give you the suggestion that well maybe it's, there's some truth in it, it's worthy of being used. No it's not. It's entertainment, this is they lie in the postscript, the postscript is false and the letters they pretend it's not there and yet they make a god, and Shaw's incompetent, he's completely incompetent and yet you say this to people and they get all shocked and say well why do you hate him. I don't hate him I'm a military man I call incompetent people incompetent, I've fired people I like because if you can't do the job I don't bring you in I'm trying to win a fight that's more important than a football game, and Shaw's incompetent. (34:00) But in the north they take incompetent people and they will

make them gods and heroes. So I actually find bigger problem with that than I do with the Confederates.

Author: Yes one of the things I was looking at is the effect that, especially many years later when fewer people know the historical facts, what effect do you think films such as Glory have. Do you think that they have a positive or a negative effect?

Jones: You know I always say about Glory, it was a great advertisement, it was a wonderful advertisement, so I'm actually grateful to it as an advertisement. And also when I look at the people who did it I understand that their, I call it their moral responsibility, I'm a pragmatist, their moral responsibility was to their investors not to the telling of history they didn't put out a documentary, they put out a feature length film, that had millions of dollars invested in it, so they needed to return a profit and that was their moral obligation. You don't get into that kind of a contract with people and say well I'm gonna, principal requires me to tell the truth in a feature length film, so I'm going to make a film that I know that there's no market for. No if you do that use your own money, don't get investors involved. And so since this wasn't on a documentary I have no problem with what they did in fact I think it ought to be analyzed as a piece of art. In fact it has some wonderful and I'll just give you an example of something that's just brilliant art, I love layers and I love where you put things in ways that its great commentary. Denzel Washington's character his name is Trip (36:00). There is no character, there is no historical character, there is no individual in the 54th Massachusetts called Trip. In fact there are no runaway slaves, but they name him Trip, Trip is irreverent, he's, he values illiteracy he thinks that learning to read and write is going to make him a snowflake, like a European American, In the 1860s you wouldn't be able to find a single, a report of an African American behaving in that way. However in the 1980s when

the film was written, the screenplay was written you could find African Americans like that and most of them were drug dealers (37:00). Who didn't value an education because they could make more money slinging crack cocaine, slinging what? A trip. His name is Trip. He's characters modelled off of a drug dealer not a character from the Civil War so it's, this is an easy analysis, whether the writer is even aware of how his creation moved in that direction is irrelevant to me as someone who critiques art its irrelevant because you can actually pick up among artists their psychosis through what they select.

So in that way I thought it was, and it was a wonderful piece of art and again it's a wonderful advertisement for these soldiers, but to me it's like the Budweiser frog, if you're familiar with the Budweiser frog, it's great advertisement, I love those advertisements but I don't think that frogs can talk. So we shouldn't be taking it so seriously and this is the problem with that film, (38:00) is not to be found in the film maker the problem is to be found in the academics, like [-----], UVa who would write in an essay in 2009, June 2009 Civil War Times that the movie Glory was quote 'almost perfectly aligned with the historical evidence' quote This is one of the foremost respected Civil War historians in the country, why is he lying? Why is he lying why did he tell this lie, it's a lie, he has to know he's lying because he's not an idiot. Why did he lie? This is something I want to ask him one day I write it a lot, people come and defend him but I go he said it, he needs to state why he tells this lie or is it true that to become a top Civil War scholar in the 21$^{st}$ century you do not have to read the primary sources that deal with African Americans. (39;00) If it deals with this group of Americans you're not required to read the primary sources I think that might be true. I think that he really doesn't know I think that he is ignorant. But yet he's held as a foremost scholar, but he's a northerner and what does he do to seduce African Americans? And that's

what I call it this is seduction. He says and the south were racist and they're still racist today, and he tells this any everybody gets excited yes they're still racist. Well racism is a part of US history you can't get me excited by saying that someone's a racist it's just not, one is I know my history and I'm more interested in what you're doing as opposed to whether your delusional which is what a racist and I understand that people can act on their delusions and that can be very dangerous. However (40:00) the worst problem is when people believe that it is their right to control another people and there not really delusional, they believe it's functional to control them. But yeah so again with the movie my problem is with the academy and still to this day a large group supports it and I get a lot of flack because I'm critical of it and people try and assign certain things to me because they think that I take it and I'm mad at the movie makers but I allowed them to do that for a long time because I noticed early on when I was studying this, I was still in the Marine Corps. That men like Acer Gordon and the other guy, a Californian they got beat up because they came out and started talking honestly about what the movie was but then they made mistakes. Their biggest mistake was that they did get emotional about what the movie makers intended to do and that they viewed it as some kind of great propaganda campaign.  Well I don't do that. However for a number of years I allowed people to think I was doing that so that they would attack me in that way which meant that they were attacking an invisible position because I didn't have that position so I did allow them to do it. So sometimes I've used that as a front but I have no problem with the movie makers. I believe it was an outstanding advertisement, I'm not only disappointed in the scholars that are using it but I'm appalled and we need to stop them because this is not scholarship, this is propaganda. (42:00)

(43:00) There's an interesting part of the story that I do blame you Brits for there's a book written about the underground railroad by William Steele and William Steele was a secretary with that station with the underground railroad in Philadelphia and any time coming through Philadelphia there would be a physically fit runaway he would say that he was a specimen for John Bull . Then he would write about this one gentleman by the name of Abraham Gallaway, that Abraham Gallaway had been faithfully aligned with John Bull until Uncle Sam got into the contest with the rebels (44:00) Abraham went up to Chattham? Canada. If we look at the senior African American officers in the Civil they were in Canada if we look at the top African American spies during the Civil War they were in Canada during the late 1850s. Lieutenant Colonel Alexander Guster, Martin Delainy, Captain H Fort Douglas, Abraham Gallaway, Harriet Tubman, a guide scout, what's happening John Bull. The British military is giving them some training and so I blame you in a very good way and I'm actually very grateful for this and I would one day like to do the research into the British military on the frontier in the west to see what they say about it, what correspondence deals with this because certainly within the African American Community there crediting John Bull with the training, many of our elite soldiers during the Civil.(46:24) African Americans during the war of 1812,- they would not deploy African Americans in the army, they were in the navy and so in the great lakes we were victorious than in Louisiana in October of 1814 Andrew Jackson gets the governor of Louisiana to support legislation allowing African Americans to join the state militia so he can put them in his army and they fight in the Battle of New Orleans which after the treaty I January of 1815, but it's the only land battle that we win. So my uncle would say that this is a lesson, lesson the British taught us a lesson that it's impossible for us to win the Olympics in basketball without African Americans on the team.

## APPENDIX 10: GLYNIS LONGHURST, BURMA STAR MEMORIAL, NATIONAL MEMORIAL ARBORETUM

6<sup>th</sup> June, 2012 14:00

Author: explains PhD project and background to the memorial.

Longhurst: The thing is they're put up by, well not always but in our case, this memorial has been put up in the lifetime of the some of those people who were actually in the campaign. Again it's obviously very relevant and there are a lot of families of those people who find it very relevant as well.

And so therefore in the future the idea is that the families will be the people who will be keen obviously to see it maintained and looked after down the generations, how long that would go on for I don't know. But certainly at least the near future, that is going to be the case. But then I suppose what it then becomes is its relevance for anybody who is interested to know about these things because they are all in the same area of the arboretum; they're all together aren't they. So you've got all that history in one place.

Author: Is that why the memorial arboretum was chosen as the location for the memorial? Because I know that there are other Burma memorials throughout the country.

There are individual ones (rose gardens and some with memorials) which local people have had put up in their own areas. The problem with those I suppose is the maintenance of them, which is what we're finding now that as those people pass on who set them up in the first place, they sort of have arrangements. For instance I know they have, there's a church, because my father was a Burma Star and there is one in a church that his branch used to use

when they were active. There's a garden and there is actually a memorial in the garden. But obviously as time goes on, in order to maintain them is costs money or effort and there will be less people around to actually do that. So if the church will actually take on that responsibility, sometimes it's the local council that agree to maintain things. But where they don't that's when you can have problems because there's no one there to make sure that its looked after. I understand you know Frances from the WMT, and that's when they come in.

Author: Yes that's right. I think they get a lot of requests because many memorials were set up without any funds to provide for them afterwards.

Longhurst: No that's right, you see what we've done, we've got another charity because the Burma Star association as such cannot spend its charitable fund on memorials, because of the way its set up. It's not within its charitable objectives to do that. So we have a new charity which can. So we have money set aside to maintain that in the future as and when we need it.

Author: Have people been receptive to this kind of monumental memorial as opposed to more practical forms of memorial.

Longhurst: Yes because they're still alive you see, so obviously branches have been giving us money. That's how we got the money in the beginning to put them up as the association wasn't allowed to spend its own charitable money because we're a benevolence charity so our money has to go on people. And the charitable institution wouldn't allow us to spend it on erecting or maintaining a memorial. So the money came from members and branches and supporters of the association to set up the memorial. We were in fairly much at the beginning when it was set up. I think it must have been somebody knew somebody and

found out about it because it was our national secretary who was very heavily involved so that's how he told us about. So we started fundraising and its sort of gone on from there. There've been a few hiccups along the way. Having to move the site and things like that. Even now the RBL are evolving the site, as they're now responsible for it. They're now moving memorials because they're not in the right place.

Author: How was the obelisk form for the monument decided upon?

Longhurst: It was decided on by our national secretary, he was the one, because as I said the association couldn't spend any of its money it was sort of done outside of the association. Although everybody thinks it's the associations memorial. It is a memorial to members and individuals who were in Burma, and those who never joined as well. But it actually wasn't as such their initial responsibility because as I say they couldn't actually do it. He had the idea he was the one who organised the stone. It was in a different place. We were put with the Far East Prisoners of War we had a joined site, but they sort of took over our site and started laying railway lines and that sort of thing. And he got annoyed and we ended up being moved to where it is now.

Author: Do you have a connection with the other Far East Memorials?

Longhurst: The arboretum have decided that this is a Far East area. Our site is massive. Our plot is massive. The wooden fence that is there, a lot of people think that that's our site but in fact our site goes back, there's a path way that come up you go past the FEPOW bit and it goes slightly up hill and then there's a path that leads. All of that from that path, right through to where there's the memorial for the Chindits, which is behind ours, all of that ground off to the right as well is all part of our plot. So it is a massive plot. I mean now they

wouldn't give us that amount of space I don't think, because they've got so many going in. But that is all ours. Because of the way it evolved their records weren't very good. When it first started it was quite amateurish, it was all done by volunteers and nobody kept any proper record. So about two years ago. Another memorial appeared to the Suffolks or Norfolks I think who were in the Far East. And they suddenly put it into part of our plot and we suddenly though hang on a minute. What are you doing? But that whole area, we're quite happy to share it because it's all to do with the Far East. So there various other ones that have gone in since as well. We're not being greedy about it, it's just evolved. It's mainly overseen by somebody from our Birmingham Branch because he's nearby and it's his sort of pet project. So he keeps an eye on it for it to make sure it's up to scratch and he's the one with the ideas about what we should do as time goes on. And the main problem is that the whole area is not particularly good for growing trees. Because it's all rubbish underneath. It's all reclaimed land which is all rubbish underneath and is difficult to grow a decent amount of trees. We've been there in that place for going on for ten years. And those trees really haven't established properly so we're going to have to replace them and have them dug in properly to make sure they can survive forever.

Author: Is that an important part of the memorial, to have it within that arboreal setting?

Longhurst: Well it's an arboretum isn't it? I mean we've got an obelisk and everybody's got different things. The thing is it's supposed to be arboreal and people can go and sit in amongst it and its reflective and whatever and provides shade and that sort of thing. So it is actually meant as an arboretum rather than a flower garden or whatever.  So it's supposed to be part of the ambience of the whole place.

Author: I visited recently when the trees were covered and it made the atmosphere really different.

Longhurst: Yes it's really cold up there. We had our AGM a few weeks ago and it was fantastic weather, But every other time it's not been very nice, but this time it was glorious weather.

Author: Is the memorial quite actively used? Do people still visit it regularly?

Longhurst: That's what we've tried to make it. We decided that we would have out AGM there, whilst we can still afford to have it there, because as time goes on it gets more expensive. Because it's a reason to go and we have a service afterwards at the actual grove. So it's a kind of commemoration service and we have our national standard comes and we hand it over to different areas. It's nice for people to go and because of their ages it's making it increasingly difficult, they're not so likely to go all year round. So at least once a year we have this focal point for our association and it makes sense for us to use it. I mean it's fairly central as well, some people complain if they live in Scotland or the southwest because it's a long way to go but I mean it doesn't matter where you have it, it's always going to be nearby for somebody and not near for everyone else. But we thought that as we have the Grove it makes sense to have all this at the same time. And it is a focal point and that's something that we hope to continue in the future.

Author: Yes as you were saying the people at the moment using it are mainly the veterans-do you think that many veterans from the Far Eastern campaigns were kind of forgotten in the narrative of the Second World War?

Longhurst: Yes I think it has made our association, because they felt that cohesive association, because we're tri-service so we've got everybody basically. All services and the merchant navy so we're not an army or an air association, we have everybody. I think the fact that they did feel that has helped us stay together as a cohesive group and having the arboretum is the thing that actually now is a focal point. Because yes there are other memorial around the country and there is the Cenotaph but they're not related to a particular association whereas this one is. It is for those people who belong to that, or know about it, it's obviously going to matter to them. That's why it's important to our Birmingham branch because it's on their doorstep. And it's important that it will continue.

Author: How do you see it continuing? I was interested in my last visit that there were many notes left by small children who would be too young to remember the people they are commemorating.

Longhurst: That's right, that's the thing. We get inquiries all the time and people usually wait until whoever the relative is the grandfather or whatever has died and then they want to know about them. It would be a sort of place of pilgrimage if you like for the next generation coming along. You know some people have a grandfather a great grandfather who was in that conflict so it's a memorial to them. That's what's expected within the future that it's there for people for that purpose. Even now there are people who didn't know their grandfathers in the Second World War who may have died, and so it can matter a lot to some people. Others are just happy to let it go. You're going to get every scenario, it's going to matter a lot to some people. So to have something there for them for the future. I know that they've got an educational centre at the arboretum, and part of the idea is to educate the younger generation about it. Because even now in schools they got taught about the 2<sup>nd</sup>

WW but they only get taught about the 2<sup>nd</sup> WW in Europe they weren't taught about it in the Far East or anywhere else particularly so for those who don't have relatives who were in the Far East Campaign don't know anything. I mean a lot don't even know where Burma is or can't even spell it. It's important obviously for those that we know that we do a bit to make sure that they're actually not forgotten and this is one way of doing that.

Author: How important do you think it is for the memorial to have that role? There has been a lot of debate about the suitability of providing memorials with information boards. Do you think that this is appropriate?

Longhurst: Yes. I think they have a loop or something that you can listen to so it gives you some information. Not that I've listen to it but I think the person form the Birmingham area who looks after it for us, he's saying it probably needed changing a bit. Because obviously we don't know who's done it, sometimes they don't always know the real facts or enough information. But yes obviously it is important because some people who go will know what it is but I think probably the younger people, unless they're with somebody of an older generation who's more aware of what happened, isn't going to have a clue. And so that's what the literature that is for. Either at the memorial or in the main building of the arboretum which explains what it's about and what it represents. There's a lot of military people around still, and there's more emphasis now too on people being allowed to commemorate and all the whole Wooten Bassett thing where people used to stand in the streets when they brought people back from Afghanistan and places like that. A few years ago that wouldn't have happened. Soldiers used to be told don't go around in your uniform when you're out just walking around because you'll get picked on and abused or whatever. But there has been I think because of the ongoing conflicts in Afghanistan and Iraq that's it's

made a big difference to people's attitudes so it's quite a relevant thing. And they are very keen that there should be education of the younger generation so it's not forgotten. And course the thing is most Second World War people now are all of them are if they were in the conflict must be in their late eighties and upwards. So how much longer you know, there's only so many more years until there won't be any of them around anyway.

I think that there's been new ones going up in London to different aspects of the war which when you consider it was over sixty years ago, sixty five years ago its quite remarkable that it's taken so long for some of these to be erected or put up or whatever, but again there is a different attitude I think today to make it easier for people to get these things put up.

American memorials- I think the thing is, one of the differences that you'll find between here and America is a soldier seems to be a soldier in America whereas here they are much more identifiable by what they're in that's why you've got so many memorials in terms of you know the different aspects of the army in terms of the air force etc, whereas I get the feeling in America that a soldiers a soldier and they would perhaps get an individual thing but they don't have the same history of sort of regiments that we have here. So there's a slightly different attitude and aspect to it that there is in the UK

## APPENDIX 11: SAM REED, RAILWAY WORKERS MEMORIAL

3$^{rd}$ July, 2012

Author: How did the memorial come about? How did you decide on its form and its location?

Reed: I retired in 1998, 97 actually. I joined this organisation in 1998 and then I live at Streton which is Burton on Trent quite close to the Arboretum and we'd just got underway and I soon became vice chairman of the BTPF. Probably 2003, something like that. My had a walk around the arboretum and I thought that we ought to be recognised there and I decided we'd go and plant a tree for the BTPF so we've got a tree planted there and then I thought it would be nice if we had a seat adjoining the tree so I launched another appeal and managed to raise the money internally through this organisation. But deep down I realised the railway industry should be represented there for all the many achievements. So I first mentioned it to the then chairman who said no you'll never get any support for that so it sort of went on the back burner. It was then that I became chairman and I started to think about it a bit more.

Don: interrupts with photographs- when you're talking about this sort of thing the 1914-18 Saltley, Lemmington, Moor Street, there's one in Paddington that have memorial plaques on the station platforms from the first war, the second world war didn't seem to do anything, but what shall we say since this lot in Afghanistan and Iraq its seems now that people want to do this. Its took from the Second World War now for them to unveil this one now to the

one in London for the Bomber squadron, you've probably seen that on the news, it seemed to die down but it seems to be the in thing again now, people want somewhere to do or to see something where people have given their lives and everything in the past.

Reed: there's loads and loads of railway memorials for the First World War as Don said they're on most old railway goods yards and sheds and stations.

Don: to you use the train at all- have you seen the one at Moor Street, well there's one at Lemmington.

Reed: yes there's a really nice one at Lemmington which has not been there that long.

Don: yes it's only recently been done

Reed: 6 years or so ago

Don: I'll give you these photos. What I'm pleased about Sam with you is that in one photograph you've actually got your arm resting on top of the Great Western coat of arms.

Reed: someone else has pointed that out to me.

Don: this is the unveiling, you can have a look through these.

Reed: Yes. So erm in the early part of 2010 I was having Sunday lunch with some former colleagues and I mentioned this big idea of having a railway memorial to celebrate the achievements of the railway industry and in particular the people, it's always been strong in my mind that it wants to be the people, not only the people that lost their lives but the people that have worked, so it was a memorial that was more like a celebration and in my

introductory letters I've used the word celebration as much as I have memorial, I think. I've told them that I first raised it with a former chairman who said it was dead in the water. Erm then we talked it through and they said well we will support you, so I got some serious thinking on and I started mentioning it at the National Meetings what the big idea was. And there was limited support, it was very limited, but I kept talking about it at several meetings, to such an extent that I thought we ought to really put some flesh on the bones. So I introduced to the discussion paper at the July meeting in 2010, at the National Meeting and they approved that I continue to work and in that paper I think I said we're an organisation of 16, 000 £2 a head and we've got £30, 000 on those very simple terms. We failed to achieve that but at that stage we had no idea how much a memorial would cost, or where to begin. Do we go fund raising or do we go for design and then go fundraising. So we decided to find a project manager, and I spoke to a lot of very senior people in the railway industry, who I wanted their name to push it along really. But none of them had got time, then they eventually suggested I approach a chap from York. Who was arguably British Rails best ever project manager, but he couldn't take on the job immediately and he would be prepared to consider it in January 2011. Well I couldn't, I decided I couldn't wait any longer and when he started asking me what he would get in the way of expenses, it switched me off even more. So me and a colleague, went for a walk around the arboretum and we saw the Royal Naval Memorial and erm we sort of liked it and erm he done some research and found out from that society the project manager for that served in the Royal Naval reserves during the war, but he was also a former railway manager who my friend knew. So that was an amazing coincidence.

So erm anyway they knew one another and gave him the name of a stone mason in Bloxwich, near Walsall and we went there to see him and talked about it, drew one or two sketches. I said we wanted a locomotive on the top, somewhere on it anyway. Because I'd had all these meetings with people who knew what we want for a memorial. So the er we got into such arguments whether it should be a Great Western locomotive or whether it should be a Midland and Scotland locomotive or in Instant? Locomotive. So we originally thought a class nine, a big freight engine, the largest one ever built by the British railway company called the evening star. So we took thins idea to the stone mason and and he gave us a price and a guarantee we'll have this made in China and he guaranteed us there and then that it would not exceed £20000 because at that stage we'd got no money and we didn't know really how we were going to collect it. So we thought that that seemed reasonable. Anyway we went and we started doing research at the museum at York and they were absolutely horrified when we said it was going to be a class nine locomotive they said it that it had to be a class eight locomotive because that would represent, although not a London Midlands design, it issued instruction that all the former companies must build them as a standard freight locomotive for the war effort, because by that time all the railways had been nationalised, er or I don't think they had been but they would have been long dead if it wasn't for government support. So that how we settled on the class eight. But the next time we went to see the stone mason he said the price will be £25 000. We got a bit wary and thought well this is getting serious now so we will now go to see the arboretum. They liked the idea and thought it was overdue as well and shared their vision and recommended that we get quotes from three stonemasons so we did. We contacted three and we settled on the company that actually designed in the end and constructed and that's H L Perfect Ltd in Diss, in Norfolk. My colleague and I went to see them and they gave

us a price., that was £30 000 including VAT and we already started to look for sponsors and started the, first people we were saying £20 000 then we were saying £25 000 we began to lose a bit of credibility really. It was £30 000 but be liked this guy in Diss he was highly recommended by the curator at the arboretum, and that company has got the contract to chisel in the names of the deceased on the armed forces memorial and that's the contract with the ministry of defence, so they're highly rated. So that's how we come to choose the memorial and we got such a head of steam up now that I but to the national October meeting in 2010 that we have a little project meeting, the four of us, treasurer, myself the vice chairman and the pensioners representative. The four of us and we'd report back and they gave us unanimous baking to get on with it and we divided the project. Into the treasurers roll was keeping control of the money, I was fundraising, I went for the fund raising element, my colleague Tony Congrieve was the point of contact with the stone mason and my vice-chairman was the point of contact with the arboretum because he'd got contacts there. So it was project managed by four people but we wrote letters, or I wrote letters, rung people up, limited success for a start but we struck oil with network rail. We had an email back to say that they would donate £5000 and I was my last company was Virgin trains but I know a lot of people that own cross country, I know the MD at crocs country and he said I've got you £5000 from ATAP. That turned out to be false, ATOP denied ever saying that but I have no doubt that they did say that at one point, so I'm back to £5000 now, bit demoralising and the same time we're now launching the national Northern and Midlands. Mixed support across the UK.

Author: Why do you think that was?

Reed: I don't know. They're out of touch, a lot of the branches are out of touch with their members some of them are out of touch with their members. It's up to Don that we have a branch as vibrant as this one, Don will have collections here. For five successive months and every time raised over £100 at each meeting, going around with a bucket. But the young lady who helps him, she done the same for a raffle before raised about £100 for funds for the club then go round with a bucket again for the memorial. They raised a total here of £547 some branches didn't contribute anything. Anyway because ATOP turned us down Network Rail they sent along at our invitation, senior manager to our project meetings, not to make decisions but to advise. And he said the £500 he'd make it £10 000 on condition that we paid it back if it didn't get off the ground so that's how we went forward. So it was decided that I would write to group reporters erm and try and raise the money. Some good success, (tearful )Virgin my previous company gave £5000, it was fantastic and Stagecoach gave £3000, Cross Country, they got a cheque they weren't expecting, I was at their pension committee and I said to the MD, I know very well, they got about £5000 VAT money from the pensions so I said £2500. Belia? That's the Netherland Dutch railway that's now springing up as a major player in the rail industry, we got £5000 out the freight companies, that was like pulling teeth but we carried on and on. We raised £48 000. So er that was fantastic and all the time we was designing what we would have on the memorial. One time I did foolishly appeal for where railway war memorials and I had loads of feedback from people who knew about that, as Don says there's one at Lemmington. We didn't want the names and we wouldn't have had the money or the space to build a memorial and put everybody's name on so we've had all sorts of discussions. We thought of the railway VCs on it and then we decided that no names at all was probably most appropriate. We finally agreed on the words of dedication on the front of the memorial which I started and we

gradually chopped bits out and we got down to something which was more manageable and appropriate and then we had this big idea about depicting as many railway activities as we possibly could. And I don't think that sort of thing's been done too often if ever before so my colleague who's liaising with the stone mason, his artist, the stone mason artist was going to do something but it never got done, never got done, never got done so we said. We think you've got a problem you don't know where to start and we didn't know where to start and so we approached the society of railway artists and they gave us several names and we found a guy to carve ours who actually drew that montage which is on the memorial. He drew that  an Tony and I went up to Carlise and approved it in a little café near the station and passed it to the stone mason who wasn't sure about us going outside but was over the moon when he saw it. Deep down he knew that whilst he's got some brilliant stonemasons there he hadn't really got anyone to start out on a blank sheet of paper and draw. So that was handed over to the stone mason and he got a bloke, a very talented man, young who engraved that onto the black granite and he's brought it to life. (tearful)

What to put on the side pieces? Well we had a few disagreements about that, nothing's been straightforward, but we decided to do what we did in the end which is the four coats of arms of the old railway companies which really set it off. Then two insignias,, the insignia of the line and the wheel, the old railway, British rail and the more modern side which people look upon as the railway car parking sign. So that's how we come about it and we were in a position to pay all our bills the only problem we had with the stonemason really was him sending invoices to us. We agreed the cost, he agreed he'd send invoices at different times for different activities and we'd pay it promptly we've only ever had one

invoice from him, he's so laid back so casual. He used to say don't worry we'll send the invoices as we go along, you know there was normally a ruffle of activity if he was meeting his accountant. But that's what we really wanted we really wanted to say thank you to all these people.

Author: Because it's for everyone?

Reed: It's for everyone yes

Author: Will the memorial now be actively used for commemorative ceremonies? Do you plan to keep going back their?

Reed: I'm not sure that we ever discussed that. But it's in my head that we will. So yes the chief executive from the arboretum said look I hope you're going to come back and do something at regular intervals like, you know. So we've got what I call a wash up meeting of the project next week in London and that's one of the things I've put on the agenda, you how often are we going to go back there are we going to go back annually? On the anniversary or are we going to do something else? From what the chief executive tells me there's, some people go back every year, some people go back every two years some people go back every five years. So we've got to still sort that out but I'm sure we will. We got nearly 1000 people at the dedication, erm all of them here are entitled to free travel on the railways so with that as a fact we laid on special buses which we paid for out of the project fund from Burton on Trent to the arboretum and also from Lichfield, two different railway routes. We had about seven coaches from different branches around the country and then the overflow car park was brought into use. About 600 of the (leaflets) went really quickly. We haven't got an exact figure but the estimate is the best part of 1000 people were there.

Yes it was just a gorgeous gorgeous day. It was the first day of sunshine, it'd been bad weather before. I was there on the Friday and the Saturday before the Tuesday and it was bleak and wet and horrible, the stonemason was rushing to get it all up and then I looked at the weather forecast on the internet for Tuesday, sunshine. I couldn't believe it. We got sufficient money to pay for it, sufficient money to, it's not going to need much maintenance. We've paid for twenty years worth of insurance and the stone mason wants to be responsible for cleaning and maintenance but his price was a bit high so I told him I've got a local window cleaner in Burton on Trent, who cleans the war memorial in the village, I know that because I'm on the parish council there so I was going to introduce him to ours. The stonemason was horrified (laughs) so he's brought his price down a bit now and I think we'll be very very happy to give him it now, because he's down on a regular basis.

Author: Does he do quite a lot of work with the arboretum?

Reed: Yes he does, his team every month put names of the deceased, so between them they'll, it just needs a wipe down with clear water you know so. It's been tough going at times er but worth it, worth it.

Yes these photo graphs, was there anything else you wanted to know?

Author: No that's been brilliant I'm just really interested in memorials that are being put up now, a long time after the events that they are commemorating.

Reed: Yes it's the railway heritage. Which is a heritage trust and there's an ex-railway man who's managing director, it's funded by Network rail, I didn't realise that at the time, when I approached him I took the ideas. And he came up with idea that we should put up information boards around the site. Er how many railway men were killed in WWI that sort

of information. Anyway my colleagues didn't like that idea, it over complicated the issue. That will either be picked up or finally put to bed as a no no at the meeting next week.

Author: Why do you think people weren't interested in that idea?

Reed: Well his idea didn't go down very well because he was on about a notice board and notice case. A wooden notice case, which there are one or two around the arboretum, which soon fall into a state of untidiness and the writing on the sheets of paper pinned inside the notice board. So if you're going to go it you really want it engraved into granite I think. And Network rail were our principle sponsors, their community people were always of the opinion that we should keep it simple. That will be the decision next week.

Author: That's actually one of the things that I've been looking at. Is it appropriate to put information boards around the memorials or does this change the way that they are used?

Reed: We've took that and tried to make It simple, people can, railway people can look at the engravings and see if they can't see themselves they can see, they remember their...

Author: And is that who it's mainly aimed at? People who were involved in the railways?

Reed: Yes definitely, that's our thinking but I've been told that it has drew a lot of attention from non railway people too. The stonemasons view is that what he's created up there has moved stone masonry into the next decade if not the next one, that's his view. That it's currently his proudest piece of work.

Author: Yes, the locomotive on top is fantastic.

Reed: Yes the same man who engraved the images of people and hardware also carved that locomotive. He's tried to get as many, he hasn't quite got the shape, as some of the guys

down there might know. But you can see it's a locomotive and you can see he's tried to get as many of the rivets as you possibly can. He's worked tirelessly at it. And we gave him a special gift. (tearful)

Author: It's a nice spot by the river

Reed: Yes, he tried to, if fact somebody here said to me at the event, why don't you move to the north where you're very close to the northeast railway.

Author: Oh yes because there is the railway line.

Reed: Yes so we said well we were offered a site up there because the curator thought it would go well will the railway and they want to open that part up, and they wanted ours to be the leader of many. Anyway we turned that down, we see the aims but a lot of our members have a job to walk to where it is. When you get beyond a five or six minute walk, which I timed it to be for most people, when you say 12 13 15 it's a lot. So that's why it's there.

So these photographs. Did I give you the official website?

Author: I think I've been on it, with the photos and order of service?

Reed: These I know who took these, he's a member of the Birmingham Branch which I'm the chairman of. I've got to get in touch with him and thank him. There's an official site, well when I say official we paid a photographer a sum of money to take as many photographs and he's launched a site where they're probably a touch better than these but they are the property of the BTBF I haven't downloaded them to my computer yet but you can do. We're just proud and please and made as many as we can. So yeah these, he was fantastic the

reverend Lindsey. His organisation donated the money for this brochure in thicker paper and he wrote the service, this is version eight I think, we changed things around as we went along. The, we were hoping to get royalty. The Duke of Gloucester we were saying because he's a bit of a rail way nut. But because it's the Jubilee years he's had to take on a lot of the duties that the Queen would normally undertake and he couldn't make it.

We was quite pleased in a way because the cost we would have had to fund the actual cost, everybody said why don't you try to get William or whatever. But the security cost would have been beyond our reach. So we went for former chairmen of the BRP we went for a lot of people we were just pleased to get someone in the end. Michael Portillo who does that railway journeys, he would have been good, but he was too busy filming his current series, so you know. There's some wonderful railway erm God of Concrete God of Steel, where the good old vicar found that I've never heard that version. But it went down very well, very well yeah. And er he done a superb job really and that's just our major sponsors and it all went together on the day fantastic, yeah very grateful yes.

(pointing at photograph) I don't like that man, There's always politics in these things he used to be director of Intercity, former GM of the London Midland region, my boss and owns Rail News, this thing and I approached him in the pub on somebody's birthday and asked if he would sponsor us and he said they were nearly bankrupt, but if you send me, I'll give you some money and make a donation, just send me an email and I sent him about six emails and I'm still waiting for a donation and he has the audacity to be leaning on the memorial that he's not sponsored. There's always politics in there see.

Yes, you can't see the words really, there's Stan there. Yeah really really pleased, he says I'm here somewhere. Oh that must be me, yeah, that's terrible if that's the Great Western coat

of arms that I'm leaning on, somebody else told me that. That's the man who took the photographs, he's a former railway man who set up as a photographer in his own right.

Author: This bit's (the engraving) amazing.

Reed: Yes, it really is, and we had quite a discussion as you can imagine. There's only four of us on the project, what should go in what shouldn't go in. We really really did try to cover. This picture doesn't do it justice really, but this is the modern bit which I wanted on. The customer service person, helping a lovely smiling lady and her child and the first, the picture that the artist copied that we gave him in a book er made her look too serious we didn't want that so we had to, I got the lad who done the engraving add a happy smiling face. So er Oh that's the one they're on about Great Western, that's terrible. And that's my colleague who done all the liaising with the stone mason and him and I went to Diss on a visit. So that's really good.

Is there anything else?

This is the concept paper that we wrote to the arboretum.

Author: Yes I think I've seen this on the website. Do you say it was inspired by looking around Arlington is that right?

Reed: Yes, what, when I finished on the railway I went, I finished working for Virgin Trains and er they used to fly around on Virgin Atlantic airlines as a mystery shopper. So er I did spend a bit of time at Arlington er and then when I started reading about the Arboretum at Alwreas and that was inspired by I forget the gentleman's name, following his visit to Arlington and I can understand where he was coming from and yeah that did influence my view that the railway memorial should be there from my visit to Arlington.

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Author: Is that how you decided on the arboretum rather than a station?

Reed: Yeah in the concept paper I said it's our preferred point, we had considered like the railway museum at York, you know we could have got permission to, we never even attempted to, no I've always thought that the arboretum was the most appropriate place, yeah. So we're delighted absolutely delighted.

Author: Thank you very much for this, it's been really, really helpful

Reed: It was a big anti-climax the day after. What am I going to do with my time, its really took over. I still cram a lot of other things in but I haven't been doing any of it probably as well as I'd ought to have done, I've had too much on. But this really has dominated me for two years, so and Tony my colleague with the stonemason, he said the same, an anti-climax. We met a week later and had a pub lunch in Stoke-on-Trent and that we was what we was talking about. I put in the last project meeting that week have an item which puzzled them all, volunteers for a project to build a railway memorial, a celebration of achievements, this time have it placed at Euston, when high speed rail 2 is finally constructed about 2025. They all thought I was serious you know. Cos they're going to knock all Euston, all the offices, that part of London, you never hear about that you only ever hear about the lovely countryside through the Chilterns, er all the central around Euston will be demolished and Euston station will be completely rebuilt.

Author: Thank you so much, thanks for taking the time.

That's okay I've had a young lady from the museum at York, unrelated but they want to do a theme of the railway industry was years ago they're trying to get people who worked on the station prior 1970, I started worked on the station in 1974 so they want to come down and

talk to people that were involved in that so they can get a bit you know and design their old fashion station. So that would be next month or the month after. That's if I can find some people, we're running out.

Author: Yes you have such a good turnout.

Reed: Yes we can get 100 people easily every month, they come from all over the West Midlands, but it's down to Don. He is a fantastic secretary, some of the other branched are struggling because their secretaries are too old, too tired and haven't got the energy. The secret is if you're going to keep an old pensioners organisation going is keep replacing the old pensioners with younger people.

## APPENDIX 12: JOHN PEGG, NATIONAL MEMORIAL DOVER

26<sup>th</sup> June 2012 (Not full transcript, notes taken from telephone conversation)

Pegg: This is the kind of project that has to be post rationalised as it was kind of instinctive.

The project can be broken down into personal motives and professional narratives. It appeals to broad audience. Timing issues.

Personal- professional- political-economic and they came in that order. Political issues are generally how things get done.

From a personal point of view as a landscape architect some of the best works of landscape architecture are memorials. I spent my graduate studies in America where memorials are used much more for political motives. In the mid-1990s there was a rash of memorials going up. Particularly Potato Famine memorials which were being used as a way of claiming a narrative with the support of the benign dead. The American WWII narrative is very different from the European narrative. It has almost been 'cartoonised' as Nazis against Jew. Film plays a big part, Saving Private Ryan facts don't need to get in the way of a good film.

Wanted a beautiful and pertinent memorial. The idea had been floating around for many years. On a personal level I wanted to do something as good as Maya Lin.

Also there was a concern that a theft of the conflict narrative was taking place from Britain and the Commonwealth by America. Particularly as we were not actively pursuing a policy of commemoration. We have a memorial narrative based on grief. After the First World War Britain and the Common Wealth spent twenty years looking for bodies and then WWII

comes along and interrupts the process and then they just want to put everything behind them.

I am 45 years old and I had female relatives in Manchester who had lost close relatives so I have a social memory of the conflict that my children will not have. War was a part of the social fabric of the family. Moving on through the generations there is a distance between grieving for the real lost deal.

There is no real memorial that brings all the dead together, so that the scale can be experienced all together.

When I was teaching design we did a project on regeneration through heritage. Dover was used as the case study and me and my students came across Western Heights which was a spectacular military landscape- personal-professional- economic- which could be used as a tool for heritage investment.

The model taken was the National Armed Forces memorial- wanted to retrofit the commemoration of 1914-1947 onto this model.

The Cenotaph is the focus of commemoration but the way that it's being used is changing. It is only used once a year and it doesn't have gravitas anymore. It went from a temporary to a permanent structure because of public support and the veterans were very much involved in the ceremony. They would march past. But now as their numbers get fewer and fewer this no longer happens. It is almost being co-opted by the establishment. It is becoming an abstract object. The Royals put on military uniform and lay wreaths, it is being taken over. The National Memorial aims at democratising memorialisation- political. Every family will be

connected to the names on the memorial. It's about re-establishing the narrative that I knew when I was a child.

Economic- Dover Council wanted it because of the benefit of increase tourist numbers to the economy. Each visitor on average spends £50 which comes into the local economy. It will cost £15 million to build the memorial. The NMA gets on average 300,000 visitors each year. This is the politics behind getting something constructed that has real worth. Vietnam has 3 million visitors a year- this shows what memorials can achieve.

Dover is a significant sight. The white cliffs are the last sight that many saw before going to the Western Front and it is iconic in that sense. It already has 13 million visitors passing through.

The proposal for the memorial gets read in different ways by different people. Some people accuse me of being jingoistic, racist, nationalistic, a war monger but then other feel I am a peace monger or the memorial is multicultural. I want to restore, and make visible on a global scale the narratives that are being lost through narratives that enforce victimhood. There is a difference between people who gave their lives and the people who lost their lives. It is a choice to put yourself in harms way. Memorials can be about victims (9/11, Potato Famine etc) or individuals who made a sacrifice. This process has been a learning curve for me. In the design world if you want to create a good project you need five things. The right site- client- concept- time- budget. Normally you have two of these things but this project has all five.  The government has been attacked for not having enough prepared for 2014, but I think 2018 will be more of a focus- they responded saying that this country has a tradition of celebrating the end of conflict and not the beginning.

Will people lose interest in 15 years time? – No people will still be interested- there is a great deal of interest in personal history. Anyone visiting graves of family members in France will be likely to stop off and visit. As more information becomes available to people they will become more interested. 2018 events will be bigger than those of 2014.

There is a magnitude that's been lost. We are fortunate in that we can literally word process the list and computer rout it onto stone, it does not need to be handcrafted. This was not possible at the time following the First World War. This is also not as appropriate for the NMA where the names are of recent dead. But the list of WWI and WWII casualties is effectively closed. It is less emotional and more about scale. It has been accused of being anti-European and attempting to tie the Empire back together, but this was not it's intent, I wanted to mark the commemoration of the forbearers. The concept has grown as its come into fruition.

Author: What about criticisms that you should restore heritage that's already there?

Pegg: It's about restoring heritage, about driving investments into the area. It is the responsibility of the local community to look after its local memorials, if a particular business cannot spare a few hundred pounds to look after their memorial then that lies on their heads. It is a nation's responsibility to commemorate at a national level not a local level.

I think with smaller memorial the benign dead are used and some people get a sense of personal identity from taking on their roles. The mission becomes an important personal mission. The funds won't come from the same avenues as the small memorials. The site

however has the potential to become a focus for the support of other memorials and memorial bodies for example the War Memorials Trust could have a collection there.

English Heritage have been less than supportive, they see the memorial as commercial competition to the castle (but there are plans to run a shuttle bus between the two sites). It is also interesting as Western Heights is one of the most under threat sites belonging to English Heritage. Often find that at the top there's a self-important glitterati who do not like ideas that don't come from themselves. Drop Redoubt would become the visitor centre for the site. At the moment it is about 80/20 in favour of the plans being accepted. In relation to the names of the dead, the Common Wealth War Graves list will be used to ensure that any politics relating to who should and shouldn't be included lies with them. There was concern over the 300 shot at dawn, but these have since been included on the list.I would say there is about 95% support for the project. It has been the support of Dover Council that has kept it going.

My graduate training in America has been a huge influence. The First World War memorial in Boston had 12 names on it. There was a use of memorials to establish victim narratives. Visceral nature of the Vietnam Veterans memorial. Co-option of the World Wars by Holocaust memorials. The ways that they were being used as tools of Israeli policy- funded by Israel, but this co-option sometimes backfired. Do not address that fact that many Jews fought on the 'wrong side' in WWI. The Freedom Trail in Boston which led visitors to key sites of the American Revolution was instrumental deciding which businesses were successful and which were not.

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