

# SET IN STONE?

WAR MEMORIALISATION AS A  
LONG-TERM AND CONTINUING  
PROCESS IN THE UK, FRANCE  
AND THE USA

**Emma Login**

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Front Cover: Soldiers' National Memorial, National Cemetery (cemetery 1863, monument 1869),  
Gettysburg, P.A., USA

Back cover: Franco-Prussian War memorial to the 5th Division Prussian Infantry (circa 1900),  
near Rezonville, France

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## **Abstract**

This work examines the development of 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.



# 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 (Figures 1.1-1.3).

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<sup>1</sup> 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.

The Japanese American Memorial to Patriotism during World War II<sup>2</sup> is described here in detail because it fulfils a valuable demonstrative purpose in introducing the two central concepts addressed within this work.<sup>3</sup> 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 study. 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).<sup>4</sup> 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 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 (Figures 1.1 - 1.3). 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

<sup>1</sup> 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.

<sup>2</sup> From this point referred to as the 'Japanese American Memorial'.

<sup>3</sup> The Japanese American Memorial is examined in more detail in chapter 6 (6.3.2).

<sup>4</sup> 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.

SET IN STONE?



FIGURE 1.1 JAPANESE AMERICAN MEMORIAL TO PATRIOTISM DURING WORLD WAR II (2000), WASHINGTON, D.C. USA. (PHOTOGRAPH BY THE AUTHOR, 2012).



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).





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)

to equal justice under the law' is inscribed onto the memorial, next to the reflecting pool.<sup>5</sup> Dispersed within these descriptive panels are quotes from prominent members of the Japanese American community.<sup>6</sup> 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).<sup>7</sup>

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,<sup>8</sup> 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

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

<sup>6</sup>For controversy surrounding these quotes see 6.3.2

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

<sup>8</sup>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).

when individuals felt very differently regarding who and what should be commemorated.

Even in the 20th 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 study 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 19th 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 unmistakably 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 research. 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 research 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 the 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 work, as a result, is twofold:

Firstly, in response to the lack of chronological framework, this study 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 research studies the evolution of the memorialisation process.

Secondly, this research 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 study 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 study allows for a much closer examination of the broader themes of commemorative practice which reoccur throughout the tradition of memorialisation. This research 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).<sup>9</sup>

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).

### 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

<sup>9</sup>O-P O = Origins of war memorial tradition, which is stated as 1860, P= Present. CT= Conflict Timescale. MT =Memorial Timescale

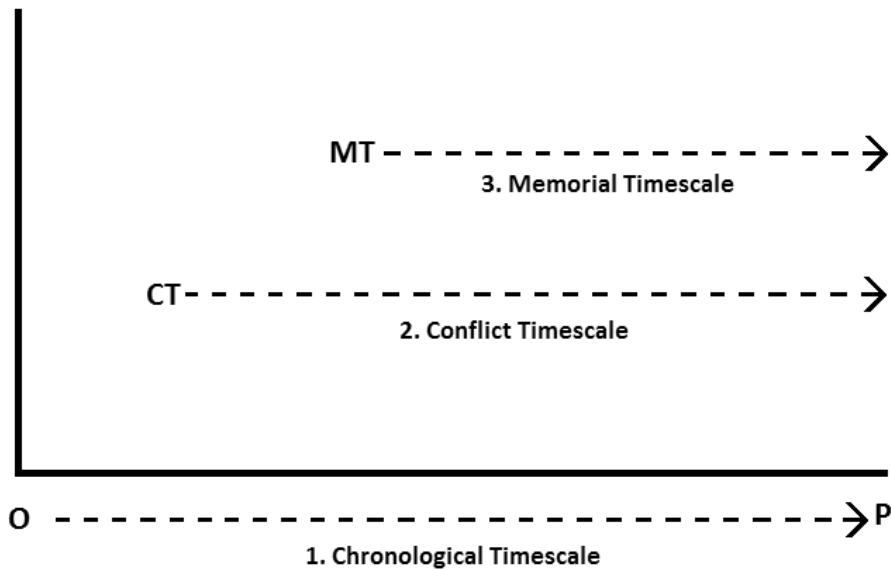


FIGURE 1.4 THREE PARALLEL TIMESCALES RELATING TO THE UNDERSTANDING OF A WAR MEMORIAL AT ANY GIVEN POINT IN TIME: O-P: 1860 – 2014 CHRONOLOGICAL TIMESCALE/ MEMORIAL TRADITION, CT: TIME PASSED FROM CONFLICT, MT: TIME PASSED FROM MEMORIAL CONSTRUCTION

earlier mnemonic forms in response to expectations that have developed regarding who and what should be memorialised. As Figure 1.4 demonstrates, within this study 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 through 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 study, all forms of engagement with a war memorial form will be considered equally valid. This includes:

- *Physical 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 work will comprise eight chapters which together examine the development of the war memorial tradition from 1860 to 2014. Through this study the research 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 work 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 study 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.

#### Main body: Chapters 4-7

The main body of the work 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.

Due to the differing conflicts and socio-political situations within each of the subject areas this work 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 study 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,

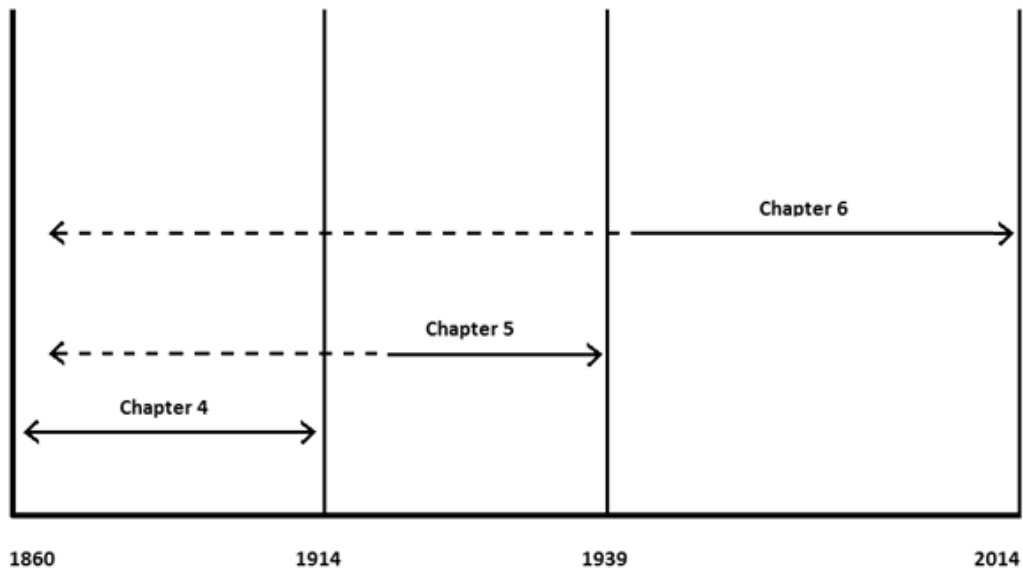


FIGURE 1.5 CHRONOLOGICAL PERIODS ADDRESSED WITHIN EACH CHAPTER: CHAPTER 4: 1860-1914, CHAPTER 5: 1914-1939, CHAPTER 6: 1939-2014

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). 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 study.

#### Chapter 8: Conclusion

Chapter 8 draws conclusions from the main body of the work 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 study 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 study 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.